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VOLUME. XIV, II.

TA'RÍKH-I-GUZÍDA

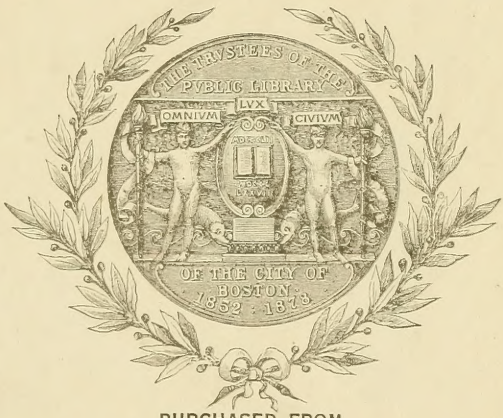
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ḤAMDU 'LLÁH MUSTAWFÍ -I-QAZWÍNÍ

VOL. II (ABRIDGED TRANSLATION & INDICES) BY

E.G. BROWNE & R.A. NICHOLSON

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(Translations of the three Inscriptions on the Cover.)

1. Arabic.

"These are our works which prove what we have done;
Look, therefore, at our works when we are gone."

2. Turkish.

"His genius cast its shadow o'er the world,
And in brief time he much achieved and wrought:
The Age's Sun was he, and ageing suns
Cast lengthy shadows, though their time be short."

(*Kemál Páshá-zádé.*)

3. Persian.

"When we are dead, seek for our resting-place
Not in the earth, but in the hearts of men."

(*Jalálu 'd-Dín Rúmí.*)

"E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL" SERIES.

VOL. XIV, 2.

(All communications respecting this volume should be addressed to Professor E. G. Browne, Pembroke College, Cambridge, who is the Trustee specially responsible for its production.)

THE TA'RÍKH-I-GUZÍDA

OR

"SELECT HISTORY"

OF

ḤAMDU'LLÁH MUSTAWFÍ -I-QAZWÍNÍ

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BY

R. A. NICHOLSON.

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An abridged translation of the Iḥyá'u'l-Mulúk, *a Persian History of Sístán by Sháh Ḥusayn, from the British Museum MS. (Or. 2779), by A. G. Ellis.*

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ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,

and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians, and Arabs to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا * فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ

"The worker pays his debt to Death;
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth."

The following memorial verse is contributed by ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Ḥámid Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an intimate friend of the deceased.

جمله یارانی وفاسیله ایدرکن تطییب
کندی عمرنده وفا گورمدی اول ذاتِ ادیب
گنج ایکن اولمش ایدی اوجِ کماله واصل
نه اولوردی یاشامش اولسه ایدی مستر گیب

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PREFACE.

In the Preface to the companion volume of the present work, which contains the *fac-simile* of a MS. of the *Ta'ríkh -i-Guzída* brought from Persia in the summer of 1907 by my friend Mírzá ʿAbdu 'l-Ḥusayn Khán *Waḥídu 'l-Mulk*, I announced my intention (p. XVI) of discussing in this volume with greater fulness the various questions connected with this history and its author. Now, however that this volume, which contains an abridged translation of the text, together with the Indices necessary for the convenient use of the latter, is ready for publication, I find that I am not in a position to add anything of importance on these questions to what has been already published or referred to in the previous volume; and all that now appears necessary is that I should briefly explain its structure and production.

This volume consists of two parts, the English Abstract of Contents or Abridged Translation of the text, occupying 237 pages; and the Persian Indices to the text, which were omitted from the previous volume, to which they properly belong, in order to avoid increasing its already considerable bulk (854 + 20 pages).

The Indices are entirely the work of my friend and colleague Dr. R. A. Nicholson, who undertook the laborious task of constructing them with his usual kindness, and has carried it out with his customary thoroughness. They are four in number, *viz.*:

(1) Index of persons mentioned in the text, both men and women (pp. 5—182).

(2) Index of *nisbas* (pp. 183—224).

(3) Index of place names and tribal names (pp. 225—277).
(4) Index of books cited or referred to in the text (pp. 278—286).

Dr. Nicholson has been kind enough to write a short note explaining the principles which have guided him in the construction of these Indices, rendered the more difficult by the scribe's errors which mar the text reproduced in the *fac-simile*, and this note is added at the end of the Preface.

For the Abridged Translation, or Abstract of Contents, I must assume entire responsibility, though I have received the most valuable help from my learned friend Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín, to whom each proof was submitted and by him returned with many important corrections, observations and annotations, which have been for the most part incorporated in the text or in foot-notes. In making such an Abstract it is very difficult to avoid being swayed by personal predilections and idiosyncrasies, and I am conscious that I may have unduly compressed such portions of the work as appeared to me less interesting, and, on the other hand, unduly expanded other portions which seemed to me of greater interest. The thick numbers in brackets occurring throughout the Translation indicate the pages of the *fac-simile* contained in the first volume, and it is these which must he regarded when the Persian Indices are employed in connection with the English Abstract.

My attention has been called to an unfortunate error in the *fac-simile*, occurring between pp. 226 and 231, which, owing, probably, to the adhesion of two leaves of the original MS., has resulted in the complete omission of pp. 227 and 228, and the insertion twice over of pp. 229 and 230. The text of the omitted pages is as follows:

سعید بن العاص الاموی امیر المؤمنین عمر بن الخطّاب رضی الله عنه
روایت کرد که زنی جامهٔ پیش رسول علیه الصلوة و السّلام (p. 227)

آورد و گفت نذر کرده‌ام که جامهٔ بکریم ترین جوانی از اعراب دهم پیغمبر علیه السّلام گفت بدین جوان ده یعنی سعید بن العاص، سعد بن خیثمة بن الحارث الانصاری الأوسی عقبی بدری، سعد بن خوله از بنی عامر بن لوی بدری مهاجری بود، سعد بن زید بن مالك الأشهلی الانصاری بدری، سلیم بن ملحان برادر حرام بن ملحان بود خال أنس بن مالك از بنی النجار الخزرجی، سعید ابو عبد الرحمن مولی رسول الله صلّی الله علیه و سلّم نام او رومان بلخی بود اورا بخرید و آزاد کرد بشرط آنکه خدمت پیغمبر کند در سفری انتقال منزلگاه میکرد پیغمبر صلّی الله علیه و سلّم اورا سفینه لقب کرد، سکران بن عمرو برادر سلیط بن عمرو بود قدیم الاسلام است از مهاجران حبشه و آنجا نماند زن او سوده بنت زمعة بعد ازو در حبالهٔ رسول صلّی الله علیه و سلّم آمد، سلمان فارسی ابو عبد الله سابق اهل فارس و اصفهان باسلام از موالی رسول بود پیغمبر علیه الصلوة و السلام درحقّ او فرمود منّا اهل البیت اصلش از اصفهان بقریهٔ جی بود نامش مابه بن نودخشان بن مورسلان بن نهیوذان بن فیروز بن شهرك از نسب منوجهر بجهت طلب دین دران ملك کاری از دستش بیرون امد مجال اقامتش نبود بگریخت و بشام افتاد بدیر راهبی از دین گبری بدین ترسائی نقل کرد و درآن ملك نیز حادثه افتادش بـه بندگی بمدینه افتاد بدست جهودی نامش عثمان بن اسهل چون پیغمبر علیه الصلوة و السلام بمدینه هجرت فرمود در سال اوّل اورا از آن جهود بچهل اوقیه زر و سیصد فیل نخل بخرید و آزاد کرد و بآزادی او عهدی نوشت بخطّ امیر المؤمنین علی کرّم الله وجهه این نسخهٔ آنست :— بسم الله الرّحمن الرّحیم (p. 228) هذا ما افد (فدی به ؟) محمّد بن عبد الله سلمان الفارسی من عثمان بن الاسهل الیهودی ثمّ القوطی (القُرَظی ؟) القرشی علی ثلثمائة نخلة و أربعین اوقیة من الذّهب یفدیه (فدیةً ؟) من محمّد بن عبد الله لثمن سلمان الفارسی و ولاّه لمحمّد بن عبد الله و اهل بیته و لا سبیل لأحد علی سلمان شهد علی

ذلك أبو بكر بن أبى قحافـة و عمر بن الخطّاب و علىّ بن أبى طالب و حذيفة بن اليمان و أبو داود و أبو ذرّ الغفارى و مقداد بن أسود و بلال مولى أبى بكر و عبد الرّحمن، كتب علىّ بن أبى طالب فى جمادى الأوّل سنة هجر محمّد، و سلمان‌را برادرزادهٔ بود نام او ماهان بن فرّخ بن بدخشان و تخم بشيراز است اكنون اكابر فارس اند و بسلمانيان مشهور و عهدى دارنـد بخطّ أمير المؤمنين على رضى اللّه عنه بر ادیم سفيد نوشته و مهر انگشترى پيغمبر صلّى اللّه عليه و سلّم و ابو بكر و عمر و عثمان رضى اللّه عنهم برآن نهاده و اين نسخهٔ آنست: — بسم اللّه الرّحمن الرّحيم، هذا كتابٌ من محمّد رسول اللّه صلّى اللّه عليه و سلّم سأله سلمان وصيّة [له] و هامان بن فرّخ و اهل بيته و محبّه من بعده ما تناسلوا من أسلم منهم و أقام على دينه سلم اللّه احمد لك الّذى أمرنى أن أقول لا اله الاّ اللّه وحده لا شريك له لقولنا و أمر الناس بها و ان الخلق خلق اللّه و الأمر كلّه للّه خلقهم و هو ينشرونهم *(sic)* و اليه المصير و ان أمر نزول كلّ شئ بيده و معنى و كلّ نفسٍ ذائقة الموت من آمن باللّه و رسوله كان له فى الآخرة دعة الفايزين و من أقام على دينه تركناه فلا إكراه فى الدّين فهذا الكتاب من اهل بيت سلمان لهم ذمّة اللّه و ذمّتى على دمائهم و أموالهم فى الأرض الّتى يقيمون فيها نسلها و خيلها و مراعيها و عيونها غير مظلومين ولا قضاء عليهم فمن يغيّر (يقراء ?) عليه كتابى هذا من المؤمنين و المؤمنات فعليه أن يحطّهم (يعظّمهم?) و يكرمهم (p. 229) و يسرّهم و لا يتعرّض لهم آلخ

In conclusion, the aim of this volume is to serve as a guide for the English student of Oriental history to one of the more ancient and reputable historical manuals which are so popular in Persia, and if it fulfils in this respect somewhat the same function as Major David Price's old but still useful *Retrospect*, I shall be well satisfied.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

Cambridge, August 10, 1913.

NOTE ON THE INDICES.

It may be helpful to those using the Indices if I state the method of arrangement which I have adopted. Since no difficulties are likely to arise in connection with the names of places, tribes, or books, my remarks on this point will refer almost exclusively to the First Index, which contains the names of persons.

(1) The definite article ال and the words ابو, امّ, ابن, بنت, بنى are ignored. Thus, العزيز بالله is placed under ع, and ابو مخلّد under م.

(2) Names consisting of a proper noun followed by a *nisba e.g.*, عطّار طوسى, are placed under the initial letter of the noun.

(3) Names consisting of a *kunya* followed by a *nisba e.g.*, ابو حنيفه دينورى, are usually placed under the initial letter of the secund word in the *kunya*.

(4) Names consisting of a *kunya* followed by a proper noun, *e.g.*, ابو عبد الله احمد بن يحيى, are usually placed under the initial letter of the noun, whether a *nisba* follows or not; but sometimes they are placed under the *kunya*, for special reasons: thus ابو بكر محمّد بن على كتّانى will be found under ب, because he is commonly known as ابو بكر كتّانى. Many names of this kind occur in the Index twice, *viz.*, under the *kunya* and also under the proper noun.

As a rule, the names are printed in the Indices just as they stand in the *fac-simile*. A large number of them are corrupt, and many are written so defectively that it was not easy — in some instances I found it impossible — to decipher them. Some obvious mistakes have been corrected and the true reading has frequently been determined by reference to Ibn Hishám, Ṭabarí, Ibn al-Athír and other authorities, but no attempt has been made to control and verify the names systematically. This must be left for the first Editor of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*, and I do not envy him the task.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

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ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS OF THE

TA'RÍKH-I-GUZÍDA.

Praise of God (1—2) and of the Prophet and his family (3). The Author, Ḥamdu'lláh Aḥmad b. Abí Bakr b. Naṣr, the *Mustawfí* (State accountant) of Qazwín, describes how he imbibed a taste for historical studies from the late minister Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, in whose service he had been, and who was constantly surrounded by men of learning (3—4), until at length, notwithstanding his lack of early training in literature and historical science, he began to compose a great historical poem [the *Ẓafar-náma*, a supplement to the *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí] [1]), giving an account of the history of the world from the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad down to his own times. Of this poem, designed to contain 75,000 verses, he had already composed more than 50,000 verses (4—5), and it was his intention to dedicate it, when completed, to Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, the worthy son and successor of his late patron the deceased minister Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (5—6). Having recited the titles and praised the virtues of his patron, and apologized for the unworthiness of his offering (7), he proceeds to enumerate the principal sources of information used for the compilation of this present manual of history, which are as follows (8):

(1) The *Síratu'n-Nabí* [Ibn Hishám's Biography of the Prophet is presumably intended].

(2) The *Qiṣaṣu'l-Anbiyá*. [Ath-Thaᶜálibí's work is probably meant].

(3) *Ar-Risálatu'l-Qushayriyya*.

(4) The *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá* [? of Farídu'd-Dín ᶜAṭṭár].

1) For description of the unique MS. of this work, see Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, pp. 172—4.

(5) The *Tadwín* of the Imám Ráfiᶜí [or-Yáfiᶜí, by which is probably meant the *Rawḍu'r-Riyáḥín*].

(6) The *Tajáribu'l-Umam* of Abú ᶜAlí Miskawayhi.

(7) *Masháribu't-Tajárib* [? of Abu'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlí b. Zayd al-Bayhaqí].

(8) The *Díwánu'n-Nasab*.

(9) The great chronicle of Muḥammad b. Jarír aṭ-Ṭabarí.

(10) The history of Ḥamza of Iṣfahán.

(11) The great chronicle of Ibnu'l-Athír [*i. e. at-Ta'ríkhu'l-Kámil*].

(12) The *Zubdatu't-Tawáríkh* of Jamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim of Káshán.

(13) The *Niẓámu't-Tawáríkh* of the Qáḍí Náṣiru'd-Dín Abú Saᶜíd at-Bayḍawí.

(14) The *ᶜUyúnu't-Tawáríkh* of Abú Ṭálib ᶜAlí b. al-Khayr al-Kházin al-Baghdádí.

(15) The *Kitábu-'l-Maᶜárif* of Ibn Qutayba ad-Dínawarí.

(16) The *Ta'ríkh-i Jahán-gusháy* of ᶜAlá'ú'd-Dín ᶜAṭá Malik-i-Juwayní.

(17) The Persian translation, by Abu'sh-Sharaf al-Jarbádhaqání, of al-ᶜUtbí's *Ta'ríkh-i-Yamíní*.

(18) The *Siyaru'l-Mulúk* [more correctly entitled the *Siyásat-náma*] of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk.

(19) The *Sháh-náma* of Firdawsí.

(20) The *Saljúq-náma* of Ẓahírí of Níshápúr.

(21) The *Majmaᶜu Arbábi'l-Maslak* [or-*Mulk*] of the Qáḍí Ruknu'd-Dín of Khúy.

(22) The *Istiẓháru'l-akhbár* of the Qáḍí Aḥmad of Dámghán.

(23) The *Jámiᶜu't-Tawáríkh* of the Author's late martyred master and patron, the minister Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh.

This compendium is entitled *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* ("the Select History"), and was completed in the year A. H. 730 (8). The preface concludes with a prayer that it may be honoured by the perusal of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, and that the faults of omission and commission which mar its pages may be overlooked.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE *GUZÍDA* (9).

Of the different eras used by historians, *e. g.* (1) from the Fall of Adam; (2) from the Deluge; (3) from the casting of Abraham into the fire; (4) from the Call of Moses; (5) from the destruction of Pharaoh; (6) from the building of the Kaʿba; (7) from the accession of Alexander the Great; (8) from the invasion of Yaman by the Abyssinians; (9) from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; (10) from the "Year of the Elephant", *etc.* Of these eras, the Israelites employed Nos. 4 and 5; the Ishmaelites (or Arabs) No. 6; the Greeks and Romans No. 7; the Yamanites No. 8; the Copts No. 9, and the Arabs of Quraysh No. 10. From this diversity of eras arose much confusion (**10**), which the Prophets have not endeavoured to remove, while the philosophers either deny that the world had a beginning, or, as in the case of the sages of India, Cathay, Chinese Tartary, China and Europe, assign to the first man a remote antiquity, or assert the existence of several successive "Adams". The Muhammadans of Persia reckon 6000 years, more or less, from Adam to Muḥammad. The astronomers estimate that from the Deluge until the present time, A. Y. 698, 4433 years have elapsed.

This book is divided into an Introduction (*Fátiḥa*), six Chapters, and a Conclusion (*Khátima*) as follows:

INTRODUCTION. On the Creation.

CHAPTER I. On the Prophets, in two Discourses, *viz.*:

First Discourse (**11**) On the Great Prophets described as *Mursal* and *Ulu'l-ʿAzm.*

Second Discourse. On the Minor Prophets and others who furthered the cause of religion and morality until the time of Muḥammad, in two Sections, *viz.*:

§ 1. Minor Prophets.

§ 2. Philosophers and moral teachers.

CHAPTER II. On the Pre-Islamic Kings of Persia, in four sections, *viz.*

§ 1. *Píshdádiyán,* 11 Kings who reigned 2450 years.
§ 2. *Kayániyán,* 10 „ „ „ 734 „
§ 3. *Mulúku't-Ṭawá'if,* 22 „ „ „ 350 „
§ 4. *Sásániyán,* 31 „ „ „ 527 „

CHAPTER III. On the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions and Successors, in an introduction and six sections, *viz.*

Introduction. The Prophet's genealogy and kin.

§ 1. His life, wars, wives, amanuenses, relatives, clients and heirs.

§ 2. The five [al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí is included] orthodox Caliphs, whose dominion endured exactly 30 lunar years (**12**) from 13 Rabíᶜ I, A. H. 11 until 13 Rabíᶜ I, A. H. 41 [= 6 June A. D. 632—15 July, A. D. 661].

§ 3. The remaining ten of the twelve Imáms [excluding ᶜAlí and al-Ḥasan who are included in the last section], from 4 Ṣafar, A. H. 49 until Ramaḍán, A. H. 264 [= 14 March, A. D. 669—May, 877], a period of 215 lunar years and 7 months.

§ 4. Account of some of the Prophet's chief Companions and Followers.

§ 5. The fourteen Umayyad "Kings" (not Caliphs), from 13 Rabíᶜ I, A. H. 41 until 13 Rabíᶜ I, A. H. 132 [= 15 July, A. D. 661—30 Oct., A. D. 749], a period of 91 lunar years.

§ 6. The thirty-seven ᶜAbbásid Caliphs, from 13 Rabíᶜ I, A. H. 132, until 6 Ṣafar, A. H. 656 [= 30 Oct., A. D. 749—12 Feb., A. D. 1258], a period of 523 lunar years, 2 months and 23 days.

CHAPTER IV. Muhammadan dynasties of Persia and some adjacent countries in twelve sections, *viz.*

§ 1. Three Ṣaffárís, who reigned 35 lunar years, from A. H. 253 until A. H. 287 [A. D. 867—900], over a great part of Persia. Their descendants were still governors of Sístán at the time this history was written.

§ 2. Nine Sámánís (**13**), who reigned for $102^1/_2$ years, from the middle of Rabíᶜ II A. H. 287 until 5 Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 389 [= March 20, A. D. 900 —17 Nov., A. H. 999.]

§ 3. Five (*sic*) Ghaznawís, who reigned for 155 lunar years, *viz.* A. H. 390—545 [= A. D. 1000—1150], during the first 30 years of which period a large part of Persia, as well as Ghazna, was under their sway.

§ 4. Five Ghúrís, who reigned for 64 lunar years, from A. H. 545 until A. H. 609 [= A. D. 1150—1212].

§ 5. Seventeen Daylamís (or Buwayhís), who reigned for 127 lunar years, from Dhu'l-Qaᶜda, A. H. 321 until A. H. 448 [= A. D. 933—1056].

§ 6. Saljúqs, divided into:

(*a*) Fourteen great Saljúqs, who ruled over Persia for 161 lunar years, from A. H. 429 until Rabíᶜ I, A. H. 590 [= A. D. 1037—1194.]

(*b*) Eleven Saljúqs of Kirmán, who ruled there for 150 years, from A. H. 433 until 583 [= A. D. 1041—1187.]

(*c*) Fourteen Saljúqs of Asia Minor, who reigned for 220 years, from A. H. 480 until A. H. 700 [A. D. 1087—1300].

§ 7. Nine Khwárazmsháhs (**14**), who reigned for 137 lunar years, from A. H. 491 until Shawwál, A. H. 628 [= A. D. 1098—August, 1231].

§ 8. Atábaks, divided into.

(*a*) Nine Atábaks of Syria and Diyár Bakr, who

reigned for 120 years, from A. H. 481 until A. H. 601 [= A. D. 1088—1204].

(*b*) Eleven Atábaks of Fárs (Salgharís), who reigned for 120 lunar years, from A. H. 543 until A. H. 663 [A. D. 1148—1265.]

§ 9. Ismaʿílís, divided into.

(*a*) Fourteen Fáṭimid Caliphs (or Anti-Caliphs) of Egypt and the West, who reigned for 260 years (*sic*) from A. H. 299 until A. H. 556 [= A. D. 911—1161].

(*b*) Eight Grand Masters of the Persian Assassins of Alamút, who reigned 171 years, from A. H. 483 until Shawwál, A. H. 654 [= A. D. 1090—Nov., 1256].

§ 10. Ten Qará-Khitá'ís, who ruled over Kirmán from A. H. 621 until 706 [= A. D. 1224—1306], a period of 86 lunar years.

§ 11. Atábaks of Luristán, divided into.

(*a*) Seven Atábaks of Lur-i-Buzurg, who reigned 180 lunar years, from A. H. 550 until 730 [= A. D. 1155—1330].

(*b*) Eleven Atábaks of Lur-i-Kúchak, who reigned 150 lunar years, from A. H. 580 until A. H. 730 [= A. D. 1184—1330], (**15**).

§ 12. Thirteen Mongol Íl-Kháns of Persia, who, from A. H. 599 (= A. D. 1203] until the time of writing, A. H. 730 [= A. D. 1329—1330], have reigned 131 years, "and let who will hereafter write the conclusion of their history."

CHAPTER V. Account of learned and pious men in 6 sections, *viz.*

§ 1. Doctors of theology (*Imáms* and *Mujtahids*).

§ 2. Readers of the *Qur'án* (*Qurrá*).

§ 3. Traditionists (*Muḥaddithún*).

§ 4. Shaykhs (*Mashá'ikh*).
§ 5. Learned men (*ʿulamá*).
§ 6. Poets, Arabic and Persian.

CHAPTER VI. Account of the Author's native city, Qazwín, in 8 [1]) sections.
§ 1. Traditions concerning it.
§ 2. Derivation of its name.
§ 3. Its buildings.
§ 4. Its conquest and conversion by the Muslims.
§ 5. Its aqueducts, rivers, mosques, tombs and suburbs.
§ 6. Some of the Companions and Followers of the Prophet, the Imáms, Caliphs, Shaykhs, men of learning, kings, ministers and *amírs* who have visited it.
§ 7. Its governors and rulers.
§ 8. The tribes and notable men who have arisen thence.

CONCLUSION (16). Genealogies of the Prophets, Kings and philosophers, arranged in the form of a tree, summing up in a brief space the information on this subject contained in this history.

INTRODUCTION: ON THE CREATION (16).

God, by the word *Kun* ("Be!") created the two worlds, the unseen "World of Command" (*ʿálam-i-amr*), and the visible "World of Creation" (*ʿálam-i-khalq*). The Universal Reason, the World-Soul, Matter, the Four Elements, the Nine Spheres, the Stars, the Seven Planets, the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. — (17) Revolution of the Spheres. — Cause of night and day and of the seasons. — The "Seven Sires", "the Four Mothers", and the "Threefold Offspring". — Origin

1) So in other MSS. In this MS. §§ 3—4 are amalgamated in one, and the number of sections is only 7.

of the sea, storms and mountains. — Appearance of minerals, vegetables and animals. — Creation of Man.

CHAPTER I. — THE PROPHETS (18).

According to a tradition reported by Abú Dharr al-Ghiffárí there were 124,000 Prophets (100,000 in this MS.), of whom 313 were *Mursal* [1]). Of these 4 were Syrians, *viz.* Adam, Seth, Enoch (who is Idrís, the first who wrote) and Noah; while 4 were Arabs, *viz.* Húd (19), Ṣáliḥ, Shuᶜayb (*i. e.* Jethro) and Muḥammad. Of the Hebrew Prophets the first was Moses and the last Jesus. The Revelations made to these Prophets comprised 100 tablets (*Ṣaḥífa*) and 4 books, *viz.* 50 tablets to Seth, 30 to Enoch, 10 to Abraham [and 10 to Moses before the Pentateuch [2])], and the Pentateuch, the Gospel, the Psalms and the Qur'án. — Six of the greatest of the Prophets held the rank of *Ulu'l-ᶜazm, viz.* Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad. — The Author has only succeeded in finding mention of 73 Major Prophets (*Mursal*) and 45 Minor Prophets. — The former number, he considers, accords well with the allegorical sense of these two traditions: — "The doctors of my Church are as the Prophets of the Children of Israel", and. "My Church shall become divided in to 73 sects, whereof one, that which I and my Companions follow, shall be saved." — Definition of the terms *nabí* (20), *mursal*, and *úlu'l-ᶜazm*.

First Discourse. The Prophets, major and minor.

Thirty Prophets (21), besides Muḥammad, are mentioned in the *Qur'án*, to wit: — (1) Adam, (2) Seth, (3) Idris = Enoch, (4) Noah, (5) Húd, (6) Ṣáliḥ, (7) Abraham, (8) Lot, (9) Ishmael, (10) Isaac, (11) Jacob, (12) Joseph, (13) Khiḍr,

1) Ṭabarí, i, 152.
2) These ten are also ascribed to Adam.

(14) Job, (15) Shuᶜayb = Jethro, (16) Moses, (17) Aaron, (18) Joshua, (19) Elias, (20) Elisha, (21) Samuel, (22) David, (23) Solomon, (24) Ezra, (25) Daniel, (26) Dhu'l-Kifl, (27) Jonah, (28) Zechariah, (29) John the Baptist and (30) Jesus Christ. The names of the following forty-two are found in various histories and commentaries, but not in the *Qur'án*: (1) Shem, (2) Ham, and (3) Japhet, the three sons of Noah; (4) Judah, (5) Levi, (6) Reuben, (7) Simeon, (8) Issachar, (9) Zebulon, (10) Dan, (11) Gad, (12) Naphtali, (13) Asher, and (14) Benjamin, these eleven, with Joseph, being the ancestors of the twelve tribes (*asbáṭ*) of Israel; (15) Ḥandẖala, (16) Gideon, (17) تفتاح, (18) Caleb, (19) Ezechiel, (20) سحاس, (21) ماتان, (22) كاداحيا, (23) شلومى, (24) سحاسا, (25) عدواسا, (26) سهو, (27) Isaiah, (28) Amos, (29) Hosea, (30) يعا, (31) Ṣádiq, (32) Ṣadúq, (33) سلوم, (34) سحاسير, (35) يسى, (36) Nahum, (37) القوشى, (38) Habakkuk, (39) Zephaniah, (40) ادريا, (41) برامل, (42) Haggai, (43) رحرمائيل, (44) مداخر

Adam, called *Abu'l-Bashar* and *Ṣafiyyu'lláh*.

The part played by Gabriel, Michael and ᶜAzrá'íl (**22**) in the creation of Adam from clay. — After 40 days, God breathes into him His Spirit, and teaches him the Names of all things. — He is worshipped by the Angels, except Iblís. — The creation of Eve. — Adam and Eve are forbidden to eat wheat; or wheat, grapes and figs. — Iblís enters Paradise by the help of the Serpent, and persuades Adam and Eve to eat the forbidden fruit. — They are expelled from Paradise. — Adam is banished to Sarandíb (Ceylon) and Eve to Jeddah. — (**23**) After 100 years, on the day of *ᶜÁshúrá* Adam's repentance is accepted. — Other important events which happened on this day (Muḥarram 10). — Adam and Eve meet again at Mecca, at ᶜArafát,

and return to Ceylon. — Cause of the enmity between Cain (*Qábíl*) and Abel (*Hábíl*). — Cain's sacrifice is rejected, and he murders Abel (24) and buries his body. — Iblís persuades Cain to worship Fire. — Birth of Seth. — Adam dies at the age of 1000 years, and Eve dies a year (or three days) later. — They were buried by Seth near Mecca in the mountain of Bú Qubays, but dis-interred and re-interred by Noah. — Adam had 21 sons and 22 daughters.

Seth.

Seth succeeded Adam, received revelations from God, and denounced the Fire-worship practised by the children of Cain. — He built the Kaʿba, died at the age of 912 years, and was succeeded by his son Enos (*Anúsh*), who lived 965 years and first cultivated the date. He was succeeded by his son Cainan, who lived 920 years, and began to build Babel. He was succeeded by his son Mahalaleel (*Mahalá'íl*), who (25) lived 895 years, and was succeeded by his son Jared, who lived 962 years. All these were born during Adam's life-time.

Idrís, son of Jared, called Enoch (Akhnúkh).

Enoch, or Idrís, was at once King, prophet and sage, was versed in Astronomy, and invented writing, spinning, weaving and sewing. He built the Pyramids and foretold the Deluge. — His friendship with the Angel of Death, and the device whereby he entered Paradise when he had lived 865 years.

Noah, called Najiyyu'lláh.

Noah, the great-grandson of Idrís, received revelations from God, and preached to his people for 950 years (26), during which period 80 believed. — He makes the Ark, which is described. — The Flood begins in an oven at Kúfa, submerges the "habitable quarter" of the earth and all the mountains, and continues for six months. — The Ark rests

on Mount Júdí near Mawṣil, and Noah and his companions leave it on Muḥarram 10 (the ᶜ*Áshúrá*). — They build a village there called [*Súq*] *Thamánín*, "the [Market of the] Eighty" [1]). — Noah died at the age of 1600 years, or 1300 years. — Since most of the inhabitants of the earth are descended from Noah, he is sometimes entitled "the second Adam". He had four sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet, who believed and ware saved in the Ark, and Canaan (**27**), who disbelieved and was drowned.

Shem is held by some to have been a prophet, and most of the prophets and all the Persians are descended from him. He had six sons, of whom the eldest was Arfakhshad, from whon Qaḥṭán and Fáligh were descended in the fourth generation. The latter was the ancestor of the Persians, while most of the Arabs are descended from the former, whose son, Yaᶜrub, first spoke Arabic. From Qaḥṭán sprang the Ḥimyarites, the Lakhmites, and Sabá (Sheba), who was the father of Quḍáᶜa, Ashᶜari, Azd and Ṭayyi'. Shem's second son, ᶜÁlim, begot Khurásán and Haytál. The former begot ᶜIráq, and the latter Kirmán and Mukrán. Shem's third son was Aswad, who begot Ahwáz and Pahlú, of whom the latter begot Párs. Shem's fourth son was Núdhar, who begot Ádharbád and Arrán, Arman and Múghán. Shem's fifth son was Iram, from whom were descended the tribes of ᶜÁd and Thamúd. Shem's sixth son was Yafan, who begot Sám and Rúm.

Ham is the ancestor of all the blacks. The story of Noah's drunkenness and Ham's irreverence (**28**), and how it was punished. Ham had also six sons, Zangí, Kús, Hind, Barbar, Qibt, Ḥabash. The last was the father of Núba.

Japhet had eight sons, Turk, Khazar, Saqláb, Rús, Bíshak, Mughúl, Gog and Magog. Chín and Máchín are the sons of

1) Ṭabarí, i, 197.

Khutan, and the Bulghárs, Birṭásís and Báshghirdís are also his descendants, as well as the Greeks, Franks and some of the Romans. After the death of Noah, all these dwelt together in Babel for many years, until one night their common language was taken from them and each awoke speaking a different tongue, whereupon they separated, and the land where each settled became known by his name.

Húd.

Húḍ, the fifth great prophet, is variously accounted a son of ᶜÁbir or ᶜÁd, to which latter tribe he was sent. He preached to them with little success for fifty years. He then cursed them, and God withheld rain from them for three years. They sent the sage Luqmán to Mecca to ask for rain (29). — A black, a red and a white cloud appear, and the men of ᶜÁd are told to choose. They choose the black cloud, and are all destroyed by a violent tempest, in the month of Shawwál, during the *bardu'l-ᶜajúz*, or "Old Woman's Cold". Húd survived this event for fifty years, died at the age of 150 years, and is buried at Ḥaḍramawt.

Ṣáliḥ.

Ṣáliḥ was sent to the tribe of Thamúd. His miracle consists in bringing a female camel and its young one out of the rock. Thamúd refuse to believe and kill the camel. God causes their faces to turn yellow and then black, and finally destroys them by a loud noise from heaven. Ṣáliḥ lived to be 258 (or 180) years of age. He was buried at Mecca.

Ḥandhala.

Ḥandhala b. Ṣafwán was descended from Fihr b. Qaḥṭán, and was sent to the *Ahlu'r-Rass*, or people of Rass, who was a king of the people of Nimrod (30) in the West. This king had apostasised, and claimed to be God, and his people

practised various unnatural crimes, of some of which the perpetrators are still called *Rass* and *Sa'tarí*. God finally destroyed them all by thirst, and by the arrows which they would have shot at Ḥandḥala.

Abraham, called Khalílu'lláh (31).

Genealogy of Abraham. His father Ázar was Nimrod's *wazír*. The astrologers foretell the birth in Nimrod's time of a prophet who will cause his destruction, and Nimrod consequently orders a massacre of all male children born at that period. Abraham was hidden by his mother in the place now called Birs [Nimrúd] near Kúfa, which the author visited. At the age of seven he emerged from the cave where he was hidden, and, after worshipping the heavenly bodies, he is guided to the worship of God. He preaches to Nimrod and denounces idol-worship. At the suggestion of Iblís, Nimrod casts Abraham by means of a great catapult into the fire. He refuses help from the angel Gabriel, and the fire is turned into a rose-garden, whence he emerged safe and sound, being at that time 60 years of age. Nimrod, desiring to make war on God, constructs an aeriel car drawn by vultures, and from it (32) discharges an arrow towards heaven, which returns to him stained with blood. Nimrod (whom some identify with the Persian Ká'ús) increases in arrogance and claims to be God. Abraham with his wife Sara (who is also his cousin, and the most beautiful of women) and his family and retainers retires from Babel to Egypt. The king of Egypt, Sinán b. 'Ulwán desires Sara for himself, and takes her from Abraham, but is divinely prevented from touching her. He restores her to Abraham, and presents Hagar to her. They retire from Egypt to Palestine. A bag of sand miraculously turned to flour. (33) Why Abraham is entitled *Khalílu'lláh* ("the Friend of God"). Nimrod, renewing his rebellion against God, is des-

troyed by a gnat which enters his brain. Sara gives Hagar to Abraham, and she bears him a son, Ishmael, Abraham being then 86 years old. — Circumcision is instituted. Sara's jealousy drives out Hagar and Ishmael to Mecca. The spring of Zamzam appears. Ishmael is brought up by the Banú Jurhum. Abraham prepares to offer up Ishmael. A ram is accepted as his substitute (34). A year later Isaac is born to Abraham by Sara, she being then seventy years old. — Ishmael divorces his Jurhumite wife to please Abraham. At God's command they repair the Kaʿba, set up the Black Stone and institute the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Sara dies at the age of 130 years. Abraham marries again and survives Sara fifty years. He dies at the age of 200 and is buried at Hebron in Syria, at the place now called Khalilu'lláh. Ten tablets (*ṣaḥífa*) were revealed to him. Various practices, chiefly in respect to personal cleanliness, which he instituted.

Lot (35).

The seven Cities of the Plain, Ṣanʿa, Ṣawʿa, ʿAmra (= Gomorrah), Rúyá and Sodom, said to have been situated between Kirmán and Sístán [1]). — Wickedness of their inhabitants. — The three angels, Gabriel, Michael and Isráfíl, entertained by Lot. Destruction of the Cities of the Plain and flight of Lot and his family, except his wife (36), who is destroyed by a stone from heaven. Lot survived her 7 years and died on a Wednesday in the month of Rabíʿ I.

Ishmael

Ishmael was sent as a prophet to the Amalekites of Yaman and Ḥaḍramawt, to whom he preached the religion of Abraham for fifty years. He died at the age of 130 and was buried at Mecca beside his mother Hagar.

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1) This idea probably arose from the fact that the desert east of Kirmán is called *Dasht-i-Lút*, and that this was misinterpreted as "the Plain of Lot".

Isaac.

Isaac was sent to the people of Syria. The story of Esau and Jacob and of Isaac's blessing, by virtue of which all the succeeding prophets except four, *viz.* Khiḍr, Jób, Shuᶜayb (= Jethro) and Muḥammad, were of the posterity of Isaac. Isaac died at the age of 180, and was buried beside Abraham in the year wherein Joseph became ruler (*ᶜazíz*) of Egypt.

Jacob (37).

Jacob, fearing the wrath of his brother Esau, fled by night into Canaan; wherefore he was called *Israel.* He marries his cousin. Of his two wives the elder bore him six sons, Judah, Levi, Reuben, Simeon, Issachar and Zebulon; the younger two, Joseph and Benjamin; and each of his two concubines two, the one Dan and Naphtali, the other Gad and Asher. Joseph was born when Jacob was 89 years old, was lost to him when he was 90 years old, was separated from him for 40 years, and recovered by him when he was 130 years old. Jacob died in Egypt at the age of 147 and was buried at Khalílu'lláh.

Joseph.

Joseph's incomparable beauty. His vanity and its punishment. His dream. He is cast into the pit by his brethren and sold to a trader for 20 dirhams. His brethren tell Jacob that a wolf has destroyed Joseph (38). Joseph is sold for five times his weight of musk, which in Egypt exceeds gold in value, to the *ᶜAzíz-i-Miṣr*, who was treasurer to the King of Egypt. Zalíkhá falls in love with Joseph, she being then 15 years old and he 17. His chastity, and her calumny. The Egyptian ladies, amazed at Joseph's beauty, cut their hands instead of the oranges which they hold. — Joseph's imprisonment. The king's chief butler (*sharáb-dár*) and chief baker (*khwán-*

sálár) are cast into prison. Joseph interprets their dreams (39). The king Rayán's dream of the fat and the lean kine. Joseph interprets it, and, on the death of his former master, is made treasurer and placed in control of all the granaries. He being then 32 years of age, asks for Zalíkhá in marriage. She bears him two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh. Joseph's brethren come to buy corn in Egypt. He bids them bring Benjamin (40). Their second journey to Egypt with Benjamin. Joseph detains Benjamin. Jacob's bitter grief. He becomes blind from his much weeping. Third journey of Joseph's brethren to Egypt. He reveals himself to them, and sends his shirt by them to Jacob, who rubs it on his eyes and recovers his sight. Jacob returns with his sons to Egypt, where he dies seventeen years later. Joseph survives him 23 years, and then dies aged 97. His body is placed in a glass coffin which is sunk in the Nile, but is afterwards recovered by Moses and buried at Khalílu'lláh (41). Discussion of the question whether Joseph's brethren were prophets.

Khiḍr.

His name was Balyá b. Malkán b. Fáligh *etc.* He was born before the time of Abraham, was a contemporary of Dhu'l-Qarnayn the greater, and accompanied him in his search for the Water of Life, which he drunk and so became immortal. Allegorical explanation of this legend.

Ṣob.

Job was the great-great grandson of Esau. The misfortunes and trials wherewith God proves him (42). His exemplary patience, and its reward. His death at the age of 200.

Shuᶜayb (Jethro).

His mission to the people of al-Aríka (? Jericho), most of whom, on account of their unbelief, were destroyed by fire from a cloud.

Moses, called *Kalímu'lláh.*

He was born in Egypt in the reign of Walíd b. Muṣ^{c}ab. b. Rayyán, (the grandson of Joseph's Pharaoh) who greatly oppressed the Israelites (43) and killed their male children on account of a prediction of his astrologers. The child Moses, consigned to the Nile, is found by one of the hand-maidens of Ásiya, Pharaoh's wife, and adopted by her. His own mother is engaged to nurse him. When two years old he one day plucked Pharaoh by the beard. Pharaoh wished to kill him, but was dissuaded by Ásiya, who, to show the child's lack of discrimination, placed before him two bowls, one filled with fire and one with rubies. Moses picked up a burning coal and put it in his mouth, and, in consequence of the burn which it inflicted, he was ever afterwards unable to speak clearly. At the age of 20 he was given a wife, who bore him two sons. At the age of 26 he killed the Egyptian and fled from Egypt to Shu^{c}ayb (Jethro), whose daughter he married after he has served Jethro as a shepherd for two years. She bears him two sons. Moses returns to Egypt. The episode of the Burning Bush on Mount Sinai (44). The miracles of the "White Hand" and the Rod which turned into a serpent are vouchsafed to Moses, and he is sent to Egypt accompanied by his brother Aaron to act as his spokesman. Pharaoh is obdurate and brings his magicians to contend against Moses, but they are convinced by his miracles and believe in him, whereupon they are put to death by Pharaoh. The seven plagues wherewith God afflicts the Egyptians, together with the two miracles of the Rod and the "White Hand" make up the Nine Signs of Moses (45). Flight of Moses with the Israelites from Egypt. They cross the Red Sea, which the Egyptians seeking to do are drowned. The Tablets of the Law are revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai in the presence of 70 witnesses. Colloquy of Moses

with God. (46) Moses asks, but is not permitted to see God, whose effulgence causes Mount Sinai to be shivered in pieces (from some of which, it is said, Mount Uḥud was produced), whereat the 70 witnesses die of fright, but are restored to life by Moses' prayer. — The story of Sámirí and the Golden Calf, which speaks and moves by virtue of a handful of dust whereon Gabriel had trod and which Sámirí scattered over it. Moses kills 70,000 of the Calf's worshippers. He desires to burn the Calf and does so by virtue of an Alchemy which God teaches him, in despite of his cousin Qárún (Corah). Qárún learns the secret of this Alchemy from Moses, and so becomes wealthy, and rebels against Moses. God causes the earth to open and swallow him up together with his wealth (47). A rich Israelite is murdered by his nephews and his body thrown between two villages, the inhabitants of which are suspected. Moses bids them kill a cow and strike the mundered man with one of its limbs, whereupon he comes to life again and identifies his murderers. The story of Moses and Khiḍr (48). Khiḍr explains the reasons of the three actions which excited the wonder and disapproval of Moses. Moses is sent against Og the son of Anak (*ʿÚj* or *ʿÚq b. ʿUnuq*), (49) and kills him in single combat, by the help of the hoopoe. Balaam, the nephew of Shuʿayb (Jethro) prays against the Israelites, who lose their way and wander in the wilderness for forty years. The Quails and Manna. Death of Moses and Aaron. They are succeeded by Gideon and Jephthah (who die in the wilderness), and these in turn by Joshua.

Joshua the son of Nún (50).

Joshua was the nephew and executor of Moses, and led the children of Israel against the giants of Syria, took their land, and killed Balaam, who at the Resurrection will appear in the form of the dog which accompanied the Seven Sleepers.

He died at the age of 127 years. He was succeeded by Caleb, who brought the Israelites back to Egypt and there died. Next came Ezechiel the Levite, who cursed his people for their unbelief and they died of a pestilence, but were again restored to life by his prayer. It is said that a putrid odour still clings to the descendants of these Jews. Some historians identify Ezechiel with Dhu'l-Kifl, who will be mentioned presently, but others say that the former lived before David and the latter after, which latter statement appears to be the more correct. Ezechiel was followed by Phineas, who is said to have been identical with him who was called *Khiḍr* by the Arabs, and who found the Water of Life; but this statement is incorrect, for the Khiḍr who found the Water of Life was not an Israelite, as was this Khiḍr, who was the brother of Elias.

Elias (51).

Elias was sent to preach to the worshippers of Baal, whom, on account of their unbelief, he afflicted with drought and famine. Disgusted by their unbelief, he finally withdrew into seclusion, appointing as his successor —

Elisha the Ephraimite.

He was, for some generations, the last of the Hebrew Prophets. — The Jews disregard their doctors (*ʿulamá*). — The Ark of the Covenant is captured by Goliath.

Samuel.

Samuel is, after an interval, sent as a Prophet (52) to the Israelites, who, guided by him, recover the Ark. — They demand a King, and are given Saul (*Ṭálút*). — Goliath killed by David. — Death of Samuel, aged 52.

David.

David was the eleventh in descent from Jacob. Saul, jealous

of his influence, tries to kill him (53). Saul and his sons are killed by the Philistines. The Psalms (*Zubúr*) are revealed to David. — His marvellous sweetness of voice. — His sin with the wife of Uriah, by whom Solomon is born to him. — His repentance and forgiveness. — Uriah is restored to life to assure David of his forgiveness. The Jews, forbidden to fish on the Sabbath, put down their nets on the Sabbath and draw them in on Sunday. David reproves them, but they pay no heed, and as a punishment are metamorphosed into pigs. — David chooses Solomon as his successor and builds the Temple at Jerusalem. He dies at the age of one hundred, having reigned forty years.

Solomon (54).

Solomon alone of all mankind was both king and prophet. — His ring, inherited from Adam, on which was engraved the Most Great Name of God. — His authority over all living creatures. — His throne, and how the wind obeys him and carries him whither he will. — His wise minister, Áṣaf b. Barkhiyá. — His adventures with Bilqís, Queen of Sheba (55), whom he marries, and who bears him Rehoboam. — Solomon's shape assumed and sway usurped by one of the *Jinn*. — His death at the age of fifty-five. — How his death was concealed from the *Jinn* for a year. — Mention of three or four more obscure prophets (55—56).

Isaiah.

The Assyrians (or "Babylonians") attack Jerusalem, but death overtakes their whole army at the prayer of Isaiah. — Isaiah was the first prophet who foretold the advent of Christ and Muḥammad. — He is murdered. — Luhrásp, king of Persia, sends Ruhám the son of Gúdarz (who was called Nebuchadnezzor in Syria) to avenge his death, lay waste Jerusalem, and bring the Israelites into captivity.

Jeremiah (57).

Some historians identify Jeremiah with Ezra, asserting that the latter was his Arabic and the former his Hebrew name. On the death of Isaiah he fled to Egypt, but was brought back by Nebuchadnezzor to Jerusalem. Ezra's faith that God would once again make the Holy Land flourish. — His soul is taken from his body while he sleeps, and restored a hundred years later, when Daniel had come, and the country was once more prosperous. — He convinces the Jews that he lived a century earlier by reciting the *Tawrát* (Pentateuch) by heart, and showing them where a copy of the same made by Isaiah was hidden under a pillar of the temple. Some of the Jews (58) called him the Son of God, and so became infidels. — Bahman the son of Isfandiyár, being vexed with the inhabitants of Jerusalem, sent Nebuchadnezzor to destroy it again and massacre or take captive the Israelites, who were thus greatly reduced and humbled.

Daniel.

After the death of Bahman, Daniel restored Jerusalem, and brought back the Israelites thither. God gave him as his sign a knowledge of the Science of Geomancy. He guided the Israelites for a time, and then retired into Khúzistán in Persia, and there died. His tomb was discovered there by Abú Músá al-Ashᶜarí when the Arabs conquered Persia [in the seventh century of the Christian era.].

Jonah.

Jonah was sent to preach to the people of Nineveh. — Their unbelief. — Their punishment and repentance. — Jonah and the whale (59). — He remains forty days in the whale's belly. — His deliverance. — His gourd and the gazelle. — He dies and is buried at Kúfa. — Three more

minor prophets contemporary with Jonah. — Three more, Ṣádiq, Ṣadúq and Salúm, sent to the people of Antioch, of whom, on account of their unbelief, all the adults are destroyed by a noise from heaven. — Some say that these three prophets lived in the interval between Christ and Muḥammad, and that their story is connected with the villagers (*aṣḥáb-i-qarya*) mentioned in the Qur'án (60). Five more minor prophets, including Nahum and Habakkuk.

Dhu'l-Kifl.

Some say that he was descended from Job and was an Arab; others that he was an Israelite. He was sent to a King of Syria named Canaan (*Kanᶜán*). His tomb is near Kúfa, and was a place of pilgrimage of the Jews, until Úljáytú (Sháh Khudá-banda, the Mongol) took it from them and gave it to the Muslims, who built a Mosque on the spot. — Haggai and another minor prophet.

Zechariah.

Zechariah was of the posterity of Solomon, and was cousin to ʿImrán the father of Mary, and their wives were sisters. Birth of Mary. — A Son is promised to Zechariah (61). — His unbelief. — He is tongue-tied for three days. — John the Baptist is born nine months later. — The Angel Gabriel appears to Mary when she is eighteen years old in the form of Joseph the Carpenter, on the 25th of the month of Ádhár (March), and foretells the birth of Jesus. — The miraculous conception of Jesus, who is born nine months later. — Jesus speaks in his cradle to vindicate his mother against the calumnies of the Jews, declare his own mission, and announce the advent of Muḥammad "the Seal of the Prophets". — Mary flees into Syria with the child Jesus. — Calumnies uttered by the Israelites against Zechariah. — The king of Jerusalem tries to kill him. — He flees towards Damascus,

but, being overtaken by his pursuers, takes refuge within a hollow tree. — Iblís tells his pursuers where he is, and they saw the tree in two, together with Zechariah.

John the Baptist,

His mission. — He believes in Jesus. — He is put to death by the king of Jerusalem [Herod] for the sake of [Herodias] his niece, whom John had forbidden him to marry (62). The blood of John the Baptist will not dry up or rest, and the doctors of the law declare that it will not do so until the blood of his murderers is poured upon it. Gúdarz the Parthian (Ashghání) hears this, marches on Jerusalem, and kills 70,000 Jews, but the blood will not rest until finally the blood of the murderers is poured over it.

Jesus Christ.

The genealogy of Jesus up to Adam. He was born on Wednesday, the 25th of Kánún-i-Awwal (December) in the year 233 of Alexander, at Náṣiratu'l-Khalíl (Nazareth) near Jerusalem, on which account his followers are called Nazarenes (*Naṣrání*, plural, *Naṣárá*). He alone of all the prophets was born with the gift of prophecy, for others have only become prophets after the age of forty. When he was thirty years of age he came back (63) from Damascus to Jerusalem, where the Gospel (*Injíl*) was revealed to him, and he began to summon men to God. The Jews required a miracle, whereupon he made a bat out of clay, breathed on it, and it flew. He also healed blind and leprous persons whom the physicians had been unable to benefit, and restored to life Shem the son of Noah as a witness to them. As the Jews still remained obdurate, after two years' preaching Jesus departed into Egypt. On his way thither he preached to a company of washermen, twelve of whom believed and became the twelve disciples. — Their names. — They accompany Jesus

Christ to Andalusia (*sic*), where there is a famine. Jesus prays, and food is sent down for them from heaven — roast fish, roast lamb and cress — for three consecutive days. Some unbelievers ascribed this miracle to magic, and were turned into swine. Jesus again returned to Jerusalem. The Jews seek to kill him. He flees, and the Jews seize Simon [Peter], who refuses to betray his Master. They then seize Judas, who for 30 *dirhams* shows them where Jesus is. The Jews wish to take him, but God conceals him from their eyes, and transforms into his likeness *Yishú'*, the chief priest of the Jews, whom they crucify (64) in his stead, while Jesus ascends into heaven, he being then thirty-two years of age. Yishú' remained on the Cross for seven days and nights, and Mary used to go every night and weep at the foot of the Cross, until, on the seventh night, God sent down Jesus from heaven to comfort her. John the Baptist and seven of the Disciples also saw Jesus, and spent that night with him, and he gave them many wise counsels, some of which are here given. — The Jews conquered by the Romans. — The Disciples disperse, two going to Rome, one to Qayruwán, one to Ifríqiyya (Tunis), one to the Franks, one to the Ḥijáz, and one to Jerusalem (65). Rapid diffusion of Christianity. Reverence for the Cross. — Some regard Jesus as God, and some as the Son of God, while others regard him and his mother Mary as partners of God, all of which beliefs are heresy. Mary died six years after Jesus had ascended into heaven.

Second Discourse. Section 1. The minor Prophets.

Abel (Hábíl).

He was the first to whom a prophetic commission was given. His story has been already given (p. 10 *supra*; pp. 23—4 of *facsimile*).

Dhu'l-Qarnayn al-Akbar.

Some say that it was he who built the *Sadd-i-Yájúj* (Great Wall) and journeyed round the world, and that he lived before Abraham and was contemporary with *Khiḍr*, who accompanied him in his search for the Water of Life; but others assert that these deeds are to be ascribed to the other Dhu'l-Qarnayn, namely Iskandar (Alexander the Great) the son of Dáráb the son of Bahman. Dhu'l-Qarnayn is mentioned in the Qur'án, but as a King, not a prophet, and that he was a prophet is denied by some historians.

Abimelech and . . . . .

These were Syrian prophets, followers of the religion of Abraham, with whom they were contemporary. [There follow on this page and on p. 66 names of other prophets, most of which cannot be identified]. Amongst them (66) are *Samson;* a descendant of Aaron named *ʿÁlí; Aghrírath*, son of Pushang, said to have been the only prophet who came out of Turkistán, who was killed by his brother Afrásiyáb; *Saul;* (67) *Simon* [*Peter*], who followed Jesus Christ; *Jirjís* (*St. George*), who, after suffering much persecution, converted the king and people of Mawṣil (Nineveh); *Khálid b. Sinán*, who, in the time of Núshírwán, preached Christianity to the Arabs, overcame a fire which they worshipped, and brought rain when he would.

Second Discourse. Section 2. Philosophers and Teachers.

Luqmán (68).

Some assert that he was the cousin of Moses, others that he was a black slave. Some regard him as a prophet, but in the *Qur'án* he is only mentioned as a wise man. God granted him the life of seven vultures, a vulture being said to live 500 years or less. Some of his wise sayings and maxims (69).

Pythagoras (*Fíthághúras*).

He was the disciple of Luqmán and contemporary with Gushtásp. His musical inventions. — His sayings.

Hippocrates (*Buqrát*).

He was the disciple of Pythagoras (70), and contemporary with Bahman, and was the father of Medicine. His is the saying, "*Ars longa, vita brevis*". Mention is also made of *Buqrátís*, whom the author treats as an independent person and a disciple of the above.

Socrates (*Suqrát*).

Some of his alleged sayings are quoted.

Plato (*Aflátún*).

He was the disciple of the above, and contemporary with Dáráb. His wise sayings (70—71).

Aristotle (*Aristátális*).

He was the disciple of Plato and the minister and adviser of Alexander.

Pliny (*Balínás*) (72).

He was the disciple of Aristotle, and constructed the minaret of Alexandria, which showed all that was taking place in the lands of the Franks.

Galen (*Jálínús*).

He was the disciple of Pliny. Some of his sayings.

Ptolemy (*Baṭlímús*).

He was the disciple of Galen. Some of his sayings.

Thiyádhúq (73).

He was a contemporary of Núshírwán [1]). His medical aphorisms (73).

1) This is an error. He flourished in reality in the Umayyad period, and was in the service of Ḥajjáj b. Yûsuf. See al-Qifṭí's *Ta'ríkhu'l-Ḥukamá*, p. 105 and Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a, vol. i, pp. 121—3, where his aphorisms are mentioned.

Buzurjmihr.

He was Núshírwán's prime minister, and was a native of Merv. — His aphorisms (74—78).

The Mujáhidún, or Strivers for God (78).

The seven Sleepers (*Aṣḥáb-i-Kahf*).

These lived in the time of the Emperor Decius (*Daqiyánús*), near Tarsus in Syria. — Their names. — Their dog. — Their trance in the cave lasts for 309 years, when they are restored to consciousness.

Samson (*Shamsún*) (79).

His strength. He makes war on the unbelievers with the bone of a camel. He is betrayed by his wife and bound with his own hair. He pulls down the king's palace on his enemies.

The Tubba' of Yaman.

He was a contemporary of Bahrám Gúr. He is converted to the Jewish religion, and informed of the approaching advent of the Prophet Muhammad. He visits the Ka'ba at Mecca and invests it for the first time. He challenges the unbelievers of Yaman, who are consumed by a miraculous fire which inhabited a cave there.

The Christians of Najrán (*Aṣḥábu'l-Ukhdúd*) (80).

These lived in the time of Pírúz son of Qubád. Fímún the Christian converts the tree-worshippers. How his disciple 'Abdu'llah b. Támir discovers the Most Great Name of God. Dhú Nuwás Yúsuf, the Ḥimyarite king of Yaman, takes captive and kills 'Abdu'llah b. Támir, whose body was discovered during the Caliphate of 'Umar (81). Dhú Nuwás burns the Christians of Najrán in pits of fire. God punishes him by sending the Abyssinians to invade Yaman and destroy him and the ancient dynasty which he represented. Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ, the founder of the Assassins (*Maláḥida*) was of his posterity.

CHAPTER II. — PRE-ISLAMIC KINGS OF PERSIA.

Section 1. The Píshdádiyán.

1. *Gayúmarth.*

Various accounts of his genealogy. His son (or grandson) *Siyámak* is killed by the *dívs* or demons, but his death is avenged by his son (or grandson) *Húshang* (82). Iṣṭakhr, Balkh and Damáwand are said to have been founded by Gayúmarth, who lived 1000 years.

2. *Húshang.*

He succeeded his grandfather Gayúmarth, and is also called *Búm-Sháh,* and entitled *Písh-dád,* because he first dispensed equal justice amongst men. His institutions, and the cities founded by him. He reigned for 40 years. The prophet Idrís was his contemporary. His philosophical aphorisms (83—85).

3. *Tahmúrath* (85).

He succeeded his father Húshang, and was entitled *Dívband,* "the Binder of Demons". Fasting instituted in his time, on account of a famine which prevailed. — Búdásaf and the Chaldaeans. — Saᶜdí's *Bústán* cited (86). Origin of idolatry. — Origin of the Sabaeans and of star-worship. — Religious toleration enjoined by Tahmúrath. He reigns 30 years. — Cities founded by him.

4. *Jamshíd.*

He succeeded his father (or, according to others, his brother) Tahmúrath. He instituted three castes in his kingdom, soldiers, artisans and agriculturalists. Invention of the arts of Music and Medicine (87). Idolatry prevails. Jamshíd's impious claim to be divine. Cities founded by him. He reigns

700 years, and survives his deposition by Ḍaḥḥák 100 years more.

5. *Ḍaḥḥák.*

He was called Qays in Arabic and Bíwarasp in Persian. Etymology of the name Dahák (*dah-ák* = "ten vices"). His shoulders are attacked by a devouring cancer (*saraṭán*) which only the application of human brains can relieve. His cooks, Armáyil and Karmáyil, and how they save some of Ḍaḥḥák's victims (88), from whom are descended the Kurds. The story of Káwa the blacksmith and his revolt. Ḍaḥḥák is deposed after a reign of 1000 years.

6. *Firídún.*

His genealogy and names. Now he overthrows Ḍaḥḥák (89). The *dirafsh-i-Káwayán* becomes the national standard. Its final capture by the Arabs at Qádisiyya. Firídún divides his kingdom between his three sons, Salm, Túr and Íraj, of whom the two former are jealous of the latter and murder him. Birth of Minúchihr, grandson of Íraj. He grows up and avenges his grandfather's death. The hostility between Írán and Túrán dates from that time. Wars of Kúsh, the nephew of Ḍaḥḥák, with Sám the son of Narímán. Firídún reigned 500 years.

7. *Minúchihr.* (90)

He first causes gardens to be made. Moses and Joshua were his contemporaries. He reigned 120 years.

8. *Núdhar.*

He succeeded his father Minúchihr. Afrásiyáb makes war upon him, and finally takes him captive and puts him to death. He reigned 7 years.

9. *Afrásiyáb.*

After killing Núdhar, Afrásiyáb usurped the Persian throne,

until, after he had wrought much devastation, he was expelled by Zál the son of Sám.

10. *Zaw.*

He was placed on the throne by Zál, and remitted all taxes for 7 years, until the country recovered its prosperity.

11. *Karshásp.* (91)

Karshásp succeeded his father Zaw, but reigned only 6 years, his death taking place while he was engaged in war with Afrásiyáb, who again overran Persia, but was expelled by Zál.

Section 2. The Kayániyán.
(Duration of this dynasty, 734 years).

1. *Kay-Qubád.*

He delivers Persia from Afrásiyáb by the help of Zál and Rustam. Rustam made *Jahán pahlawán,* a position equivalent to that of *Amíru'l-Umará.* Institutions of Kay-Qubád. The frontier between Írán and Túrán is fixed by the wonderful bow-shot of Arash. Kay-Qubád reigned 100 years.

2. *Kay-Káwús.*

He succeeds his father (or grandfather) Kay-Qubád. He gets into trouble in Mázandarán and is rescued by Rustam, who makes his way thither alone through the Haft-Khwán (92). He suffers defeat by the Ḥimyarites in Hámáwarán, and is again rescued by Rustam, who is rewarded with the hand of Mihr-náz, the sister of Kay-Káwús. Kay-Káwús' attempt to reach heaven in an aerial chariot drawn by vultures. The story of Rustam and Suhráb. The story of Siyáwush. Afrásiyáb defeated by Rustam (93), who ravages Turkistán. Káwús reigned 150 years.

3. *Kay-Khusraw.*

He was the son of Siyáwush, and was born four months after his father's death. Gív the son of Gúdarz brings him from Túrán to Írán. Rivalry of Firíburz. Further wars with Túrán (94). Story of Bízhan and Manízha. Rustam is sent in disguise to Túrán to deliver Bízhan from prison. The combat called *Jang-i-duwázdah rukh* between the champions of Írán and Túrán. Afrásiyáb is defeated and pursued by Kay-Khusraw until he is finally taken captive near Lake Chíchast in Ádharbayján by (95) Húm, and is put to death by Kay Khusraw, who afterwards abdicates in favour of Luhrásp.

4. *Luhrásp.*

He was the great-grandson of Kay-Qubád. He makes Bukht Naṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzor), whom the Persians call Bakht-Narsí, commander-in-chief. Story of his son Gushtásp (96) and Katáyún, daughter of the Emperor of the Romans. Luhrásp abdicates in favour of his son Gushtásp, and retires into religious seclusion at Balkh, where he is killed by Arjásp, having reigned 120 years.

5. *Gushtásp.*

Zoroaster appeared in his reign. Gushtásp adopts the Zoroastrian faith, and endeavours to impose it on the Romans, but desists on (97) learning that Firídún had given them a charter guaranteeing them religious freedom. Isfandiyár's zeal for Zoroastrianism. Arjásp, the grandson of Afrásiyáb, invades Persia, kills Luhrásp at Balkh, and defeats Gushtásp, who sends his brother Jámásp to release Isfandiyár. Isfandiyár defeats and kills Arjásp, and demands the throne of his father Gushtásp, who sends him to kill or take captive Rustam, against whom he is incensed. Rustam is only able to kill Isfandiyár by the guidance of Zál and the Símurgh,

who instruct him to use arrows made of *gaz* (tamarisk) wood. Towns founded by Gushtásp (98). His reign lasted 120 years.

6. *Bahman, son of Isfandiyár.*

He seeks revenge for his father, and kills Rustam's son Farámarz. He is called Ardashír-i-*Diráz-dast* ("the Long-handed") by the Persians, and Kúrush (Cyrus) by the Jews. His son Sásán and his daughter Humáy. He marries the latter, and makes her queen, excluding Sásán, who withdraws into seclusion.

7. *Humáy, or Shamírán.*

A son is born by Humáy to her father Bahman. She casts him into the water, whence he is rescued by a washerman, and named *Dáráb,* because he was found in the water (*dar áb*). His royal origin is revealed by his powers, and Humáy (99) finally recognizes him as king, and retires after a reign of 32 years. She built Persepolis (*Hazár Sutún-i-Iṣṭakhr*), which Alexander afterwards destroyed.

8. *Dáráb, son of Bahman.*

He establishes the post (*baríd*) in Persia. He demands in marriage the daughter of Fayliqús (Philip), but divorces her. She gives birth to Iskandar (Alexander) whom Philip declares to be his own son. Dárab appoints another son named Dárá his successor, and dies after a reign of twelve years.

9. *Dárá, son of Dáráb.*

Alexander refuses to pay the customary tribute to Dárá, and says that "the bird which laid three golden eggs is dead." He attacks Dárá, who is murdered by two of his own servants, and marries Rawshanak (*Roxana*) the daughter of Dárá. Dárá reigned for 14 years.

10. *Iskandar* (*Alexander*).

Iskandar the son of Dáráb the son of Bahman (**100**) succeeded his brother Dárá, and conquered the whole world. Qaydháfa the queen of Andalusia alone outwits him. He goes in quest of the Water of Life with Khiḍr. Aristotle acts as his *Wazír*, plagiarizes Persian philosophy, and then burns the books and destroys the sciences of the Persians. Monuments left by Alexander. He divided Persia before his death amongst 90 *Mulúku't-Ṭawá'if*, or Tribal Kings, and thus rendered her powerless. He reigned 14 years in Persia, died at Shahrazúr, and was buried at Alexandria. The famous lovers Wámiq and ʿAdhrá lived in his time. (**101**) Some of his aphorisms.

Section 3. The Tribal Kings (*Mulúku't-Ṭawá'if*).

These ruled over Persia from the death of Alexander until the foundation of the Sásánian dynasty by Ardashír Bábakán, in all 318 years [1]). Learning and science flourished in their days, and the *Book* of *Sindibád* and other notable books were composed. There were three branches of these kings, comprising 21 rulers who were of greater importance than the others.

First Branch. (1) *Abṭaḥan.*

Abṭaḥan-i-Rúmí held Khurásan, ʿIráq, and part of Fárs and Kirmán from Alexander. After a reign of four years he was killed by the founder of the —

Second Branch. (1) *Ashk of Dárá.*

He was recognized as suzerain and over-lord by the other

1) The period was in reality much longer, over 550 years, for Alexander died B. C. 330 and the Sásánian dynasty was founded in A. D. 226. The only Muhammadan historian who was aware of, and explained the reason of this falsification is, so for as I know, Masʿúdí, in his admirable *Kitábu't-Tanbíh wa'l-Ishráf* (ed. De Goeje, pp. 97—9).

kings, but took no tribute from them. He reigned fifteen years and was succeeded by his son —

(2) *Ashk son of Ashk.*

He (102) reigned twenty years and was succeeded by his brother —

(3) *Shápúr son of Ashk son of Dárá.*

He is called "the Great Shápúr". He defeated the Greeks (*Rúm*), and recovered a large part of the spoils taken from Persia by Alexander. He reigned six years, and was succeeded by his son —

(4) *Bahrám son of Shápúr.*

He reigned eleven years and was succeeded by his son —

(5) *Balásh* (*Vologeses*).

He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son —

(6) *Hurmazd.*

He also reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his brother —

(7) *Narsí.*

He reigned four years, and was succeeded by his nephew —

(8) *Fírúz son of Fírúz son of Balásh.*

He reigned seventeen years, and was succeeded by his son —

(9) *Balásh.*

He reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his cousin —

(10) *Khusraw son of Narsí son of Balásh.*

He reigned six years, and was succeeded by —

(11) *Baláshán son of Balásh son of Fírúz.*

Marghzár-i-Baláshán, a place near Isfahán, is named after him. He reigned twenty-two years, and was succeeded by his son —

(12) *Ardawán.*

He reigned thirteen years (**103**), and was killed in battle with the Ashghániyán.

Third Branch. The Ashghániyán.

These Ashghániyán were descended from Firíburz the son of Káwús. They were eight in number and reigned one hundred and fifty years.

(1) *Ardawán son of Ashgh.*

He held the same position of over-lord conceded to the preceding dynasty by the other kings, reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by his brother —

(2) *Khusraw son of Ashgh.*

Jesus Christ was born in his reign, which lasted twelve years. He was succeeded by his brother —

(3) *Balásh son of Ashgh.*

He also reigned for twelve years, and was succeeded by his son —

(4) *Gúdarz, called "the Great".*

He avenged the death of John [the Baptist] on the Jews. He reigned thirty years and was succeeded by his son —

(5) *Bírí.*

Ways and Rámín [1]) governed Khurásán on his behalf. He reigned twenty years and was succeeded by his son —

1) The hero and heroine of a popular Persian romance. The first name is here pointed *Ways* (not *Wís*) quite clearly.

(6) *Gúdarz.*

He reigned two years and was succeeded by his uncle —

(7) *Narsí son of Gúdarz son of Balásh.*

He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by the son of his predecessor —

(8) *Narsí son of Gúdarz son of Bírí.*

In his time the Romans attacked Persia, but he sought help from the [other] *Mulúku'ṭ-Ṭawá'if* and drove them back. He reigned thirty one years and was killed by Ardashír Bábakán, and with him the "Tribal Kings" came to an end.

Section 4. The Sásániyán (*Akásira*, pl. of *Kisrá*).

These were thirty-one in number, and the dynasty endured for 527 years (**104**).

(1) *Ardashír Bábakán.*

Bábak, from whom Ardashír derives his patronymic, was his maternal grandfather and was Ardawán's governor in Fárs. The town of *Shahr-i-Bábak* takes its name from him. Story of Sásán and Bábak's dream. The latter gives his daughter in marriage to the former. Birth of Ardashír. He goes to Ardawán's court. His flight and revolt. He fights and kills Ardawán, whose daughter he marries. Her story. Birth of Shápúr. His recognition by Ardashír. The Barmecides (*Âl-i-Barmak*) were descended from Ardashír's devoted minister [Abarsám]. — Story of Haftawád and the Worm of Kirmán, from which that city derives its name. Ardashír destroys the Worm (**105**), takes Kirmán, and kills Haftawád and his sons. Cities founded by Ardashír. — Some of his aphorisms. He reigned 44 years and 2 months, of which time 30 years were spent in subduing the Tribal kings.

(2) *Sháp̄úr son of Ardashír.*

He reigned 31 years. — Cities founded by him. — Towns built by Sásánians in the shapes of animals, *e. g.* Sús in the shape of a hawk, Shúshtar in the shape of a horse, *etc.* (106).

(3) *Hurmazd son of Sháp̄úr.*

His strength and courage. He persecutes the Manichaeans. Cities founded by him. He reigned 2 years.

(4) *Bahrám son of Hurmazd.*

He reigned for 13 years and 3 months.

(5) *Bahrám son of Bahrám son of Hurmazd.*

He reigned for 8 years.

(6) *Bahrám son of Bahrám son of Bahrám.*

He was called Bahrám Bahrámán and Sagán-sháh (*i. e.* king of Sijistán or Sístán). He reigned 13 years and 4 months.

(7) *Narsí son of Bahrám son of Bahrám son of Hurmazd.*

He succeeded his brother, who died childless. He reigned 9 years.

(8) *Hurmazd son of Narsí.*

He also reigned 9 years.

(9) *Sháp̄úr son of Hurmazd, called Dhu'l-Aktáf.*

(107) He was born 40 days after his father's death. During his childhood the Arabs give more trouble, sack Ctesiphon, and carry off his aunt Núsha, who is married by Ṭáhir, the Arab leader, and bears him a daughter named Malika. Sháp̄úr, on reaching man's estate, makes war on the Arabs, and with the help of Malika, kills Ṭáhir, takes his stronghold, and marries Malika. Story of Malika and the "crumpled

rose-leaf". Shápúr puts her to death also, and kills many of the Arabs. How he gets the nick-name of *Dhu'l-Aktáf* ("the Shoulder-man"). Shápúr explains to Málik b. Naḍr, an ancestor of the Prophet Muḥammad, that his hatred of the Arabs arises from a prophecy that his house will be overthrown by them. Málik (**108**) dissuades him from further slaughter. Shápúr, pretending to be his own ambassador, visits the Roman Emperor (*Qayṣar-i-Rúm*), but is recognized and taken prisoner. The Emperor devastates Persia. Shápúr, aided by a girl who falls in love with him, escapes to Persia, takes the Qayṣar captive, and compels him to repair the ruin he has caused in Persia by the aid of Greek workmen. — Some say that Manes (Máni) appeared in Shápúr's reign. (**109**) His miracles or pretended miracles. He is put to death. — Another false prophet named Ádharbádh, from whom the province of Ádharbádhagán (Ázarbayján) takes its name. Cities founded by Shápúr. He lived 72 years, and was king during the whole of this period.

(10) *Ardashír son of Hurmazd.*

He was the brother of his predecessor, acted as regent for 10 years during the minority of his nephew Shápúr, and then retired in his favour.

(11) *Shápúr son of Shápúr son of Hurmazd.*

(**110**). He reigned only five years and four months, and was killed by his tent being blown down on him when he was out hunting. Sharwín and Khurwín were his contemporaries. The former was lent to Rúm to act as regent for the Qayṣar's infant son, and remained there until the time of Bahrám Gúr. Then are many Pahlawí poems about him, including one named *Sharwíniyán.*

(12) *Bahrám son of Shápúr son of Shápúr.*

He succeeded his brother, and is entitled Kirmánsháh.

He was cruel, tyrannical and avaricious. He reigned 13 years. His epitaph.

(13) *Yazdigird son of Bahrám.*

(**111**). He reigned only a year, and is by many historians not reckoned amongst the Sásánian kings.

(14) *Yazdigird* (*cousin of the above*).

He, on account of his tyranny and evil deeds, is known as *Baza-gar* (in Arabic, *al-Athím*), *i. e.* "the Sinner". — Predictions of the astrologers. — Story of the fairy horse which causes his death at *Chashma-i-Sabz* ("the Green Fountain") in Khurásán. He reigned $21^1/_2$ years.

(15) *Bahrám son of Yazdigird son of Shápúr son of Shápúr* (**112**).

On account of his father's tyranny he was at first excluded from the succession, *Kisrá* being chosen as king, but his courage in the Ordeal of the Lions secured him the throne. His courage and justice. His love of the chase. Why he was called *Bahrám Gúr*. — Story of him and his mistress Dilárám. His reign was a time of pleasure and merry-making. Lúlís imported from India as minstrels. — Story of Bahrám, his wicked minister Rást-Ravish (or *Rást-Rúshan* in MS.), the shepherd and the faithless dog. (**113**) The Kháqán of Turkistán invades Persia. Bahrám's feigned flight to Ádharbayján. He defeats and kills the Kháqán in a night attack. He invades India and marries the daughter of the king of that country. He dies at the age of 63 years.

(16) *Yazdigird son of Bahrám Gúr.*

He had an uneventful reign of 17 years.

(17) *Hurmazd son of Yazdigird* (**114**).

Civil war between him and his elder brother Fírúz. He reigns only one year.

(18) *Fírúz son of Yazdigird.*

The great famine in his days. — His justice and firmness. — Cities founded by him. — He is killed in battle by Khush-Nawáz the Turk, after a reign of ten years.

(19) *Balásh son of Fírúz.*

His brother Qubád flees from him. — Súfrá, the *Jahán-pahlawán*, or world-warrior, of the period, avenges the death of Fírúz on the Turks. Balásh dies after a reign of five years.

(20) *Qubád son of Fírúz.*

In Pahlawí he is called Lúkard. Mazdak appears in his reign (**115**). His communistic teachings. Deposition of Qubád in favour of his brother Jámásp. — Qubád is restored by the help of the Haytals. His son Núshírwán destroys Mazdak and his followers. — Cities founded by Qubád. He reigned 64 years, saving 3 years during which his brother Jámásp ruled.

(21) *Anúsharwán* (*Núshírwán*).

He was the first Sásánian king who was known as Kisrá, a title given to all his successors. His justice. His institutions. His defences against the people of Qipcháq. His *Sipah-sálárs* Shíránsháh (Sharwánsháh) etc. (**116**). The book of *Kalíla and Dimna* and the game of chess brought from India in his reign. — Drafts invented by Buzurjmihr. — The "Year of the Elephant", in which the Abyssinians under Abraha attacked Mecca, was the 40th year of his reign. In the same year the Prophet Muḥammad was born. Núshírwán reigned 48 years. — His epitaph. — His aphorisms (**116—119**).

(22) *Hurmazd son of Núshírwán.*

His tyranny. — (**120**) Persia is invaded on all sides, by Turks, Khazars, Arabs and Greeks. The last three are pacified by concessions, and Bahrám Chúbín is sent to fight the Turks, whom he defeats, and whose leader, Sáwa-Sháh, he kills. He is insulted by Hurmazd, who charges him with keeping for himself the best of the booty, and, casting off his allegiance, pronounces in favour of Prince Parwíz, who retires to Armenia, and marries the daughter of the king of that country. Hurmazd is deposed, blinded and killed after a reign of 12 years, and his son Parwíz is placed on the throne. Genealogy of Bahrám Chúbín. He defeats Parwíz, who flees to the Qayṣar of Rúm, and marries his daughter Maryam. He returns to Persia, conquers Bahrám Chúbín, and puts him to flight. (**121**) At the instigation of Parwíz, Bahrám Chúbín is murdered in Turkistán after he had maintained a successful rebellion for two years.

(23) *Khusraw Parwíz.*

He was the eighteenth in descent from Ardashír Bábakán, and all his ancestors were kings. His luxury, pomp and power. — Some of his wonderful possessions. (**122**) Bárbad the minstrel, and the 360 tunes he invented. Parwíz obtains possession of the Qayṣar's treasures. — The Prophet Muḥammad's letter to Parwíz and its reception. The Prophet curses him. His son Shírúya rebels against him and kills him. — He reigned 38 years. — Some of his sayings.

(24) *Shírúya son of Parwíz* (**123**).

He killed many of his brothers and relations, but died of the plague at the age of 22 after a reign of 6 months.

(25) *Ardashír son of Shírúya.*

He was still but a child when he was murdered by a servant after a reign of 18 months. One of the nobles of

Parwíz named Qará'in then usurped the supreme power, but was killed two years later.

(26) *Túrán* [*Púrán*] *Dukht, daughter of Parwíz.*

She reigned only six months. In her reign the Prophet Muḥammad died.

(27) *Azarmí-Dukht, daughter of Parwíz.*

Her beauty and intelligence. She kills one of her generals who tries to make love to her. She reigned only four months.

(28) *Farrukh-zád.*

He was a grandson of Shírúya. His mother was a singer of Isfahán named *Shakar* (Sugar), and his parentage uncertain. After a reign of one month he also was murdered by a slave.

(29) *Yazdigird son of Shahriyár son of Parwíz.*

(**124**) He was the last Sásánian king. His life was saved by his nurse when Shírúya killed so many of his relatives. In the Caliphate of ᶜUmar, Saᶜd b. Waqqáṣ attacks Persia. — Defeat and death of Rustam son of Farrukh-zád at Qádisiyya. — Flight of Yazdigird to Merv. — He is defeated by Máhúy Súrí and Bízhan, takes refuge in the house of a miller, and is killed by order of Máhúy. He nominally reigned twenty years, but effectively for four years only.

CHAPTER III. — THE PROPHET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

(**125**) *Introduction. On the Prophet's genealogy.*

The pre-existent "Light of Muḥammad" (*Núr-i-Muḥammad*). (**126**) How that Light descended from Adam, in whom it first appeared, through the prophets and Arab tribes (**127**) to Quraysh and the Prophet's family.

(128) *Section 1. Account of the Prophet's life.*

His position amongst the prophets. His birth and horoscope. (129) Portents which heralded his birth. Saṭíḥ interprets the omens. Full genealogy of the Prophet (130) up to Adam. His mother Ámina. Death of his father ᶜAbdu'lláh. His childhood. (131) Death of Ámina. — Death of ᶜAbdu'l-Muṭṭalib. — His uncle Abú Ṭálib becomes his guardian. — He goes as a merchant to Syria. He is nick-named "the Trusty" (*al-Amín*). He enters Khadíja's service, and marries her. Abú Ṭálib's *khuṭba* (homily) on (132) this occasion. At the age of 35 he is chosen by Quraysh to replace the Black Stone at Mecca. During a period of famine he supports ᶜAlí, ᶜAbbás and Jaᶜfar, in order to relieve Abú Ṭálib. — Beginning of the Revelations in his fortieth year (133). All sacred books were revealed in the month of Ramaḍán. — Muḥammad comforted by his wife Khadíja and her cousin Waraqa b. Nawfal. The conversions of Khadíja, ᶜAlí, (134) Zayd, Abú Bakr, ᶜUthmán, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, Saᶜd b. Abí Waqqáṣ, ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. ᶜAwf and Abú ᶜUbayda b. al-Jarráḥ all took place within 20 days of Muḥammad's call. — Enmity of Quraysh. Conversion of ᶜUmar, who was the fortieth convert during the first three years of the Prophet's Mission. Islám now began to be preached openly. — Persecution of the Muslims. (135) Flight of ᶜUthmán and his wife Ruqayya, and Ḥamza to Abyssinia. — The miracle of the "Cleaving of the Moon". — Death of Abú Ṭálib and Khadíja in the 10th year of the Prophet's Mission, which he therefore named "the Year of Woe". The Prophet goes to Ṭá'if. (136) He is badly received, but is consoled by the conversion of a company of the *Jinn*. His Ascension (*Miᶜráj*). — Conversion of many of the people of al-Madína. — The people of Mecca, instigated by Iblís in the form of an old man of Najd, try to kill the Prophet. — His Flight (*hijrat*) to al-Madína. — The

first mosque built there. — The Anṣár. (137) Treachery of the Jews of al-Madína. — The *qibla* changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. The Prophet's wars with the unbelievers in A. H. 1 and other events of that year, including his marriage with ᶜÁ'isha. (138) A. H. 2. The Prophet gives his daughter Fáṭima in marriage to his cousin ᶜAlí. (139). She was then 13 years old. She bore him 3 sons, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin, and two daughters, Zaynab and Umm Kulthúm. She died A. H. 11, six months after her father. (140) ᶜAlí nick-named Abú Turáb. — The Fast of Ramaḍán instituted. (141) Battle of Badr. — Death of Ruqayya, the wife of ᶜUthmán. Umm Kulthúm is given to him in marriage in her place. (142) Persians defeated by Arabs. — A. H. 3. Wine prohibited. Battle of Uḥud (143). Muslims defeated, 65 slain, and the Prophet loses a tooth. ᶜAlí's sword is broken, and the Prophet gives him Dhu'l-Fiqár instead, Ḥamza killed. A. H. 4. (144) Other battles. A. H. 5 (145) Attack on al-Madína, which Salmán the Persian helps to fortify. ᶜAlí kills ᶜAmr b. ᶜAntar. — Defeat and slaughter of the Jews of Quraydha. A. H. 6. Wars with Banú Liḥyán and Banú Muṣṭaliq (146). The scandal concerning ᶜÁ'isha, and the Revelation exculpating her. Conversions of ᶜAmr b. ᶜÁṣ and Khálid b. Walíd. (147) The Prophet sends letters to the rulers of adjacent countries inviting them to embrace Islám. The King of Egypt answered politely and sent presents, including the girl Máriya (whom the Prophet took in marriage, and who bore him Ibráhím), and the mule Duldul, which was given to ᶜAlí. The King of Syria did not answer at all. The King of Yamáma answered politely, but declined to accept Islám. The Kings of ᶜUmán, Baḥrayn and Abyssinia accepted Islám and wrote polite answers. Heracleus, the Emperor of the Romans, secretly accepted Islám, though he concealed his belief, and wrote a polite answer. Khusraw Parwíz, King of Persia, tore the Prophet's letter in pieces and reviled

him. The Prophet's curse was the cause of the downfall of the Persian Empire and the House of Sásán. (148) A. H. 7. Conquest of Khaybar. ʿAlí's valour. Fadak surrenders. Attempt to poison the Prophet. Death of Umm Kulthúm. (149) The miracle of the weeping tree. A. H. 8. (150) Khálid b. Walíd becomes Amír. Subjugation of Mecca. (151) Other battles. (152) Death of the King (*Najáshí*) of Abyssinia. Wholesale conversions of Arab tribes. Appearance of Musaylima the False Prophet. — Death of Zaynab. — Birth of the Prophet's son Ibráhím. A. H. 9 (153) Unbelievers forbidden to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca. A. H. 10. Death of Ibráhím. The "Farewell Pilgrimage". A. H. 10. The Prophet's illness. Abú Bakr appointed to act as his deputy. (154) Death of the Prophet. — His funeral. — Ṣafiyya's elegy on him (155). Fáṭima's elegy, and another's. — *Personal characteristics of the Prophet.* (156) Difference between the obligations laid on him and those laid on his followers. (157) *The Prophet's fourteen wives.* Khadíja, Zaynab and Isáf died during his lifetime; ʿÁliya and Khawla he divorced; the remaining nine were ʿA'isha, Súda, Ḥafṣa, Umm Salma, Zaynab, Juwayriya, Ṣafiyya, Maymúna and Umm Ḥabíba. He had four other wives with whom he did not cohabit, and five other women he sought in marriage but did not actually marry. He had also two concubines. — Further account of these wives and the children they bore to the Prophet. — Why God caused his sons to die in infancy (158—162). The Prophet's four daughters and their history. — (162) The Prophet's amanuenses. — His names and titles. — (163) His uncles and aunts. — His slaves and handmaidens. — His horses (164). His swords, coats of mail, bows, shield, spears, helmets, staves, turban, cloak and other personal possessions. — His ass, camels, sheep, garments and other gear (165).

Section 2. The Five Orthodox Caliphs.

These reigned in all 30 years. *The first Caliph was Abú Bakr.* His (166) biography. Apostacy of the Arabs. — Twelve armies sent against them, *viz.* against (1) Ṭulayḥa, (2) Sajjáᶜa [Sajáḥ] (167). Dissension between Abú Bakr and ᶜUmar about Khálid. (3) Musaylima (168). (4) Hajar in Baḥrayn, and eight other expeditions, all in A. H. 11. — A. H. 12. War with Persians. Hurmazd and Qárin. (169) Ḥíra and Khawarnaq taken. — (170) Shírzád and Hilál defeated. — Syria attacked. — Death of Abú Bakr and accession of ᶜUmar. Khálid replaced by Abú ᶜUbayda b. al-Jarráḥ. (171) Death of Abú Bakr at the age of 63 after governing the Muslims for two years. (172) Abú Bakr's three sons. — *ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭáb succeeds as the second Caliph* in A. H. 13. Why entitled *Fárúq.* — (173) The campaign against Syria. (174) Abú ᶜUbayda dies at Ḥimṣ, and is replaced as governor of Syria by Muᶜáwiya b. Abí Sufyán. — Success of the Egyptian Campaign. — The Persian Campaign: successive defeats of Rustam, Narsí and Jálínús. — Chaldaea occupied by the Arabs. (175) Bahman Jádú defeats and pursues the Arabs, but withdraws on account of disturbances in Persia. — Yazdigird is made king. — His interview with the Arab envoys sent by Saᶜd b. Abí Waqqáṣ, and the fear with which their words inspire him. (176) The Battle of Qádisiyya. — Death of Rustam and defeat of the Persians. — Baṣra founded, A. H. 16. — Amount of spoil taken from al-Madá'in (Ctesiphon) by the Arabs. (177) Defeat of the Persians at Ḥulwán. — Tekrít reduced. (178) The Persians prepare for another battle, (179) which is fought at Naháwand and results in the defeat of the Persians. — The trick by which Hurmuzán saves his life. — The Taxes imposed by ᶜUmar in ᶜIráq and Sawád. — Hamadán taken. (180) Ray, Isfahán, Kirmán, Sístán and Mukrán are taken or capitulate in A. H. 22. Ádharbayján, Arrán,

Múghán, Gushtásfí and Shirwán taken or surrendered. (181) Gurjistán surrenders. — Herát, Merv, Balkh and Níshápúr taken. The flight of Yazdigird. He is murdered by order of Máhúy Súrí. — Fárs subdued. An instance of telepathy. (182) The cave by Naháwand whence the voice issued visited by the author. (183) ʿUmar assassinated by Abú Lú'lú'a the Persian in A. H. 23. Before his death he appoints the council of six to elect his successor. (184) ʿUmar's children. He was first entitled *Amíru'l-Mú'minín*. — (185) His governors and officers. — *Accession* of *ʿUthman, the third Caliph*. (186) His election. — His nepotism. — ʿAmr b. ʿAṣ sent to subdue Egypt, which apostasized. (187) Renewed war with the Qayṣar of Rúm. He is killed by ʿAbdu'lláh b. Zubayr, and his army defeated. — Andalusia invaded. (188) A. H. 29. ʿUthmán's recension of the *Qur'án*. ʿAbdu'lláh b. Sabá the Jew stirs up revolt against ʿUthmán. (189—191) Ten complaints made against ʿUthmán, and his answers to them. (191—192) Murder of ʿUthmán at the age of 81. — (192) His eleven sons. *Accession* of *ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálib, the fourth Caliph* in A. H. 25. (193) Hostility of ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṣ and other leaders of the Banú Umayya towards ʿAlí. (194) Muʿáwiya demands the surrender of ʿUthmán's murderers from ʿAlí. Ṭalḥa, Zubayr and ʿA'isha combine against ʿAlí and establish themselves at Baṣra. — The Battle of the Camel. (195). The Battle of Ṣiffín. Muʿáwiya appeals to the Word of God. (196) The Arbitration at Dawmatu'l-Jandal. Cursing from the pulpit instituted by Muʿáwiya and ʿAlí after this, and continued for 60 years ere it was abolished by ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz. — Muʿáwiya makes ʿAmr b. al-ʿÂṣ governor of Egypt. (197) The Khawárij. — ʿAlí defeats them at Nahruwán. — Three Khárijites conspire against the lives of ʿAlí, Muʿáwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿÂṣ. (198) They fix on Friday, Ramaḍán 17, A. H. 40, as the day for their attempt. — ʿAlí is assassinated in the Mosque at Kúfa by ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. Muljam. —

ᶜAlí's tomb and its history. He was 69 years of age when he was killed, having been Caliph for $4^{3}/_{4}$ years. He had 35 (or 32) children, of whom the names of 11 sons are recorded. (**199**) Account of these. Account of 13 of his daughters. — (**200**). Some of ᶜAlí's sayings. *His son Ḥasan, called al-Mujtabá, succeeds as fifth Caliph.* He makes peace with Muᶜáwiya. — Terms of this agreement. (**201**) Muᶜáwiya became supreme ruler in A. H. 41, and with his accession the Caliphate was changed into a temporal sovereignty. Muᶜàwiya instigates one of Ḥasan's wives to poison him. (**202**) His death and burial. His 14 sons.

(**203**) *Section 3. The remaining ten Imáms.*

[The first two Imáms, ᶜAlí and his son Ḥasan, alone exercised temporal power. The remaining ten were as follows: —]

(3) *Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlí b. Abí Ṭálib.*

He was Imám during 11 years, 11 months and 6 days. He was born on Shaᶜbán 2, A. H. 4, at al-Madína. His son and successor ᶜAlí Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín was born when he was 42 years old, and was 14 years old when his father was killed at Kerbelá in A. H. 61. Ḥusayn's head and his captive family before Yazíd. His seven sons and two daughters. He was 56 years old at the time of his death (**204**).

(4) *ᶜAlí Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín b. Ḥusayn.*

He was born at al-Madína in A. H. 46, and held the Imámate for 33 years, 2 months and 27 days. His son Muḥammad al-Báqir, who succeeded him, was born when he was 19 years old, and his grandson Jaᶜfar-i-Ṣádiq when he was 37. He died at the end of A. H. 74 at al-Madína, poisoned, as the Shíᶜa assert, by command of Walíd b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik. His eight sons and five daughters. He was over 48 years of age at the time of his death.

(5) *Muḥammad al-Báqir b. ᶜAlí b. Ḥusayn.*

He was Imám for 22 years, 7 months and 8 days, was born in A. H. 65 at al-Madína, was 18 years old when his son and successor Jaᶜfar-i-Ṣádiq was born, and died in A. H. 117 at al-Madína. The Shíᶜa say that he was poisoned by order of Hishám b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik. He was 52 years old at the time of his death. He had six sons and two daughters.

(6) *Jaᶜfar aṣ-Ṣádiq b. Muḥammad al-Báqir.*

(205) He was Imám for 31 years, and 8 days, was born at al-Madína in A. H. 83, lived 65 years and 4 months, and thus attained a greater age than any other of the Imáms, of whom, excepting ᶜAlí, he was also the most learned. He first nominated his elder son Ismaᶜíl to succeed him, but deposed him because he had drunk wine, and replaced him by Músá al-Káḏhim. Ismaᶜíl pre-deceased his father, who caused him to he publicly buried, so that all might be aware of his death. This is denied by the Ismaᶜílí sect. Jaᶜfar died in A. H. 148 at al-Madína. The Shíᶜa say that he was poisoned by command of Jaᶜfar Abu'd-Dawániq. He had six sons and seven daughters. One of his sons, Muḥammad, is buried in Jurján at the place called *Gúr-i-Surkh* ("the Red Tomb").

(7) *Músá al-Káḏhim b. Jaᶜfar aṣ-Ṣádiq.*

He was Imám for 34 years, 6 months and 21 days, was born in A. H. 128 at al-Madína and lived 55 years and 5 days. His son and successor ᶜAlí ar-Riḍá was born when he was 24 years old. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 183, (206) and was buried at Karkh. The Shíᶜa say that he was murdered by order of Hárún ar-Rashíd, who caused molten lead to be poured down his throat. He had 31 sons, of whom the names of 25 are recorded, and of whom many are buried in Persia, and 28 daughters, of whom the names of 16 are recorded, and of whom two are buried at Qum.

(8) *ʿAlí ar-Riḍá b. Músá al-Káḍhim.*

He was Imám for 27 years and 23 days, was born at al-Madína in A. H. 151 and lived 51 years, 2 months and 26 days. His son and successor Muḥammad at-Taqí, called Jawád, was born when he was about 44 years of age. He died at Ṭús in Khurásán in A. H. 203, poisoned, as the Shíʿa assert, by the Caliph al-Ma'mún. He had five sons and one daughter (**207**).

(9) *Muḥammad at-Taqí b. ʿAlí ar-Riḍá.*

He was Imám for 16 years, 8 months and 26 days, was born at al-Madína in A. H. 195, and lived 24 years, 9 months and 18 days. His son ʿAlí an-Naqí was born when he was about 19 years old. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 220, and was buried at Karkh. The Shíʿa say that he was poisoned by al-Muʿtaṣim. He had two sons and four daughters.

(10) *ʿAlí an-Naqí b. Muḥammad at-Taqí.*

He was Imám for 33 years, was born at al-Madína in A. H. 224 and lived 39 years, 11 months and 18 days. His son Ḥasan al-ʿAskarí was born when he was about 18 years old. He died at Sámarra in A. H. 254. The Shíʿa say that he was poisoned by the Caliph al-Muʿtazz. He had four sons and one daughter.

(11) *Ḥasan al-ʿAskarí b. ʿAlí an-Naqí* (**208**).

He was Imám for 5 years, 8 months and 5 days, was born at Sámarra in A. H. 232 and lived 27 years, 2 months and 27 days. His son, the Imám Mahdí, was born when he was about $22^1/_2$ years of age. He died in A. H. 260 at Sámarra, his son being then $4^1/_2$ years old. The Shíʿa say that he was poisoned by the Caliph al-Muʿtamid. He had only one son.

(12) *The Imám Mahdí, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-ʿAskarí.*

He was the last of the Twelve Imáms, was Imám for

$4^1/_2$ years, was born at Sámarra is A. H. 255, disappeared there in the time of the Caliph al-Muᶜtamid, and was never again seen by mortal eyes. The Shíᶜa believe that-he is "the Mahdí of the Last Days", that he still lives, and that he will re-appear in God's good time. The Ismaᶜílís, on the contrary, regard ᶜUbaydu'lláh, the fourth in descent from Ismaᶜíl, and the founder of the Fáṭimid Dynasty, as the Mahdí. The Sunnis say that the Mahdí is not yet born, and that he will be one of the descendants of ᶜAlí and Fáṭima.

Section 4. Account of some of the chief Companions and Followers.

(209) Definitions of the terms "Companions" (*Aṣḥáb*) and "Followers" (*Tábiᶜún*). Of these two classes more then 100,000 are mentioned in history, some of the chief of whom will be here briefly noticed. [The *Aṣḥáb*, who come first, fill pp. 209—243. They are for the most part arranged alphabetically, but mention is first made of "the Ten Harbingers" (*al-ᶜAsharatu'l-Mubashshara*) and the "Forty Precursors" (*al-Arbaᶜúna'l-Muqaddamún*)] [1]). The *Ten* include the first four Caliphs and Ṭalḥa, (210) Zubayr, Saᶜd b. Abí Waqqáṣ, Saᶜíd b. Zayd (211), Abú ᶜUbayda, and ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. ᶜAwf. The *Forty* include, besides the above. Ḥamza, (212) Abú Dharr al-Ghifárí, Bilál, Jaᶜfar b. Abí Ṭálib called *Ṭayyár* ("the Flier"), Khálid b. Saᶜíd (213), Zayd b. al-Ḥáritha, Khabbáb, Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭáb, Ṣuhayb b. Sinán, ᶜAmmár b. Yásir, ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Jaḥsh, ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Masᶜúd, ᶜUbayda b. Ḥárith, (214) ᶜUtba b. Ghazwán, ᶜAmr b. Maṭᶜún, ᶜAbbás b. ᶜUtba, ᶜA'ish b. Mughíra, Maᶜmar b. ᶜAbdu'lláh, Miḥjan b. al-Arwaᶜ, Fuḍála b. ᶜUbayd, Hishám b. al-ᶜAṣ, Arqam, ᶜAbbás b. Abí Rabíᶜa, Saᶜd b. ᶜAbdu'lláh (215) Miqdád, Muᶜayqib b. Abí Fáṭima, Muṣᶜab b. ᶜUmayr, Hishám b.

1) The "ten" are included in the "forty", of whom they constitute a superior class.

ᶜUtba b. Abí Waqqáṣ. [The list of the remaining "Companions", arranged in alphabetical order, extends to p. 243, and concludes with an account of "the Hypocrites" (*Munáfiqún*) who apostasized or otherwise shewed the insincerity of their belief. Then follows (pp. 243—255) a similar alphabetical list of the "Followers" (*Tábiᶜún*).

(255) *Section 5. The Umayyad "Kings", and their rule in Persia.*

These were 14 in number, and they ruled for 91 years.

(1) *Muᶜáwiya b. Abí Sufyán.*

His genealogy, conversion and position in Islám. The Sunnís regard him as in error in his conduct towards ᶜAlí, but do not curse him because he was one of the Prophet's Companions, and amanuenses. His absolute sovereignty dates from A. H. 41, when al-Ḥasan abdicated in his favour. He recognizes Ziyád as his brother. He makes Damascus his capital. Heroic methods adopted by Ziyád to secure order in Baṣra. (256) Yazíd placed by his father in command of the expedition against the "Romans" in A. H. 52. Its success. Death of Abú Ayyúb al-Anṣárí. Yazíd receives the people's allegiance as successor to the throne in A. H. 56. Five persons refuse (257) to take the oath, ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜAbbás, Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlí, ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Zubayr, ᶜAbdulláh b. ᶜUmar. ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. Abí Bakr. Muᶜáwiya warns Yezíd against three of these, advises him as to his conduct, and dies in Rajab, A. H. 60, after a reign of 19 years and 3 months, at the age of 81.

(2) *Yazíd b. Muᶜáwiya* (258).

Flight of Ḥusayn and Ibn Zubayr from al-Madína. — The people of Kúfa promise support to Ḥusayn. — He sends his cousin Muslim b. ᶜAqíl to learn the temper of the people

at Kúfa. — Ḥusayn, with his kinsfolk, and a little army of 40 horsemen and 100 infantrymen, sets out for Kúfa, in spite of the warnings of ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜAbbás and ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜUmar. ᶜUbaydu'lláh b. Ziyád is made governor of Kúfa. He kills Muslim and Háni. (259) Ḥusayn's meeting with Farazdaq. Account of the Battle of Karbalá. (260) Ḥusayn and all his kinsmen, except his son ᶜAlí Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín, are killed. Of his kinsmen 17 and of his followers 124 perished. The captive women and Ḥusayn's head are taken before Yazíd at Damascus. The captives sent to al-Madína. (261) Yazíd takes and plunders al-Madína. Ibn Ziyád is made governor of ᶜIráq and South Persia. Success of Muslim arms in Transoxiana. Rebellion of Ibn Zubayr in A. H. 64. Yazíd causes Mecca to be bombarded, and dies, after a reign of 3 years and 2 months, at the age of 39. (262) His 13 sons.

(3) *Muᶜáwiya b. Yazíd, called ar-Rájí bi'lláh.*

He reigned only 40 days and then died.

(4) *Khálid b. Yazíd.*

He cared for science, especially Alchemy, more than statecraft (263).

(5) *Marwán b. al-Ḥakam.*

He married the mother of Khálid. The Battle of Marj Ráhiṭ. War with Ibn Zubayr. (264) Battle of ᶜAynu'l-Ward. Pestilence in Baṣra and Syria. Marwán is smothered by his wife to avenge an insult offered by him to her son Khálid. He was 81 years and 9 months old when he died. Two other claimants to the supreme power arise, Náfiᶜ b. Azraq and Najda b. Muᶜáwiya.

(6) *ᶜAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwán* (265).

Revolt of Mukhtár. He avenges the death of Ḥusayn,

claiming to act on behalf of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. (266) Ibn Ziyád is killed. War between Mukhtár and Muṣᶜab. The former is killed in A. H. 69. (267) War with the "Romans". Muṣᶜab killed. (268) Ash-Shuᶜbí's reminiscences, indicating the vicissitudes of fate. Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf bombards Mecca. (269) Death of ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Zubayr, A. H. 73. (270) Shíráz built. The first Arabian coinage. (271) Valour of Shabíb b. Yazíd. His death by drowning. Wars with the Kházijites. (272) The Battle of Jamájim, A. H. 83. Wásiṭ founded. Qutayba b. Muslim made governor of Khurásán. (273) The government records cease to be kept in Persian and are transferred into Arabic. The lovers Buthayna and Jamíl, and the retort made to ᶜAbdu'l-Malik by the former. Death of ᶜAbdu'l-Malik in Shawwál, A. H. 86, after a reign of 21 years, at the age of 62.

(7) *Walíd b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik.*

His love of learning and promotion of education. His love of women. He had at one time and another 63 wives. Qutayba's conquests in Turkistán, and the spoils taken by him. Bukhárá, Samarqand, Sughd, Chách, Farghána (274) and Khwárazm taken by the Muslims. Constantinople attacked. Buildings erected at al-Madína, Damascus etc. (275) Death of al-Ḥajjáj in A. H. 95, aged 54. Instances of his severity. He had put to death in cold blood more than 100,000 men, and when he died 58,000 people, including 8000 women, were in prison, mostly for trivial reasons, by his orders. (276). Ḥajjáj's culminating crime was the execution of Saᶜíd b. Jubayr, a month after which Ḥajjáj went mad, and was eaten by worms. Plague in Baṣra, followed by earthquake. Walíd died in A. H. 96, after a reign of 9 years and 8 months, at the age of 45.

(8) *Sulaymán b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik.*

Káshghar subdued by Qutayba, who then rebels against Sulaymán. (277) Qutayba conquers Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. Rise of the Barmecides (*Âl-i-Barmak*). History of the family. Why pure gold is called "*Jaᶜfarí*". (278) Sulaymán died of pleurisy in Ṣafar, A. H. 99, after a reign of 2 years and 8 months, aged 45.

(9) *ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAzíz.*

His piety and justice. He abolishes the cursing of ᶜAlí. He imprisons Yazíd b. Muhallab. The Imám Muḥammad b. ᶜAlí b. ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜAbbás begins the ᶜAbbásid propaganda. Death of ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdu'l-Azíz in Rajab, A. H. 101. He was buried at Ḥimṣ (Emessa) after a reign of (279) 2 years and 5 months at the age of 33. He is said to have been poisoned by a servant at the instigation of Hishám.

(10) *Yazíd b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik.*

War with Yazíd b. Muhallab. Abú Muslim enters the service of the ᶜAbbásids. (280) Yazíd's love for two singing-girls named Ḥabbába and Salláma. (281) His grief at the death of Ḥabbába causes his own death in Rajab, A. H. 105, at the age of 40, after a reign of 4 years and one month. He is buried beside her.

(11) *Hishám b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik.*

The Khazars invade Ádharbáyján. (282) Marwán repeals them and advances as far as Saqláb. Naṣr b. Sayyár appointed governor of Khurásán. Death of the Imám ᶜAlí b. ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜAbbás in A. H. 118, aged 78. Rebellion of Zayd b. ᶜAlí Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín in Kúfa in A. H. 121. Faithlessness of the people of Kúfa. How the name Ráfiḍí came to be applied to the Shíᶜa. Death of Zayd. Desecration of his tomb. (283) His son Yaḥyá imprisoned in Khurásán by

Naṣr b. Sayyár. ᶜAbbásid propagandists mutilated. Death of Hishám in A. H. 125, after a reign of 19 years and 8 months, at the age of 61.

(12). *Walíd b. Yazíd b. ᶜAbdu'l-Malik.*

He causes Yaḥyá b. Zayd to be released. Yaḥyá's rebellion. (284) He is killed in battle, and his body with that of his brother crucified, until, in the reign of Marwán, Abu Muslim took the bodies down, buried them, and bade his followers wear black as a sign of mourning. This is how black came to be the ᶜAbbásid colour, and the partisans of the House of ᶜAbbás to be called *Siyáh-púshán* (or, in Arabic, *Musawwida*). Death of the Imám Muḥammad b. ᶜAlí b. ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜAbbás in A.H. 125. He nominates his son Ibráhím to succeed him, and after him Abu'l-ᶜAbbás. Walíd's atheism and impiety. He dresses one of his mistresses in his clothes and sends her to take his place in the mosque at public prayer. He is deposed, and dies in A. H. 126, at the age of 43 (285) after a reign of one year and two months.

(13) *Yazíd b. Walíd.*

His mother Sháh Áfaríd was the grand-daughter of Yazdigird the last Sásánian king. He inclined to the Muᶜtazilite heresy. He reigned six months and died of the plague in A. H. 126.

(14) *Ibráhím b. Walíd.*

He reigned only two months, and was defeated by Marwán and killed.

(15) *Marwán b. Muḥammad b. Marwán, called al-Ḥimár* ("*the Ass*").

Increasing disorder in the Empire. Revolt of al-Kirmání. Abú Muslim raises the ᶜAbbásid standard near Merv on

Ramaḍán 27, A. H. 129. (286) Naṣr b. Sayyár's celebrated verses, in which he appeals for help to Marwán. Naṣr defeats al-Kirmání, but is defeated by Abú Muslim and dies. Abú Muslim conquers Khurásán, Gurgán, Ray, Sáwa, Qum, Káshán, Naháwand, Hamadán, Ḥulwán and Shahrazúr. (287) Kúfa is taken. Abu Salama made *Wazír*. Abu'l-ʿAbbás as-Saffáḥ, his brother Abú Jaʿfar and their four uncles, who were in hiding at Kúfa, are acclaimed by Abú Muslim and his army. Allegiance is sworn to Abu'l-ʿAbbás as-Saffáḥ. Marwán cruelly puts to death Ibráhím the brother of Abu'l-ʿAbbás. (288) Defeat of Marwán by the Euphrates. He flees to Egypt. (289) He is killed at Búṣír in Fayyúm at the end of A. H. 132, after a reign of 5 years, at the age of 55. Abu'l-ʿAbbás seeks out and kills 80 of the Umayyad princes, and holds a banquet over their remains. A "Pahlawí" verse cited *à propos* of this. Desecration of the Umayyads' graves at Damascus. Establishment of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain in A. H. 139, where they continued to rule for about 300 years.

Section 6 (290). *The ʿAbbásid Caliphs.*

These were 37 in number, and their rule endured 523 years, 2 months and 23 days.

(1) *Abu'l-ʿAbbás as-Saffáḥ.*

He was the fifth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, and was recognized as Caliph on the 13th of Rabíʿ I, A. H. 132. Some of his aphorisms. He buys the Prophet's mantle for 400 *dínárs*. His governors. He sends his brother Abú Jaʿfar to Khurásán to investigate the doings of Abú Muslim and obtain his allegiance. Abú Salama, the "Wazír of the House of Muḥammad", is put to death on suspicion of partiality for the House of ʿAlí, and his office is given to Khálid the Barmecide. (291) Revolt of Ṭálibu'l-Ḥaqq ʿAbdu'lláh b. Yaḥyá. He is defeated by Abú Muslim. Abú Muslim's growing ambition.

Death of as-Saffáḥ at the end of A. H. 136, after a reign of 4 years and 3 months.

(2) *Abú Jaᶜfar al-Manṣúr.*

He succeeded his brother. His avarice. He is nicknamed Abu'd-Dawániq. (292) Abú Muslim arouses his hostility. (293) Abú Muslim is induced to visit the Caliph, (294) and is murdered treacherously and his body cast into the Tigris. His soldiers are appeased. This happened on Shaᶜbán 25, A. H. 137. Abú Muslim was 67 years old, and was originally from Iṣfahán, though generally regarded as belonging to Merv, where his first successes were achieved. Rebellion of Muḥammad b. ᶜAbduᶜlláh the ᶜAlawí, who claims to be the Mahdí. He is killed, but his brother Ibráhím continues the war (295) and occupies much of Southern Persia. He too is killed. His father and other relatives escape to Spain. The building of Baghdad in A. H. 145. The attempt to destroy the *Aywán-i-Kisrá.* (296) Death of al-Manṣúr at the age of 63 after a reign of 22 years. His sayings. His *wazírs.* The book of *Kalíla and Dimna* translated by ᶜAbdu'lláh b. al-Muqaffaᶜ from Pahlawí into Arabic. Abú Ḥanífa.

(3) *Al-Mahdí.*

He was the sixth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. (297) His generosity and prodigality. (298) Rebellion of ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Muᶜáwiya the ᶜAlawí at Isfahán. He is conquered and dies in captivity. Rebellion of Ḥakam b. Háshim, "the Moon-Maker", known as al-Burqaᶜí and al-Muqannaᶜ. He claims to be God, and many follow him in Kash and Nakhshab. Being closely pressed, he poisons all his companions and kills himself and consumes his body, so that it was believed by his followers that he had disappeared. This happened in A. H. 166. Account of the *wazírs* of al-Mahdí (299—300). Death of al-Mahdí in Ramaḍán, A. H. 179, after a reign of 13 years and 1 month at the age of 43.

(4) *Al-Hádí b. Mahdí.*

He was 7th in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. He was in Gurgán when his father died and he became Caliph. Another ᶜAlawi revolt. Idrís takes part of Andalusia, where his descendants reigned for more than 300 years. The *Zindíqs* (Manichæans) become prominent in his reign. ᶜAbdu'lláh b. al-Muqaffaᶜ is one of their leaders. (301) His translation into Arabic of the *Book of Kalíla and Dimna.* His attempt to imitate the *Qur'án.* He and his confederates are put to death by al-Hádí. Death of al-Hádì on 16 Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 173, ascribed to Divine wrath at a cruel and unprovoked murder on his part. (302) He reigned one year and 3 months. His *wazírs.*

(5) *Hárúnu'r-Rashíd.*

He was the seventh in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. The death of his brother and predecessor, his accession, and the birth of his son and successor al-Ma'mún all took place on one night. His uncle, his father's uncle and his grandfather's uncle were all amongst those who took the oath of allegiance to him. He makes Yaḥyá b. Khálíd al-Barmakí ("the Barmecide") his *wazír.* Power of the Barmecides for 17 years. Hárún's respect for men of learning, especially the Imám Málik. His strict observance of religious obligations and his charity to the poor (303) and munificence to the learned. Legal quibbles whereby the Qáḍí Abú Yúsuf enables Hárún to gratify his passions. (304) Zubayda bears to Hárún his son al-Amín, whom, in his fifth year, Hárún nominates as his successor. Revolt of Yaḥyá b. ᶜAbdu'lláh the ᶜAlawí in A. H. 176. By what statagem he was brought to Baghdad and ultimately poisoned. Hárún divided his empire between his three sons, al-Amín, al-Ma'mún and al-Mu'taman, whose names were included in this order in the *khuṭba.* Story of Jaᶜfar the Barmecide and Hárún's sister ᶜAbbása. (305) Hárún's

slaughter of the Barmecides in A. H. 187. Virtues of Yaḥya. Repentence of Hárún. (306) Faḍl b. Rabíᶜ made *wazír*. War with Byzantines, A. H. 190. Revolt of Ráfiᶜ b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyár in Khurásán against ᶜAlí b. ᶜÍsá b. Kháqán. Hárún sends Harthama thither. He marches himself to Hamadán. (307) Death of Hárún at Ṭús on 3 Rabíᶜ ii, A. H. 193, after a reign of 23 years and $2^1/_2$ months at the age of 42. Virtues of his wife Zubayda.

(6) *Al-Amín b. Hárún.*

He was the eighth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás, and was the only caliph descended from him on both sides. His love of women and new fashions in dress. His demands of his brother al-Ma'mún. (308) Al-Ma'mún's *wazír*, Faḍl b. Sahl the Persian. Anecdote of his conversion from the faith of Zoroaster to that of Muḥammad. Al-Amín strives to divest his two brothers of their rights and nominate his son Músá as his successor. Outbreak of war between al-Amín and al-Ma'mún. (309) Their respective generals, ᶜAlí b. ᶜÍsá b. Máhán and Ṭáhir "*Dhu'l-Yamínayn*" ("the Ambidexter"). Victory of Ṭáhir near Ray. Another victory over al-Amín's troops at Hamadán. Al-Ma'mún's troops occupy the Pass of Ḥulwán. They are re-inforced by Harthama. Ahwáz, Baṣra, Wásiṭ and al-Madá'in yield to al-Ma'mún. (310) Death of al-Amín and capture of Baghdad on Muḥarram 5, A. H. 198. Al-Ma'mún's reception (311) of the news. Al-Amín had reigned 4 years and 9 months, and was 27 years of age at the time of his death.

(7) *Al-Ma'mún b. Hárún.*

He also was eighth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. His character. His trust in his *wazír* Faḍl b. Sahl "*Dhu'r Riyásatayn*". (312) Revolt of the ᶜAlawí Ṭabáṭabá in Kúfa. Other ᶜAlawí revolts. Faḍl b. Sahl induces al-Ma'mún to nominate

the Imám ᶜAlí ar-Riḍá [the 8th Imám of the Shíᶜa] to succeed him (**313**), give his daughter Zaynab to him in marriage, and change the ᶜAbbásid black for the ᶜAlawí green. Anger of the other ᶜAbbásids, who wish to depose al-Ma'mún in favour of his uncle Ibráhím. Al-Ma'mún, in Muḥarram, A. H. 202, causes Faḍl b. Sahl to be murdered in the bath, and then puts his murderers to death. He deposes his rival Músá. His marriage with Púrán, the daughter of Ḥasan b. Sahl. Splendour of the wedding. (**314**) Death of Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar aṣ-Ṣádiq (A. H. 203) in Jurján. His tomb is known as "the Red Tomb" (*Gúr-i-Surkh*: see p. 49 *supra*). Al-Ma'mún's love of learning. Translations from the Greek and Syriac undertaken by his orders. His weekly conferences on literary and scientific matters. His generosity to the poor. (**315**) Quarrel between ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir and al-Muᶜtaṣim. (**316**) Death of Ṭáhir in Khurásán. His son Ṭalḥa succeeds him in that government. Rebellion put down in Egypt. Appearance of the false prophet Bábak in Ádharbáyján. Death of al-Ma'mún on Rajab 7, A. H. 228, after a reign of 8 years and 7 months, at the age of 48. He was buried at Tarsus. Various statements as to the causes of his death. His Muᶜtazilite views. His severity towards the orthodox, especially Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. (**317**) His sayings.

(8) *Al-Muᶜtaṣim b. Hárún.*

He also was the eighth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás, and also the eighth Caliph of this family. He reigned 8 years, 8 months and 8 days; died at the age of 48; had 8 sons, 8 daughters and 8000 slaves; won 8 notable victories; killed 8 eminent princes; and left 8 million *dínárs* to his heirs. For these reasons he is called *al-Khalífatu'l-Muthamman.* (**318**) Character of al-Muᶜtaṣim. Increasing power of Bábak "Khurramdín", the false prophet. He is finally defeated, and 40,000 of his followers slain, by Ḥaydar (or Khaydhar) b. Káwús, better

known as Afshín. Bábak and his brother are mutilated and slain at Sámarra on Ṣafar 3, A. H. 223. Bábak's executioner (one of ten) confesses to having killed more than 20,000 persons. Campaign against the Greeks. (319) ᶜAmmúriyya taken by al-Muᶜtaṣim. Abortive conspiracy against him. His zeal for Islám. He undertakes a successful winter campaign against the Greeks to release a captive Muslim women. He builds the town of Sámarra, or Surra man ra'a, for his Turkish guards. (320) Rebellion of Mázyár b. Qárún in Ṭabaristán. His followers wear red clothes and profess the tenets of Bábak. Mázyár is defeated and taken captive by ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir. He is scourged and crucified opposite Bábak. Compromising letters from Afshín are found amongst Mázyár's papers, and Afshín is tried and condemned to death. Al-Muᶜtaṣim, like his predecessor, holds the Muᶜtazilite doctrine, and persecutes the orthodox. He refuses to ransom from the Christians Muslim prisoners who regard the Qur'án as increate. Death of al-Muᶜtaṣim in Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 227. He is buried at Sámarra. His *wazírs*. (321).

(9) *Al-Wáthiq bi'lláh b. al-Muᶜtaṣim.*

He was the ninth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. He also was a Muᶜtazilite, but friendly to the House of ᶜAlí and a patron of the learned. In consequence of this, and of his learning and eloquence, he is called "the Lesser Ma'mún" (*al-Ma'múnu'l-Asghar*). He was also a good poet and musician. Death of ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir, whose son Ṭáhir succeeds him in A. H. 230 in the government of Khurásán. The quarter of Karkh in Baghdad is burned down. Liberality of al-Wáthiq to the distressed. He is persuaded by his chamberlain to be equally liberal towards the people of Farghána. (322) Story of a *darwísh* who proves the Caliph. How al-Wáthiq was cured of the dropsy, but (323), failing to follow his physician's advice, died of a recurrence of the disease at the end

of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 232 at Sámarra. Anecdotes concerning his death and last moments.

(10) *Al-Mutawakkil b. al-Muᶜtaṣim.*

He was the ninth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. Seven persons swore allegiance to him who were the sons of previous Caliphs of his house. Satirical verses by Diᶜbil al-Khuzáᶜí on al-Mutawakkil and his predecessor. (324) Al-Mutawakkil's hatred of the Shíᶜa and the House of ᶜAlí. He destroys the tomb of al-Ḥusayn in A. H. 233, and prevents pilgrimages thither. He nominated his son Muntaṣir to succeed him, and was the first Caliph openly to declare who should succeed him. Power of Fatḥ b. Kháqán. (325) Bukht-Yishúᶜ the physician. Disabilities imposed on non-Muslims. Revolt of Zayd b. Aḥmad al-Báqirí. Al-Mutawakkil's five sons. (326) Al-Mutawakkil and his favourite Fatḥ b. Kháqán murdered on the same night, in the middle of Shawwál, A. H. 247. He had reigned 14 years, 9 months and 9 days, and was 42 years of age. Ascendancy of the Turkish soldiery under Waṣíf and Búqá. Caliphs made and deposed or killed by them. This ascendancy lasted nearly 90 years, until the time of the Daylamites, and included the reigns of twelve Caliphs (327).

(11) *Al-Muntaṣir b. al-Mutawakkil.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. He showed favour to the House of ᶜAlí. He reigned only 6 months, and died early, like other parricides, in the middle of Rabíᶜ ii, A. H. 248, at the age of 25.

(12) *Al-Mustaᶜín bi'lláh.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás, like his cousin, whom he succeeded. Ṭáhir b. ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir dies, and is succeeded in the government of Khurásán by his son Aḥmad. Revolt of Yaᶜqúb b. Layth aṣ-Ṣaffár in Sístán.

Revolt of Ḥasan b. Zayd al-ᶜAlawí, called *ad-Dáᶜí ila'l-Ḥaqq* in Ṭabaristán in A. H. 250. (328) His successes. He ultimately died after a reign of 19 years in A. H. 270, and was succeeded by his brother Muḥammad, who reigned for 18 years, and was finally killed by Muḥammad b. Hárún aided by Ismaᶜíl-i-Sámání. Al-Mustaᶜín was finally deposed by the Turks at the end of Muḥarram, A. H. 252, and afterwards (329) murdered, after a reign of 3 years, 9 months and 2 days, at the age of 27.

(13) *Al-Muᶜtazz b. al-Mutawakkil.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. His learning and accomplishments. Ad-Dáᶜí ila 'l-Ḥaqq adds Qazwín, Abhar and Zanján to his possessions, and collects a following of 10,000 man. Músá b. Búqá is sent against him, and (330) defeats him by a stratagem in A. H. 253. Yaᶜqúb b. Layth, in A. H. 255, conquers Khurásán, Quhistán, Kirmán and Fárs. Al-Muᶜtazz murders his brother al-Mu'ayyad. He himself is murdered by the Turks (331) after a reign of 3 years, 6 months and 21 days, at the age of 23, on Rajab 17, A. H. 255.

(14) *Al-Muhtadí b. Wáthiq.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. His poetry. His Muᶜtazilite convictions. Owing to his piety, he is compared to ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAzíz. (332) His personal superintendance of the administration of justice. The revolt of the Ethiopian slaves (*Zanj*) at Baṣra, under the ᶜAlawí ᶜAlí b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Báqir, called *al-Burqaᶜí* ("the Veiled") in A. H. 255. They hold Baṣra and the surrounding region for 14 years and some months. Al-Muhtadí excludes all Jews and Christians from state employment. He desires to disband the Turkish guards, who, learning his intention (333), depose him on Rajab 28, A. H. 256, and a few days later secretly put him to death, he being then 32 years of age.

(15) *Al-Muʿtamid bi'lláh b. al-Mutawakkil.*

He was the tenth in descent from al-Abbás, and succeeded to some extent in restoring the prestige of the Caliphate. Yaʿqúb b. Layth adopts the heresy of the Báṭinís (Ismaʿílís), takes Ṭabaristán from ad-Dáʿí ila'l-Ḥaqq, and marches on Baghdád. The Caliph sends his brother al-Muwaffaq bi'lláh against him. (334) Yaʿqúb, deserted by most of the Amírs of Khurásán, is defeated and flees to Khúzistán. His bold reply to the Caliph's conciliatory message. He dies of colic. Al-Muwaffaq is sent against al-Burqaʿí and the Ethiopian slaves in A. H. 270. Al-Burqaʿí is killed and his head sent to Baghdád. It is buried by Sayyid ar-Raḍí. Al-Muwaffaq governs the Ḥijáz and Baṣra until A. H. 270. (335) Revolt in ʿIráq-i-ʿAjam of another ʿAlawí named Ḥasan b. ʿAlí, called al-Uṭrúsh ("the Deaf") and entitled an-Náṣir bi'lláh. Various relatives nominated by al-Muʿtamid to succeed him. Death of al-Muʿtamid in Rajab, A. H. 279 from over-eating, after a reign of 23 years at the age of 51.

(16) *Al-Muʿtaḍid* (MS. *-Muqtaḍid*) *bi'lláh b. al-Muwaffaq.*

He was the eleventh in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His character. He is called "the second Saffáḥ". He transfers his capital from Surra man ra'a to Baghdád. (336) His sayings and verses. Ibnu'r-Rúmí's verses on him. His severity in punishment. (337) In consequence of a vision, he honours the House of ʿAlí. Alarmed by the growth of the Ṣaffárí power, he stirs up Ismaʿíl the Sámání against them. He restores the Persian Naw-rúz (338) from the Vernal Equinox to Midsummer [1]). Hé died after a reign of 9 years and 9 months at the end of Rabíʿ i, A. H. 289, at the age of 47.

(17) *Al-Muktafí bi'lláh b. al-Muʿtaḍid* (MS. *-Muqtaḍid*).

He was the twelfth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His cha-

1) See al-Bírúní's *al-Áthár'l-Báqiya*, ed. Sachau, pp. 31—33 and 215—217 (translation pp. 36—39 and 199—201).

racter. His verses. Rebellion of Zikrawayhi b. Mahruwayhi the Carmathian in A. H. 294. He conquers Kúfa, Diyár Bakr and part of Syria, sacks Mecca, kills many of the pilgrims, and closes the Kaʿba. Finally he is killed by the Caliph's armies, and his head sent round the empire. (339) Al-Muktafí reigned 6 years, 7 months and 20 days, and died at the age of 34 on Dhu'l-Qaʿda 13, A. H. 295. His Wazírs.

(18) *Al-Muqtadir bi'lláh b. al-Muʿtaḍid* (MS. *-Muqtaḍid*).

He was also the twelfth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, and succeeded at the age of 13. Eleven years after his accession (340) certain of his Amírs desire to depose him in favour of Ibnu'l-Muʿtazz. The attempt fails, and Ibnu'l-Muʿtazz is cruelly put to death. Further conspiracies and rebellions. Ismaʿílí rising in N. W. Africa, and defeat of Aghlabí princes. (341) Revolt of the Daylamís in A. H. 315. In A. H. 319 the Carmathians under Abú Saʿíd al-Jannábí again attacked Mecca and massacred the inhabitants, so that the well of Zamzam was filled with blood, and carried off the Black Stone. They then approach Baghdad. Abú Sáj is sent against them. Abú Saʿíd demonstrates the blind devotion of his followers. (342) He defeats and takes captive Abú Sáj, and chains him up amongst the dogs. Al-Muqtadir is killed on Shawwál 27, A. H. 320 at the age of 33 after a reign of 24 years and 11 months. Circumstances of his death. His Wazírs. One of them was Ibn Muqla, the celebrated calligraphist (343).

(19) *Al-Qáhir bi'lláh b. al-Muʿtaḍid* (MS. *-Muqtaḍid*).

He was the twelfth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. He massacres the Amírs of the Turkish guard, and pacifies the soldiers with money. He crucifies Abú Aḥmad b. al-Muktafí, whose rivalry he fears. (344) He reigned 1 year, 5 months and 7 days, and was deposed and blinded in Jumáda i,

A. H. 322. He survived 16 years and a half after this, and died at the age of 51.

(20) *As-Rádí bi'lláh b. al-Muqtadir.*

He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. His poems. (345) Murder of Mardáwíj by Bajkam, who becomes *Amíru'l-Umará* of Baghdád. Ibn Muqla's right hand is cut off. (346) Tribute is paid to the Carmathians. Ar-Rádí reigned 6 years, 10 months and 2 days, and died on the 17th of Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 329 at the age of 32 (or? 52).

(21) *Muttaqí li'lláh b. al-Muqtadir.*

He also was the thirteenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. (347) He was deposed and blinded by Túzún, the *Amíru'l-Umará*, on Ṣafar 20, A. H. 333. He survived this 24 years, and died in Shaᶜbán, A. H. 357. He reigned 3 years, 11 months and 11 days, and lived 50 years.

(22) *Al-Mustakfí bi'lláh b. al-Muktafí.*

He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. (348), and was forty-one years of age at his accession. His sayings. Death of Túzún, the *Amíru'l-Umará*. He is succeeded in this office by Muᶜizzu'd-Dawla the Daylamí. He deposed and blinded the Caliph in Jumáda ii, A. H. 334, after he had reigned 1 year and 4 months. The Caliph survived for 4 years more, and died at the age of 46.

(23) *Al-Muṭíᶜ li'lláh b. al-Muqtadir.*

(349) He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. Continued power of Muᶜizzu'd-Dawla. He breaks the power of the Turks. In A. H. 339 the Carmathians, without obvious reason, restored to Mecca the Black Stone which they had carried off 20 years before, saying. "By command we took it away, and by command we restore it". Verification of a

saying of ᶜAlí's. (350) Miraculous circumstances connected with its restoration. Al-Muṭíᶜ reigned 29 years and a half, was then stricken with paralysis, abdicated in Dhu'l-Qaᶜda A. H. 363, and died two months later.

(24) *Aṭ-Ṭá'iᶜ bi'lláh b. al-Muṭíᶜ.*

He was the fourteenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. He reigned for 17 years and 10 months. (351) In A. H. 365 Syria and the Ḥijáz passed from his control into that of the Ismaᶜílís. The portent of the monstrous bird in A. H. 375. Aṭ-Ṭá'iᶜ, at the instigation of Bahá'u'd-Dawla the Daylamí, abdicates in Shaᶜbán, A. H. 381. He survived 12 years longer, and died at the age of 69.

(25) *Al-Qádir bi'lláh b. Isḥáq b. al-Muqtadir.*

He was the fourteenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. Khurásán at first refuses to recognize the abdication of aṭ-Táᶜí, until compelled to do so by Sulṭán Maḥmúd b. Subuktigín. (352) Al-Qádir reigned 41 years and four months. His poems. Activity of Bátinís, and attempts at bribery on their part. (353) correspondence between al Qádir and Sulṭán Maḥmúd b. Subuktigín about the poet Firdawsí. Al-Qádir died on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 15, A. H. 422 at the age of 78. Fall of the Sámání and rise of the Ghaznawí dynasty in his time.

(26) *Al-Qá'im bi'amri'lláh b. al-Qádir.*

(354) He was the fifteenth in descent from alᶜAbbás. His poetry. Decline of the Daylamí power, and rise of the House of Seljúq. Ṭughril Beg the Seljúq comes to Baghdad on Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 447. (355) War with al-Basásírí. (356) War between Ṭughril and Ibráhím Ínál. Ínál put to death. Al-Basásírí besieges Baghdád in Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 450. (357) For a year and 4 months the power of the Carmathians prevailed even at Baghdád. Tughril enters Baghdád at the

Caliph's invitation, and (358) receives the title of Ruknu'd-Dín. Al-Basásírí is killed. The Caliph marries Arslán Khátún, daughter of Chaghrí Beg, and gives his own daughter, Sayyida Khátún, in marriage to Ṭughril Beg. Death of al-Qá'im in Shaᶜbán, A. H. 467, at the age of 75 (359) after a reign of 44 years and 8 months. Great floods in Baghdád in this year. Contemporary rulers of the Houses of Ghazna, Daylam and Seljúq. Some of al-Qá'im's sayings.

(27) *Al-Muqtadí bi-amri'lláh.*

He was the seventeenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás, and was the grandson of his predecessor. He married Mah-Malik, the sister of Maliksháh the Seljúq, who bore him a son. Afterwards he married a daughter of Maliksháh. He reigned 19 years and 5 months. Beginning of the "New Propaganda" of the Ismaᶜílís under the direction of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ, who takes possession of the Castle of Alamút. Abú Bakr al-Ḥamawí made *qáḍí* of Baghdad. His uprightness and incorruptibility. (360) Death of al-Muqtadí in Muḥarram, A. H. 487 at the age of 37 years, 8 months and 8 days.

(28) *Al-Mustaẓhir bi'lláh b. al-Muqtadí.*

He was the eighteenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. His sayings. His verses (361). He strengthens the fortifications of Baghdád. He reigned peacefully for 25 years, 3 months and 11 days, and died in Rabíᶜ ii, A. H. 512, at the age of 41 years and a half. Contemporary rulers. Fall of the House of Daylam. Continuance of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ's propaganda.

(29) *Al-Mustarshid bi'lláh b. al-Mustaẓhir.*

He was the nineteenth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. His character. His poetry. (362) He is defeated at Dínawar by Sulṭán Masᶜúd the Seljúq, and while a captive in that Prince's hands is assassinated by the *fidá'is* of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ. Al-

Mustarshid's defeat was in Rajab, A. H. 529, and his murder took place 8 months later. He reigned 17 years and 2 months. Contemporary rulers.

(30) *Al-Ráshid b. al-Mustarshid.*

He was the twentieth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. He embarks on a fruitless war with Masᶜúd the Seljúq to avenge his father, is driven out of Baghdád, and finally is assassinated by *fidá'ís* at Iṣfahán on Ramaḍán 27, A. H. 532 (364).

(31) *Al-Muqtafí li-amri'lláh b. al-Mustaẓhir.*

He was the twenty-first in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. He emancipates himself from the Seljúq tutelage. (365) Revolt of the Atábek Sunqur b. Mawdúd in Fárs. Birth of Chingíz Khán in A. H. 540. Contemporary Kings. Al-Muqtafí reigned 24 years and 11 months and died in Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 555 at the age of 66.

(32) *Al-Mustanjid bi'lláh b. al-Muqtafí.*

He was the twenty-first in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. His character. His poetry. (366) Anecdotes illustrating his sagacity and penetration. (367) Fall of the Fáṭimid Dynasty in Egypt, which becomes orthodox and subject to the Caliph of Baghdád. Al-Mustanjid dies in Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 566 after a reign of 11 years. Contemporary rulers. End of the House of Ghazna, which is succeeded by the House of Ghúr.

(33) *Al-Mustaḍí' bi-amri'lláh b. al-Mustanjid.*

He was the twenty-first in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. His character. (368) Fall and death of the *Amíru'l-Umará*, Quṭbu'd-Dín Qaymaz. Assassination of the Caliph's *wazír* ᶜAḍudu'd-Dín. Al-Mustaḍí reigned 9 years and 8 months, and died in Shawwál, A. H. 575. Contemporary rulers. (369).

(34) *An-Náṣir li-díni'lláh b. al-Mustaḍí'.*

He was the twenty-second in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. Peace and tranquillity prevail in his reign. His courage, conquests and efforts to increase the prosperity of his realms. His charities to the poor. He reigned 46 years and 11 months, the longest reign of any Caliph. In his time the Khwárazm-sháhs overthrew the Seljúqs. Beginning of the Mongol Invasion. Contemporary rulers. (370) Buráq-i-Ḥájib takes Kirmán. An-Náṣir died in Shawwál, A. H. 622.

(35) *Aẓ-Ẓáhir bi-amri'lláh b. an-Náṣir.*

He was the twenty-third in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. He reigned only 9 months and 15 days, and died on Rajab 13, A. H. 623. Contemporary rulers.

(36) *Al-Mustanṣir bi'lláh b. aẓ-Ẓáhir.*

He was the twenty-fourth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás. He reigned 16 years and 11 months. Prosperous condition of (371) his realms. The revenues of certain provinces specified were then ten times as much as they were in the author's time. The Caliph defeats the Mongols who were besieging Irbíl. In Rajab. A. H. 625 he begins to build the Mustanṣiriyya College, which was finished in A. H. 632. Contemporary rulers. Al-Mustanṣir died on the 4th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 640, at the age of 52.

(37) *Al-Mustaᶜṣim bi'lláh b. al-Mustanṣir.*

(372) He was the twenty-fifth in descent from al-ᶜAbbás, and the last Caliph of that House. He reigned 15 years and 7 months. His character. Hulágú Khán the Mongol takes Baghdád and kills him on Ṣafar 6, A. H. 656, he being then 46 years and 3 months old. The sack of Baghdad. In 40 days 800,000 of its inhabitants were killed. Contemporary rulers (373).

CHAPTER IV. — MUḤAMMADAN DYNASTIES IN PERSIA.

Section I. — The Ṣaffárí Dynasty (373).

This Dynasty included 3 rulers, who reigned for 33 years. Their ancestor, Layth, was a coppersmith in Sístán, who took to highway robbery, wherein, however, he observed a certain chivalry which led to his being employed in a military capacity by Dirham b. Naṣr b. Ráfiᶜ b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyár.

(1) *Yaᶜqúb b. Layth.*

His son Yaᶜqúb revolts against the sons of Dirham, Ṣáliḥ and Naṣr, (374), and begins to be powerful in A. H. 237. In A. H. 253 he was in possession of the whole of Sístán. By a stratagem he defeats Tanbal the King of Kábul. Two years later he takes Herát, and shortly afterwards Kirmán. (375) He subdues Khurásán and Fárs, and is recognized by the Caliph al-Muᶜtazz as King. He reigned 2 years and 6 months, and amassed much treasure. He attacks ad-Dáᶜí ila'l-Ḥaqq, and conquers Mázandarán. He then marches on Baghdád against the Caliph al-Muᶜtamid, but is defeated at Ḥulwán, and retires to Khúzistán, where he dies on Shawwál 14, A. H. 265.

(2) *ᶜAmr b. Layth.*

He succeeded his brother, and reigned 22 years over Khurásán, ᶜIráq, Fars, Kirmán, Sístán, Quhistán, Mázandarán and Ghazna. (376) Ráfiᶜ b. Harthama opposes him, but is killed. The Caliph al-Muᶜtamid incites Ismaᶜíl-i-Sámání to attack him. Admirable discipline of Ismaᶜíl's army. ᶜAmr is taken prisoner by Ismaᶜíl. Anecdote of how ᶜAmr's supper is carried off by a dog (377), when that morning his cook had complained that 300 camels did not suffice to carry his kitchen utensils. Ismaᶜíl refuses the treasures offered by ᶜAmr. (378) The author moralizes on his degenerate days. ᶜAmr is sent in chains to the Caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid (MS. -Muqtaḍid),

who imprisons him for two years, but on the accession of the new Caliph he is killed, or allowed to die of starvation.

(3) *Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAmr.*

He succeeded his grandfather ᶜAmr, reigned a little more than a year, and was then overcome by Ismaᶜíl the Sámáni. His grandson, Aḥmad, and his descendants continued to rule Sístán until A. H. 558, and even in the author's time the family still exercised authority there.

Section 2. — The Sámání Dynasty (379).

These were 9 in number, and ruled in Persia for 102 years, 6 months, and 20 days. Their ancestor Sámán was a descendant of Bahrám Chúbín, but was reduced to the humble position of a camel-driver. His ambition is stirred by two verses of poetry, and he becomes a highwayman. His son Asad enters the service of Ṭáhir Dhu'l-Yamínayn in the time of al-Ma'mún. His sons become governors, Núḥ of Samarqand, Aḥmad of Farghána, Yaḥyá of Ashnás, Ilyás of Herát. In A. H. 261 al-Muᶜtamid grants the government of all these districts to (1) Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Asad b. Sámán. His brother Ismaᶜíl was governor of Bukhárá. War between the two brothers. (380) Naṣr died in A. H. 299, and the supremacy of (2) Ismaᶜíl is henceforth uncontested. Bukhárá is made the Sámání capital, and the Ṣaffárí domains are conferred on the Sámánís by the Caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid. Anecdote illustrating the character of the Ṭáhirí, Ṣaffárí and Sámání dynasties. (381) Theory of recompense. Ismaᶜíl reigned 7 years and 10 months, and died on Ṣafar 14, A. H. 295.

(3) *Aḥmad b. Ismaᶜíl.*

His love for men of learning. He substitutes Arabic for Persian ("Darí") in his proclamations. He reigns 5 years and 4 months. He prays for death in preference to the disorder

of his Kingdom. The lions at his gate. He is murdered by his servants on the 3th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 300. One of his servants was Alptagín, afterwards famous.

(4) *Naṣr b. Aḥmad.*

He puts to death his father's murderers. (382) His protracted sojourn at Herát. He is induced by Rúdakí's celebrated ballad to return to Bukhárá. His generous treatment of a scion of the Ṣaffárí House, whom he appoints to the government of Sístán, which his descendants still ruled in the author's time. Kirmán taken by Abú ᶜAlí Ilyás. He rules it for 37 years (383) when he is driven out by the people, and replaced by his son Ilísaᶜ. Mákán b. Kákí attacks Khurásán, but is defeated and slain in A. H. 329 by Naṣr's general Amír ᶜAlí. The celebrated despatch of Amír ᶜAlí's secretary (Iskáfí) on this victory. Naṣr reigned 30 years and 3 months, and died on Ramaḍán 12, A. H. 330.

(5) *Núḥ b. Naṣr "al-Ḥamíd".*

He fights with and conquers his uncle Ibráhím b. Aḥmad. He reigned 12 years, 7 months and 7 days, and died on the 19th of Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 343. Alptagín was commander-in-chief in his days (384).

(6) *ᶜAbdu'l-Malik b. Núḥ.*

He reigned 7 years and 6 months, and was killed by a fall while playing polo in Shawwál, A. H. 350. Further increase in Alptagín's power.

(7) *Manṣúr b. Núḥ "as-Sadíd".*

Alptagín endeavours to place Manṣúr's uncle on the throne. Failing in this, he ultimately makes his way with 3000 followers to Ghazna. Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Símjúr succeeds him as governor of Khurásán, and marches against him with 15,000 horsemen, but is defeated at Balkh. (385) Alptagín besieges

and takes Ghazna and kills its king. Manṣúr sends against him another army of 30,000 horsemen, whom Alptagín, with 6000 men, defeats. Khalaf b. Aḥmad, the ruler of Sístán, goes on the pilgrimage, leaving Ṭáhir b. Ḥusayn as his viceroy. The latter refuses him entrance on his return, and Khalaf takes refuge with Manṣúr, who lends him troops wherewith he retakes Sístán. He is again driven out by Ṭáhir b. Ḥusayn, who soon afterwards dies. He is succeeded by his son Ḥasan, who surrenders, and Khalaf is reinstated. Manṣúr reigned 15 years, and died in Shawwál, A. H. 365. His *wazír* was Abú ᶜAlí Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Balᶜamí [MS.-Balkhí], who translated Ṭabarí's chronicle into Persian.

(8) *Núḥ b. Manṣúr.*

Contrary to the advice of Símjúrí, he gives the premiership to Abu'l-Ḥasan al-ᶜUtbí. (386) Hostility between al-ᶜUtbí and Símjúrí. Ḥusámu 'd-Dawla Tásh is made commander-in-chief and Fá'iq chamberlain. Khalaf revolts in Sístán. Núḥ sends Ḥusayn b. Táhir against him. Khalaf holds out for 7 years, to the great hurt of the Sámání prestige. Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Símjúr is removed from the government of Khurásán (where he is replaced by Tásh) and despatched against Khalaf, with whom he comes to an understanding. He conspires with Fá'iq and murders Abu'l-Ḥasan al-ᶜUtbí. Disorders supervene in Khurásán. Tásh occupies Níshápúr, Fá'iq Balkh, and Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Símjúr Herát. Death of the latter, who is succeeded by his son Abú ᶜAlí, on whom Núḥ confers the government of Khurásán. (387) War between Abú ᶜAlí and Tásh. The latter takes refuge with Fakhru'd-Dawla the Buwayhid in Gurgán. Fakhru'd-Dawla makes him governor of Gurgán until his death in A. H. 379. War between Gurgán and Khurásán. Abú ᶜAlí b. Símjúr becomes governor of Khurásán. Núḥ, being suspicious of him, gives the government of Herát to Fá'iq. War between Fá'iq and Abú ᶜAlí Símjúr.

The former, defeated, flees to Bukhárá, whence he is driven back to Balkh by Begtúzún. Abú ᶜAlí b. Símjúr demands for himself from Núḥ the government of Khurásán, which he obtains. He renounces his allegiance to the Sámánís and takes refuge with Bughrá Khán the Turk, whom he incites to attack the Sámánís, stipulating that he shall himself be recognized as king of Khurásán. Bughrá Khán defeats and takes captive the Sámání general. Núḥ (388) propitiates Fá'iq and sends him against Bughrá Khán, with whom however, he was secretly in agreement, so that he fell back from Samarqand, followed by Bughrá Khán, who advanced on Bukhárá. Núḥ fled before him to Jurjániyya (Khwárazm), which was governed by Ma'mún b. Muḥammad-i-Farighúní [1]) and Abú ᶜAbdi'lláh Khwárazm-Sháh. Fá'iq went out from Bukhárá to meet Bughrá Khán, who proclaimed himself king, and sent Fá'iq to Balkh, but afterwards fell sick and retired to Turkistán. Núḥ invited the help of Subuktigín and his son Maḥmúd of Ghazna against Fá'iq and Abú ᶜAlí b. Símjúr. The latter, suddenly deserted by Dárá b. Qábús, the Ziyárid prince of Ṭabaristán, was routed, and with Fá'iq took refuge with Fakhru'd-Dawla of Daylam (389). Abú ᶜAlí meditates treachery, but in dissuaded by Fá'iq. Núḥ makes Subuktigín governor of Khurásán and gives him the title of Náṣiru'd-Dawla and his son Maḥmúd that of Sayfu'd-Dawla (A. H. 384). Subuktigín goes to Herát and Maḥmúd to Níshápúr. The latter is attacked and defeated by Abú ᶜAlí b. Símjúr and Fá'iq, but, reinforced by his father Subuktigín, attacks and defeats them, whereupon they flee to the Castle of Kalát (MS. Kaláb or Guláb). Fá'iq subsequently goes to Ílak Khán, brother of Bughrá Khán, while Abú ᶜAlí b. Símjúr goes to Ma'mún-i-Farighúní [1]). He is seized on the way by Abú ᶜAbdi'lláh

1) This error of confusing the Ma'múnís of Khwárazm with the Farighúnís of Júzján is also committed by the author of the *Jahán-árá*. See notes to *Chahár Maqála* (Gibb Series, Vol. xi), pp. 242—4.

Khwárazmsháh, but is released by Ma'mún, who kills Abú ᶜAbdi'lláh and sends Abú ᶜAlí b. Símjúr to Núḥ. Núḥ grants him an amnesty (390), but breaks his word and kills him. Ílak Khán marches on Bukhárá with Fá'iq, to whom Núḥ cedes the government of Samarqand, and dies soon afterwards on Rajab 13. A. H. 387.

(9) *Abu'l-Ḥárith Manṣúr b. Núḥ.*

He reigned for 1 year and 7 months. He appoints Fá'iq *amír* and Abu'l-Muẓaffar al-ᶜUtbí *wazír*. Ílak Khán again advances on Bukhárá, takes it and appoints a governor, but the city is retaken by Manṣúr and Fá'iq. War between Begtúzún and Abu'l-Qásim b. Símjúr. The latter is defeated and flees to Fakhru 'd-Dawla in Gurgán, who, on his death, is succeeded by his son Majdu'd-Dawla Rustam. Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna attacks Begtúzún and takes Khurásán, but (391) retires in favour of Manṣúr. Manṣúr is blinded by Begtúzún and Fá'iq on Ṣafar 18, A. H. 389.

(10) ᶜ*Abdu'l-Malik* [MS. ᶜ*Amídu'l-Mulk*] *b. Núḥ.*

He succeeded his brother and reigned 8 months and 17 days. Maḥmúd of Ghazna, to avenge Abu'l-Ḥárith Manṣúr, marches on Begtúzún and Fá'iq, drives them into Transoxiana, and occupies Khurásán. Fá'iq and Ílak Khán return and drive out ᶜAbdu'l-Malik from Bukhárá. The Sámání power comes to an end on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 22, A. H. 389. Al-Muntaṣir Ismaᶜíl b. Núḥ, brother of ᶜAbdu'l-Malik, escaped to Khwárazm, where he collected an army and defeated Ílak Khán's brother at Samarqand. (392) Ílak Khán in person marches against him, and he retreats to Níshápúr, where he is joined by Abu'l-Qásim b. Símjúr. They are attacked by Maḥmúd of Ghazna and his brother Naṣr. Al-Muntaṣir takes refuge with Qábús b. Washmgír, who offers him the kingdom of Ray. He is joined by Minúchihr and Dárá, sons of Qábús.

and goes to Nísháp̣úr. He is finally defeated by Naṣr b. Subuktigín, and seeks aid from the Ghuzz Turks, by whose help he defeats Ílak Khán and recaptures Bukhárá. He invokes and receives the help of Maḥmùd of Ghazna, who replaces him on the throne (393). He disbands his army, is taken off his guard by Ílak Khán, is defeated, flees westwards to Barda^{c}, and is killed there by Arabs of the Banú Bahíj in Rabí^{c} i, A. H. 395.

Section 3. — *The Ghaznawí Dynasty.*

These were 14 in number, and reigned in all for 150 years. Their founder, Subuktigín, was the slave of Alptigín, himself a slave of the Sámánís. Alptigín, not trusting Manṣúr b. Núḥ the Sámánid, fled from Khurásán to Ghazna, where he established himself, and ruled for 16 years. He conducted several campaigns against the Indians. On hisdeath Subuktigín, who was married to his daughter, waselected *Amír*.

(1) *Subuktigín.*

In A. H. 367 he subdued several provinces, attacked India and took prisoner the Indian King Jáypál (MS. Haytál), but released him on his undertaking to pay tribute. In A. H. 384 Núḥ b. Manṣúr the Sámání conferred on him the government of Khurásán. In A. H. 387 he died and was succeeded by his son, —

(2) *Isma^{c}íl b. Subúktigín,*

Whose mother was Alptigín's daughter. He quarrels and fights with his elder brother.

(3) *Maḥmúd Sayfu'd-Dawla,*

Who overcomes him. Núshtigín, Isma^{c}íl's servant (394) is put to death by Maḥmúd, who sends his brother Isma^{c}íl into exile. Maḥmúd is refused the governorship of Khurásán in favour of Begtúzún. He takes Nísháp̣úr. He is attacked by the Sámání prince Abu'l-Ḥárith Manṣúr, to whom, from motives of loyalty, he offers no resistance. Later, when

Fá'iq and Begtúzún kill Abu'l-Ḥárith, who is succeeded by ᶜAbdu'l-Malik, Maḥmúd seizes Khurásán, and makes his elder brother Amír Naṣr governor of it. On the extinction of the Sámání dynasty in A. H. 390, Maḥmúd is recognized as King of Ghazna and Khurásán (395) by the Caliph al-Qádir bi'lláh, who confers on him the title of *Amínu'l-Milla*, which he afterwards supplements with that of *Yamínu'd-Dawla*. Maḥmúd, whose mother was the daughter of the Prince of Záwul (Zábulistán), fixes his capital at Balkh. His victories and achievements are well known, and are recorded in the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní* of al-ᶜUtbí, the *Maqámát* of *Abú Naṣr* [Mushkán], and the writings of Abu'l-Faḍl ash-Shaybání [1]). His love of poets, on whom he spends a yearly sum of 400,000 *dínárs*. His minister consoles him for his personal ugliness. Discovery of a gold mine in Sístán. A mountain swallowed up in an earthquake. Campaign against Búshanj. In Muḥarram A. H. 392 (396) Maḥmúd again invades India. Jaypál, the Indian King, burns himself alive, having appointed his son to succeed him. Maḥmúd receives the title of *Ghází*, and afterwards of *Sulṭán*. He subdues Sístán. He again invades India and penetrates to Multán and Kashmír. He defeats Ílak Khán. (397) Further campaigns of Sulṭán Maḥmúd. He kills Súrí of the House of Ghúr. Súrí's son commits suicide. Destruction of idols. Conquest of Gharjistán. Capture of Márdín. (398) Death of Ílak Khán in A. H. 403. He is succeeded by his brother Ṭúghán. Maḥmúd helps him in his wars with the unbelievers, and obtains the daughter of Ílak Khán in marriage for his son Masᶜúd. He puts to death a Fáṭimí emissary from Egypt. His campaign against Qinnawj (A. H. 409). Abundant spoils taken. Revolt of Afghans during his absence. Maḥmúd wrests ᶜIráq from the Buwayhids in A. H. 426, and confers it on his son Masᶜúd. How Sulṭán Maḥmúd,

1) Abu'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqí the historian is certainly meant.

by a strategem, poisons a gang of Balúch robbers (400) who have plundered caravans going to India, and extirpates their kinsmen. He takes Khwárazm from the House of Ma'mún [1]). Disgrace and imprisonment of Abu'l-ᶜAbbás Faḍl b. Aḥmad. (401) Shamsu'l-Kufát Abu'l-Qásim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan of Maymand appointed *wazírs*. Sulṭán Maḥmúd sees the Prophet in a dream. He dies at the age of 61, after a reign of 31 years, in A. H. 421.

(4) *Naṣiru'd-Dawla Masᶜúd b. Maḥmúd.*

By his father's will, ᶜIràq, Khurásán and Khwárazm are given to him, and India and Ghazna to his brother Muḥammad. Two years later he takes Kirmán from the Buwayhids. War between the two brothers. Muḥammad is defeated, taken captive and blinded. Masᶜúd is defeated by the Seljúqs (402) and killed in A. H. 433 after a reign of 10 years. After this the authority of the Ghaznawís was confined to Ghazna.

(5) *ᶜImádu'd-Dawla Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd.*

He ruled for 4 years in Ghazna during the life of his brother, was then imprisoned by his brother for 9 years, and reigned for one year more after his brother Masᶜúd's death. He was killed by his nephew in A. H. 434.

(6) *Shihábu'd-Dawla Mawdúd b. Mas'úd.*

He killed his uncle Muḥammad, and all his children, and all who had conspired against Masᶜúd, and married the daughter of the Seljúq Chaghrí Beg, who bore him a son named Masᶜúd. He reigned 7 years, and died in Rajab, A. H. 441.

(7) *Masᶜúd b. Mawdúd.*

He succeeded his father, being but a child, and after reigning one month was deposed by the nobles.

1) The MS. adds "Faríghúní". See p. 76 *supra*, *ad calc.*

(8) *Bahá'u'd-Dawla ᶜAlí b. Masᶜúd.*

(403) He succeeded his nephew, married the widow of Mawdúd, the daughter of Chaghrí Beg, and reigned for 2 years, but was defeated in A. H. 443 by his uncle.

(9) *Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Manṣúr ᶜAbdu'r-Rashíd b. Maḥmúd.*

He succeeded his nephew and reigned for one year, when he was defeated by the daughter of Chaghrí Beg. Ṭughril "the Ingrate" finally kills him. Nine princes, grandsons of Maḥmúd, were surviving at this time, *viz.* Ḥasan, Naṣr, Írán-sháh, Khálid, ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥím, Manṣúr, Humám, ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán and Ismaᶜíl, all imprisoned in the Castle of Dihak. They escaped, but were betrayed by Núshtigín to Ṭughril, who killed them all. Three other princes of the House of Ghazna survived them, *viz.* Farrukh-zád, Ibráhím and Shujáᶜ, who were also imprisoned. Ṭughril was preparing to kill them also (404), when he was himself killed by Núshtigín.

(10) *Jamálu'd-Dawla Farrukh-zád b. Masᶜúd* [1]).

He gave decent burial to the princes slain by Ṭughril "the Ingrate", and by him cast into pits and ditches. He reigned for six years, and died in A. H. 450 [2]), having nominated his cousin to succeed him.

(11) *Ẓahíru'd-Dawla Ibráhím b. Masᶜúd.*

He reigned long and well, and was called "father" by the Seljúqs. He built many mosques, monasteries, bridges, etc. and died on Shawwál 5, A. H. 492, after a reign of 42 years.

(12) *ᶜImádu'd-Dawla Masᶜúd b. Ibráhím.*

He married the sister of Sanjar the Seljúq, reigned 16 years, and died in A. H. 508.

1) MS. "b. ᶜAbdu'r-Rashíd", but this is an error.
2) A. H. 451 according to Bayhaqí, Ibnu'l-Athír, etc.

(13) *Kamálu'd-Dawla Shírzád b. Masᶜúd.*

He reigned for one year (405), when his brother Arslánsháh revolted against him and killed him in A. H. 509.

(14) *Sulṭánu'd-Dawla Arslánsháh b. Masᶜúd.*

His accession is contested by his brother Bahrámsháh, who is helped by his uncle Sanjar the Seljúq. He abandons Ghazna, and flees to Laháwar (Lahore), but returns again to fight his brother, by whom he is captured and put to death in A. H. 512, after a reign of 3 years.

(15) *Yamínu'd-Dawla Bahrámsháh b. Masᶜúd.*

He was a great patron of learning. The Imám Naṣru'lláh b. ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥamíd translated the *Book of Kalíla and Dimna* from Arabic into Persian for him. He reigned for 32 [1]) years, when ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn of Ghúr drove him into India, and bestowed his capital, Ghazna, on his brother, Sayfu'd-Dín. (406). Bahrámsháh returns and defeats Sayfu'd-Dín, whom he parades through Ghazna mounted on a cow. ᶜAlá'u'Dín, hearing this, marches against him, but, ere he reaches him, Bahrámsháh dies in A. H. 544 [1]).

(16) *Ẓahíru'd-Dawla Khusrawsháh b. Bahrámsháh.*

He flees to India from ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín Ḥasan, who again takes Ghazna and gives it to his nephew Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Abu'l-Fatḥ [Muḥammad b.] Sám. Khusrawsháh is induced to surrender himself to ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín, and is interned in a castle for 10 years, where he dies in A. H. 555 [2]). With his death the House of Ghazna came to an end.

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1) The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says that he reigned 41 years, and died in A. H. 552 at Ghazna, after three wars with ᶜAlá'u'd-Dawla and a retreat to India. See notes to *Chahár Maqála* (Vol. xi of this Series), pp. 156—159.

2) A. H. 559 according to the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*.

Section 4. — The Ghúrí Dynasty.

These were five in number, and reigned from A. H. 545 until A. H. 609, 64 years in all. Their ancestor was Súr[1] King of Ghúr, who once defeated Sultán Maḥmúd. His grandson fled to India, where a son was born to him (407) named Sám, who became a Muslim and went to Dihlí, where he became a rich merchant. To him was born a son named Ḥusayn, who suffered shipwreck in one of his voyages, and, being cast ashore, almost the sole survivor of the crew, was imprisoned for seven years, when a general amnesty to prisoners enabled him to make his escape. He fled to Ghazna and joined a band of robbers, who were finally captured by Sulṭán Ibráhím, who put them all to death with the exception of Ḥusayn, whose he spared. (408) He becomes Sulṭán Ibráhím's chamberlain, and afterwards, under Sulṭán Masᶜúd b. Ibráhím, governor of Ghúr.

(1) *ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn.*

As the power of the House of Ghazna declines, he establishes himself in their place, and makes his nephew, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, governor of Ghazna, taking Herát as his own capital. There he died in A. H. 551 [1]), after a reign of six years.

(2) *Sayfu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn.*

Sanjar the Seljúq took Balkh and gave it to Muḥammad b. Masᶜúd b. Ḥusayn. In the war which ensued, Sayfu'd-Dín was killed in A. H. 558, after a reign of 7 years [2]).

(3) *Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Sám b. Ḥusayn.*

He succeeded his cousin, and fought a fierce fight with the Ghuzz (409), whom he subdued and compelled to pay

1) A. H. 556, according to Ibnu'l-Athír and the *Jahán-árá.*
2) Rather more than a year, according to the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí.*

tribute, and set his cousin Maḥmúd b. Masᶜúd [1]) over them as governor. To this Maḥmud he gave his sister in marriage, and to them was born a son named Bahá'u'd-Dín Sám. He made his brother Shihábu'd-Dín governor of Herát, and chose Ghazna as his own capital. Shihábu'd-Dín's successful campaign against the Indians. Death of Ṭukush Khán at Khwárazm. The Ghúrís take Merv. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín and his brother besiege Níshápúr, which is defended by Tukush's son ᶜAlísháh, and take it. (410) After sundry vicissitudes, Khurásán falls into the hands of the Ghúrís. Death of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín in A. H. 598 after a reign of 40 years.

(4) *Shihábu'd-Dín Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Sám b. Ḥusayn.*

He mourns for his brother. Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh (411) marches on Merv, retakes Khurásán, allies himself with the Gúr Khán of Qará-Khitá'í and the King of Samarqand, and routs the armies of Ghúr. Verses on this event by Firdaws, the lady-minstrel of Samarqand. The Qará-Khitá'í army besieges Shihábu'd-Dín in Ṭálaqán, but he buys his safety and retreats in disorder to Ghazna, where his slave Ildigiz refuses to admit him, so he passes on to Múltán in Sind, where his slave Aybak was governor. (412) Having fought and killed Aybak, who refused to admit him, he collects fresh troops and returns to Ghazna, which submits. He makes peace with Khwárazmsháh, to whom he cedes Merv and Níshápúr, retaining Balkh and Herát. In A. H. 602 he undertook a fresh campaign against India, but was finally assassinated by some Hindús after a reign of 4 years.

(5) *Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Sám b. Ḥusayn.*

For a while Bahá'u'd-Dín Sám b. Muḥammad was his

1) From the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* it would appear that this Maḥmúd was really the son of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad.

rival, but he died suddenly. Maḥmúd gave the government of Bámiyán to the sons of Bahá'u'd-Dín Sám, ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín and Jalálu'd-Dín. Owing to Maḥmúd's weakness, his provinces were seized by his governors. Quṭbu'd-Dín Aybak took his Indian possessions and made Dihli his capital (413), where he was in turn succeeded by his slave Shamsu'd-Dín, who assumed the title of Sulṭán, and whose sons succeeded him until they were overthrown by Sulṭán Jalálu'd-Dín Khalaj. So likewise Táju'd-Dín Ildigiz took Ghazna and Zábulistán, and Qubácha Multán, Lahore, and other Indian provinces, while Sulṭán Maḥmúd retained only Herát and Fírúzkúh. Sulṭán Maḥmúd reigned 7 years, and in A. H. 609 was one day found dead in his house. The murderer was not found, but ᶜAlíshàh b. Tukush Khún was suspected of instigating the murder. Thus the line of the House of Ghúr came to an end, and their possessions passed into the hands of Khwárazmsháh. The kings of Kart, who still ruled in Herát in the author's time, were descended from the Ghúrids.

Section 5. — The House of Daylam or Buwayh.

These were 17 in number, and reigned for 127 years, from Dhu'l-Qaᶜda A. H. 321 until A. H. 448. According to their historian aṣ-Ṣábí, their ancestor, Buwayh or Búya (414) was descended from Bahrám Gúr (genealogy given), and was born and dwelt in a village Kiyákilísh in Daylamán near Qazwín. He entered the service of Mákán b. Kákí. He had three sons named ᶜAlí, Aḥmad and Ḥasan. Asfár b. Shírúya, Mardáwíj and Washmgír were also in attendance on Mákán. In A. H. 315 Asfár revolted against Mákán, but a year later was assassinated by the Carmathians, and was succeeded by Mardáwíj b. Ziyár, who took possession of Rúdbár, Ṭálaqán and Rustamdár, and later of Mázandarán, Ray, Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján and Ṭárimayn. He also took and sacked Hamadán, and made a great massacre there, and defeated

Mákán, whom he drove back into Khurasán. Mardáwíj then appointed ʿAlí b. Búya and his brothers to occupy Karaj, and himself marched on Iṣfahán, whence he drove out the governor of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, Muẓaffar b. Yáqút, who fled to Fárs to his father. (**415**) Meanwhile ʿAlí b. Buwayh and his brothers were in Arrajân, and they with 300 men fell in with Yáqút with 2000 men at Kurkán. Reinforced by another 300 Lurs, the Buwayhids defeated Yáqút and marched on Fárs, which they subdued. At this juncture Mardáwíj was murdered by his servants while he was in the bath, and his body was sent from Iṣfahán to Ray and there buried in A. H. 321. ʿAlí b. Buwayh then occupied Iṣfahan, having defeated Washmgír b. Ziyár, whom he drove back into Ṭabaristán. Thus ʿAlí b. Buwayh became supreme in ʿIráq and Fárs on Dhu'l-Qa'da 11, A. H. 321, and took the title of —

(1) *ʿImáda'd-Dawla.*

He gave ʿIráq to his brother Ḥasan, together with the title of Ruknu 'd-Dawla, while on his youngest brother, Aḥmad, he conferred the government of Kirmán, making Shíráz his own capital. A snake guides him to (**416**) a hidden treasure. Anecdote of the deaf tailor. Hundred days' war with Caliph's troops. ʿImádu'd-Dawla's dream and victory. He obtains the government of Fárs from the Caliph on a guarantee of remitting 800,000 *dínárs* (**417**) a year. He reigned 16 years and a half and died in Jumáda i, A. H. 338, leaving to succeed him his brother —

(2) *Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Buwayh.*

His wars with the son of Qará-tigín, the Sámání general. He ruled ʿIráq for 44 years, $16^1/_2$ in the time of his brother ʿImádu 'd-Dawla, and $27^1/_2$ in the time of his son ʿAḍudu'd-Dawla. He died in Muḥarram, A. H. 366, leaving ʿIráq to his little

sons, and Yazd, Iṣfahán, Qum, Káshán, Naṭanz and Jurbádhaqán to Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla Abú Naṣr; Ray, Hamadán, Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján, Sáwa, Áwa and part of Kurdistán to Fakhru'd-Dawla ᶜAlí; and Fárs to his eldest son ᶜAḍudu 'd-Dawla Fannákhusraw. His *wazír*, Ibnu'l-ᶜAmíd Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, was one of the most talented men of his time. (418) Verses in his praise. His own compositions.

(3) *Muᶜizzu'd-Dawla Aḥmad b. Buwayh.*

He is sent to subdue Kirmán, but is put to shame by the generosity of Abú ᶜAlí Ilyás. On the death of Abú ᶜAlí and the accession of his son Alyasaᶜ he again attacks and annexes Kirmán and Mukrán. His wars with the Balúches, in which he loses his left hand. He subdues Khúzistán, Baṣra and Wásiṭ. In A. H. 334 he paid a visit to the Caliph al-Mustakfí, and was made *Amíru'l-Umará*, and practically ruled Baghdad for 21 years, for 3 years of which he was contemporary with ᶜImádu'd-Dawla, and for 18 years with Ruknu 'd-Dawla. He died in A. H. 356 at the age of 54 years (419).

(4) *ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla Abú Shujáᶜ Fannákhusraw b. Ruknu'd-Dawla.*

He succeeded his uncle in Fárs in A. H. 338, and reigned 34 years. He was the best of all the Buwayhids. In A. H. 356 Washmgír b. Ziyár died in Ṭabaristán, and was succeeded by his son Bihistún. On the death of his father Ruknu'd-Dawla ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla proceeded to Baghdad in A. H. 367, and fought with his cousin ᶜIzzu'd-Dawla Bakhtiyár and killed him. The Caliph receives him with unprecedented honour, and added to his other titles that of Táju'l-Millat. In the same year Bihistún b. Washmgír died, and was succeeded by his brother Qábús. (420) War between ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla and Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla on the one hand, and Fakhru 'd-Dawla on the other. The latter flees to Qábús in Ṭabaristán.

Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla defeats Fakhru'd-Dawla and Qábús, and takes Ṭabaristán and Gurgán. The fugitives go to Khurásán and seek help from Núḥ b. Manṣúr the Sámání, who sends Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Tásh and Fá'iq to help them. Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla's wise *wazír*, the Ṣáḥib Ismaᶜíl b. ᶜAbbád, detaches Fá'iq from his allies and defeats them. (421) The Sámánid ruler sends his *wazír* Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan al-ᶜUtbí to help the allies, but he is killed on the way. Fakhru'd-Dawla remains 3 years and Qábús 18 years in Khurásán. Amongst the monuments left by ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla are the Band-i-Amír in Fárs, the shrines of ᶜAlí and Ḥusayn, the hospital of Baghdad, the wall of al-Madína, the town of Súqu'l-Amír south of Shíráz, and the palace in Baghdad called Saráy-i-Sulṭán. (422) ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla reproved by a madman. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 372, and was buried at Mashhad-i-ᶜAlí [*i. e.* Najaf].

(5) *ᶜIzzu'd-Dawla Bakhtiyár b. Muᶜizzu'd-Dawla.*

His position at Baghdad, and vicissitudes. (423) He is attacked by ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla and killed in Shawwál, A. H. 367. The *wazír* Ibnu'l-ᶜAmíd [1]) is also put to death.

(6) *Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla b. Ruknu'd-Dawla.*

He was governor of ᶜIráq in the time of ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla, to which, on the defeat of Fakhru'd-Dawla and Qábús, he added Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. He ruled over these for 6 years in the time of ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla, and one year after his death. On the death of Abu'l-Fatḥ Ibnu'l-ᶜAmíd he made the Ṣáḥib Ismaᶜíl b. ᶜAbbád his *wazír* in A. H. 367. Learning and industry of the Ṣáḥib. Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla died in A. H. 373. Verses on the Ṣáḥib by Abú Saᶜíd ar-Rustamí of Sijistán.

(7) *Fakhru'd Dawla b. Ruknu'd-Dawla.*

He succeeded to the throne in A. H. 373. (424) He

1) This is an error for Muḥammad b. Baqiyya.

retained the Ṣáḥib Ismaᶜíl b. ᶜAbbád as his minister. In A. H. 379 war broke out between him and his nephew Bahá'u'd-Dawla. Fakhru'd-Dawla occupied Khúzistán and was marching on Baṣra when Bahá'u'd-Dawla flooded the plain and prevented him. He returned to Hamadán, and peace was made. Fakhru'd-Dawla is recognized as Amíru'l-Umará. He builds a mosque in Baghdad, which was restored in the author's time by Khwája Saᶜdu'd-Dín Muḥammad Sáwají, the Minister of Gházán Khán the Mongol. In A. H. 385 the Ṣáḥib Ismaᶜíl b. ᶜAbbád falls ill. His dying advice to Fakhru 'd-Dawla. (425). His death after serving 18 years as *wazír*. His burial at Iṣfahán. Fakhru'd-Dawla's neglect of his injunctions and harshness towards his clients and family. He sells the premiership for 10,000 *dínárs* to Abu'l-ᶜAbbás aḍ-Ḍabbí and Abú ᶜAlí b. Jamúla of Iṣfahán. Their exactions and oppressions. The Qáḍí ᶜAbdu'l-Jabbár was fined a million *dirhams* by them and dismissed from his judge-ship. This ᶜAbdú'l-Jabbár was a Muᶜtazilí. Beliefs of this sect. Corruption of judges and divines worse than corruption of courtiers. (426) Death of Fakhru'd-Dawla in A. H. 387. His son Majdu 'd-Dawla Rustam was only eleven years of age, so his widow Sayyida became regent. Her autocratic rule. Inscription designed by Fakhru'd-Dawla for his tomb. Catalogue of the moneys and other possessions he left behind him. (427).

(8) *Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Ṭálib Rustam b. Fakhru'd-Dawla.*

In A. H. 388 Qábús b. Washmgír returned from Khurásán and recaptured Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. After protracted fighting he makes peace with Majdu'd-Dawla on condition that these two provinces and Mázandarán shall be ceded to him. Qábús subsequently takes Gílán, and gives it to his son Minúchihr. Qábús reigned 15 years after his return. Then his army mutinied, made his son Minúchihr king, and put him in prison, where he shortly afterwards died. Minú-

chihr makes peace with Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (who gives him his daughter in marriage), and recognizes him as his overlord and suzerain. He puts to death his father's murderers. Majdu'd-Dawla, having reached years of discretion, desires to recover the powers assumed by his mother. She flees to Badr b. Ḥasanawayh the Amír (428) of Kurdistán. He helps her to defeat Majdu'd-Dawla, captures Ray, takes prisoner Majdu'd-Dawla and his *wazír* Abú ᶜAlí, and restores Sayyida, who richly rewards him and sends him back to Kurdistán. Her wise and firm rule. The wise answer by which she turns aside Sulṭán Maḥmúd's hostile purpose. (429) Reconciliation between her and her son, who assumes the sovereignty. He gives his brother Shamsu'd-Dawla the government of Hamadán. On Sayyida's death disorder ensues. Majdu'd-Dawla invokes Sulṭán Maḥmúd's help to restore order. Sulṭán Maḥmúd kills him and his son in A. H. 420, after he had reigned 33 years, and takes possession of ᶜIráq.

(9) *Sharafu'd-Dawla Abu'l-Fawáris-Shírzíl b. ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla.*

He became king of Kirmán on his father's death in A. H. 372, while his brother Ṣamṣámu'd-Dawla became Amíru'l-Umará at Baghdad. Four years and a half later, Sharafu'd-Dawla went to Baghdad, captured, blinded and imprisoned Ṣamṣámu'd-Dawla, and became king in his place. Sharafu'd-Dawla lived two years longer and died in Jumáda ii, A. H. 379.

(10) *Ṣamṣámu'd-Dawla Abú Kálanjár* (430) *Marzubán b. ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla.*

On the death of Sharafu'd-Dawla, Ṣamṣámu'd-Dawla was brought forth from his prison and proclaimed king, but his claims were disputed by his nephew Shamsu'd-Dawla ᶜAlí b. Sharafu'd-Dawla, and his brother Bahá'u'd-Dawla b. ᶜAḍudu 'd-Dawla. In the wars which ensued Ahwáz and Baṣra were destroyed. At length Ṣamṣámu'd-Dawla fled, and eight years

later was killed in Fárs by the sons of ᶜIzzu'd-Dawla Bakhtiyár and Núru'd-Dawla Sálár, in A. H. 388.

(11) *Bahá'u'd-Dawla Abú Naṣr Sháhinsháh* [1]) *b.* ᶜ*Aḍudu 'd-Dawla.*

He became king in Ṣafar, A. H. 380, on the death of Sharafu 'd-Dawla, and reigned 24 years and 3 months. The Caliph al-Qádir bi'lláh gave him the title of Shahinsháh Qiwámu 'd-Dín [2]). He made peace with Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna, and demandedhis daughter in marriage, and died at Arrajáan in Fárs in Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 404 [*Ibnu'l-Athír*, 403].

(12) *Sulṭánu'd-Dawla Abú Shujáᶜ b. Bahá'u'd-Dawla.*

On his father's death he became king of Fárs and Kirmán. He received the title of Ghiyáthu'd-Dawla. He reigned 12 years and 4 months. His brother Qiwámu'd-Dawla Abu'l-Fawáris, who was governor of Kirmán, revolted against him, was defeated (431), and fled to Sulṭán Maḥmúd, who sent Abú Saᶜíd aṭ-Ṭá'í to help him. Aided by troops from Baghdad, Sulṭánu'd-Dawla again drove him out of Kirmán, and he fled to Hamadán to Shamsu'd-Dawla b. Fakhru'd-Dawla. Sulṭánu'd-Dawla died in Fárs in A. H. 416 [*I. A.*, 415].

(13) *Musharriffu'd-Dawla Abú* ᶜ*Alí Ḥasan b. Bahá'u'd-Dawla.*

He was Amíru'l-Umará at Baghdad for 6 years and 2 months, and died in A. H. 416.

(14) *Jalálu'd-Dawla b. Bahá'u'd-Dawla b.* ᶜ*Aḍudu'd-Dawla.*

He was first governor of Baṣra on behalf of his brother, and afterwards held the position of Amíru'l-Umará for 25 years. In his time began the predominance of the Turks at

1) In other histories his name is given as Fírúz.

2) According to Ibn Taghrí-bardí's *Kitábu'l-Inshá* (Arabe 4439, Paris, f. 158) he was entitled Niẓámu'd-Dín, and was the first person to receive a title compounded with *-Dín* instead of *-Dawla*.

Baghdad, and his power was little more than nominal. He was a friend of scholars and a fine calligraphist. He died in A. H. 435. His son Abú Manṣúr al-Maliku'l-ᶜAzíz was governor of Wásiṭ, but on his father's death he fled to Diyár Bakr and there died in destitution.

(432) (15) *Al-ᶜImád li-Díni'lláh ᶜIzzu'l-Mulúk Abú Kálanjár Marzubán b. Sulṭánu'd-Dawla b. Bahá'u'd-Dawla.*

He succeeded his father as ruler of Fárs in A. H. 416. His uncle Jalálu'd-Dawla was Amíru'l-Umará at Baghdad, and there was war between them for 14 years, after which they made peace, and on his uncle's death Baghdad also came under his control, but the Turks paid no attention to him. He consequently went to Shíráz and left his son al-Maliku'r-Raḥím to represent him at Baghdad. He reigned in all 24 years, for five of which he resided at Baghdad. Ismaᶜíl of Shabánkára revolted against him, and Ṭughril Beg the Seljúq prepared to attack him, but the mediation of the Qáḍí Abú Muḥammad an-Náṣiḥí [1]), author of the manual of Ḥanafite law entitled *al-Masᶜúdí*, secured a peaceful solution, which was ratified by the marriage of Ṭughril Beg's daughter to Abú Kálanjár, who died in A. H. 440. ᶜIráq had by this time passed into the control of the Seljúqs.

(16) *Al-Maliku'r-Raḥím Abú Naṣr b. Abú Kálanjár.*

He ruled in Baghdad as Amíru'l-Umará for 7 years. In (433) A. H. 447 Ṭughril the Seljúq marched on Baghdad, seized him, and imprisoned him in the Castle of Ṭabarak near Ray until his death.

(17) *Abú Manṣúr b. Abú Kálanjár.*

He reigned for 8 years in Fárs. Faḍlawayh of Shabánkára rebelled against him, took him prisoner in A. H. 448, and

1) See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arabisch. Litt.*, Vol. i, p. 373.

imprisoned him in a fortress where he died. Fárs was held for a time by Faḍlawayh, and then passed into the possession of the Seljúqs. Malik Abú ᶜAlí b. Abú Kálanjár survived his brother nearly 40 years, and held Nawbanján in Fárs and Kirmánsháhán in fief. He was treated with honour by the Seljúqs, and died in the days of Barkiyáruq b. Maliksháh in A. H. 487, and with him the Buwayhid dynasty came to an end.

Section 6. — The Seljúqs.

Of these there were 3 branches, *viz.*

(1) The "Great Seljúqs", who ruled over the whole or the greater part of Persia. They were 14 in number, and reigned 161 years, from A. H. 429 until Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 590.

(2) The Seljúqs of Kirmán, who were 11 in number, and reigned 150 years, from A. H. 433 intil A. H. 583.

(3) The Seljúqs of Rúm (Asia Minor), who were 11 in number, and reigned (434) 220 years, from A. H. 480 until A. H. 700.

Eminence and virtue of the Seljúqs, who were free from the faults and defects by some of which nearly all other dynasties were characterized. Their orthodoxy, beneficence and care of their people. Hence they were not afflicted by rebellious vassals like most previous dynasties.

(1) *The Great Seljúqs.*

Abu'l-ᶜAlá al-Aḥwal in his history traces Seljúq's descent through 34 generations from Afrásiyáb. Seljúq had 4 sons, Isrá'íl, Míká'íl, Músá and Yúnus, who possessed spacious pastures in Turkistán. In A. H. 375 they moved into Transoxiana, and settled near Bukhárá and Sughd and Samarqand. Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (435) cultivated friendly relations with them, but, being alarmed by the boasts of Isrá'íl as to the number of men whom he could summon to his standard,

treacherously seized him and imprisoned him in the castle of Kálanjar, where he died 7 years later. Isrá'íl's brothers wished to cross the Oxus, but Arslán Ḥájib advised Sulṭán Maḥmúd not to permit this. However permission was granted them, and they settled near Nasá and Báward (Abíward) in Khurásán. Míká'íl had 2 sons, Chaghrí Beg and Ṭughril Beg, who were at the head of these settlers. They won the esteem and confidence of the people of Khurásán. Sulṭán Masᶜúd of Ghazna on his accession attacked them, but was defeated. (436) Troubles in India prevented him from returning to the attack, and the governor (*Sú-báshi*) of Khurásán, whom he commanded to attack them, was immediately and completely routed.

(1) *Ṭughril Beg b. Míká'il b. Seljúq.*

He was crowned at Níshápúr in A. H. 429, and appointed his half-brother Ibráhim b. Ínál governor of that city, where he exercised great tyranny. The remonstrances of the inhabitants cause him to amend his evil ways. In A. H. 432 [1]) Sulṭán Masᶜúd of Ghazna gave battle to the Seljúqs at Dandánaqán near Merv, but was defeated and fled to Ghazna, where he put aside all further ambition and took to drink. (437) The Seljúqs divide their empire as follows. To Chaghrí Beg, the elder brother, was assigned Khurásán, and he made Merv his capital. Músá Payghú Kalán received Ghazna, Herát and India. To Qáwurd the son of Chaghrí Beg were given Ṭabas and Kirmán, Ṭughril Beg himself took ᶜIráq-i-ᶜAjam and such further lands to the west as should subsequently be conquered, and made Ray his capital. There he found the treasures of ᶜAlí Káma of Daylam and Majdu'd-Dawla Rustam, which he distributed amongst his soldiers, and then set out to conquer ᶜIráq, Ádharbáyján, Kurdistán,

1) Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqí, who himself took part in the battle and flight, gives the date in his history (ed. Ṭihrán, pp. 622—8) as Ramaḍán, A. H. 431.

Fárs, etc. The Caliph wished him to come to Baghdad, but this he was not able to do until 18 years after his accession, in A. H. 447. His name was inserted in the *khuṭba* and on the inscriptions of the coins, and he received the titles of Sulṭánu'd-Dawla and Yamínu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. The name of the Buwayhid al-Maliku'r-Raḥím was added after his. In the year above mentioned he finally crushed the Buwayhids and performed the pilgrimage before entering Baghdád. (438) The revolt of al-Basásírí. Ṭughril makes ᶜAmídu'l-Mulk Abú Naṣr Kundurí his *wazír*, and demands the Caliph's daughter in marriage. The Caliph, though unwilling to grant this, is compelled to accede to this request. Chaghrí Beg died in Khurásán in A. H. 453, and was succeeded by his son Alp Arslán. Ṭughril died on his way to Ray, where he intended to consummate his marriage with the Caliph's daughter Sayyida (439), on Ramaḍán 8. A. H. 455, and Sayyida returned with her dowry to Baghdad. Ṭughril was 70 years old at the time of his death, and had reigned 26 years.

(2) *Alp Arslán b. Chaghri Beg.*

Alp Arslán's brother Sulaymán was nominated as Ṭughril's successor, but Ṭughril Beg's cousin Qutulmish defeated and dispossessed him. Qutulmish was in turn defeated and slain by Alp Arslán, who, on his accession received from the Caliph al-Qá'im the titles of Sulṭán ᶜAḍudu'd-Dín [1]) and Burhánu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. He put to death ᶜAmídu'l-Mulk Abú Naṣr-i-Kundurí, and made Abú ᶜAlí al-Ḥasan b. Isḥáq of Tús, better known as Niẓámu'l-Mulk, his minister. Al-Kundurí's dying message to the king and his minister. Account of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ. (440) His enmity towards the Niẓámu'l-Mulk. His attempt to displace him from the Sultan's favour, and its failure. (441) Ḥasan flees from court

1) ᶜAḍudu'd-Dawla, according to Ibn Khallikán.

and becomes a "heretic" (Ismaʿílí). New fashion of keeping state accounts inaugurated in consequence of Hasan's disaster. Alp Arslan's campaign against Georgia, which submits and gives hostages. Armenia submits to him, and the king of that country gives his daughter in marriage to Alp Arslán, who afterwards divorces her, and gives her in marriage to the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, to whom she bore sons. Armánús, Emperor of the Byzantines, attacks Persia, but is utterly defeated at Malázgird, taken prisoner, and forced to give tribute. (442) Alp Arslán sends his brother Qáwurd to attack Faḍlawayhi the Shabánkára in Fárs. He himself marched against the Khán of Transoxiana, but was stabbed by his captive, Yúsuf-i-Kútwál, in Rabí' i, A. H. 465, after he had ruled over Khurásán as his father's representative for $2^1/_2$ years, and over the whole of Persia for $9^1/_2$ years (443).

(3) *Maliksháh b. Alp Arslán.*

Though he had several elder brothers, the Niẓámu'l-Mulk secured his succession. He was attacked by his uncle Qáwurd, whom he defeated and took captive at Karaj, and who was subsequently poisoned on account of a threatened mutiny of the troops. (444) In A. H. 467 [1]) his brother Tukush rebelled against him, but was taken prisoner and blinded. Antioch taken from the Franks. Samarqand besieged and taken in A. H. 471 (?). The ferry-men of the Oxus are paid with drafts on Antioch, to teach them the extent of Maliksháh's empire. He marries Turkán Khátún the daughter of Tamghájj Khán b. Bughrá Khán. A son was born to him on Rajab 25, A. H. 479 at Sinjár, whom he names Sinjar or Sanjar. Maliksháh makes the pilgrimage in A. H. 481 (?). He discharges a blood-debt to Jámiʿ the *farrásh* at Baghdad. He confers benefits on the pilgrims. He twice inspects his

1) The date was really A. H. 477, according to Ibnu'l-Athìr and ʿImádu'd-Dín al-Kátib.

empire, from Antioch and Latakia in the west to Transoxiana, Khutan and Cathay in the east. (445), and from the Caspian is the north to Yaman and Ṭá'if in the south. He is again involved in war with the Byzantines, and is taken captive by these, but is unrecognized, escapes, and afterwards takes captive their Emperor, whom he treats with magnanimity. (446) He conferred the government of his western possessions on Dá'úd b. Sulaymán b. Qutulmish, in whose family it remained until the time of Gházán Khán; the government of Kirmán on Sulṭánsháh b. Qáwurd, in whose family it remained for more than a century; and the government of Syria on another brother. The siege of Tyre. He makes Núshtigín (the ancestor of the Khwárazmsháhs) governor of Khwárazm. Other governors appointed (447). Malikṣáh's love of the chase. He builds pyramids of the hoofs of the animals which he slew. He nominates his son Barkiyáruq to succeed him, by the advice of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk. Turkán Khátún wished him to nominate her son Maḥmúd, and is consequently furious with the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, and poisons the mind of Malikṣáh against him and his 12 sons, who all hold important governments. (448). Malikṣáh dismisses the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, and replaces him by Táju'l-Mulk [1]) Abu'l-Ghaná'im. Other changes in the ministry, and consequent impairment of the government. Verses on this subject. Assassination of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk at Saḥna [2]) by a *fidá'í* on 12 Ramaḍán, A. H. 485. Verses sent by Niẓámu'l-Mulk to the Sulṭán. Death of Malikṣáh in the following month. (449) Verses by Mu'izzí on this double calamity. Malikṣáh was 38 years old when he died, and had reigned 20 years. His titles. He chose Iṣfahán as his capital, and was buried there. His wealth and state. After his death Turkán Khátún desired to put his son Maḥmúd on the throne, but the

1) MS. Táju'd-Dín, *male.*

2) MS. Mihna, *male.*

Caliph al-Muqtadí would not at first permit it, though he was finally compelled to yield.

(4) *Barkiyáruq b. Malikshán.*

He was at Iṣfahán at the time of his father's death. Turkán Khátún's troops drive him thence (450) to Ray, where he is crowned. He defeats them at Burújird at the end of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 485. He is bribed by Turkán Khátún not to press his advantage. She, by a promise of marriage, induces his maternal uncle, Quṭbu'd-Dawla Ismaʿíl b. Yáqútí, to attack him, but Ismaʿíl is defeated by him at Karaj, taken captive and put to death in A. H. 486. In the following year Tutush [1]), Barkiyáruq's uncle, who had been blinded by Malikshán, revolted. Barkiyáruq, unable to oppose him, and hearing that Turkán Khátún had died (in Ramaḍán of this year) at Iṣfahán, marched thither, and was ostensibly reconciled with his brother Maḥmúd. Some of Maḥmúd's *amírs*, however, seized Barkiyáruq and wished to blind him, but at this juncture Maḥmúd was attacked by small-pox, and died on the third day, and Barkiyáruq was declared king. He made the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, son of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, his minister, and received from the Caliph the titles of Ruknu 'd-Dín and Yamínu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. In Ṣafar, A. H. 488 he again fought a battle with his uncle Tutush [1]) near Iṣfahán, took him captive, and interned him in the Castle of Tikrít (451), where he died. Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk was replaced as Prime Minister by his brother Fakhru'l-Mulk. The Assassins tried but failed to kill Barkiyáruq. Zangí b. Áq-sunqur is made ruler of Syria [2]). In A. H. 489 Barkiyáruq was attacked by his uncle Arslán Arghún, who, however, was assassinated by one

1) MS. Tukush, *male*.

2) According to Ibnu'l-Athír and the *Jahán-árá* this ʿImádu'd-Dín Zangí was made governor of Syria and Mesopotamia by Sulṭán Maḥmúd (p. 102 *infra*, N°. 7) in A. H. 521.

of his slaves ere the two armies had met. Sinjar was made governor of Khurásán in A. H. 490. Unaz, one of Maliksháh's slaves, rebelled against Barkiyáruq, but was assassinated in Muḥarram, A. H. 492, near Sáwa. In the same year (= A. D. 1099) the Franks recaptured Jerusalem, and killed 70,000 Muslims. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh rebels against his brother Barkiyáruq. Majdu'l-Mulk of Qum (452) is dragged from Barkiyáruq's presence and murdered by the nobles. Barkiyáruq fled by way of Ray and Iṣfahán to Khúzistán, where he was reinforced by Ṣadaqa. Meanwhile Muḥammad b. Maliksháh was crowned at Hamadán, made Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk his minister, and in Rajab, A. H. 493, defeated his brother Barkiyáruq, but in Jumáda ii of the following year he was in turn defeated, and the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk taken prisoner (453), and a few days later put to death by Barkiyáruq with his own hands, on Shaᶜbán 8. Meanwhile Muḥammad b. Maliksháh was reinforced by his great-uncle Sinjar. A temporary peace was ended by a battle near Sáwa in Rabíᶜ ii, A. H. 495. Muḥammad was defeated, and fled to Iṣfahán, whence, after a second defeat, he was driven back to Ganja. In Jumádá ii, A. H. 496, the two half-brothers made a peace based on the granting to Muḥammad of the western provinces of the empire. Soon after Barkiyáruq's illness increased, and he died at Burújird on 12 Jumáda ii, A. H. 498, naming his son Maliksháh his successor, and Ayáz his Atábek or guardian. (454) He was only 25 years of age at the time of his death, and had reigned 12 years.

(5) *Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.*

He at once marched to attack Ayáz and Ṣadaqa [1]), whom he captured and put to death, and imprisoned his nephew Maliksháh. The Caliph received him with honour, and gave

1) This is an error, for Ayáz was killed in A. H. 498 and Ṣadaqa b. Mazyad "King of the Arabs" in A. H. 501.

him the title of Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, Qasímu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. Muḥammad next applied himself to the task of suppressing the Assassins, who had waxed strong during the civil war, so that Aḥmad b. ᶜAṭṭásh had taken possession of the castle of Sháh [1]) Dizh, close to Isfahán, and had won over to himself 30,000 men. Saᶜdu'l-Mulk, the king's *wazír*, was one of these and he strove to compass the king's death by (455) bribing the surgeon-barber who was to bleed him to poison his lancet. This plot is revealed by the wife of Saᶜdu 'l-Mulk's chamberlain to her paramour, and by him to the king, who kills the barber and the *wazír* and his adherents. Thereupon Aḥmad b. ᶜAṭṭásh capitulates, and is put to a shameful death. Story of ᶜAlí b. Madaní, the blind decoy of the Assassins, and their secret murder-house. (456) Discovery of the victims' remains. ᶜAlí b. Madaní, his wife and their associates are put to death. The king sends the Atábek Shír-gír to attack Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ and the Assassins of Alamút, but the king's death took place before anything was effected. In A. H. 500 Fakhru'l-Mulk b. Niẓámu'l-Mulk was assassinated, and his brother Ẓiyá'u'l-Mulk [2]) was made *wazír* in his place. ᶜAlá'u'd-Dawla Abú Háshim of Hamadán outwits the malice of Ẓiyá'u'l-Mulk. In A. H. 502 (457) Sulṭán Muḥammad undertakes a campaign against India. He brings back an immense idol to Iṣfahán and makes it the threshold of a *madrasa* [3]). He died on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 14, A. H. 511, and is buried in that same *madrasa*. Verses composed by him on his deathbed. He was 37 years old at his death, and had reigned 13 years.

(6) *Sinjar b. Maliksháh.*

He was for 20 years ruler of Khurásán, and afterwards

1) MS. Siyáh Dizh, *male.*

2) According to Ibnu'l-Athír he also bore the title of Niẓámu'l-Mulk.

3) There seems no ground for this statement, and it would appear that the author has wrongly ascribed to this king an achievement of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna.

for 40 years and 4 months "King of the kings of the world", holding sway from Tartary to Egypt and Syria, and from the Caspian Sea to Arabia Felix, and he was amongst the kings of Islám what Khusraw Parwíz was amongst the Sásánians. He won 17 out of 19 great battles which he fought. The Caliph Mustarshid (458) conferred on him the titles of Muᶜizzu'd-Dín [1]) and Burhánu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. He placed Bahrámsháh on the throne of Ghazna, and allowed him 1000 dínárs a day. He defeats his nephew Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshán, but forgives him and confers on him the government of the Western provinces, which, on Maḥmúd's death, he transferred to Maḥmúd's brother Ṭughril, and afterwards on another brother, Masᶜúd. In A. H. 515 Sinjar's mother died. In A. H. 524 he took Samarqand from its ruler, Muḥammad [2]) b. Sulaymán, who had defied him, but afterwards reinstated him. In A. H. 530 Bahrámsháh of Ghazna opposed him (459), but was reduced to obedience. War with the Khwárazmsháhs. In A. H. 535 he was defeated at Dasht-i-Qaṭawán near Samarqand by the army of Cathay and lost Transoxiana, which passed into the hands of the heathen. Verses of Farídu'd-Dín-i-Kátib on this subject. Heavy losses of the Muslims in this war. In A. H. 543 Bahrámsháh defeated the Ghúrís (460), and sent the head of Súrí to Sinjar. Verses of Fakhru'd-Dín Khálid of Merv on this event. In A. H. 544 [3]) ᶜAlí Chatrí [4]), whom Sinjar had raised from the position of court-jester to the governorship of Herát, rebelled against him, and joined ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn of Ghúr. Sinjar conquered and captured them, and put ᶜAlí Chatrí [4]) to death, but

1) MS. Muᶜizzu'd-Dawla, *male*.

2) MS. Aḥmad, *male*.

3) The real date was A. H. 547, according to Ibnu'l-Athír and the author of the *Chahár Maqála* (pp. 65, 87), who was himself present at the battle.

4) MS. Ḥimyarí; but the *Ráḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudúr* (Suppl. pers. 1314, f. 73) in five places, as well as Gantin's Paris edition of the *Guzída*, p. 264, gives Chatrí as the correct reading.

pardoned ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín and replaced him on the throne of Ghúr. In A. H. 548 Sinjar was taken captive by the Ghuzz. Causes of their revolt. (461) Their efforts to reconcile themselves with Sinjar fail, and a battle is fought, in which Sinjar is taken prisoner and his troops are routed. (462) Sinjar is detained by them four years, while they lay waste Khurásán, and kill or maltreat many of its inhabitants, amongst them Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá, to whose death Kháqání alludes in a celebrated verse. Early in A. H. 551 Sinjar's wife. Turkán Khátún, died, and Sinjar bribed his custodian, Amír Ilyás, to help him to escape. By the help of Aḥmad b. Qumáj, governor of Tirmidh, he was conveyed across the Oxus, and in Ramaḍán, A. H. 551, made his way back to Merv. On his arrival there, he fell sick, and died on (463) 26 Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 552, at the age of 72. He was at first succeeded by his nephew Maḥmúd Khán b. Muḥammad Khán, of the family of Bughrá Khán, who ruled for five years and a half, but was deposed and blinded in Ramaḍán, A. H. 557, and died a year later. Part of Khurásán was then seized by Mu'ayyad, and part by Khwárazmsháh.

(7) *Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Malikṣáh.*

He succeeded his father in ᶜIráq, and, after being reconciled to his uncle, extended his sway over Ádharbáyján, Baghdád, Diyár Bakr, Fárs, Arrán, Armenia and Georgia. The Caliph al-Mustarshid confers titles on him. In A. H. 514 he defeated his brother Masᶜúd outside Hamadán. He reigned 13 years and 2 months. His quarrel with the Caliph al-Mustarshid. He takes Baghdád. (464) He brings the finances of the kingdom into order. He died on Shawwál ii, A. H. 525 at the age of 27. His *wazír* Náṣir b. ᶜAlí Darkajíní (al-Darkazíní) tried to place Prince Dá'úd on the throne, but Sinjar appointed Ṭughril, the brother of the late king.

(8) *Ṭughril Beg b. Muḥammad b. Malikṣáh.*

The Caliph al-Mustarshid gives him the titles of Ruknu'd-Dín and Yamínu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. Wars between him and his elder brother Masᶜúd. Darkajíní put to death. Ṭughril reigned 3 years and 2 months, and died at Hamadán in Muḥarram, A. H. 529, at the age of 25 years.

(9) *Masᶜúd b. Muḥammad b. Malikṣáh.*

He gave his daughter Gawhar Khátún in marriage to his rival Prince Dá'úd b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad, on whom he conferred the goverment of Ádharbáyján, Arrán and Armenia (465), and who made Tabríz his capital. Dá'úd reigned 7 years, at the end of which time he was assassinated by *fidá'ís* at Tabríz in A. H. 533 as he was entering the bath. Sulṭán Masᶜúd fought and took captive the Caliph al-Mustarshid, who was also assassinated by *fidá'ís* at Maráǵha. He then inflicted a defeat on the Caliph ar-Ráshid, who was also assassinated at Iṣfahán. Al-Muqtafí was then made Caliph, and conferred on Masᶜúd the titles of Ghiyáthu 'd-Dín and Qasímu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. Khwája Kamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad-i-Kházin made *wazír*. He arouses the hostility of the Amírs, and the Atábek Qarásunqur compels the Sulṭán to put him to death. (466) Troubles in Fárs. Death of Qarásunqur. The Atábek Ílduguz made governor of Ádharbáyján and Arrán, and the Atábek Jáwulí of Fárs. Abortive revolt against Mas'úd by his nephews and certain Atábeks. Sulaymánsháh imprisoned in the citadel of Qazwín, where he was kept for 7 years. Masᶜúd makes war against the Assassins and besieges the Qalᶜa-i-Qáhira, one of their strongholds near Qazwín, but, dissensions breaking out in the army, nothing is effected. Death of Amír Jáwulí at Zanján. (467) The Atábek Qarája becomes ruler of Fárs, but is killed there soon afterwards. Masᶜúd then makes his nephew Mu-

ḥammad b. Maḥmúd governor of Fárs, and gives him his daughter Gawhar Khátún (the widow of Dá'úd) in marriage. Plots of certain Amírs, and the doom which overtook them. In A. H. 543 the Salgharí Sunqur b. Mawdúd seized Fárs, which thus passed from the possession of the Seljúqs. (468) Four years later Sulṭán Masᶜúd died on Rajab 1, A. H. 547 at Hamadán, after a reign of 18 years and a half, at the age of 45 years.

(10) *Malikisháh b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad.*

He succeeded his uncle, and received the titles of Mughíthu 'd-Dín and Yamínu Amíri'l-Mú'minín. After 4 months he was deposed and imprisoned by Kháṣṣ-beg, who proclaimed his brother [Muḥammad] king. He escaped from prison to Iṣfahán, where he again asserted his sovereignty, but died 15 days later on the 11th of Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 555, at the age of 32, eight years after his first accession.

(11) *Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd.*

He succeeded his brother, and put Kháṣṣ-Beg and Zangí-i-Jándár to death at Hamadán. (469) His liberality to the troops. Titles conferred on him by the Caliph. Escape of his uncle Sulaymánsháh from the citadel of Qazwín. His rebellion, at first successful, utterly collapses, and Muḥammad re-establishes his rule. Continued civil war. Death of Sinjar. Growing anarchy. Khurásán is lost to the Seljúqs in A. H. 553. War and reconciliation with the Caliph. Death of Sulṭán Muḥammad in A. H. 554 after a reign of 7 years.

(12) *Sulaymánsháh b. Muḥammad b. Malikisháh.*

He nominates Arslán b. Ṭughril (471) his successor, and after a reign of 8 months is deposed by the Amírs at the end of Ramaḍán, A. H. 555, and died in prison in the following year. His titles.

(13) *Arslán b. Ṭughril b. Muḥammad b. Malikshâh.*

He succeeded his uncle, and married the Caliph's daughter Khátún-i-Kirmání [1]). His step-father, Atábek Ilduguz, administered the kingdom. Titles conferred on him by the Caliph. Arslán defeats his rival, Muḥammad b. Seljúqsháh. His victory over the people of Abkház. Fresh activity of the Assassins (472), who build new castles near Qazwín, and terrorize the neighbourhood. Arslán takes four of their castles, including the Qal^{c}a-i-Qáhira, which Sulṭán Mas^{c}úd had failed to conquer. He meets the Atábek Zangí at Iṣfahán, and pays him honour, and confers on him the province of Fárs. Invasions of Khwárazmsháh in A. H. 561 and A. H. 563. Assassination of Ínánj. Death of Arslán's mother in A. H. 568, and of the Atábek Ílduguz a month later. Verses of the Qáḍí Ruknu'd-Dín of Khúy on this. (473) The king of Abkház again attacks the lands of Islám in A. H. 569. Arslán, with the Atábeks Muḥammad and Qizil Arslán, the sons of Ílduguz, marches against them. Arslán marries Sittí Fáṭima, daughter of ^{c}Alá'u'd-Dawla, and dies 15 days later, in the middle of Jumáda ii, A. H. 571, after a reign of 15 years, 8 months, and 15 days.

(14) *Ṭughril b. Arslán b. Ṭughril.*

He succeeds his father, and receives titles from the Caliph. His gracious appearance and character. His verses. His uncles Atábek Muḥammad b. Ílduguz and Qizil Arslán administer his kingdom. Invasion of the Abkházís, and of the king's uncle Muḥammad b. Ṭughril, both of which are defeated. For two years, while the Atábek Muḥammad was alive, all went well. In A. H. 581 took place that ominous and celebrated conjunction of the stars which led the astrologers, and especially the poet Anwarí, to predict some great dis-

1) MS. Kirmán Khátún, but the name is given as above in the *Ráḥatu'ṣ-Ṣudúr* (Suppl. pers. 1314, f. 116*b*).

aster, such as gales and earthquakes [1]). At the time predicted, however, a remarkable calm prevailed. Verses satirizing Anwarí. However in this year was born Chingíz Khán, who afterwards wrought such devastation in the world, and at the end of the same year the Atábek Muḥammad died, and the kingdom fell into confusion. (475) Qizil Arslán succeeds Muḥammad as Atábek, but soon quarrels with and revolts against Ṭughril, proclaims Sinjar b. Malikṣháh in his stead at Hamadán, and finally defeats Ṭughril, and imprisons him and his son in the castle of Kihrán. Next day, however, Qizil Arslán is found killed, in Shawwál, A. H. 587. (476) Massacre of Assassins (*Maláḥida*) at Baghdád. Sayfu'd-Dín Maḥmud releases Ṭughril and his son from captivity. In the middle of Jumáda ii, A. H. 588 Ṭughril fought a battle with Qutlugh Ínánj [2]) outside Qazwín, and defeated him. Soon afterwards Tukush Khwárazmsháh invaded Persia, defeated Ṭughril, and compelled him to cede Ray. In A. H. 590 Ṭughril was victorious in another battle with Qutlugh Ínánj, and celebrated his victory at Ray with wine and poetry (477). Tukush returned to the attack, accompanied by Qutlugh Ínánj. Ṭughril went into battle drunk, reciting verses from the *Sháhnáma*, and struck a blow with his mace which fell on his own horse's leg, and brought both rider and steed to the ground. (478) Ínánj Qutlugh killed him as he lay helpless on the ground. His head was sent to Baghdád and gibbeted opposite the Caliph's palace. Thus ended the power of the Seljúqs in ʿIráq, which passed into the hands of the Khwárazmsháhs. Most of the Atábeks and Amírs of the Seljúqs who had betrayed their masters came to a bad end. Of those

1) Mírzá Muḥammad regards this well-known story as apocryphal, since he has shown by internal evidence that Anwarí was already a poet of renown in A. H. 500, so that it is very improbable that he was still alive and active in A. H. 581.

2) The son of the Atábek Muḥammad, son of the Atábek 'Ilduguz.

who were faithful, Nuṣratu'd-Dín Abú Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ílduguz reigned for 20 years after his uncle Qizil Arslán over Arrán and Ádharbáyján, and died in A. H. 607. He was succeeded by his brother Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Uzbeg, who reigned for 15 years and died in A. H. 622, after which his kingdom (479) passed into the possession of the Khwárazmsháhs.

2. *The Seljúqs of Kirmán.*

The first of them was (1) Qáwurd b. Chaghrí Beg b. Míká'íl, who become governor of Kirmán in A. H. 433, and ruled over it for 32 years. In A. H. 455 he added Shíráz to his domains, and drove out the Daylamites. In A. H. 465 he was taken prisoner and poisoned by Malikshán, who gave Kirmán to his son (2) Sulṭánsháh, who died in A. H. 476 after a reign of 12 years. He in turn was succeeded by his brother (3) Túránsháh, who reigned $13^1/_2$ years and died in A. H. 489. He was succeeded by his son (4) Íránsháh, who reigned for 5 years, when his subjects, suspecting him of heresy, revolted against him and killed him in A. H. 494. He was succeeded by his cousin (5) Arslánsháh b. Kirmánsháh b. Qáwurd, who reigned for 42 years, and died in A. H. 536. He was succeeded by his son (6) Muḥammad-sháh, who reigned for 14 years and died in A. H. 550. He was succeeded by his son (7) Ṭughrilsháh, who reigned for 12 years and died in A. H. 562. Thereupon his three sons (8) Arslánsháh, Bahrámsháh and Túránsháh contended for the kingdom for 8 years (480), each ruling the country for a time, while the land was wasted and laid desolate. Finally (9) Muḥammad-sháh b. Bahrámsháh succeeded, but Mubáraksháh and others of his kinsmen revolted against him, and he took refuge with Arslán b. Ṭughril, who gave him help, so that he compelled Mubáraksháh to flee to Ghúr. But in A. H. 583 the Ghuzz, led by Malik Dínár, invaded Kirmán and put an and to the Seljúq rule there.

3. *The Seljúqs of Rúm (Asia Minor).*

When Alp Arslán conquered and slew Qutulmish b. Isrá'íl, he wished to extirpate his family, but the Niẓámu'l-Mulk dissuaded him, and sent them in command of troops to Syria. (1) Sulaymán b. Qutulmish seized Antioch during the absence of its ruler. Sharafu'd-Dawla ᶜAlí [1]), who collected tribute for the Seljúqs in those parts, demanded tribute from Sulaymán, who refused it, defeated and killed Sharafu'd-Dawla and added Aleppo to his domains. He wrote to inform Malikshâh what had happened, but before an answer came was attacked by Táju'd-Dawla Tutush b. Alp Arslán (**481**), and, being deserted by his *amírs*, committed suicide. Malikshâh was much distressed at his death, and appointed his son (2) Dá'úd to succeed him. Dánishmand, being threatened by the Byzantines, asked help from the surrounding Muslim potentates, and Dá'úd came to his assistance, and was rewarded by the throne of Qonya (Iconium) in A. H. 480. He reigned 20 years and died in A. H. 500. His brother (3) Qilij Arslán succeeded him and reigned for 40 years. At the end of his reign Sultán Masᶜúd ruled in ᶜIráq, and the Caliph, disliking him, held out to Qilij Arslán hopes of the sovereignty of ᶜIráq, so, leaving his son Masᶜúd as his vicegerent in Asia Minor, he marched on Baghdád, but perished in A. H. 539, and was buried at Mayyáfáriqín. (**482**) His son (4) Masᶜúd succeeded him, reigned 19 years, and died in A. H. 558. He was succeeded by his son (5) ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Qilij Arslán, who reigned 20 years, and had 10 sons. The increasing weakness of the Dánishmandí dynasty led him to covet their domains, and he took Síwás and Qayṣariyya, and built Âq-saráy, which places he finally retained in spite of the temporary

1) This is an error and an anachronism. Sharafu'd-Dawla Muslim b. Quraysh b. Badrán was governor of Mesopotamia on the part of the Banú ᶜAqíl. See Ibnu'l-Athír, under the year A. H. 477, and the *Jahán-árá* (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 127*b*).

successes of the Atábek Núru'd-Dín, king of Syria, and Fakhru'd-Dín ᶜAbdu'l-Masíh against him. He divided his realms amongst his sons, and nominated as his successor the youngest, (6) Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kay-Khusraw, who came to the throne in A. H. 578. His elder brother (7) Ruknu'd-Dín Sulaymán contests the kingdom with him (483), and besieges Qonya, which finally surrenders. Kay-Khusraw escapes to Constantinople. Ruknu'd-Dín receives titles from the Caliph and takes Arzanu'r-Rúm (Erzeroum), but is defeated by the Georgians. He then prepared to march into Rúm, but died in A. H. 602, after a reign of 24 years and was succeeded by his son (8) ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Qilij Arslán, then only a child. When ᶜIzzu'd-Dín had reigned 18 months, dissensions broke out amongst the *amírs*, and Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kay-Khusraw returned, took Qonya, and deposed his nephew, who shortly afterwards died in captivity. Kay-Khusraw conquered Qaramán and took many fortresses near Ládhiqiyya (Latakia), and finally (484) fell in battle against the unbelievers in A. H. 609. He was succeeded by his son (9) ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Kay-Ká'us, who died a year later, and was succeeded by his brother (10) ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín Kay-qubád, who reigned 26 years, and was the most illustrious of this dynasty. His brother Ruknu'd-Dín Sulaymán rebelled against him, but was conquered, imprisoned and shortly afterwards died. He also successfully waged war with Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh. He died in A. H. 636, poisoned by his son (11) Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kay-Khusraw, who succeeded him, and reigned 8 years. During his reign the Mongols over-ran Asia Minor, subduing in turn all its princes, and Ghiyáthu'd-Dín died in A. H. 644. He was succeeded by his son (12) Ruknu'd-Dín Sulaymánsháh [1]), whose minister was Muᶜínu'd-Dín Parwána of Káshán, and who sent his brother ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín Kay-qubád as ambas-

1) In the *Jahán-árá* (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 95*a*), and by Lane-Poole, who follows it, this king's name is given as Ruknu'd-Dín Qilij-Arslán.

sador to the Mongol Qá'án. This brother returned, having successfully accomplished his mission, but was poisoned by Ruknu'd-Dín on his arrivel at the frontier. (485) Another brother, Kay-Ká'ús, attempted to wrest the crown from him, but died ere he could effect anything. In A. H. 664 Ruknu'd-Dín Sulaymánsháh was put to death by order of Abáqá Khán, and was succeeded by his son (13) Kay-Khusraw. As he was of tender years, the administration of the kingdom was entrusted by the Mongols to Muᶜínu'd-Dín Parwána, who married the young Sultan's mother. Kay-Khusraw reigned 18 years, and was finally put to death by order of the Mongol Aḥmad Khán. He was succeeded by (14) Ghiyáthu 'd-Dín Masᶜúd b. Kay-Ká'ús, who was appointed by Arghún Khán the Mongol. In his reign the realm was disturbed, and Antioch and Latakia were lost. A Mongol army was sent by Gaykhátú and Húláchú, and the author's cousin Fakhru'd-Dín Muḥammad Mustawfí was made *wazír*. He restored order to the kingdom, but was put to death through the intrigues of Saᶜdu'd-Dawla, the Jewish *wazír* of Arghún Khán, and was succeeded in this office by Fakhru'd-Dín (486) Aḥmad-í-Arkúshí of Tabríz. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Masᶜúd died in A. H. 697, and was succeeded by his nephew (15) Kay-qubád b. Farámurz, who was appointed by Gházán Khán. Later he rebelled, but was defeated and deposed by the Mongols, and so ended the dynasty, save that some princelings of the House of Seljúq still held sway in the author's time in certain regions on the coast [1]).

Section 7. — Khwárazmsháhs.

These were 10 in number, and reigned from A. H. 491 until the month of Shawwál, A. H. 628, that is, for a period of 138 years.

1) Historians differ much as to the duration of this dynasty and the names and numbers of its members.

(1) *Núshtigín Gharcha* [1]).

He was originally the slave of Bulkatigín, a slave of Sulṭán Malikṣháh, to whose office he succeeded, becoming governor of Khwárazm (487), in which position he continued until his death, which happened in the time of Barkiyáruq. He was succeeded by his son —

(2) *Muḥammad b. Núshtigín,*

who was appointed by Sinjar, and received the title of Quṭbu'd-Dín in A. H. 491. He was a loyal and active vassal of the Seljúqs, and, after a reign of 30 years, died in A. H. 521. He was succeeded by his son —

(3) *Atsiz b. Muḥammad.*

He enjoyed great favour with Sinjar. This moved the other nobles to jealousy, and they succeeded in sowing mistrust between them. Atsiz retired to Khwárazm, and presently rebelled against the Sultan, who drove him out of Khwárazm, and gave the government of it to his nephew Sulaymán b. Muḥammad. On Sinjar's departure, Atsiz returned, recaptured Khwárazm, assumed the title of King and removed the names of the Seljúqs from the coinage and the *khuṭba*, in A. H. 535. Congratulatory ode composed by Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ in honour of this event. Anger of Sinjar (488), who returned and captured Khwárazm, but forgave Atsiz. Atsiz again revolts. Verses sent by him to Sinjar. Reproaches addressed by Sinjar to him. Adíb Ṣábir, the poet, is sent

1) MS. Gharácha, *male*. Ibnu'l-Athír (*sub anno* 490) says he was called Gharshja, because he was a native of Gharshistán, while in the *Jahán-árá* (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 99*a*) it is stated that he was called after Gharcha in Samarqand because he had been bought there as a slave by Malikṣháh's servant Bulkatigín. As the author of the *Guzída* says just above that the dynasty began in A. H. 491 it appears that he does not reckon Núshtigín himself as one of them, but begins with his son Muḥammad.

by Sinjar to Khwárazm. He exposes a plot devised by Atsiz against Sinjar's life, and is drowned in the Oxus by Atsiz. In A. H. 542 Sinjar again marches on Khwárazm and besieges the Castle of Hazárasp. Verses composed by Anwarí written on an arrow and shot into the Castle. (489) Verses composed by Rashíd-i-Waṭwáṭ in reply and similarly shot into Sinjar's camp. Anger of Sinjar, who vows if he catches Rashíd, to cut him into seven pieces. Hazárasp falls, but Rashíd's life is saved by the intercession of a courtier. Khwárazm submits to Sinjar, who pardons Atsiz and reinstates him. Other towns in that region agrees to pay tribute. When Sinjar was taken captive by the Ghuzz, his nobles appealed for help to Atsiz (490), but Sinjar's release was effected before he could respond. He reigned 29 years, for 16 years of which period he was an independent sovereign, and died on the 9th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 551. Verses composed by Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ on his death.

(4) *Íl-Arslán* (MS. *Alp Arslán*) *b. Atsiz.*

Unsuccessful rivalry of Sulaymán, another son of Atsiz. On the death of Sinjar, Khurásán was filled with disorder, and Khwárazmsháh succeeded in adding parts of it to his domains. The Khán of Samarqand slew the chief of the Qarlugh tribe, who appealed to Íl-Arslán. He besieged Samarqand and restored peace [1]). Seven years later he is attacked by the Qará-Khitáy, falls sick, and suffers defeat. (491) He dies on Rajab 9, A. H. 558 [2]).

(5) *Sulṭánsháh b. Íl-Arslán b. Atsiz.*

He was of tender years on his accession, and his mother

1) The text is corrupt. The incident is fully described in the second part of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-Gushá* of Juwayní. The name of the Turkish tribe in question is variously given as Qarlugh, Qarlukh, and Kharlukh.

2) Rajab 19, A. H. 560 is the more correct date given in the *Jahán-Gushá*. Ibnu'l-Athír gives A. H. 568.

acted as regent. His elder brother Tukush demands a share of the kingdom. Verses exchanged between Sulṭánsháh and Malikshán b. Tukush on this subject. Civil war of an indecisive character ensues for 10 years. In A. H. 568 (MS. 558) [1]) Tukush invokes the help of the daughter of the Gúr Khán of Qará-Khitáy, to whom he offers tribute, and obtains possession of Khwárazm. Sulṭánsháh reigned over his diminished kingdom for 21 years more (**492**) and died at the end of Ramaḍán, A. H. 589.

(6) *Tukush Khán b. Íl-Arslán.*

He succeeded to a part of the kingdom on the defeat of his brother on the twelfth of Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 568. Congratulatory verses on his accession by Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ. Successive conquests of Tukush. He kills Sulṭán Ṭughril the Seljúq and takes ᶜIráq (**493**). The Caliph tries to reconquer it, but his army is defeated. Verses composed by Sinjar Sháh on his blindness. Conquest of Kirmán. Punitive expeditions against Daylamites and Assassins, and capture of the Assassin stronghold of Arslán-Gusháy. In revenge the Assassins killed Shamsu'd-Dín the *wazír* of Tukush. Tukush prepares to take further measures against the Assassins, but dies on Ramaḍán 19, A. H. 596, after a reign of $28^1/_2$ years, for 6 of which he also held sway over ᶜIráq (**494**).

(7) ᶜ*Alá'u'd-Dín* [2]) *Muḥammad Tukush.*

His wars with the kings of Ghúr. Earthquakes at Níshápúr of great violence, extending over two months, in which almost the whole of the ancient city was destroyed. Sixty-four years later, in A. H. 669, another earthquake destroyed

1) The same date, A. H. 568, is also given in the *Jahán-Gushá*. The reading of this text obviously an error.

2) MS. Quṭbu'd-Dín, which (Ibnu'l-Athír, *sub anno* 596) was his title before he succeeded to the throne, when it was changed to his father's title ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín.

the new city which had been built after the first earthquake, and the town had to be again rebuilt. A descendant of the Sásánian king Yazdigird called Ghází rules in Mázandarán. He is murdered by his brother-in-low, a man of low origin named Abú Riẓá, who is in turn killed by his wife in revenge for her brother. She then offers herself in marriage to Khwárazmsháh, who, not finding her beautiful, gives her in marriage to one of his *amírs*, and takes possession of Mázándarán. He then takes Kirmán, and makes Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk Qiwámu 'd-Dín Abú Bakr ruler of Zawzan, which afterwards passes to Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín, Shujá'u'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim acting as deputy-governor for some while. (495) In A. H. 609 the Ghúrís are overthrown, and Khwárazmsháh takes possession of their kingdom. His three campaigns against the Gúr-Khán of Qará-Khitáy, whom he finally subdues, and receives the title of "the Shadow of God on the Earth" (*Ẓillu'lláhi fi'larḍ*). Verses on this composed by the Munshí Núru'd-Dín [1]). Verses on this poet's prediliction for wine. The Gúr-Khán is taken captive by Kúchluk, king of the Náymán [2]) and dies two years later. Khwárazmsháh, on the death of Táju'd-Dín Ílduguz, takes Ghazna and Ghúr, and bestows them on his son Jalálu'd-Dín. He receives the title of "the Second Alexander" (*Iskandar-i-thání*), and adds to his Imperial pomp (496) a band of 27 golden kettle-drums, each of which, on the first day, is played by a prince, 15 of these princes being of other houses, and 12 of his own family. He puts Shaykh Majdu'd-Dín Baghdádí [3]) to death on suspicion of adultery with his mother, and sets up Sayyid 'Imádu'd-Dín of Tirmidh as a rival to the Caliph of

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1) In the *Jahán-Gushá* he is entitled Niẓámu'd-Dín, not Núru'd-Dín.

2) See vol. i of the *Jahán-Gushá* in this series, p. 48.

3) This Majdu'd-Dín was a celebrated Ṣúfí, a pupil of Shaykh Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá and one of the spiritual directors of Shaykh Farídu'd-Dín 'Aṭṭár. The circumstances to which reference is here made are set forth in the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, *Haft Iqlím*, *Majma'ul-Fuṣaḥá* (vol. i, p. 542), etc., and in my *Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 494—5.

Baghdád, against whom he undertakes a campaign. On the way to ʿIráq he defeats the Atábeks of Fárs and Ádharbáyján. The former, Saʿd b. Zangí, he takes captive, and before releasing him exacts a tribute amounting to two-thirds of the revenues of Fárs: the latter, Uzbek, he puts to flight. He then marches by way of Asad-ábád (near Hamadán) on Baghdad, but is stopped by heavy snow, which causes great losses to his army. His prestige is much injured by this reverse, and it was at this juncture that certain Mongol merchants, subjects of Chingíz Khán, who had come to Utrár, were put to death, and their goods seized (497), by the governor of that city, who was related to Khwárazmsháh's mother. Chingíz Khán sent ambassadors to demand reparation, and these too were insulted and killed. Thereupon Chingíz Khán declared war on Khwárazmsháh, who had an initial success near Káshghar, in spite of which he retreated, filled with alarm at the determined valour of the Mongols. His minister, Badru'd-Dín ʿAmíd, goes over to the Mongols, and, by forged letters, succeeds in sowing dissension between Khwárazmsháh and his nobles, and thus makes easy the advance of the Mongols. (498) Khwárazmsháh took refuge in the Island of Ábasgún in the Caspian, and died there in A. H. 617 in the greatest want and misery. His body was later exhumed and burned by the Mongols. He had reigned 21 years, and left 7 sons, Áq-Sulṭán, Arzláq Sulṭán, Kúcháy-tigín and Oghúl Malik, who perished at the hands of the Mongols and never succeeded to sovereign power, and Jalálu'd-Dín Mankobirní, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír-sháh and Ruknu 'd-Dín Ghúrsá'ijí, of whom the last, though the youngest, first succeeded to the Throne on his father's death.

(8) *Ruknu'd-Dín Ghúrsá'ijí.*

His father left him ʿIráq, and ʿImádu'l-Mulk was his minister. After his father's death he went to Kirmán, seized the

treasury there, and returned to Isfahán, where the citizens opposed him by force of arms, and some thousand persons were slain. Thence he went to Ray and Fírúzkúh, and entrenched himself in the Castle of Gird-Kúh, which the Mongols besieged for 6 months and finally captured. As Ruknu'd-Dín refused to bow the knee before the Mongol commander (499) they slew him and all his soldiers and attendants in A. H. 619.

(9) *Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Pír-Sháh.*

On the death of his father he went to Kirmán, which his father had assigned to him. Shujá'u'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim-i-Zawzaní, who had hitherto acted as his deputy, refused to admit him, so he turned back on Fárs, where he defeated the Atábek Sa'd b. Zangí, devastated the country, passed on to 'Iráq, and assumed the crown at Ray. Here he was attacked by his brother Jalálu'd-Dín, who had just returned from India, and was compelled to submit to him. After a while he killed Nuṣrat Malik b. Kharmíl, a favourite of Jalálu'd-Dín, and fled into Khúzistán and later to Kirmán, where Buráq Ḥájib received him with magnanimity and concluded a treaty with him. Later a conspiracy was formed by some of Buráq's relatives (500) to put Ghiyáthu'd-Dín on the throne. Buráq discovered it, publicly put the conspirators to death, and secretly strangled Ghiyáthu'd-Dín and his mother, whom he had taken to wife. This happened in A. H. 627.

(10) *Jalálu'd-Dín Mankobirní.*

On his father's death he proceeded to Khwárazm, but, not being loyally supported by his *amírs*, he retreated to Ghazna. His brothers Arzláq and Aq-Sulṭán followed him to persuade him to return, but when they reached the frontiers of Khurásán they were attacked by the Mongols and

killed. In that year Jalálu'd-Dín fought seven battles with the Mongols and was victorious in all, until finally Chingíz Khán himself marched against him, in the month of Shawwál, A. H. 618, and defeated him. Jalálu'd-Dín with 700 of his men attempted to swim the river into Sind, but only he and seven of his companions reached the other shore in safety. He then gathered a fresh army, conquered a considerable portion of India, and remained there two years, when, hearing that Chingíz Khán had withdrawn from Persia, he left Jahán Pahlawán Uzbek as his deputy in India (501), and himself set out for Persia, where he arrived in A. H. 621. He first entered Kirmán, and there married the daughter of Buráq Ḥájib. Thence he proceeded to Fárs, and married the daughter of the Atábek Saᶜd. Thence he advanced through Iṣfahán to Ray, where his brother Ghiyáthu'd-Dín was ruler. Thence to Baghdád, where he defeated the Arabs. He next seized Ádharbáyján, and married Malika Khátún, daughter of the Seljúq Ṭughril, who had been divorced by the Atábek Uzbeg. Jalálu'd-Dín, next subdued Georgia. He returned from Tiflis to Kirmán in seventeen days, but was met on his approach by its ruler Buráq Ḥájib, who persuaded him to retire [1]). Meanwhile al-Malik al-Ashraf abducted Malika Khátún from the Castle of Khúy, while the Georgians revolted. Jalálu'd-Dín thereupon marched to Akhlát to punish al-Malik al-Ashraf, but ere it surrendered news came that the Indian army had attacked ᶜIráq. Jalálu'd-Dín now completed the subjugation of Georgia, reduced Akhlát, and took prisoner the wife of al-Malik al-Ashraf. (502) He next marched into Syria and Asia Minor to punish al-Malik al-Ashraf and ᶜAlá'u 'd-Dín Kay-qubád the Seljúq, but, being at the time ill, was repulsed. Shortly afterwards, however he renewed his campaign, and devastated their territories. Verses composed by

1) This MS., unlike most others, says that Jalálu'd-Dín killed Buráq, which is an obvious error, as the latter survived the former and died in A. H. 632.

him on this occasion. He next attacked the Mongols, who had advanced on Iṣfahán. Both right wings were defeated. Death of ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla [1]) Yazdí, the grandson of ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla [1]) Garshásf b. ʿAlí b. Farámarz b. ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla (a descendant of the ancient Kayání kings, whom Jalálu'd-Dín used to call his "father", and to whom he had given the government of Khurásán) aged sixty years, in this battle. The Mongols march on Khurásán, and Jalálu'd-Dín retires to the mountains of Luristán, while his fugitive troops enter Isfahán. Good offices of the Qáḍí Ruknu'd-Dín Ṣáʿidí in keeping the peace between them until the return of Jalálu'd-Dín seven days later. He goes to Arrán and Kurdistán, and in despair takes to drink. Verses on this by Núru'd-Dín Munshí. (503) The Mongols pursued him thither, and in the middle of Shawwál, A. H. 628 (= middle of August, A. D. 1231) surprised him drinking. He escaped, and wandered into the mountains, where he was murdered by a Kurd whose brother he had slain at Akhláṭ. With him perished the dynasty of the Khwárazmsháhs, and the Mongols became supreme in Persia.

Section 8. — The Atábeks.

Of these there were two separate dynasties, one in Syria and Diyár Bakr, the other in Fárs. The former comprised nine rulers, who reigned from A. H. 481 until A. H. 658, for 177 years; the latter, known as the Salghurís, comprised eleven rulers, who reigned 120 years, from A. H. 543 until A. H. 663.

1. *The Salghurí* (? Sunqurí) *Atábeks.*

These are said to be descended from Salghur, who was

1) The MS. has *-Dín* instead of *-Dawla*, wrongly. ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla was the title borne by a series of rulers of Yazd descended from ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla Abú Jaʿfar Muḥammad called Kákúya. See notes to *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 169—170.

of the race of Táq Khán son of Aghur [1]) Khán, and who joined the Seljúqs, and was given the position of chamberlain. According to another account, the Atábeks of Diyár Bakr and Fárs were originally of one family, while others say that the Atábeks of Shíráz were descended from Salghur, and the Atábeks of Diyár Bakr and Syria from Aq-Sunqur (504), the favourite slave of Maliksháh, on whom the government of Aleppo was conferred in A. H. 481. He ruled this city for ten years, and died in A. H. 491. His son (2) Zangí succeeded him, and was made governor of all Syria by Barkiyáruq, with the title of ᶜImádu'd-Dín [2]). In the reign of Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, Arbíl, Moṣul and part of Diyár Bakr were added to his dominions. He had 3 sons, Búzába [3]), Núru'd-Dín [Maḥmúd] and Mawdúd. Búzába [3]) was made governor of Fárs, Núru'd-Dín [Maḥmúd] of Syria, and Mawdúd of Diyár Bakr. Núru'd-Dín Zangí died in A. H. 541 [4]). His son (3) Núru'd-Dín [Maḥmúd] reigned in Syria 46 years and died in A. H. 568 [5]). He was succeeded by his son (4) al-Malik aṣ-Ṣáliḥ, who was driven out by his cousin (5) [Quṭbu'd-Dín] Mawdúd, who reigned 43 years in Diyár Bakr and died in A. H. 565. He was succeeded by his son (6) Sayfu'd-Dín Ghází, who took Syria from his cousin al-Malik aṣ-Ṣáliḥ, but lost it to the Egyptians in A. H. 571, and died in A. H. 576. He was succeeded by (7) his brother [ᶜIzzu'd-Dín] Masᶜúd b. Mawdúd, who reigned for 13 years and died in A. H. 589. After him reigned his son (8) Arslánsháh (505), who [had many contests with the House of Ayyúb, and died in A. H. 607. He was succeeded by (9) his son Masᶜúd, known as *Malik-i-Qáhir*, who died in A. H. 615. He was succeeded

1) This MS. has Intumúz (انتموز), others اغر (Aghur) or اغو (Aghú).

2) MS. Núru'd-Dín.

3) This MS. has Bízába, but Búzába is the usual form.

4) MS. 522, an evident error, as shown by Ibnu'l-Athír, who was himself the *protégé* of this family, the *Jahán-árá* and Ibn Khallikán.

5) A. H. 569 is the date given by the three authorities cited in the last note.

by his son (10) Núru'd-Dín Arslán-sháh][1]) who was only a child, and whose kingdom was administered by (11) Badru'd-Dín Lúlú, who ruled for 58 years, died in A. H. 659, and was succeeded by his son (12) al-Malik aṣ-Ṣáliḥ, who was killed by the Mongols, into whose hands his kingdom then passed.

2. *The Atábeks of Fárs.*

The first of these was (1) Sunqur b. Mawdúd, whom some assert to have been the son of Salghar b. Áqsunqur, and others of Zangí b. Áqsunqur, the founder of the Atábeks of Diyár Bakr, who, to avenge his uncle Bízába, killed in battle by Sulṭán Masᶜúd the Seljúq in A. H. 543, revolted during the reigns of this king and of his nephew Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd and made himself king of Fárs, where he reigned 13 years, and died in A. H. 556. The Masjid-i-Jámiᶜ of Shíráz was built by him, and also a rest-house (*ribáṭ*).

He was succeeded by his brother (2) Zangí b. Mawdúd, who had first, however, to drive out two rival claimants, after which he was recognized as Atábek of Fárs by the reigning Seljúq, Arslán b. Ṭughril. He reigned 14 years, repaired and endowed the mausoleum of the celebrated saint Shaykh Abú ᶜAbdi'lláh [b.] Khafíf[2]), and died in A. H. 570 (MS. '60 erroneously).

He was succeeded by his son (3) Takla, who reigned 20 years and died (506) in A. H. 590.

He was succeeded by (4) Ṭughril b. Sunqur b. Mawdúd, whose rule was, however, contested by his cousin Saᶜd b. Zangí, and in this fratricidal war Fárs was devastated by plague and famine. In A. H. 599, after a reign of 9 years, Ṭughril was overcome and taken captive by (5) Saᶜd b. Zangí, whose reign opened with a period of fearful famine, followed by plague. After gradually restoring the country

1) The words in brackets, omitted in this MS., are supplied from others.
2) For his biography see Jámí's *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, pp. 262—4.

to prosperity, he added Kirmán to his dominions and pacified Shabánkára. In A. H. 613 he prepared to attack ʿIráq, but was taken prisoner by the troops of Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, and had to purchase his liberty by making over to the conqueror two-thirds of the revenues of Fárs. On his return, his son Abú Bakr refused to let him enter Shíráz, and in the fight which ensued he was wounded in the eye by an arrow. (507) But the people of the city brought him in secretly by night, and he cast his son Abú Bakr into prison. When Sulṭán Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh passed through Fárs on his return from India, he interceded for, and obtained the release of Abú Bakr. Saʿd died in A. H. 628 after a reign of 28 years.

He was succeeded by his son (6) Abú Bakr b. Saʿd b. Zangí, who proved a wise, just and magnanimous sovereign, and a generous patron of learned and pious men. His chief noble was Muqarrabu'd-Dín Abu'l-Mafákhir Masʿúd. Abú Bakr added to his dominions Kísh, Baḥrayn, Qaṭíf and Laḥsá (or al-Aḥsá). Public buildings erected by him (508). His endowment of the mausoleum of Abú ʿAbdi'llah [b.] Khafíf [1]). He died in A. H. 658 after a reign of 30 years.

He was succeeded by his son (7) Saʿd II, who died twelve days after his father, and was in turn succeeded by his son (8) Muḥammad, who was but a child, and whose nominal reign (for the actual conduct of affairs was in the hands of his mother Turkán Khátún) lasted only two years and seven months, for he died in the last month of A. H. 660.

He was succeeded by (9) Muḥammad Sháh b. Salghurshàh b. Saʿd b. Zangí, who reigned only 8 months, when he was overthrown and put to death by Turkán Khátún on Ramaḍán 10, A. H. 661.

He was succeeded by his brother (10) Seljúqsháh b. Sal-

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1) For his biography see Jámí's *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, pp. 262—4.

ghursháh, who defeated and slew Turkán Khátún. Her brother, ᶜAlá'u'd-Dawla, sought help from Húlágú Khán (509), against whose troops Shíráz was gallantly defended by Muqarrabu'd-Dín Masᶜúd. Seljúqsháh was finally killed by the Mongols in Ṣafar, A. H. 663.

He was succeeded by (11) Ábish Khátún, daughter of Saᶜd II. She reigned for a year over Fárs, after which she was given in marriage to Mangú Tímúr the son of Húlágú Khán, and Fárs passed directly under the control of the Mongols, though Ábish continued to be the nominal ruler for nearly 20 years.

Section 9. — The Ismaᶜílís.

This section is divided into two Discourses, the first treating of the Ismaᶜílís of Egypt, Syria and the Maghrib, the second of the Assassins or Ismaᶜílís of Alamút.

First Discourse. The Ismaᶜílís of Egypt etc. (Fáṭimids).

These, fourteen in number, reigned from A. H. 296 until A. H. 556, *i. e.* for 260 years, and are mentioned here because of their connection with the Persian Ismaᶜílís commonly known as the Assassins.

(1) *Al-Mahdí.*

(510) According to the author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-Gushá*, the Sunnís assert that he was descended from ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Sálim of Baṣra, while the people of ᶜIráq trace his descent from ᶜAbdu'llah b. Maymún al-Qaddáḥ, who was one of the propagandists of the Imám Ismaᶜíl b. Jaᶜfar aṣ-Ṣádiq. On the other hand Abú Ṭálib ᶜAlí b. Najíb [1]) al-Baghdádí in his *ᶜUyúnu't-Tawáríkh* asserts that al-Mahdí was directly descended from the Imám Ismaᶜíl as follows: [Abú]

1) Other MSS. have Kházin or Anjab. See p. 2 *supra* (14).

Muḥammad [ʿUbaydu'lláh] al-Mahdí b. ʿAbdu'lláh ar-Raḍí b. Qásim at-Taqí b. Aḥmad al-Wafí b. Muḥammad al-Waṣí b. Ismaʿíl, etc., which pedigree would make him the twelfth of the Ismaʿílí Imáms and the tenth in direct descent from ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálib. This Múḥammad, who was the great-great-grandfather of the Mahdí, fled to Ray to escape the persecution of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs, and is buried near there in Muḥammad-ábád. His descendants settled at Qandahár, where the family is well known. The Mahdí declared himself in A. H. 296, and in A. H. 302 overcame the Banú Aghlab (who then ruled in North Africa on behalf of the ʿAbbásid Caliph al-Muqtadir), and possessed himself of their domains. Herein, say the Ismaʿílís, was fulfilled the Prophet's saying, "At the beginning of 300 years [*i. e.* of the fourth century of the Flight] the Sun shall arise from its Setting-place" [*Maghrib*]. Al-Mahdí reigned 26 years, and died in A. H. 322 at the age of 62 years. He was 5 years younger than the Imám Mahdí recognized by the rival sect of the Shíʿa, the *Ithná ʿashariyya* or "Sect of the Twelve".

(2) *Al-Qá'im bi-amri'lláh.*

Al-Mahdí was succeeded by his son Aḥmad [1]) al-Qá'im, who was defeated by the Sunnís under Abú Yazíd and imprisoned at al-Mahdiyya (in Tunisia). (**511**) He died in Shawwál, A. H. 334, but his death was concealed until his son could succeed him. He reigned twelve years.

(3) *Al-Manṣúr bi-Quwwati'lláh.*

Ismaʿíl b. al-Qá'im succeeded his father, defeated and killed Abú Yazíd, reigned 7 years, and died at Mahdiyya in A. H. 341.

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1) Ibnu'l-Athír, Ibn Khallikán and the *Jahán-árá* give his name as Muḥammad, which is probably correct.

(4) *Al-Muᶜizz li-Dín'lláh Abú Tamím Maᶜadd b. Manṣúr.*

He succeeded his father, ruled wisely and well, and added Egypt to the Fáṭimid domains, taking it by stratagem from the ᶜAbbásid governor Káfúr. In A. H. 362 he began to build Cairo, which he made his capital. He also took the Ḥijáz, and, after a reign of 24 years, died in A. H. 365.

(5) *Al-ᶜAzíz bi'lláh Abú Manṣúr b. al-Muᶜizz.*

He succeeded his father and added Syria to his domains, after killing Alptigín, the ᶜAbbásid governor. He made a Jew governor of Syria, and a Christian governor of Egypt, but later dismissed them in response to the complaints of his Muslim subjects. (**512**) He reigned 21 years and died in A. H. 386 [MS. 380].

(6) *Al-Ḥákim bi-amri'lláh Abú ᶜAlí Manṣúr b. ᶜAzíz.*

He succeeded his father, and made a great show of piety and humility, riding unattended through the streets mounted on an ass, and claiming to hold converse with God like Moses. His rigorous enactments against wine and women did not prevent him conniving at all sorts of vice on the part of his courtiers. Angered at the growing discontent, he lays waste the country. Other eccentricities on his part. Citation from the *Kitáb-i-Istiẓhár* of the Qáḍí Aḥmad-i-Dámghání concerning ᶜAlawí-i-Madaní, whom al-Ḥákim commissioned (**513**) to remove the bodies of Abú Bakr and ᶜUmar from their graves, which impious attempt was miraculously prevented. Al-Hákim's intention of putting to death his sister on a charge of adultery is frustrated by her causing him to be assassinated in A. H. 411 after he had reigned 25 years.

(7) *Aẓ-Ẓáhir li-iᶜzázi Dín'lláh* [1]) *b. al-Ḥákim.*

He was succeeded by his son, who put to death the in-

1) So Ibnu'l-Athír. The *Guzída* has *aẓ-Ẓáhir bi'lláh.*

stigators of his assassination. He reigned 16 years, and died in Cairo (514) in A. H. 427.

(8) *Al-Mustanṣir bi'lláh Abú Tamím Maʿadd b. aẓ-Ẓáhir.*

He was only 7 years of age when he succeeded to the throne of his father. His avarice. He reigned 60 years. Rebellion subdued. He had 3 sons, Nizár, Aḥmad and ʿAbdu 'l-Ḥamíd, and originally nominated the first named as his successor, but afterwards set him aside in favour of Aḥmad, to whom he gave the title of al-Mustaʿlí. The allegiance of the Ismaʿílís was divided between these two. The celebrated Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ espoused the cause of Nizár, and thereafter carried on the propaganda in his name. Al-Mustanṣir died in A. H. 487.

(9) *Al-Mustaʿlí bi'lláh Abu'l-Qásim Aḥmad b. al-Mustanṣir.*

(515) He succeeded his father, captured his brother Nizár and his two sons, who endeavoured to escape, at Alexandria, and imprisoned them for life at Cairo. The Franks obtained possession of some of the coasts of Syria. Al-Mustaʿlí reigned 10 years, and died at Cairo at the end of A. H. 497.

(10) *Al-ʿÁmir bi-aḥkámi'lláh Abú ʿAlí Manṣúr b. al-Mustaʿlí.*

He reigned 27 years, when he was assassinated by some of Nizár's followers, at the age of 40 years, in A. H. 524.

(11) *Al-Ḥáfiẓ li-Díni'lláh Abú Maymún b.* [*Abu'l-Qásim b.*] [1] *al-Mustanṣir.*

He reigned 20 years and died in A. H. 544.

(12) *Aẓ-Ẓáfir Bi'lláh.*

He was the son of *al-Ḥáfiẓ li-Díni'lláh*. In his reign the

1) MS. omits the words in brackets, which are supplied from Ibnu'l-Athír. For "Abu'l-Qásim" the *Jahán-árá* has "Muḥammad".

Franks took Ascalon. He reigned 5 years and was assassinated by his *wázír* ᶜAbbás b. Tamím in A. H. 549.

(13) *Al-Fá'iz bi'lláh.*

He was the great-grandson of al-Mustanṣir, and was paralytic. (**516**) He reigned for 3 years and died of epilepsy in A. H. 555 [1]).

(14) *Al-ᶜÂḍid li-Díni'lláh b. al-Fá'iz.*

He succeeded his father. When, in A. H. 554, the Franks prepared to invade Egypt. Al-Fá'iz, filled with alarm, sought protection from the ruler of Syria, who sent al-Malik an-Náṣir Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín Yúsuf b. Ayyúb (Saladdin), the governor of Ḥimṣ (Emessa), to help him. On his approach, the army of the Franks fled. After this a quarrel arose between al-ᶜÂḍid and his *wazír* Sháwir. Al-ᶜÂḍid fled for protection to Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín, who put Sháwir to death. In A. H. 556 (or, according to another statement, in A. H. 565) the *khuṭba* was pronounced in Egypt in the name of the ᶜAbbásid Caliph [2]), and a week afterwards al-ᶜÂḍid, the last Fáṭimid Caliph, died, and Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín took possession of Egypt, taking the title of *Sulṭán* ("king"). In A. H. 571 he also took possession of Syria, and expelled therefrom the Atábek Sayfu 'd-Dín Ghází Salghurí. In A. H. 585 [3]) he took Jerusalem from the Franks, and affixed an inscription on the Gate. In A. H. 589 [4]) he also took ᶜAkká (St. Jean d'Acre). On the decline of the House of Ayyúb, Egypt passed (**517**) into the hands of slave-dynasties (*Mamlúks*). The author adds that at the time he wrote Náṣiru'd-Dín was king there, and was reported to have recognized a scion of the House of ᶜAbbás as Caliph

1) So Ibnu'l-Athír. The MS. has 552.

2) Ibnu'l-Athír, Ibn Khallikán and the *Jahán-árá* place this event in A. H. 567.

3) A. H. 583 is the date given by most historians.

4) This was the date of Saladdin's death. ᶜAkká was taken in A. H. 583 according to Ibnu'l-Athír.

on condition of himself being recognized as king. But this Caliph is never seen by the people, all communications with him passing through his chamberlain.

Second Discourse of Chapter IV, Section 9.

The Ismaʿílís of Persia, or „Assassins".

These were eight in number and reigned for 171 years, *i. e.* from A. H. 483 until A. H. 654. They were as follows.

(1) *Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ.*

His genealogy and alleged descent from the Ḥimyarite kings of Yaman. He was at first a Shíʿí of the Sect of the Twelve, and was chamberlain to Alp Arslán the Seljúq, but was converted to the Sect of the Seven, or Ismaʿílís, by ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. ʿAṭṭásh. His quarrel with the Niẓámu'l-Mulk leads to his dismissal from the Court. He goes to Ray, his native place, in A. H. 464, whence in A. H. 471 he proceeds to Syria, and carries on the propaganda for Nizár b. Mustanṣir. There he remained several years, during which period he is alleged to have been entrusted by Nizár with the care of one of his sons, whom he brought back with him to Persia. Fearing the vengeance of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk, he remained in hiding in Isfahán, in the house of the Ra'ís Abu'l-Faẓl Lunbání, to whom he said one day, "If I had two congenial friends, I would destroy this empire". Abu'l-Faẓl, deeming him mad (518), began to give him medicines appropriate to that distemper. Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ, perceiving this, fled to Ray. He converted to his doctrine sundry warders of castles, such as Ra'ís Muẓaffar of Gird-Kúh, and Ḥusayn of Qá'in, governor of Turshíz. He then went to Qazwín, and in A. H. 483 (a number equivalent to the sum of the numerical values of its component letters) captured the Castle of Alamút, which, being interpreted, means "the Eagle's Nest"

(*Âluh-ámút*), of which the governor was Mahdí-i-ᶜAlawí. Description of the stratagem whereby Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ obtained possession of the Castle. It is attacked (**519**) by Altún Tásh, a slave of Maliksháh, who reduces it to considerable straits, but dies before he has captured it. Rapid progress of the propaganda. Maliksháh sends Arslán Tásh and Qizil-Tásh against the Assassins; who are reinforced by the Dihdár Abú ᶜAlí Ardistání with 300 men. Death of Arslán Tásh and assassination of the Niẓámu'l-Mulk. Death of Maliksháh at Baghdad shortly afterwards. Civil war between Barkiyáruq and Muḥammad. Further progress of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ's propaganda. His lieutenant, Kiyá Buzurg-umíd, takes the Castle of Lammasar at the end of A. H. 495. (**520**) Sulṭán Muḥammad b. Maliksháh undertakes fresh operations against the Assassins, and besieges Alamút for eight years, but dies before he can effect anything. Sultán Sanjar in turn attempted to extirpate the Assassins, but was intimidated by an attempt on his life into abandoning it. Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ's meeting with his former host, Ra'ís Abu'l-Faẓl. Ascetic life of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ. During the 35 years of his rule no one made or drunk wine in his domain. He puts to death his two sons, one for wine-drinking and the other for fornication (**521**). How the custom arose amongst the Assassins of sending away their wives and daughters in time of stress to some safe place. Only twice during his reign did Ḥasan-i-Sabbáḥ come out of his house. His books and his "Esoteric" (*Báṭiní*) doctrine. He died on Wednesday the 6th of Rabíᶜ ii, A. H. 518, and was succeeded by —

(2) *Kiyá Buzurg-umíd of Rúdbár.*

He, while professing the belief of his predecessor, observed the external forms of the law of Islám. He reigned 14 years, two months and twenty days, and died on the 26th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 532.

(3) *Muḥammad b. Buzurg-umíd.*

He reigned 24 years, 8 months and 7 days, and (522) died on the 3rd of Rabíʿ i, A. H. 557. His son would have claimed the rank of Imám, but he prevented him.

(4) *Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Buzurg-umíd.*

On his father's death he again claimed to be the Imám, and professed to be the great-grandson of Nizár b. Mustanṣir. Explanations of this claim, and pedigree advanced by Ḥasan. He institutes the impious *ʿÍdu'l-Qiyám*, or „Festival of the Resurrection", on Ramaḍán 17. A. H. 559, and abrogates all outward observances of the Law (523). This Festival marks the commencement of the new era adopted instead of the *hijra* by the Ismaʿílís. Ḥasan is given the title of *ʿala Dhikrihi's-Salám* ("on his Mention be Peace"), and is called "Lord" by his followers, but by the Muslims of Qazwín "Kúra Kiyá". His heretical doctrines and antinomianism cause discontent amongst some of his followers, and he is finally killed by a scion of the House of Buwayh, who was his brother-in-law, on the 6th of Rabíʿ i, A. H. 561, after a reign of 4 years.

(5) *Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ʿala Dhikrihi's-Salám.*

On his accession (524) he put to death his father's murderer and all his relatives, and carried on his father's heretical doctrines and practices. He died after a reign of 46 years on the 10th of Rabíʿ i, A. H. 607, poisoned, as some assert, by his son and successor.

(6) *Jaláłu'd-Dín Ḥasan b. Muḥammad.*

He repudiated the heresies of his father and grandfather, enforced on his followers the observance of the Law of Islám, and was recognized by the Caliph as a Muslim and called "*Naw-Musulmán*". He invites the *ʿulamá* of Qazwín to inspect

the library of Alamút and burn such books as they consider heretical, and curses his heretical ancestors and predecessors. In A. H. 609 he sent his mother to perform the Pilgrimage, and she was highly honoured by the Caliph, and given precedence over all other princes. Permission was also given for intermarriage between members of Jalálu'd-Dín's family and the nobles of (525) Gílán and other Muslims, and he availed himself of this permission to marry four ladies of Gílán, one of whom, the daughter of the Amír of Kútam [1]), bore him ʿAlá'u'd-Dín, who afterwards succeeded him. Jalálu'd-Dín also made friends with Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Uzbek, the Atábek of Ádharbáyján, and joined him in a campaign against Mungulí the ruler of ʿIráq, as a result of which Abhar and Zanján were added to his domains. When Chingíz Khán invaded Persia, Jalálu'd-Dín made his submission and received promises of security. He died in the middle of Ramaḍán, A. H. 518 (some say from dysentery, others by poison administered by his wives and sister) after a reign of $11\frac{1}{2}$ years.

(7) *ʿAlá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Jalálu'd-Dín.*

He was only nine years old at the time of his father's death and his accession. He abandoned his father's orthodoxy, and reverted to the heretical beliefs and practices of his earlier ancestors. His madness increases the prevailing disorders. (526) Enmity between him and his son Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh. Ḥasan-i-Mázandaráni murders ʿAlá'u'd-Dín, as he lies drunk at Shír-Kúh, at the end of Shawwál, A. H. 653, after he had reigned 35 years and one month, he being then 45 years of age. Verses on his death by Mawláná Shamsu'd-Dín Ayyúb Ṭá'úsí.

(8) *Ruknu'd-Dín Khursháh b. ʿAlá'u'd-Dín.*

To avert from himself the suspicion of parricide, he put

1) Kútam is the name of a district in Gílán.

to death Ḥasan-i-Mázandaráni, his father's murderer, and his sons. He conquered the castles of Shálrúd [1]) In Khalkhál, and put their garrisons to the sword. When he had reigned one year, Húlágú Khán attacked him, and he, knowing the futility of resistance (**527**), marched out from his castle of Maymún-i-Dizh at the end of Shawwál, A. H. 654, and surrendered. In the course of about a month Húlágú took and destroyed about fifty of the Assassins' strongholds, such as Alamút, Maymún-i-Dizh, Surúsh, Surkha-Dizak, Níra, Bahrám-Dizh, Áhan-Kúh, Ẓawrán, Táj, Shayharán [2]), Firdaws, Manṣúriyya, etc. Gird-Kúh [and Lammasar] alone held out for a time, and with their fall the power of the Persian Ismaᶜílís ended. Alamút, their chief stronghold, was built by ad-Dáᶜí ila'l-Ḥaqq Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Báqirí in the reign of al-Mutawakkil in A. H. 246, and thus endured in all 410 years.

Section 10. — The Qará-Khitáy rulers of Kirmán.

These were nine in number, and reigned from A. H. 621 until A. H. 706, in all 86 years.

(1) *Buráq-i-Ḥájib.*

He was one of the *amírs* of the Gúr Khán of Qarákhitáy, and on the conquest of Qarákhitáy by Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, he entered the service of that king and attained a high rank. When Khamíd-Púr [3]), Khwárazmsháh's governor of Bukhárá, was killed by the Mongols (**528**), Buráq joined Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín. He fights and kills Shujáᶜ Abu'l-Qásim Aᶜwar-i-Zawzaní, the governor of Kirmán, takes Gawáshír, and finally, by treacherous correspondence with the Mongols, Kirmán also. He receives from the Mongols the title of Qutlugh Khán. He reigned 11 years, and (**529**) died

1) Shálrúd and Sálrúd are the usual MS. readings. Gantin's edition, pp. 512—3.
2) Most of the Paris MSS. have Shimírán, which is probably correct.
3) So in the *Jahán-Gushây*. Most MSS. of the *Guzída* have Ḥamíd-Búr or -Púr

in A. H. 632, leaving a son named Mubárak-Khwája and four daughters, Súnj Turkán, who married Chaghatáy Khán; Yáqút Turkán, who married the Atábek Quṭbu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Sháh of Yazd; Maryam Turkán, who married Muḥyi'd-Dín Amír Sám, the grandson of the Yazdí Atábek; and Khán Turkán, who married his nephew (her cousin) Quṭbu'd-Dín Táyangú. The latter succeeded Buráq-i-Ḥájib, and reigned over Kirmán for two years.

(2) *Ruknu'd-Dín Mubárak-Khwája b. Buráq.*

He defeated Táyangú, and was named ruler of Kirmán by Ogotáy. He reigned 16 years, and was dismissed in A. H. 650 [MS. 605] by Manggú Khán.

(3) *Quṭbu'd-Dín. Táyangú.*

Four months after his restoration he married Qutlugh Turkán, formerly one of the concubines of Buráq Ḥájib, who guided him with wise councils and bore him several daughters. Ruknu'd-Dín Mubárak-Khwája again began to intrigue to displace his rival, and Táyangú, having got him into his power, put him to death with his own hands in A. H. 651. (530) A pretender appears and impersonates Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh, and gathers round him many people, but is killed by Táyangú. Táyangú next surprises and massacres a number of Balúchís (Kúch u Balúch) [1]), who had by their depredations long terrorized the countryside. Táyangú finally died in Ramaḍán, A. H. 655.

(4) *Sulṭán Ḥajjáj b. Quṭbu'd-Dín.*

He was appointed by Manggú Khán to succeed his father, his mother, Qutlugh Turkán, acting as regent during his minority. She gave her daughter, Pádisháh Khátún, in marriage

1) The Kúch (Arabic Quf̣s and Quf̣s, see Yáqút, *s.v.* قُفْص, بلوص and قُفْس), are a predatory tribe inhabiting the mountains of Kirmán.

ot Abáqá Khán, thus greatly strengthening her position, and reigned for 15 years. Meanwhile her son grew up, and quarrels arose between her and him. (531) After various intrigues Ḥajjáj, displaced in his mother's favour, retired to India in A. H. 666 [1]), and Qutlugh Turkán reigned until A. H. 681, in which year she died at Tabríz, and was buried at Kirmán by her daughter Bíbí Turkán.

(5) *Sulṭán Jalálu'd-Dín Súrghatmush.*

He reigned for 9 years. His *wazír* Fakhru'l-Mulk Maḥmúd b. Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad Sháh Zawzaní prevented him from continuing on good terms with his sister Pádisháh Khátún (532), in revenge for which she afterwards killed him. She also caused her brother Jalálu'd-Dín to be strangled on Ramaḍán 27. A. H. 693, and gave it out that he had committed suicide.

(6) *Pádisháh Khátún, daughter of Quṭbu'd-Dín.*

She had been married "in the Mongol fashion" to Gaykhátú, who, when he came to the throne, conferred on her the sovereignty of Kirmán. Her verses (specimen cited). (533) She is put to death in A. H. 694 [MS. 664].

(7) *Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Muḥammad Sháh b. Ḥajjáj.*

He succeeded by command of Gházán Khán in A. H. 695, with the Qáḍí Fakhru'd-Dín Hirawí as his *wazír*. The latter is murdered in consequence of his tyranny, and Kirmán revolts. It is besieged for a year and a half, at the command of Gházán Khán, by the Amírs of ʿIráq and Fárs. (534) The Amírs suggest to Gházán Khán that he should send Sulṭán Muḥammad Sháh, who was in attendance on him, to receive the submission of the city. (535) He died of drink, after a reign of 8 years, in A. H. 703.

1) A. H. 669 in most MSS.

(8) *Quṭbu'd-Dín Sháh-Jahán b. Súrghatmush.*

He succeeded his cousin, and reigned a little more than two years and a half. On account of his tyrannies and peculations he was summoned by Uljáytú to his court, and not permitted to return, Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Burhán being sent to replace him at Kirmán. Quṭbu'd-Dín finally died in retirement at Shíráz, and was buried at Kirmán.

Section 11. — The Atábeks of Luristán.

Account of the *Zubdatu't-Tawárikh* as to the derivation of the word *Lur*. (Three explanations given, all very feeble). (536) Another legend as to the semi-diabolic origin of the Lurs in the time of Solomon, the same legend being also told of the Gílakís. Another legend makes the Lurs of semi-Arabian descent. Evidences afforded by their language. (537) Ten Arabic letters (خ، ح، ق، ف، غ، ع، ظ، ط، ص، ش) said not to occur in the Lurí dialect. The Lurs are divided into two branches.

(1) *Lur-i-Buzurg* (Greater Lurs).

The division of the Lurs into "greater" and "lesser" is said to date from about A. H. 300, when a certain Badr ruled over Lur-i-Buzurg and his brother Manṣúr over Lur-i-Kúchak. Badr had a long reign and was succeeded by his grandson Naṣíru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Khalíl b. Badr, who ruled justly, aided by his *wazír* Muḥammad b. Khurshíd. At this time half of Luristán was in the possession of the Shúls. Their chief was Sayfu'd-Dín Mákán Rúzbahání, whose ancestors had been governors of that region since Sásánian times, and whose descendants still hold that position. About A. H. 500 some hundred families of Kurds emigrated from Jabalu's-Summáq into Luristán. Their chief was Abu'l-Ḥasan Faḍlúya, who had a son named ᶜAlí. How he is wounded by his

enemies (538) but saved by his dog. ʿAlí leaves a son named Muḥammad, who was in the service of the Salgharí Atábeks. He died leaving a son named Abú Ṭáhir, who, by his courage, rose high in Sunqur's service, subdued Luristán, and became an independent sovereign. He died in A. H. 555 [1]), leaving 5 sons, Hazárasp, Bahman, ʿImadu'd-Dín Pahlawán, Nuṣratu'd-Dín Ílwákúsh, and Qizil. (539) Hazárasp succeeded his father, and ruled well and justly, so that more tribes, such as the ʿAqílís and Háshimís and some two dozen others, whose names are enumerated, migrated into the country from Jabalu's-Summáq and other places. These ultimately displace the Shúls, who are driven into Fárs, while Hazárasp extends his domain to within four parasangs of Isfahán. His wars with the Atábek Tikla. (540) The title of Atábek is conferred by the Caliph an-Náṣir on Hazárasp. On his death he is succeeded by his son Tikla, who is attacked by the Atábek Saʿd of Fárs. The Atábek's army, in spite of its size, is dispersed on the death of their leader Jamálu'd-Dín ʿUmar Lálbá. Three subsequent campaigns of the Salghurí Atábeks against Luristán are equally unfortunate. Tikla b. Hazárasp annexes portions of Lur-i-Kúchak. His country is invaded by the Caliph's generals Bahá'u'd-Dín Garshásf and ʿImádu'd-Dín Yúnus, who take captive his brother Qizil and confine him in the Castle of Láhúj (or Lámúj). (541) Tikla kills ʿImádu'd-Dín and takes captive Bahá'u'd-Dín. In A. H. 655 Tikla joins Húlágú Khán's attack on Baghdad, but, disgusted at the atrocities committed by the Mongols, withdraws to Luristán, whither he is pursued by them. (542) He finally surrenders to Húlágú on promise of amnesty, but is put to death at Tabríz. His body is conveyed to Luristán by his followers and buried. He was succeeded by Shamsu'd-Dín Alp Arghún, who restored the prosperity of the country, and ruled 15 years. He left two sons, of whom Yúsufsháh was nominated ruler of Lu-

1) This MS. reads A. H. 505, evidently an error.

ristán by Abáqá Khán, (543) who held him in high favour on account of his valour in the campaign against Gílán. On the accession of Aḥmad [Takúdar] and his quarrel with Arghún, Yúsufsháh marched with 2000 horse and 10,000 foot to the help of the former. On his defeat in Khurásán these Lúrs retreated through the desert of Ṭabas towards Naṭanz, but many of them perished of thirst. Arghún sent Yúsufsháh to seek out Shámsu'd-Dín the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, [who, on Aḥmad's defeat, had fled to Qum and Iṣfahán] and bring him to his court, and Shamsu'd-Dín gave him his daughter in marriage. Later, when Shamsu'd-Dín was put to death, Yúsufsháh returned to Luristán, where he shortly afterwards died (544) in A. H. 680 [1]), leaving two sons, Afrásiyáb and Aḥmad, of whom the former succeeded to the position of Atábek of Luristán. He ruled tyrannically, fined and otherwise maltreated Niẓámu'd-Dín, Jalálu'd-Dín and Ṣadru'd-Dín, who had faithfully served his predecessors as *wazírs*, and ruined their family, some members of which took refuge at Iṣfahán. Death of Arghún. Báydú, the Mongol governor of Iṣfahán, is killed by Qizil, Salgharsháh and others, who thereupon seized Iṣfahán in the name of Afrásiyáb. The Lurs extend their domains and inflict a defeat on the Mongols (545), who, however, returned to defeat and destroy them. In this battle one Mongol women is said to have killed ten Lurs. Afrásiyáb was ultimately pardoned by Arghún's successor, Gay Khátú, and confirmed in the government of Luristán, in which position, notwithstanding his tyranny towards his subjects, including his relations (546), he was confirmed by Gházán Khán, who, however, afterwards caused him to be put to death, and appointed his brother Nuṣratu'd-Dín Aḥmad to succeed him. This prince ruled well and wisely, sought to repair the mischief done

1) This MS. has A. H. 608, an obvious error, since Arghún's accession was in A. H. 680.

by his brother, and put in force the Sacred Law, which, says the author, has been scrupulously observed since his accession until the time of writing, a period of 35 years, so that Luristán became "the envy of Paradise" (547).

(2) *Lur-i-Kúchuk* (Lesser Lurs).

Account of the inhabitants of Luristán, both those who were and those who were not originally Lurs, and enumeration of their tribes. Until A. H. 550 these had no prince of their own, but were subject to the Caliph and his governors of Persian ʿIráq. At this date, Ḥusámu'd-Dín Súhilí, one of the Áq-sarí Turks, a follower of the Seljúqs, was governor of Luristán and part of Khúzistán. (548) Shujáʿu'd-Dín Khurshíd b. Abí Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Khurshíd was the first independent ruler of Lur-i-Kúchuk. He had two sons, Badr and Ḥaydar, of whom the latter was killed during the siege of Dizh-i-Siyáh ("the Black Fortress"). The other, Badr, and his cousin Sayfu'd-Dín Rustam, made war on the Turkish ruler of Bayát [1]), overcame him, and took his country. Sayfu'd-Dín treacherously compassed the death of Badr, who left four Sons, Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl, Badru'd-Dín Masʿúd, Sharafu'd-Dín Tahamtan and Amír ʿAlí. Shujáʿu'd-Dín died in A. H. 621 at the age of a hundred. His tomb was regarded as holy by the Lurs on account of his justice. He was succeeded (550) by Sayfu'd-Dín Rustam, who ruled justly and suppressed highway robbery with a strong hand, but was finally killed by ʿAlí, a son of the murdered Badr. (551) His brother, Sharafu'd-Dín Abú Bakr succeeded him, and he in turn was succeeded by his brother ʿIzzu'd-Dín Garshásf, who was speedily deposed (552) by Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl, and, a year later, murdered by him. War ensues between Ḥusámu'd-Dín and Shihábu'd-Dín Sulaymánsháh, the brother of ʿIzzu'd-Dín's widow and the guardian of his infant children. So

1) Bayát is the name of a district in or near Khúzistán.

fierce was the feud that in one month 31 battles were fought between them. Sulaymánsháh was at length defeated and retired into Kurdistán, but after some years returned with 60,000 horse and 9000 foot (553) and defeated and slew Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl in the plain of Shápúr-khwást. His body was burned and his head sent to Sulaymánsháh, who expressed regret at his death and composed a quatrain on his fate. This happened in A. H. 640. He was succeeded by his brother Badru'd-Dín Masᶜúd, who appealed for help to the Mongols, representing Sulaymánsháh as the *protégé* of the Caliph. He was therefore permitted to accompany Hulágú Khán's expedition, and was present at the sack of Baghdad, after which he begged that Sulaymánsháh might be surrendered to him. Sulaymánsháh was killed, and his family were given to Badru'd-Dín Masᶜúd, who took them with him to Luristán, and gave them the choice of remaining there or of returning to Baghdad. (554) Most of them remained in Luristán and married and settled down there. Badru'd-Dín Masᶜúd died in A. H. 658. His justice and piety. His sons, Jalálu'd-Dín [1]) Badr and Náṣiru'd-Dín ᶜUmar, dispute with Táju'd-Dín Sháh, the son of Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl, for the crown. They appeal to the Mongol Abáqá Khán, who decides in favour of the last-named, and puts the others to death. Táju'd-Dín reigned 17 years, and was finally put to death by Abáqá Khán in A. H. 677. The power then passed into the hands of Badru'd-Dín Masᶜúd's two sons Falaku'd-Dín Ḥasan and ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Ḥusayn, who reigned jointly for 15 years and extended their authority over Niháwand, Hamadán, Shushtar and Isfahán, and other neighbouring places. (555) The two brothers acted always in concert, and had an army of 17,000 men. Both died in the reign of Gaykhátú in A. H. 692. They were succeeded by Jamálu'd-Dín Khiḍr, son of Táju'd-Dín Sháh, who was killed by rival competitors

1) Jamálu'd-Dín in other MSS.

for the throne in A. H. 693 near Khurramábád. With him the family of Ḥusámu'd-Dín Khalíl came to an end. He was succeeded by Ḥusámu'd-Dín ᶜUmar Beg, who (556) was speedily deposed in favour of Ṣamṣámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd, who was put to death by command of Gházán Khán in A. H. 695. He was succeeded by ᶜIzzu'd-Dín [Aḥmad, the son of Amír] [1]) Muḥammad, the son of ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Ḥusayn, the son of Badru'd-Dín Masᶜúd, the son of Shujáᶜu'd-Dín Khurshíd, who was still but a child; and the effective power passed to a large extent into the hands of (557) Badru'd-Dín Masᶜúd [2]), and, after ᶜIzzu'd-Dín's death, into those of his widow Dawlat Khátún. Thenceforward the power of the dynasty gradually waned and the country passed more and more under the control of Mongol governors. Characteristics of the country of Luristán. Mineral wealth. Fauna and flora. Rivers and principal towns.

Section 12. — Account of the Mongols, preceded by an Introduction (Maṭlaᶜ), and followed by a Conclusion (Makhlaṣ).

(558) *Introduction, on the Genealogy of the Mongols.*

The author bases his account on the *Jámiᶜu't-Tawáríkh* of his "martyred master" Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, and makes Japhet the ancestor of the Turks and Mongols. Oghúz Khán. Túr. Early mythological history of wolf-parents and the like. Beginning of third century of the Flight (ninth century of the Christian era). (559) The melting of the mountain which bars the egress of the Mongols. The original home of the Mongols and its boundaries. Characteristics and government of the early Mongols. (560—564) Tables of the Mongol tribes, taken from the *Jámiᶜu't-Tawáríkh*.

1) The words enclosed in brackets are omitted in many MSS.

2) This Badru'd-Dín Masᶜúd was the son of Falaku'd-Dín Ḥasan and the grandson of the Badru'd-Dín Masᶜúd mentioned above.

Makhlaṣ (Conclusion).

565—571 Tables of the Mongol rulers descended from Chingíz Khán, down to Abú Saʿíd, the author's contemporary.

Maqṣad. The Mongol rulers of Persia, or Ilkháns.

These were 14 [1]) in number, and had reigned from A. H. 599 until the time of writing (A. H. 730) 130 years, but of this period only 114 years over Persia. Their descent was from Alánquwá of the tribe of Qúrlás [? Birúlás], one of the branches of Qunqurát. The miraculous birth (**572**) of three male children by a woman of this family in A. H. 375, one of whom, Búzanjar, was the ninth ancestor of (1) Chingíz Khán. Pedigree of Chingíz Khán. He was originally named Temúchín, and was born on Dhu'l-Qaʿda 20, A. H. 549 (= Jan. 26, A. D. 1155). Left an orphan at the age of 13, he was abandoned by his tribe, the Nírún, but re-established his supremacy over them at the age of 30. At the age of 40 he allied himself with Ung Khán, chief of the Kará'its. For 8 years these extended their joint authority over the neighbouring tribes, but afterwards quarrelled, and engaged in a strife which left Chingíz Khán supreme. He then took the title of king, and brought under his authority all the Mongols and kindred tribes, and the peoples of Cathay, Khutan, Khazar, Saqsín, Bulghár, Qirghíz, Alán, Tangut and Russia. (**573**) Convention with Sulṭán Muhammad Khwárazmsháh. Increased commercial relations between Persia and Mongolia. Treacherous murder of Mongol merchants by Ináljúq the governor of Utrár in A. H. 615. Chingíz Khán invades Persia. In A. H. 617 the Mongol Amírs Yama Noyán and Subtáy are sent against Persia, followed by Túlí Khán, Túshí Khán, Chaghatáy Khán, and Ogotáy Khán. The massacres wrought by the Mongols in Persia are unparalleled in history. (**574**) "If for a thou-

1) MS. "13", which is correct if Qubiláy Khán be omitted from the reckoning.

sand years no other calamity or disaster should befall, and justice and equity should prevail, the world would still not go as it went then". A certain great man who was asked as to the doings of the Mongols, replied: "They came, they slew, they departed and deported". In A. H. 621 they retired for a while. The lands assigned by Chingíz Khán to four of his seven sons. Death of Chingíz Khán in Ramaḍán, A. H. 624 (= Aug.—Sept., A. H. 1227) after a reign of 25 years.

(2) *Ogotáy Qá'án, son of Chingiz Qá'án.*

He was crowned in A. H. 626, two years after his father's death, and reigned 13 years. His clemency and generosity. Further conquests in Cathay in A. H. 627. (575) Final overthrow of Sulṭán Jalálu'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh in A. H. 628. Amír Jintimúr made governor of Persia until A. H. 633, when he was succeeded by Naw-sál, who died in A. H. 637 and was succeeded by Gúrkúz. After 8 years, he was put to death in A. H. 645, and was succeeded by Arghún, who held this position until his death in the reign of Abáqá Khán. Ogotáy died of excessive drinking on the 5th of Jumáda ii, A. H. 639 (= Dec. 11, A. D. 1241) Account of Túshí (who predeceased his father Chingíz by six months) and (576) his son Bátú and his successors. Account of Chaghatáy Qá'án, who predeceased his brother Ogotáy by one year. (577), and of his successors. Account of Túlí Qá'án, who died in A. H. 628 [1]) (578).

(3) *Kuyúk Qá'án, son of Ogotáy Qá'án.*

Between his father's death and his succession, his mother acted as regent for four years. He reigned only about a year, and was succeeded by —

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1) In A. H. 630, according to the *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh* (ed. Blochet, p. 221).

(4) *Mangú Qá'án, son of Túlí Qá'án.*

He was crowned in Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 648 (= June, A. D. 1250). He sends his brothers Qubiláy and Húlágú to make further conquests in the East and in the West respectively. Ídiqút, king of the Uyghúrs, plans a massacre of Muslims at Besh-Báliq, but is himself put to death. Earthquake in Ádharbáyján in A. H. 652. (579) Death of Mangú at the beginning of A. H. 657 in a Chinese campaign, after a reign of 9 years, at the age of 48.

(5) *Qubiláy Qá'án.*

He reigned 35 years, and died in A. H. 693 at the age of 83. His capital was Pekin (Khán-báligh, "Cambaluc"). His grandson Timúr Qá'án, who ruled over Cathay, and his successors, and the struggle between Christianity and Islám.

(6) *Húlágú Khán* [1]), *son of Túlí, son of Chingíz.*

He was sent to extirpate the Assassins in Persia by his brother Mangú, at the instigation of the Qáḍí Shamsu'd-Dín Aḥmad of Qazwín, in A. H. 653. (580) Surrender of Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh, the king of the Assassins, at the end of Shawwál, A. H. 654 (= Nov. 19, A. D. 1256). He is put to death. Húlagú captures and sacks Baghdád, and puts to death al-Mustaᶜṣim, the last ᶜAbbásid Caliph, on Ṣafar 6, A. H. 656 (= Feb. 12, A. D. 1258). 800,000 of the inhabitants of Baghdád are slain. Further advances of the Mongols into Asia Minor and Syria. At Damascus news reaches Húlágú of the death of Mangú, and he turns back, leaving the Amír Kítbúqá to prosecute the campaign. The Egyptians attack and rout the Mongols, and kill Kítbúqá. (581) Death of

1) Qá'án, Kháqán and Khán are all different forms of the same Mongol title, but it seems best to keep the first for the purely Mongolian rulers and the last for those (of whom Húlágú was the first) to whom was assigned the government of Persia.

Húlágú at Maráǵha in A. H. 663, after a reign of 9 years, at the age of 48. The *Zíj-i-Ílkháni* compiled for Húlágú by Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí, Mu'ayyadu'd-Dín ᶜArúḍí, Fakhru'd-Dín Akhláṭí and Najmu'd-Dín Qazwíní.

(7) *Abáqá Khán, son of Húlágú.*

He was appointed to succeed his father by his uncle Qubiláy Qá'án in Ramaḍán, A. H. 663 (June—July, A. D. 1265). Tarákáy Khátún sends an army against Persia. A battle is fought on Ṣafar 8, A. H. 664. (582) Abáqá Khán marches on Tiflis. Masᶜúd Beg b. Maḥmúd Yalwáj goes to Persia in A. H. 666. Wars of Abáqá Khán with various rivals. Birth of Gházán at the end of Rabíᶜ ii, A. H. 670 (beginning of December, A. D. 1271). Revolt of Tárábí in Bukhárá in A. H. 636 [1]). (583) Death of Arghún at Ṭús on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 20, A. H. 673. Coalition between a number of the Assassins (*Maláḥida*) and a son of Khwárazmsháh against the Mongols. They capture Alamút, but it is retaken and destroyed by Abáqá. — Earthquake at Akhláṭ and other places. Defeat of Mongols by Bunduqdár's Egyptians at Abulustayn [2]). — Muᶜínu'd-Dín Parwána put to death by Abáqá in A. H. 676. Invasion of Fárs by Nikúdár's army. Defeat of Mongols by Syrians near Ḥimṣ (Emessa). Death of Abáqá at a banquet given by Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* (584) in A. H. 680 (MS. 688) after a reign of 17 years and 3 months. The above-mentioned Shamsu'd-Dín was his minister and also his father's. — His capacity in administration and financial ability. — Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd was latterly preferred to him, and hence some suspected that he had poisoned his master Abáqá in revenge. — Death of Prince Manggú Tímúr at Baghdad in A. H. 681.

1) MS. "671", but the author of the *Jahán-Gusháy*, who was contemporary with the event, gives the date adopted in the text (vol. i, pp. 85—90 of the edition in this series).

2) So vocalized in Yáqút's Geographical Dictionary: اَبُلُسْتَيْن.

(8) *Aḥmad Khán, son of Húlágú.*

He was crowned at Aladáq [1]) in A. H. 681, and appointed as his *wazír* Shamsu'd-Dín the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, at whose instigation he put Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd to death on the 20th of Jumáda i, A. H. 681. — Rebellion of Arghún. (585), who defeated Aḥmad at Qazwín in A. H. 683. Aḥmad sacks Dámghán, and Arghún retires to the fortress of Kalát, and afterwards surrenders voluntarily and is imprisoned, though Aḥmad's *amírs* urgently counsel him to kill him. Arghún is rescued from prison by some of his followers, and defeats Aḥmad (586), who is put to death after a reign of 2 years and 2 months. ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín ᶜAṭá-Malik the *Ṣáḥib-Díwán*, brother of Shamsu'd-Dín, [author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá*] and governor of Baghdád and Arabia after the destruction of the last Caliph by Húlágú, died during Aḥmad's reign in A. H. 681.

(9) *Arghún, son of Abáqá.*

On Shaᶜbán 4, A. H. 683 (= Oct. 16, 1284) Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad Ṣáḥib-Díwán was put to death at Ahar by Arghún, on suspicion of having poisoned Abáqá Khán. He had served Arghún's grandfather, father and uncle as premier for a period of 29 years. Verses on his death, which was regarded by some as a judgement on him for having compassed the death of Majdu'l-Mulk of Yazd. (587) His son Hárún was put to death in Jumádá ii, A. H. 685 (= August, 1286). Malik Jalálu'd-Dín Hamadání was then made prime minister, but was put to death on Rajab 15, A. H. 688 (= August 5, 1289), and was succeeded by Saᶜdu'd-Dawla of Abhar, the Jew. (588) His vigorous administration. Amír Chúbán's first military achievements in A. H. 688 (= 1289). Saᶜdu'd-Dawla's hostility is aroused against Fakhru'd-Dín

1) This form alternates in the histories of the period with Aladágh, Alatáq, and Alaṭáq.

Mustawfí [1]) (589), and he causes him to be put to death on Ramaḍán 1, A. H. 689 (= Sept. 7, 1290). Arghún's illness. Saᶜdu'd-Dawla and others are put to death in Ṣafar, A. H. 690 (= February, 1291). Arghún died in the following month, after a reign of seven years. Verses on the execution of Khwája Wajíhu'd-Dín in A. H. 685.

(10) *Gay-Khátú b. Abáqá.*

Ṣadru'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Khálidí is made prime minister. (590) Gay-Khátú's extravagance and licentiousness. Revolt of the Atábek Afrásiyáb Faḍlúya in Luristán, who was afterwards put to death by Gházán and succeeded by his brother Nuṣratu'd-Dín Aḥmad, who was still Atábek when the author wrote. The attempt to establish paper currency (*cháw*) causes much discontent, which is increased by Gay-Khátú's extravagance and immorality. Baydú rebels (591), defeats Gay-Khátú, and puts him to death in Ṣafar, A. H. 694 (= January, 1295) after a reign of three years and seven months.

(11) *Baydú b. Ṭarghái b. Húlágú.*

Jamálu'd-Dín Dastgardání is made prime minister. Revolt of Gházán Khán, aided by the Amír Nawrúz and the late prime minister Aḥmad-i-Khálidí. After fierce struggles they agree that the south of Persia shall be assigned to Gházán and the north to Baydú. The latter violates the compact, and Gházán flies to Khurásán, where, in A. H. 694 (= A. D. 1295) he is persuaded by the Amír Nawrúz to embrace Islám. He subsequently defeats Baydú, whom he puts to death at Tabríz after a reign of eight months.

(12) *Gházán b. Arghún b. Abáqá.*

He succeeded to the throne at the end of A. H. 694

1) This Fakhru'd-Dín was the Author's cousin on the father's side. See p. 485 of the text (= p. 110 *supra*).

(= November, 1295), and, aided by Amír Nawrúz, devoted himself to the restoration of Islám in Persia, the destruction of the idol-temples, and the conversion of his heathen compatriots. (592) Several rebellious Mongol nobles are slain or reduced to submission. Jamálu'd-Dín Dastgardání is again made *wazír*, but is put to death two months later. He is followed by Ṣadru'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Khálidí, who checks the evil practices which have grown up in connection with the demands for horses, fodder and the like made by the innumerable *ílchís* or king's messengers. (593) Gházán Khán suspects the Amír Nawrúz of treasonable correspondence with the Sulṭán of Egypt, and first kills his brothers and sons, and finally, after a struggle in which he is assisted by Malik Fakhru'd-Dín Kart, captures Nawrúz himself near Herát and puts him to death at the end of A. H. 696 (= October, 1297). On the 21th of Rajab, A. H. 697 (= May 4, A. D. 1298) he also put to death his minister Ṣadru'd-Dín Aḥmad-i-Khálidí, and appointed in his place the author's beloved patron and master, Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh. (594) In A. H. 700 (= 1301—2) Gházán Khán also put to death Ruknu'd-Dín Ṣá'in, Qáḍí of Simnán, Sayyid Quṭbu'd-Dín Shírází, and Muᶜínu'd-Dín Ghánjí; and at the beginning of A. H. 702 (= end of August, A. D. 1302) he also put to death Niẓámu'd-Dín Yaḥyá, son of Wajíhu'd-Dín Zangí. Gházán Khán's three campaigns against Egypt, the first in A. H. 699, in which his troops were victorious, the second in which no resistance was met with, and the third, in A. H. 702, in which Gházán's troops were utterly defeated. Gházán was ill when this evil news arrived, and his illness was aggravated by the rebellion of Prince Alafrank, the son of Gaykhátú, (595) and proved fatal on Shawwál 10, A. H. 703 (= May 16, 1304). He died at Qazwín, after a reign of eight years, at the age of 30, and was buried at Tabríz, being the first of the Mongol kings whose place of burial was known to the public. In his reign was insti-

tuted the new era (still current in the author's time) known as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Khání*, which took as its starting-point Rajab 12, A. H. 701 (= March 13, 1302).

(13) *Uljáytú* (*Khudá-banda Muḥammad*) *b. Arghún.*

He was in Khurásán when the news of his brother's death arrived. He was crowned at Tabríz on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 15, A. H. 703 (= July 19, 1304), being then 23 years of age. (He was born on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 12, A. H. 680 = March 24, 1282). His reign was the most happy and prosperous of all the Mongol sovereigns. He repressed unbelief, and imposed the *jizya* (poll-tax) on Jews and Christians, besides compelling them to wear distinctive garments. (596) Birth of his son Abú Saʿíd on Wednesday, Dhu'l-Qaʿda 8, A. H. 704 (May 29, 1305). In A. H. 705 Sayyid Táju'd-Dín Gúr-surkhí, the agent of Amír Húrqúdáq, was guilty of seditious actions, and was put to death on Shawwál 20 (= May 5, 1306). In the same year certain rebellious Mongol princes and the Amírs of Egypt and Syria submitted. In A. H. 706 Gílán was subdued, and a tax imposed on its silk. In this war Amír Qutlughsháh was killed. Foundation of the cities of Sulṭániyya (east of Tabríz), Sulṭánábád (near Mount Bísutún), and Uljáytú Sulṭánábád near Múghán, by the sea-shore. Death of Uljáytú's wife Ildúzmish Khátún in Jumáda i, A. H. 708 (Oct.—Nov., 1308). Submission of Shamsu'd-Dín Áq-sunqur, lord of Ḥamá (597), Jamálu'd-Dín Afram, lord of Aleppo, and other *amírs* of Syria in that year. In A. H. 710 differences arose between the ministers Rashídu'd-Dín and Saʿdu'd-Dín, and, suspicion of a conspiracy being cast on the latter, he was put to death on Shawwál 10, A. H. 711 (= Feb. 19, 1312) at Baghdád with Amír Náṣiru'd-Dín Yaḥyá, Khwája Zaynu'd-Dín, Khwája Shihábu'd-Dín Mubáraksháh, and others. Verses by the author on this event. On Dhu'l-Ḥijja 3 of the same year Sayyid Táju'd-Dín Áwjí, a prominent Shíʿite,

was put to death, and Sayyid ᶜImádu'd-Dín ᶜAlá'u'l-Mulk was blinded, and (598) Khwája Táju'd-Dín of Tabríz was made *wazír*, on condition that he should obey Rashídu'd-Dín, by whom the author was placed in charge of the district comprising Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján and Tárimayn. In Shawwál, A. H. 712 (= February, 1313) Uljáytú marched into Syria, and reduced the fortress of Raḥba. Some of the Mongol princes invaded and ravaged Khurásán, and Uljáytú sent the Amír Shaykh ᶜAlí Qúshjí to avenge this insult. He crossed the Oxus and ravaged Tirmidh and Transoxiana, and Prince Abú Saᶜíd was appointed governor of Khurásán, with Amír Súnuj as his lieutenant. (599) In A. H. 715 (= A. D. 1315—6) a quarrel arose between the ministers Rashídu'd-Dín and Táju'd-Dín ᶜAlísháh, to whom Uljáytú gave joint powers. In the following year (A. H. 716), on Shawwál 1 (= Dec. 17, 1316), Uljáytú died at Sulṭániyya, after a reign of 12 years and 9 months, being then not quite forty years of age. Verses by the author on his death. A curious (600) ghost-story, attested by many persons, describing how the spirit of a certain Qará-Bahádur, who fell in battle with the heathen, spoke first to his family and afterwards to all the people of his town (Yangí Shahr), first from a corner of his house, and then from a stick set up in the market-place. The spirit-voice is described as like a voice issuing from a jar. (601) After three days it ceased entirely.

(14) *Abú Saᶜíd Bahádur Khán b. Uljáytú.*

On receiving news of his father's death, Abú Saᶜíd at once left Khurásán, which was immediately seized by Prince Yusúr and Amír Begtút. Abú Saᶜíd was crowned in Ṣafar, A. H. 717 (= April—May, 1317), being then 12 years of age, and Amír Chúbán at first acted as regent. Fines imposed on Amír Tuqmáq and Qutlughsháh Khátún. (602) Amír Chúbán sends an expedition against Prince Yusúr and Amír

Begtút in Khurásán, and brings them to submission. Renewed quarrels between the ministers Rashídu'd-Dín and ᶜAlíshàh. As a result of intrigues the former was dismissed from his post and sent to Tabríz in disgrace. (603) In the winter Abú Saᶜíd went to Baghdad, where, on Dhu'l-Qaᶜda 20, A. H. 717 (= Jan. 24, 1318) the Amír Súinuj died. In the spring Abú Saᶜíd returned to Sulṭániyya, while Amír Chúbán went to hunt in Ádharbáyján, taking Rashídu'd-Dín with him, in spite of his unwillingness to leave Tabríz. The partisans of his rival ᶜAlíshàh succeeded in poisoning the minds of Sulṭán Abú Saᶜíd and the Amír Chúbán against him, and finally on the 18th of Jumáda i, A. H. 718 (= July 18, 1318) he was put to death, with his son ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Ibráhím, near Abhar. (604) Overthrow of Amír Zanbúr in Ramaḍán of this year, on account of his opposition to Amír Chúbán, who had made himself very unpopular by his severities. War between Qúrmishí and Chúbán. (605) The latter is extricated from his embarrassments by Táju'd-Dín ᶜÁlíshàh. Further mischief wrought in Ádharbáyján by the Amírs Iranchín and Qurmishí, both of whom belonged to the Karáyit tribe of the Mongols. Sulṭán Abu Saᶜíd meets them in battle at Miyána in Rabíᶜ ii, A. H. 719 (= May—June, 1319), and utterly routs and destroys them. It was on account of the Sulṭán's courage in this battle that he received (606) the title of *Bahádur*. On Rajab 20, A. H. 719 (= Sept. 6, 1319) Amír Chúbán married Sátí Beg, the daughter of 'Uljáytú. Death of Amír Ḥusayn b. Áq-búqá in Muḥarram, A. H. 722 (= Jan.—Feb., 1322). Amír Timúr-tásh, son of Amír Chúbán, governor of Rúm (Asia Minor), revolted, but was reduced to obedience by his father, who put to death his evil counsellors, and brought him to the Sulṭán, who shortly afterwards reinstated him. Death of the minister ᶜAlíshàh in Jumáda ii, A. H. 724 (= June, 1324) at 'Ujáin. He was the only minister of the Mongols who died a natural death, and was succeeded by his son

Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, who was soon, however, displaced by Malik Nuṣratu'd-Dín ᶜÁdil, called Ṣá'in Wazír. (607) In A. H. 725 (= A. D. 1325) Amír Chúbán, passing through Gurjistán, invaded the realms of Uzbek Khán, and devastated them, to avenge the devastation wrought by him when he came to Persia. Dismissal of Ṣá'in Wazír from the position of Grand Wazír. Dimashq-Khwája, son of Chúbán, succeeds him. Amír Chúbán sends his eldest son Ḥasan against Zábul and Kábul to attack Tirma Shírín, whom he defeated. He then ravaged those countries, and defaced the tomb of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. To this impious act the author ascribes the fall of the family of Chúbán which shortly ensued. (608) The king, alarmed at the growing power of this family, sought an occasion against them, and on Shawwál 5, A. H. 727 (= Aug. 24, 1327) a rumour was put about that Chúbán had been put to death in Khurásán, and an attack was made on the house of his son Dimashq-Khwája, who was killed. Verses by Shamsu'd-Dín of Sáwa on this subject. Chúbán, on receiving this news, put to death Ṣá'in Wazír the ex-minister in revenge at Herát, and marched on ᶜIráq. The king hastened from Sulṭániyya to meet him. When Chúbán reached Ray and the king Qazwín, many of the *amírs* who were with Chúbán deserted him and joined the King, whereupon he fled with his women, leaving the bulk of his baggage. At each stage he left behind some of his followers, so that finally, having crossed the desert, he reached Herát with only 17 followers, and there sought shelter from Malik Ghiyáthu'd-Dín [Kart], who, in Muḥarram, A. H. 728 (= Nov.—Dec., 1327), treacherously slew him, together with his son Jaláw Khán and several of his principal followers. But Ghiyáthu'd-Dín [Kart] did not profit by his treachery, for shortly afterwards both he and his son Ḥáfiẓ died. Tímúr-Tásh, another of Chúbán's sons, fled to the Sulṭán of Egypt, who, fearing his popularity, put him to death in

Shawwál, A. H. 728 (= August, 1328), and sent his head to Sulṭán Abú Saʿíd. (610) Chúbán's son Ḥasan and his son fled to Khwárazm, where they were honoured by king Uzbek, but soon afterwards Ḥasan was killed in battle, and his son died a natural death. Shaykh Maḥmud, another of Chúbán's sons, who was governor of Gurjistán, was taken prisoner by Abú Saʿíd's troops and put to death at Tabríz, and in short the family of Chúbán was practically exterminated. Thereupon Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, son of the talented but unfortunate Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, the author's master and patron, was made prime minister, jointly with Khwája ʿAláʿu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. ʿImádu'd-Dín, but six months later all the power was vested in him, (611) while his ex-coadjutor was placed in charge of the finances of the Empire and appointed *wazír* to the governor of Khurásán. Execution of Nárín-Ṭagháy and Tásh-Timúr at the beginning of Shawwál, A. H. 729 (= July 29, A. D. 1329). Praises of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Niẓám al-Ḥusayní al-Yazdí. Verses cited from Ẓahíru'd-Dín Fáryábí. The author prays for the long life and prosperity of Sulṭán Abú Saʿíd and of his just and accomplished ministers.

[ADDITIONAL CHAPTER, OMITTED IN MOST MSS. AND NOT INCLUDED IN THE ORIGINAL.

Account of the Muẓaffarí Dynasty, which included seven rulers, and reigned in Fárs, etc. from A. H. 718—795, a period of 77 years.

Pp. 613—755.]

Mawláná Muʿínu'd-Dín Yazdí wrote a history of this dynasty, which however, is written in so florid a style (614) and contains so many exaggerations that the writer of this chapter, Maḥmúd Kutbí (?)[1]), having read the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*,

1) The diacritical points and correct reading of this word are doubtful. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 82.

determined to enrich its contents with a brief account of the House of Muẓaffar, from the time of its rise to power until its destruction by Tímúr-i-Lang (Tamerlane). (615) The author, who composed this treatise in A. H. 823 (A. D. 1420), describes his qualifications for this task, and asks the indulgence of his readers (616).

(1) *Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad.*

He was the son of al-Muẓaffar, son of al-Manṣúr, son of al-Ḥájj Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, who was from Khwáf in Khurásán. His ancestors had come thither from Arabia in the time of the Muḥammadan Conquest, and six centuries later, in the time of the Mongol Invasion, they retreated southwards to Yazd. The Ḥájji had three sons, Abú Bakr, Muḥammad and Manṣúr. The two former were attached to the service of the Atábek ʿAlá'u'd-Dawla [1]) of Yazd. When Hulágú Khán marched against Baghdád, the Atábek sent Abú Bakr b. al-Ḥájji with 300 horsemen to assist him. After the capture of Baghdád, this Abú Bakr was sent with an army to the Egyptian frontier, and was killed in battle by the Arabs of Khafája. His brother Muḥammad succeeded him as lieutenant to the Atábek of Yazd, until he also died, leaving no issue.

Manṣúr b. Ḥájji.

The third brother, Manṣúr, dwelt at the little town of Maybud near Yazd, and assisted his father during his lifetime. He had three sons, Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad, Zaynu'd-Dín ʿAlí, and Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar. The first had one son, Amír Badru'd-Dín Abú Bakr, who was the father of Sháh Sulṭán.

Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar.

He was the youngest of the three brothers, but the most

1) MS. ʿAlá'u'd-Dín. See the foot-note on p. 118.

virtuous and talented. (617) He dreamed that the sun arose from the house of the Atábek ᶜAlá'u'd-Dawla and entered the collar of his robe. When he rose up, the sun broke into several pieces and fell from his skirt. He enquired the interpretation of this dream, and was informed that it portended the passing of the power from the present Atábeks to his family, where it would remain for as many years as the number of the pieces into which the sun had broken. He was entrusted shortly afterwards by the Atábek Yúsuf-Sháh b. ᶜAlá'u'd-Dawla with the government of the Maybud district, and succeeded in clearing the mountains there of a band of brigands from Shíráz who had taken up these abode there. Yúsuf-sháh, having killed the ambassadors of Arghún, was obliged to flee from Yazd towards Sístán. Muẓaffar accompanied him, but, an attempt having been made on his life, he left them, and came in A. H. 685 (= A. D. 1286) to Kirmán, where he was well received by Sulṭán Jalálu'd-Dín Súrghitmish Qará-Khitáy (618). After a while he returned to Yazd, and soon afterwards was presented to Arghún, who employed him in his service. Gay-Khátú shewed him even greater favours. The Atábek Afrásiyáb b. Yúsufsháh revolted in Luristán, and Gay-Khátú sent against him an army commanded by Muẓaffar, who, thanks to his influence and local knowledge, succeeded in pacifying the Atábek Afrásiyáb and bringing him back to his allegiance. After the death of Gay-Khátú, in Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 694 (= Jan.—Feb. A. D. 1295), Muẓaffar repaired to Gházán's camp, received all the insignia of authority, and was appointed *Amír-Hazára*, or chief of a thousand men. (619) In the middle of Jumáda ii, A. H. 700 (= end of February, A. D. 1301) the Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad was born. On the death of Gházán and accession of Uljáytú in A. H. 703 (= A. D. 1303—4), Muẓaffar was assigned, in addition to the district of Maybud, the care of the roads from Ardistán to Kirmánsháh and from Herát and

Merv [1]) to Abarqúh. He also accompanied the Sulṭán on his campaign against Gílán. At this time the *wazír* Rashídu'd-Dín had a grudge against Muẓaffar, but his deputy, Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín Káshí, succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. In A. H. 707 (= A. D. 1307—8) Muẓaffar was sent to Yazd and Shíráz, accompanied by his son Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad. In A. H. 711 (= A. D. 1311—12) when Uljáytú marched to Baghdád, Muẓaffar met him at Khániqín. A little later he was charged with the duty of subduing the rebellious Shabánkára. (620) Shortly after this he fell ill, and, though he rallied after three months, he had a relapse (caused, as was supposed by poison administered by his enemies) and died on Dhu'l-Qa'da 13, A. H. 713 (= March 1, 1314). His body was conveyed to Maybud and buried in a college which he had erected and endowed. He left one son (Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad) and three daughters [2]). His younger daughter was married to his nephew Badru'd-Dín Abú Bakr, to whom she bore Sháh Sulṭán. One of his daughters was the mother of Sulṭán Aḥmad's wife, while the other was the mother of Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymánsháh b. Maḥmúd b. Kamál.

Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad.

He was only thirteen years of age on the death of his father Muẓaffar. He was brave, orthodox, and a patron of learning, but cruel, bloodthirsty and treacherous. (621) He is despoiled by his rivals. Sharp fight with the Nikúdarís, in which his sister and other women take part. He is confirmed in his father's offices by Uljáytú, with whom he remains for four years. At the beginning of Shawwál, A. H.

1) Here and again on p. 634 of the original (p. 159 *infra*) the MS. has مروست, perhaps an error for مَرْوَدَشْت, the well-known plain by Persepolis and north of Shíráz.

2) MS. "two", but three are afterwards enumerated.

716 (= Dec. 17, 1316) Uljáytú died, and was succeeded by his son Abú Saʿíd. In A. H. 717 (= A. D. 1317—8) Mubárizu 'd-Dín returned to Maybud. (622) Sayyid ʿAḍudu'd-Dín Yazdí repelled. Amír Kay-Khusraw b. Maḥmúd Sháh Injú [1]), a descendant of Ḳhwája ʿAbdu'lláh Anṣárí, whose family had for years ruled the southern coast of Persia, came to Yazd at this juncture, and, propitiated by the gift of a horse, made great friends with Mubárizu'd-Dín. The Atábek Ḥájji Sháh, the last of the Atábeks of Yazd, had a quarrel with the lieutenant of Amír Kaykhusraw and killed him. Thereupon Sulṭán Abú Saʿíd ordered (623) Mubárizu'd-Dín and Kay-Khusraw to attack Ḥájji Sháh, who, after a great battle, was completely crushed. In Shawwál, A. H. 718 (= Dec., 1318) Mubárizu'd-Dín visited the court and was confirmed in his governments. Soon afterwards the Sístánís, known as Nikúdarís, led by a certain Nawrúz, revolted. Mubárizu'd-Dín, then only 18 years of age, attacked them with only 60 horsemen. A fierce conflict ensued (624), in which Mubárizu'd-Dín was victorious, and pursued the Nikúdarís as far as Báfq, killing many of them, including Nawrúz. The captives and heads of the slain were sent to the Sulṭán's court, and there was wailing and lamentation in every household of the Nikúdarís, who, however, long continued the struggle, so that it required 13 or 14 years fighting and some 21 battles to reduce them finally to submission.

Birth of Sháh Muẓaffar.

(625) Sháh Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar was born in A. H. 725 (= A. D. 1325). He was brave, pious and virtuous. His mother died while he was still young, and was buried at Kirmán in

1) MS. has "Muḥammad", here, but further on "Maḥmúd", which is confirmed by the *Jahán-árá* (Brit. Mus., Or. 141, f. 167^a). 'Injú is a Mongol word denoting Crown lands or Royal estates, and was given to this family as a title because to them was entrusted the charge of these lands.

the college of Jamál-i-ᶜUmarí which his father had built. In A. H. 729 (= A. D. 1328—9) Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad went to Kirmán to marry Qutlugh Khán, the daughter of Sulṭán Quṭbu'd-Dín Sháh Jahán b. Sultán Jalálu'd-Dín Súrghitmish b. Sulṭán Quṭbu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Amír Ḥusámu 'd-Dín Khamítbúr [1]) Táyangú b. Guldúz-i-Qará-Khitá'í. It happened that she had gone with her father to Shíráz, and thither Mubárizu'd-Dín followed her. His suit was successful, and his bride followed him to Yazd, and he met her at Abarqúh. Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín b. ᶜIzzu'd-Dín was at this time *wazír*.

Birth of Sháh Shujáᶜ.

Jalálu'd-Dín Sháh Shujáᶜ was born on Wednesday, 22 Jumáda ii, A. H. 733 (= March 10, 1333). (626) In A. H. 734 (= A. D. 1333—4) Amír Muḥammad again visited the Camp of Sulṭán Abú Saᶜíd, accompanied by his son Sháh Muẓaffar, and received from the Sulṭán the most notable marks of favour. Thereafter Mubárizu'd-Dín visited the Shrine of ᶜAlí b. Abí Ṭálib.

Death of Sulṭán Abú Saᶜíd.

On the death of Abú Saᶜíd in A. H. 736 (= 1335—6), chaos ensued (627), and pretenders to the throne arose on all sides. The *wazír*, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Rashídu'd-Dín placed Arpá on the throne, but Amír ᶜAlí Páshá [2]), the maternal uncle of the late Sulṭán, disapproved of this choice, attacked Tabríz, routed Arpá's troops, and put him and the *wazír* Ghiyáthu'd-Dín to death. In Jumáda i, A. H. 737 (= Dec. 1336) Sháh Quṭbu'd-Dín Maḥmúd was born.

1) In the *Jahán-gushá* this person is repeatedly mentioned under the name of "Khamídbúr". This MS. of the *Guzída* has "Khamítar", probably for "Khamítbúr, a variant of the other form.

2) This, as Mírzá Muḥammad points out, seems to be the earliest recorded use of the title of *Páshá*. That it was borne by this Amír ᶜAlí is confirmed by Ibn Taghrí-bardí and the *Jahán-árá*.

The Amír Abú Isḥáq Shaykh goes to Yazd.

Shíráz was ruled by the sons of Maḥmúd Sháh [Ínjú] (628), of whom the eldest, Amír Jalálu'd-Dín Masᶜúd Sháh, was supreme. His youngest brother Jamálu'd-Dín Shaykh Abú Isḥáq [1]) went to Yazd, and was met at a distance of one parasang from that city by Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad. Thence he went to Kirmán, where he raised an army and returned to Yazd, which he endeavoured, but failed, to capture by stratagem. (629) At the intercession of Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín ᶜAlí Bá ᶜImrán he retired.

The Repentance of Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad.

In A. H. 740 (= A. D. 1339—40) Mubárizu'd-Dín b. Muẓaffar, being then forty years of age, adopted the life of a devotee.

Amír Pír Ḥusayn comes to Fárs.

Mubárizu'd-Dín's devout life was interrupted by a summons to join Amír Pír Ḥusayn, who was marching on Shíráz. After some hesitation he consented, and the two met at Iṣṭakhr. On hearing this, Amír Masᶜúd Sháh b. Maḥmúd Sháh [Ínjú], the governor of Shíráz, escaped to Kázarún, whither he was pursued by Mubárizu'd-Dín. (630), who, having put him to flight, returned to lay siege to Shíráz. After a fierce sortie, the defenders were reduced to great straits, and finally capitulated to Amír Pír Ḥusayn, who conferred on Mubárizu'd-Dín the government of Kirmán. Thither he proceeded in the same year (A. H. 740), and took possession of that city without encountering any resistance from its ruler, Malik Quṭbu'd-Dín b. Náṣiru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Burhán, who with his father, had ruled there for 35 years. (631) Mubárizu'd-Dín disbanded his army and sent for Sháh Shujáᶜ, who arrived a few days later.

1) Many of the poems of Ḥáfiẓ are in praise of this prince.

The army of Khurásán marches on Kirmán.

On the loss of Kirmán, Malik Quṭbu'd-Dín set out for Khurásán, and asked for help from the king of Herát, who lent him an army of Ghúrís under the command of Malik Dá'úd. This army advanced to within four parasangs of Kirmán before Mubárizu'd-Dín was informed of its approach. He thereupon withdrew to Anár on the road to Yazd, and sent news to Amír Pír Ḥusayn. Having collected an army, he marched back to Kirmán to attack the invaders, while Sháh Muẓaffar and Sháh Sulṭán aided him to the utmost of their power (632) The Khurásánís were driven back into the city, while Mubárizu'd-Dín alighted in the Mazdakán (?) quarter, subdued all the suburbs, and shortly afterwards routed the Khurásánís. Malik Quṭbu'd-Dín again sought help from Herát. Meanwhile Amír Pír Ḥusayn arrived from Shíráz to help Mubárizu'd-Dín, and the defenders of the city were hard pressed. Many notable men amongst them, such as Khwája Táju'd-Dín ʿIráqí, came out and made their submission. In Jumáda ii, A. H. 741 (= Nov.—Dec. 1340) the city capitulated, Malik Dá'úd retired to Khurásán, and Mubárizu 'd-Dín took possession of Kirmán. In the same year was born Sulṭán ʿImádu'd-Dín Aḥmad.

(633) *Conquest of Bam.*

The strong fortress of Bam was held by Akhí Shujáʿu'd-Dín, who had been appointed its governor in the life-time of Sulṭán Abú Saʿíd, and who had already on several occasions fought and worsted the governors of Kirmán. Mubárizu'd-Dín, anxious to put a stop to his ambitions, despatched against him Qutlugh-sháh, and followed in person. A prolonged siege ensued, but the city was (634) finally captured, after a siege of three or four years. Akhí Shujáʿu'd-Dín was spared at the time, but was afterwards killed.

War with the Arabs.

Certain Arabs in Herát, Merv [1]), Ṣaḥn-i-Rúdhán, Rafsinján and Shahr-i-Bábak betook themselves to robbery, and Mubárizu'd-Dín with his son Sháh Muẓaffar and his *wazír* Ruknu'd-Dín Maḥmúd b. Rashíd set out to attack them, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. (635) Birth of Sháh Yaḥyá on Sunday, Muḥarram 14, A. H. 744 (= June 8, 1343). His name was determined by an augury drawn from the Qur'án, and the title of Nuṣratu'd-Dín was conferred on him on account of the recent victory over the Arabs.

Ministry of Khwája Burhánu'd-Dín.

This minister, who was the son of Kamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Maᶜálí, claimed descent from the Caliph ᶜUthmán. His father, after visiting the two Sacred Cities, came to Yazd, and there founded many mosques, hospitals and colleges. He died in A. H. 738 (= A. D. 1337—8). His son Burhánu'd-Dín then went to Shíráz, and in A. H. 742 (= A. D. 1341—2) was chosen *wazír* by Mubárizu'd-Dín. In A. H. 752 (= A. D. 1351—2) he retired, but when Fárs was added to the Muẓaffarí domains in A. H. 756 (= A. D. 1355) he received the double office of Chief Judge and Grand Wazír.

Account of Amír Pír Ḥusayn and Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq.

(636) Attempts made by mischief-makers to sow discord between Amír Pír Ḥusayn and Mubárizu'd-Dín. In A. H. 742 (= A. D. 1341—2) the government of Iṣfahán was given to Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, who joined Malik Ashraf [b. Tímúr-tásh b. Chúpán] when he marched against ᶜIráq and Fárs. Amír Pír Ḥusayn was at Qaṣr-i-Zard collecting troops and munitions of war (637). He set out with a large army for

1) See *supra*, p. 154, *ad calc.* It is probable that "Herát" also is a mistake, and that both the places here referred to, like those following, were in the Kirmán district.

Iṣfahán, but was deserted by the Qáḍí Shamsu'd-Dín Ṣá'in and Amír Jalálu'd-Dín Ṭayyibsháh, the commander of the Turkmán army, who deserted to Malik Ashraf. Amír Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Salghar urged him to seek help from Mubárizu 'd-Dín, but this his suspicions prevented him from doing, and he set out that same night for Tabríz to seek help from his cousin, Amír Shaykh Ḥasan b. Timúrtásh, who, however, cast him into prison. Most of his captains, including Ẓahíru 'd-Dín Ibráhím-i-Ṣawáb, thereupon joined Mubárizu'd-Dín, who thus became possessed of an uncontested domain. (638) In Muḥarram, A. H. 744 (= June, 1343) a battle took place at Ná'in between Malik Ashraf and Sháh Muẓaffar and Sháh Sulṭán. Malik Ashraf was defeated and retired to Sulṭaniyya and Tabríz, where he collected a great army to invade Fárs. He plundered and massacred, and in the valley of Shi'b Bawwán, so celebrated for its natural beauties, he smoked to death some 2000 people who had taken refuge in a cave. (639) Malik Ashraf is recalled to Tabríz. The strong fortress of Sírján capitulates, and agrees to pay a yearly tribute of 100,000 *dínárs*. Khwája Táju'd-Dín 'Iráqí saves himself from death at the hands of Mubárizu'd-Dín by a verse of poetry (640).

Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq goes to Kirmán.

On the departure of Malik Ashraf from Fárs, Amír Shaykh's power greatly increased, and he assumed the title of king and struck coins and caused the *khuṭba* to be read in his name. In Ṣafar, A. H. 748 (= May—June, 1347) he marched on Kirmán, attacking Sírján on the way, and destroying the town with some 1200 of the inhabitants, but leaving the citadel unreduced. On reaching Bahrámjird, some 15 parasangs from Kirmán, he ascertained that Mubárizu'd-Dín was awaiting him with a large army, whereupon he retired to Shíráz. (641) On his arrival there he made Amír Ẓahíru'd-Dín Ibráhím-i-Ṣawáb

his *wazír*, and when he was assassinated shortly afterwards he appointed Sayyid Ghiyáthu'd-Dín ʿAlí and Shamsu'd-Dín Ṣá'in jointly to this post. The latter was soon compelled by the jealousy of the former to retire. He went to Hurmuz and the coast of the Persian Gulf, collected a large following, raided many towns, and finally determined to attack Kirmán, but was defeated and slain by Mubárizu'd-Dín. (642) On hearing this news, Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥaq marched on Kirmán to take vengeance on Mubárizu'd-Dín, but was defeated in a great battle and retired on Shíráz by way of Taft.

Account of the Hazára.

Mubárizu'd-Dín, finding the Afgháns settled in the SE. of Persia disobedient and disloyal, distinguished the loyal Jurmá'ís with a special badge, and ordered the Afgháns to be extirpated. (643) Amír Dawlatsháh, the chief of the latter, was put to death with seven other *amírs*.

Defeat of Mubárizu'd-Dín by the Afgháns [1]).

Soon after Mubárizu'd-Dín had returned to Kirmán, he heard (644) that the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís had united and were plundering the country. Thereupon he marched against them, and the two forces met in the plain of Kháwun (?) The Afgháns were at first defeated, but returned while Mubárizu 'd-Dín's troops were engaged in plundering, and made a fresh attack, in which Mubárizu'd-Dín sustained seven wounds and nearly lost his life. Idolatrous rites and sacrifices of Afgháns, taken from the Mongols, enabled Mubárizu'd-Dín to obtain from the doctors of Islám a declaration that this was a holy war and he a *Ghází* or champion of the faith.

1) I am not sure whether by "Afgháns" or "Awgháns" (اوغانیان) the Author means the people whom we know under this name, but in any case (as appears from pp. 643, l. 5, 649, l. 9, and especially 662, ll. 12—13) he evidently regarded them and the Jurmá'ís as Mongol tribes.

He returned safely to Kirmán, where Sháh Shujá[c] and the *wazír* Burhánu'd-Dín were awaiting him.

(645) *Faithlessness of Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq.*

Mubárizu'd-Dín and Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq had made a treaty, one of the objects of which was to prevent the Afghans from making their way to Shíráz. When, however, the former sent Khwája Ḥájji Daylam there, the Afghans had already been received with honour. Abú Isḥáq, feeling ashamed, detained them, and sent 5000 men to help Mubárizu'd-Dín, but they had secret instructions to desert to the enemy in the middle of the battle. This treachery became known to Mubárizu'd-Dín, and thereupon Abú Isḥaq openly broke with him, and sent 2000 men under Amír Sulṭánsháh Jándár to help the Afghans, while he himself set out for Yazd, which he entered without fighting, Sháh Muẓaffar being at Kirmán. On hearing this, Sháh Muẓaffar at once marched to Maybud near Yazd, where his sons then were. He proceeded to garrison and fortify the place. Abú Isḥáq at once sent troops against him (646) under Muḥammadí and Zawára-i-Iṣfahání, but Sháh Muẓaffar routed them and took 70 of their chief men prisoners. Thereupon Abú Isḥáq sent some 20,000 men against Maybud, but these also failed to capture the fortress, and peace was concluded.

Events in Kirmán.

Meanwhile Amír Sulṭánsháh Jándár with his Afghans advanced on Kirmán, but Mubárizu'd-Dín kept them at a distance of four parasangs from the city. When Abú Isḥáq returned from Maybud he sent Sayyid Ṣadru'd-Dín to Kirmán to negotiate. Mubárizu'd-Dín complained of (647) Abú Isḥáq's faithlessness, but promised, out of compassion for the people, to abandon the war and make no attempt at

retaliation. So peace was concluded, and Sulṭánsháh returned to Shíráz.

Account of the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís.

Finding no party willing to support them, the Afgháns submitted, and in one day received 1000 robes of honour, while some of their *amírs* attached themselves to the Court at Kirmán. At this juncture Muḥammad Beg, son-in-law of Malik Ashraf, marched against ʿIráq, and asked help from Mubárizu'd-Dín, who set out to follow them when they had nearly reached Iṣfahán, accompanied by some of the Afgháns. Treacherous intentions becoming apparent on their part, Mubárizu'd-Dín slew a great number of those who had accompanied him, and of those who were at Kirmán. Amír Tímúr, one of the bravest captains of Abú Isḥáq, was also put to death on suspicion of treachery (648).

Campaign in the Garm-sír.

Winter being now near at hand, Mubárizu'd-Dín and his son Sháh Shujáʿ, who was then 16 years of age, set out for Jíraft. On arriving there, they found the Afgháns holding the Qalʿa-i-Sulaymání. Abú Isḥáq again violated his promise and allowed the Afgháns at Shíráz to march thither with Amír Sulṭánsháh Jándár, to collect the taxes from Mukrán, Hurmuz, etc. On arriving near Mubárizu'd-Dín's camp a message reached them from Abú Isḥáq that he was sending six regiments to reinforce them, and that they should proceed to Kirmán. Amír Sulṭánsháh communicated this letter to Mubárizu'd-Dín. (649) This was the seventh time that Abú Isḥáq had violated his promises. Desultory fighting and raiding went on until the spring came and the weather grew hot, when Mubárizu'd-Dín returned to Kirmán, whither he was followed by Sulṭánsháh, on whom he conferred many favours. As summer advanced they withdrew into the cooler

region. Then the Mongol [1]) officers came and made their submission, and returned to Kirmán. The Nawrúzís, another tribe of Mongols [1]), had always been loyal and peaceable, and so secured their safety. In A. H. 752 (= A. D. 1351—2) (650) a mosque was built outside the Zarand gate of the old city of Kirmán, and Mawláná ᶜAfífu'd-Dín, son of Muḥammad-i-Yaᶜqúb, was invited to come from Yazd and open it. Other buildings were erected with money derived from Mubárizu'd-Dín's estates at Maybud, and in A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354) Muᶜínu'd-Dín Yazdí, the author of the original of this chronicle, was appointed professor in one of these colleges named the *Dáru's-Siyádat.*

Ministry of Qiwámu'd-Dín.

In A. H. 750 (= A. D. 1349—50) Qiwámu'd-Dín Muḥammad became *wazír* to Sháh Shujáᶜ. In A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354) he was made viceroy. Next year he was *Qá'im-Maqám* of Kirmán, and acted as adviser and instructor to Sháh Shujáᶜ.

Abú Isḥáq again marches on Yazd.

In A. H. 751 (= A. D. 1350—1) Abú Isḥáq, with a great army, laid siege to Yazd, whither Sháh Muẓaffar brought his sons from Maybud. (651) A battle takes place, in which several of Abú Isḥáq's officers are killed. A siege follows, but finally Abú Isḥáq has to retire to Shíráz. Grievous famine ensues in Yazd, and many die.

Conquest of Amír Beg Jakáz.

When Amír Beg Jakáz deserted the cause of Malik Ashraf, he came to Abú Isḥáq and was made commander of his army. After the retreat of Abú Isḥáq from Yazd, he was sent with Amír Kayqubád b. Kay-Khusraw in command of an army

1) *i. e.* the Awgháns or Afgháns, whom the author regards as a tribe of Mongols. See *supra*, p. 161, *ad calc.*

against Kirmán. Mubárizu'd-Dín, on hearing this, made a treaty for mutual defence with the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís (652), for each side had lost some 800 men in the recent wars, and so reconciliation was possible without dishonour. He also summoned Sháh Shujá^{c} from Kirmán and Sháh Muẓaffar from Yazd, and they foregathered at Rafsinján. Mubárizu'd-Dín and Amír Beg Jakáz met at Panj Angusht in Jumáda i, A. H. 753 (= June—July, 1352), and, after a fierce battle, Amír Beg's force was utterly routed and retired to Shíráz, while rich spoils fell into the hands of the victors, including a harp encrusted with jewels belonging to the Amír Kayqubád, the price of which enabled Mubárizu'd-Dín to equip and train 70 horsemen.

(653) *Conquest of Shíráz by Mubárizu'd-Dín.*

Mubárizu'd-Dín now decided to march on Shíráz, and first moved to Bam, where he received from Murtaḍá A^{c}ẓam Shamsu'd-Dín ^{c}Alí of Bam a sacred relic to which his future good fortune is ascribed, namely a hair of the Prophet, which was afterwards deposited in the *Dáru's-Siyádat* of Kirmán. (654) Mubárizu'd-Dín then proceeded to Ríqán, where he nominated Jalálu'd-Dín Sháh Shujá^{c} his successor. Abú Isḥáq, hearing of the approaching attack, consulted the nobles and ^{c}*ulamá*. One of the latter, ^{c}Aḍudu'd-Dín ^{c}Abdu'r-Raḥmán al-Ījí advised him to make peace, and, his advice being accepted, he set out to seek Mubárizu'd-Dín. At Sírján he met Sháh Muẓaffar, who was coming from Yazd, and they proceeded together, coming up with Mubárizu'd-Dín in the plain of Arzúya (?) and Dasht-bard. Mubárizu'd-Dín received al-Ījí very graciously and assigned him an allowance of 50,000 *dínárs* and 10,000 for his attendants. He also read Ibn Ḥájib's Commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal* with Sháh Shujá^{c}. He also tried to dissuade Mubárizu'd-Dín from continuing his march on Shíráz, but the latter declined, on the ground that Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq

had already violated his promises eight times, and proceeded to Furg and Ṭárim, while al-Íjí went by way of Nayríz to Shabánkára. (655) Mubárizu'd-Dín reached Fárs in Ṣafar, A. H. 754 (= March, 1353), and Abú Isḥáq advanced to meet him with an army, but fell back next day on Shíráz, whither he was followed by Mubárizu'd-Dín.

Capture of the Castle of Sarband.

Majdu'd-Dín of Sarband surrendered his castle, and was confirmed in the Wardenship of it and of Khafrak, but soon rebelled, whereupon Mubárizu'd-Dín, accompanied by his son Sháh Shujá^{c}, attacked and subdued it. Majdu'd-Dín and his elder son went to Shíráz, while his younger son and his followers were captured and put to death. He then returned to lay siege to Shíráz but fell ill for a time, while Sháh Muẓaffar was also taken seriously ill, and (656), notwithstanding all that the physicians could do, died in Jumáda ii, A. H. 754 (= July, 1353) and was buried at Maybud in the Muẓaffariyya College. He was 28 years and a half in age when he died, and left four sons, Sháh Yaḥyá, Sháh Manṣúr, Sháh Ḥusayn and Sháh ^{c}Alí, and two daughters.

Capture of the Red Castle (Qal^{c}a-i-Surkh).

Shortly after this, Sháh Shujá^{c} set out to capture the Red Castle situated 4 Parasangs from Shíráz, which was occupied by some of Abú Isḥáq's troops. It was reduced, and the spoils were divided by Sháh Shujá^{c} amongst his troops. Meanwhile Mubárizu'd-Dín, in spite of his illness, continued to prosecute the siege of Shíráz. On Friday, 6th of Rabí^{c} i, A. H. 754 (= April 11, 1353) Ḥájji Qiwámu'd-Dín Ḥasan, one of the chief men of Fárs (657), died, to the great grief of Abú Isḥáq [1]). His son narrates to the author of this history

1) Ḥáfiẓ has a *qiṭ^{c}a* on this event, giving the date as above, except that the month is given as Rabí^{c} ii, not Rabí^{c} i. See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition of the *Díwán*, vol. iii, p. 304.

how he went, on the third day after Qiwámu'd-Dín's death, to see Abú Isḥáq, who lamented the time he had spent in studying astrology, and the mistakes into which it had led him, and recited verses on its futility. (658) Abú Isḥáq aroused the hostility of the Shírázís by putting to death Sayyid Amír Ḥájjí Ḍarráb and Ḥájji Shamsu'd-Dín. Finally in the month of Ramaḍán [A. H. 754 = October, 1353] Ra'ís ᶜUmar, son of ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín, caused the Múrdistán gate to be left open, and Mubárizu'd-Dín and his troops entered the town on Shawwál 3 (= Nov. 1, 1353), and Abú Isḥáq, with some of his followers, fled to Shúlistán, and thence to the White Castle (*Qalᶜa-i-Sapíd*), noted since Sásánian times for its strength. He then demanded help from Amír Shaykh Ḥasan, governor of Baghdad, who sent his son Amír Áqbúqá by way of Shúshtar to help him. (659) On hearing that Sháh Shujáᶜ was advancing against them, however, Áqbúqá returned to Baghdad, while Abú Isḥáq fled to Iṣfahán. Mubarízu'd-Dín conferred the government of Kirmán on Sháh Shujáᶜ, and handed over to him ᶜAlí Sahl, the ten-year-old son of Abú Isḥáq, Amir Beg Jakáz, and Kulú Fakhru'd-Dín. The second was drowned in the Kirmán river, the last was put to death at Kirmán, and the child was murdered near Rafsinján, though it was pretended that he had died a natural death. His grave is now regarded as a holy place, and a supernatural light is said to shine over it at times. (660) [1]) Mubárizu'd-Dín's good government of Fárs, encouragement of learning and repression of dissipation. Quatrain on this composed by Sháh Shujáᶜ. In A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354) Mubárizu'd-Dín set out to conquer ᶜIráq, accompanied by Sháh Shujáᶜ and the Afghán, Arab and Jurmá'í levies. Sháh Shujáᶜ left Kirmán in the month of Rabíᶜ i (= April), but at Shahr-i-Bábak he was deserted by the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís. After he had joined his father, news

1) A blank space left here in the MS. seems to indicate a missing title.

reached them that Amír Ay-Tímúr, commander of Abú Isḥáq's army, had gone to Shúlistán, joined Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Manṣúr, governor of the Shúl, and intended to seize Shíráz. Thereupon Sháh Shujá^{c} set out for Shúlistán, but, finding no trace of them there, carried off all their cattle. The rebels had gone to Kázarún, whence they doubled back on Shíráz and effected an entry by the Kázarún gate. Sháh Sulṭán, Mubárizu'd-Dín's governor of Shíráz (661), was completely taken by surprise, and fled to Sháh Shujá^{c}. The invaders set fire to the quarter of Múrdistán, which was most loyal to Mubárizu'd-Dín. Sháh Shujá^{c} hastened back to the town, which he entered by the Iṣṭakhr gate, and gallantly attacked the rebels. Ay-Tímúr was killed by an arrow, and his forces routed, and afterwards another force of Shúls and other disaffected nomads was routed by Sháh Shujá^{c} at the Kázarún gate. (662) Complete security restored in Shíráz by Sháh Shujá^{c}. Verses on this [1]). Another attempt made by ^{c}Imádu'd-Dín Maḥmúd and Amír Salgharsháh, the nephew of Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, to overthrow the Muẓaffarí rule in Fárs. These collected an army at Dárábjird, and invited the Afghán Mongols [2]) to join them. They were promptly attacked by Sháh Shujá^{c}, who put them to flight. (663), and then returned to Shíráz. At this time Majdu'd-Dín surrendered the strong castle of Quhandiz [or Fahandir] to Sháh Sulṭán, and also Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq's treasures, which were stored up there. He was pardoned by Sháh Shujá^{c} for his rebellion, and these treasures were given to him.

Mubárizu'd-Dín swears allegiance to the Caliph and besieges Isfahán.

Mubárizu'd-Dín occupied the Castle of Márdánán [or Marwá-

1) A blank space here seems to indicate a missing title.
2) See foot-note on p. 161 *supra*.

nán] near Isfahán, the defenders of which, notwithstanding their numbers, refused to come out to fight him. In A.H. 755 (= A.D. 1354), having sworn allegiance to the ᶜAbbásid Caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid [1]) Bi'lláh Abú Bakr, he restored the Caliph's name in the *khuṭba* (from which it had been omitted ever since the Mongol invasion) throughout ᶜIráq, exactly 100 years after the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols. Tradition cited *à propos* of this. (664) Meanwhile Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq was trying by every means to recover his dominions. He pardoned Sulṭánsháh, whom he had held prisoner at Ṭabarak for some time, and, relying on his loyalty, sent him to rally the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís; but Sulṭánsháh made his way to Luristán and thence to Shíráz, where he joined Sháh Shujáᶜ. As winter drew on, the siege of Iṣfahán was raised, but in the spring the task of subduing it was entrusted by Mubárizu'd-Dín to Sháh Shujáᶜ. When the army had encamped at the gates of Iṣfahán, Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín Mír-Mírán, governor of that place, hid himself. (665) A few days later news came that Abú Isḥáq, with the Atábek Núráward b. Sulaymánsháh b. Aḥmad, had gathered an army in Luristán. Sháh Shujáᶜ decided that he must first disperse this, and so marched to Kandamán and thence to Fírúzán. Mubárizu'd-Dín also came hither with lightning speed. Thereupon the Atábek returned into Luristán, while Abú Isḥáq went to Shúshtar, Sháh Shujaᶜ returned to lay siege to Iṣfahán, and Mubárizu'd-Dín encamped at Márwánán to bar the return of the enemy. Soon afterwards Jalálu'd-Dín Mír-Mírán made his submission to Sháh Shujáᶜ, who returned to Shíráz.

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1) The MS. here has wrongly "al-Muqtaṣid". Ibn Taghrí-bardí in his *Nujúmu'z-Ẓáhira fí Mulúki Miṣr wa'l-Qáhira* records under the year A. H. 754 the death of the Caliph al-Ḥákim bi'amri'lláh Abu'l-ᶜAbbás Aḥmad. As he had not nominated his successor, a meeting of the nobles and judges was held, and they elected Abú Bakr b. al-Mustakfí bi'lláh Abi'r-Rabíᶜ Sulaymán, and swore allegiance to him under the title of al-Muᶜtaḍid. See also as-Suyúṭí's *Ta'ríkhu'l-Khulafá*, Cairo ed., p. 201.

Conquest of Shabánkára.

Description of Shabánkára, its strong fortress, its mills, its gardens, and its general prosperity. (666) Its ruler was at this time Malik Ardashír, who defied Mubárizu'd-Dín, and collected an army to resist him. Mubárizu'd-Dín sent his son Maḥmúd to deal with this rebellion. He subdued the place, and Ardashír fled.

Revolt and subjugation of the Hazára-i-Shádí.

The Hazára-i-Shádí had been well treated by Mubárizu'd-Dín, who had given them lands in fief, but they forgot these favours and rebelled towards the end of A. H. 756 (= January, 1355), in spite of the warnings of Amír Mubáraksháh (667) whom they plundered and drove away to Shíráz. Sháh Shujá' marched against them, defeated them, and killed their leader, Amír Búqá, and many others of their chief men.

Sháh Shujá' goes to Kirmán to extirpate the Afgháns and Jurmá'is.

These tribes were settled in this region in the time of Sháh Shujá''s great-grandfather Jalálu'd-Dín Súrghatmish to protect it. In course of time they waxed prosperous and multiplied. Sulṭán Sháh Jahán took a wife from amongst them and of that union was born Qutlugh, called "the Mother of Kings" (*Ummu's-Saláṭín*. When Mubárizu'd-Dín conquered Kirmán in A. H. 742 (= A. D. 1341—2) he (668) greatly honoured and strengthened this tribe. Yet nevertheless from time to time they rebelled, as has been mentioned. In A. H. 754 (= A. D. 1353), when Kirmán was bestowed on Sháh Shujá', he showed them fresh favour, yet in A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354), when he set out to join his father at Shíráz, they revolted at Shahr-i-Bábak. On hearing now that Sháh Shujá' was advancing against them, they retired to the mountains, and, being hard pressed, again craved and obtained forgive-

ness. Sháh Shujá^{c} entered Kirmán on Rajab 8, A. H. 757 (= July 7, 1356), and at this juncture his wife, the sister of Amír Súrghatmish-i-Afghání, and the mother of the princes Sulṭán Uways, Sulṭán Shiblí, and Sulṭán Jahángír, and of Sulṭán Pádisháh the wife of Sháh Yaḥyá, died. Two years earlier he had married another wife (669), and the marriage was consummated on Sha^{c}bán 12. Two robbers, Maḥmúd Tímúr and an Arab of Shahr-i-Bábak, were captured and put to death.

Sháh Shujá^{c} again marches on Iṣfahán.

At the end of Sha^{c}bán, Sháh Shujá^{c} left Kirmán. On the 2nd of Ramaḍán he reached Rafsínján, and on Tuesday the 9th he reached Yazd, where he remained three days, and then met his father Mubárizu'd-Dín outside Ná'in. A few days later news arrived that Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq had collected an army of the Hazára-i-Shádí at Jarbádhaqán (Gulpáyagán), and Mubárizu'd-Dín, leaving Sháh Shujá^{c} there (670), set out to attack them, but they dispersed the day before his arrival, leaving many of their stores and possessions. Meanwhile Sháh Shujá^{c} encamped at Fírúzán, one stage from Iṣfahán, whence he moved near to the Bágh-i-Kárán, which adjoined the city wall. Several sorties were made by the inhabitants, in one of which the Amír Kay-Ká'ús showed great valour, and many of the Iṣfahánís were taken prisoner. Mubárizu'd-Dín, leaving Sháh Sulṭán to conduct the siege, returned to Shíráz.

Conquest of Luristán.

The Atábek Núr-áward, whose ancestors had ruled Luristán for generations, was from the first inclined to dispute Mubárizu'd-Dín's supremacy, and he and his kinsman Kayúmarth b. Takla wished to give their support to Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq. Mubárizu'd-Dín was anxious, on account of family connections, to avoid a conflict with them, but when (671)

Núr-áward allied himself with Abú Isḥáq, placed all his resources at his disposal, and marched on Iṣfahán, so that no doubt remained as to his hostility, Mubárizu'd-Dín was very angry. He sent Náṣiru'd-Dín Khunjí, Amír Kamálu'd-Dín Ḥusayn Rashídí, Khwája Ruknu'd-Dín ᶜAmídu'l-Mulk and Khwája Ṣadru'd-Dín Anárí to remonstrate with them, but without effect. In the year A. H. 756 (= A. D. 1355) when Mubárizu'd-Dín encamped outside Iṣfahán, the Atábek Núr-áward sent the Qáḍí Quṭbu'd-Dín, the chief judge of Luristán, as an ambassador to him. In Muḥarram, A. H. 757 (Jan. 1356) it was decided to invade Luristán. Sháh Shujáᶜ joined his father, and the expedition started, in spite of the intense cold. When they reached Bahbahán, however, the weather turned warmer. At this juncture news arrived that Kayúmarth, Shaykh ᶜIsá the Kurd, and other chiefs, were advancing with an army of 10,000 horse and foot. Thereupon Mubárizu'd-Dín (672) prepared for battle, entrusting the right wing to Sháh Shujáᶜ and the left wing to Sháh Maḥmúd, while he himself took command of the centre, in company with his grandson Sháh Yaḥyá. In the battle which ensued Kayúmarth was killed and his army defeated. Next day the survivors, including the Atábek Shamsu'd-Dín Pashang b. Salgharsháh b. Aḥmad b. Yúsufsháh b. Shamsu'd-Dín Alp-Arghún b. Hazárasp b. Abú Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlí b. Abu'l-Ḥasan Faḍlú'í, and ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín ᶜAṭá, Táju'd-Dín Takín-Tásh, Siráju'd-Dín ᶜUmar Lál-pá, and the other chiefs came to make their submission, and were well received. On reaching Idaj [1]), the capital of Luristán, news arrived that Núr-áward had occupied the strong fortress of Súsan. Sháh Shujáᶜ set out to attack him, whereupon he retreated to another fortress. Mubárizu'd-Dín, having practically subdued Luristán, conferred the government of it on the Atábek Shamsu'd-Dín Pashang, the cousin and son-in-law of Núr-áward, whom he

1) The modern Mál-Amír, one of the chief Bakhtiyárí centres.

soon succeeded in capturing and deprived of his eye-sight. Mubárizu'd-Dín, returning homewards from Idaj, celebrated his victory by a great hunt in the plain of Rakhshábád (673).

Conquest of Iṣfahán and capture of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq.

While the campaign in Luristán was in progress, Sháh Sulṭán was vigorously besieging Iṣfahán, whither Shaykh Abú Isḥáq had returned. Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín Mír-mírán took part in the defence, and the siege dragged on through the hard winter until the spring, when many of the garrison came out and joined Sháh Sulṭán's forces, to the great discouragement of Shaykh Abú Isḥáq and his ally Jalálu'd-Dín, which was presently increased by the treacherous surrender of the fortress of Ṭabarak to Sháh Sulṭán by its warden. (674) Seeing the discouragement of the besieged, Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín, abandoning his wife and family, escaped from the city with one attendant and fled to Káshán. Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, unable to get out of the city, took refuge in the house of Mawláná Niẓámu'd-Dín Aṣíl, the Shaykhu'l-Islám of ʿIráq. Finally his whereabouts was discovered, and he was brought to the Castle of Ṭabarak, news of his capture being sent to Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín, who ordered him to be sent to Shíráz. In the *maydán* of that city he was brought before Mubárizu'd-Dín, who was surrounded by all the *ʿulamá*, judges and nobles of Fárs, and there he was put to death by Amír Quṭbu'd-Dín, the youngest son of Sayyid Amír Ḥájji Ḍarráb, whom he had formerly slain. (675) Two quatrains recited by him at his death [1]).

1) The poet Ḥáfiẓ has many poems on Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, amongst others the following on his death, of which he gives the date as 21 Jumáda i, A. H. 757 (= May 22, A. D. 1356): —

بروز کاف و الف از جمادے الاوّل * بسال ذال دگر نون و زی علی الاطلاق
خدایگان سلاطین مشرق و مغرب * خدیو کشورِ لطف و کرم باستحقاق
سپهر علم و حیا آفتاب جاه و جلال * جمال دُنیی و دین شاه شیخ ابو اسحاق
میان عرصهٔ میدان خور بتیغ عدم * نهاد بر دل احباب خویش داغ فراق

Rebellion of the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís.

In the year A. H. 757, when Sháh Shujá' set out for Shíráz on his way to Luristán, he was accompanied by a number of *amírs* and soldiers of the Afgháns and Jurmá'ís. Amír 'Alí Malik, who had hitherto been loyal, was appointed to go to Rúdbár. Soon after his arrival there he had a quarrel with Ṭaqtáy as to a certain pasture, as a result of which Ṭaqtáy was slain, and 'Alí Malik obtained possession of an undisputed territory. He took captive Amír 'Izzu'd-Dín, chief of the Jurmá'ís, but could not kill his brother Shamsu'd-Dín, who was in attendance on Sháh Shujá'. He sent 'Izzu'd-Dín in chains to Kirmán, but on the way thither he escaped, unknown to his custodians, and took refuge with his tribe, where he gathered round him a number of men who bore resentment against 'Alí Malík, marched against him, and killed him. When news of this reached Amír Mubárizu'd-Dín, he wished to march at once and take vengeance (676), but, being engaged in a campaign against Ádharbáyján, he was compelled to postpone his intention for a year.

The Subjugation of Tabríz.

In Muḥarram, A. H. 758 (January, 1357) Mubárizu'd-Dín, having overcome all his rivals and occupied Fárs and 'Iráq, set out for Iṣfahán with a large army. Near that city he was met by all the notables and chiefs, who escorted him to the palace, where he received the homage of Sháh Sulṭán, who expected, but did not receive, much favour for his service, for the Minister Khwája Burhánu'd-Dín had accused him of embezzling a sum of 700 *túmáns* from the revenues of 'Iráq. This caused a certain estrangement, in spite of which Sháh Sulṭán gave a great banquet, at which, however, Mubárizu'd-Dín, who was violent, passionate and ill-natured, behaved with great rudeness. (677) This increased the enmity already existing between the uncle and nephew. At

this juncture an ambassador arrived from Jání Beg Khán b. Uzbeg Khán with 300 horsemen, bringing the news that the Khán had come to Tabríz, killed Malik Ashraf, and assumed supreme authority; and that he now summoned Mubárizu'd-Dín to his presence to perform the duties of *Yasáwul*, or Marshal, incumbent on him as formerly on his father. Mubárizu 'd-Dín replied in harsh terms, and entrusted the entertainment of the ambassadors to Sháh Sulṭán, whose anger was further increased by this new and unexpected burden. After they had departed, news arrived that Jání Beg had fallen sick and had returned to his own tribe (*ulús*), leaving Akhí Júq in Tabríz. This news decided Mubárizu'd-Dín to undertake the conquest of Ádharbáyján. Then news came by successive messengers that Jání Beg was dead, and had been succeeded by his son Bardí Beg, who had thereupon put his brothers to death. Mubárizu'd-Dín forthwith began his preparations, selected 12,000 men from the armies of ʿIráq and Fárs, and set out for Tabríz. Amír Akhí Júq, being informed of this, came out from Tabríz to meet him with 30,000 horsemen. (678) The two armies met at Miyána. Mubárizu'd-Dín entrusted the right wing to Sháh Shujáʿ, the left to Sháh Maḥmúd, and himself took command of the centre, having Sháh Yaḥyá with him. He ordered his soldiers to fire three arrows each and then charge. Kamálu'd-Dín Luṭfu'lláh, son of Ṣadru'd-Dín ʿIráqí, produced the sword of Khálid b. Walíd" "the Sword of God", and recited the prayer engraved upon it three times, and one of the arrows fired struck down the enemy's standard-bearer. Akhí Júq's right wing broke Mubárizu'd-Dín's left wing and threatened to encircle his centre, but Mubárizu'd-Dín and Sháh Yaḥyá fought with such valour that Amír Akhí Júq's army was completely routed, and its leaders mostly slain or taken captive, and Mubárizu'd-Dín's sons pursued them to Nakhjuwán, where they feasted for three days. (679) Mubá-

rizu'd-Dín was greatly incensed at this, reprimanded them, and honoured only Sháh Yaḥyá, who had remained with him and had fought with great valour. On the Friday he himself ascended the pulpit and delivered a homily. News arrived that an army was advancing on Tabríz from Baghdád, and Mubárizu'd-Dín decided to withdraw. On the march he was continually threatening punishments to his sons and others, and they, being alarmed, laid the matter before Sháh Sulṭán, who, having already a grudge against Mubárizu'd-Dín, incited them to seize their father, telling them that he certainly intended to blind them and exclude them from the succession in favour of his youngest and favourite son, whose mother was Badí'u'l-Jamál. (680) They therefore agreed together on reaching Iṣfahán to seize and bind their father Mubárizu'd-Dín. They arrived there on Tuesday in the middle of Ramaḍán, A. H. 759 (= Aug. 21, 1358). On the following Thursday at midnight Sháh Sulṭán came with one attendant to Sháh Shujá'ʿs house and announced that he would flee, as it was said that Mubárizu'd-Dín was acquainted with the plot, and that if so he would certainly kill all the conspirators. It was therefore agreed that before sunrise next day they should put their plans into execution. Sháh Sulṭán then proceeded to Sháh Maḥmúd, who was in the bath, and gave him the same information, whereupon he at once mounted and came to the house of his father Mubárizu'd-Dín, who was busy reading the *Qur'án*. Sháh Maḥmúd waited outside in the porch, while Sháh Shujá' and Sháh Sulṭán stood at the door of the room in which Mubárizu'd-Dín was, and sent five or six men in to seize him. He, on seeing them, understood what was intended, and sought for his sword, but it was not at hand. The conspirators, therefore, were able to seize and bind him. At the same time Sháh Sulṭán went and killed Khwája Burhánu'd-Dín. That night they conveyed Mubárizu'd-Dín to the Castle

of Ṭabarak and blinded him [1]). (681) Reflections of the author on the vicissitudes of Fortune. Mubárizu'd-Dín is conveyed from Ṭabarak to Qal^{c}a-i-Isfíd ("the White Castle") in Fárs. After a month or two he told the warden of the castle that he had not wholly lost his sight, and persuaded him (682) to befriend him. Finally, after much correspondence, an understanding was arrived at between Mubárizu'd-Dín and his sons. The former was permitted to come to Shíráz and to have with him Badí^{c}u'l-Jamál and his youngest son Sulṭán Báyazíd, together with his body-servants, while the government was to be carried on in his name and with his approval. When he had been for two or three months at Shíráz, he made a plot with some of his adherents to seize and kill Sháh Shujá^{c} when he came to see him. Sháh Shujá^{c}, being informed of this, ordered his accomplices to be put to death, and himself to be transferred to the Castle of Tabar in the Garmsír, or hot region, of Fárs. Then he fell ill, and was removed in consequence to the Castle of Bam, where he died at the end of Rabí^{c} i, A. H. 765 (= beginning of January, 1364), at the age of 65, having reigned 40 years, 22 years in Yazd, 13 years in Kírmán, and 5 years over ^{c}Iráq and Fárs.

Jalálu'd-Dín Sháh Shujá^{c} b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. al-Manṣúr b. Ḥájji Khusrawí [? Khurásání].

(683) Praise of this Prince's virtues and talents. He began his studies at the age of seven, and in A. H. 742 (= A. D. 1341—2), when only nine years of age, he had learned the *Qur'án* by heart. His studious character and love of learned men. His excellent memory. Specimens of his Arabic (684) and Persian verse. His valour and skill in arms. On his

1) Ḥáfiẓ refers to this event in a fine *qiṭ^{c}a* which will be found on pp. 230—232 of Rosenzweig-Schwannau's edition, vol. iii. It begins: —

دل منه بسر دُنیی و اسباب او * ز آنکه از وی کس و فاداری نیاید

succession to the throne he bestowed Persian ʿIráq and Abarqúh on Sháh Maḥmúd and Kirmán on Sulṭán Aḥmad, and made Khwája Qiwámu'd-Dín Muḥammad his Prime Minister. At the beginning of Muḥarram, A. H. 760 (= Dec. 3, 1358) he set out for Kirmán to chastise the rebellious Afgháns and Jurmá'ís. Thence he proceeded to Bam, Jíraft and (685) Manúján. He defeats the Afgháns and kills a great number of them. The Afgháns rally and again give battle, but after a fierce fight, in which Sháh Shujáʿ himself took part, sue for peace. They did not, however, observe the truce, and permission was given to plunder their possessions. (686) The Afgháns then got Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad to intercede for them, and by means of the Shaykhu'l-Islám Ṣadru'd-Dín ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz, a descendent of Burhánu'l-Aqṭáb Shaykh Shihábu'd-Dín Túráyashtí, succeeded in obtaining forgiveness from Sháh Shujáʿ by promising obedience in the future. Sháh Shujáʿ then returned to Shíráz. Shortly afterwards his brother Sháh Maḥmúd rebelled against him, attacked and took Yazd, placed Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín Qúrjí there as governor, and himself marched to Iṣfahán.

Sháh Yaḥyá is sent to Yazd.

At this time Sháh Yaḥyá, Sháh Muẓaffar's son and Sháh Shujáʿ's nephew was imprisoned in the Castle of Quhandiz [MS. "Fahandir"], but he succeeded, with the help of confederates, in seizing the governor and taking possession of the castle. Sháh Shujáʿ sent an army to besiege him. (687) Finally a truce was concluded, on condition that Sháh Yaḥyá should evacuate the castle and retire to Yazd, but, though treated with honour by Sháh Shujáʿ, he continued at Yazd to intrigue against him. Verses of Sháh Shujáʿ on this subject. Sháh Shujáʿ marches towards Yazd, and sends Khwája Qiwámu'd-Dín Muḥammad thither from Abarqúh, where he himself remains. A rumour is started that

one of Qiwámu'd-Dín's intimates named ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán Kúnbání was intending to assassinate him, and Qiwámu'd-Dín, without investigating the matter, immediately caused (688) ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán to be put to death. Yazd was soon reduced to great straits, and Sháh Yaḥyá was obliged to submit to his uncle Sháh Shujáᶜ, who accepted his excuses. Text of the fresh agreement concluded between the uncle and nephew. (689) Sháh Shujáᶜ then returned to his capital, ordering his army to raise the siege of Yazd. Soon afterwards he set out for Qaṣr-i-Zard, because Sháh Mahmúd threatened rebellion. The *wazír* [Qiwámu'd-Dín] was accused by his enviers of being disloyal, and was arrested, fined, and ultimately put to death with torture in the middle of Dhu'l-Qaᶜda, A. H. 764. His place was taken by Khwája Kamálu'd-Dín Rashídí.

The Conflict between Sháh Shujáᶜ and Sháh Maḥmúd.

Sháh Shujáᶜ now marched on Iṣfahán against his brother Sháh Maḥmúd, and besieged him there for one or two months. Daily skirmishes took place, and one day Sháh Maḥmúd succeeded (690) in decoying Sháh Sulṭán and a number of the besiegers into an ambush in the suburban lanes (*kúcha-bágh-há*), and in taking Sháh Sulṭán captive and killing his younger brother Amír Mubáriz. Sháh Sulṭán was blinded by his foes, as he had formerly blinded the late king Mubárizu'd-Dín. Quatrain by Ṣadru'd-Dín ᶜIráqí on this subject. After this defeat Sháh Shujáᶜ retired to Shíráz, and Sháh Maḥmúd began to seek support and alliance from Sulṭán Uways at Tabríz. Simultaneously with Muᶜínu'd-Dín's second mission to Iṣfahán, Amír Mubárak-sháh Aynágh came from Tabríz to Isfahán to endeavour to create trouble (691) and to induce Sháh Maḥmúd to revolt. Reinforcements arrived from Tabríz led by Amír Shaykh ᶜAlí Aynágh, Amír Sátí Bahádur, Mubárakshán Dúlí, and sundry Amírs, like Ghiyáthu'd-Dín

Shúl, Salghur-sháh Turkmán, etc., and Sháh Yaḥyá as well as Sháh Maḥmúd joined them. The combined army marched out of Iṣfahán in A. H. 765 (= A. D. 1363—4), and Sháh Shujá^{c} advanced to meet them from Shíráz, entrusting his right wing to his youngest brother Sulṭán Aḥmad, and his left wing to his eldest son Sulṭán Uways. Sulṭán Aḥmad, angered at not being admitted to the Council of War held by Sháh Shujá^{c} and his *amírs*, deserted in the night to Sháh Maḥmúd, and many of the soldiers followed his example. Sháh Shujá^{c}, however, undeterred by these defections, gave battle near Khwánsár. (692) When night fell the battle was still undecided. Sháh Shujá^{c} fell back on Shíráz, while the opposing army scattered, many of the leaders retreating swiftly to distant places, *e. g.* Sayyid Humámu'd-Dín to Iṣfahán, the son of Amír Shaykh ^{c}Alí Aynágh to Káshán, and Sháh Yaḥyá to Yazd, while Sháh Maḥmúd and Amír Shaykh 'Alí reached Iṣfahán by different routes, and decided to take no further action until they should learn what had befallen the army of Sháh Shujá^{c}. News reached them that Sháh Shujá^{c} had retreated to Shíráz. In passing by the Band-i-Amír he had confided the fortress there to one of his *Amírs*, who being inexperienced and timorous, surrendered that strong place to the enemy as soon as they summoned him to do so. Sháh Shujá^{c}, meanwhile, having remained a few days in Shíráz to re-equip his army, marched back to seek revenge, but was attacked by a pain in the foot which compelled him to return. Now there was a certain Dawlatsháh who had been the faithful servant of the unfortunate Qiwámu'd-Dín, and who had been imprisoned for a few days at the time of his master's execution, but was afterwards released and taken into favour (693). This man had been sent by Sháh Shujá^{c} to Kirmán to bring money to Shíráz for the payment of the army. On reaching Sírján he met Sulṭán Shiblí and Amír Súrghatmish, who were advancing to Shíráz with reinforce-

ments for Sháh Shujá', and persuaded them and [Badru'd-Dín] Hilál, Sulṭán Shiblí's guardian (*Atábek*) to return with him to Kirmán. There he seduced many of the *Amírs* and nobles from their allegiance; put to death Amír Ḥájji the Master of the Horse (*Mír-ákhúr*), who was governor of Kirmán on behalf of Sháh Shujá', and Sulṭán Shiblí's *Atábek*, Badru'd-Dín Hilál; imprisoned Sulṭán Shiblí in the Qal'a-i-Kúh; and assumed the supreme power. (694) When news of these events reached Sháh Shujá' he was greatly discouraged, and at this juncture Sháh Maḥmúd's army arrived before Shíráz and daily skirmishes took place. Finally Sháh Shujá' decided to send his son Sulṭán Uways to seek Amír Súrghatmish (who was believed to be still loyal) in the Garmsír and to march with him against Kirmán to subdue Dawlatsháh; but they could effect nothing. Meanwhile the siege of Shíráz dragged on, until finally Sháh Maḥmúd sent a message to his brother Sháh Shujá' to say that the "foreign" *Amírs* from Baghdád prevented him from concluding any peaceful agreement, but that if Sháh Shujá' would retire to Abarqúh for a while until he could induce these *Amírs* to disperse, a satisfactory agreement could be concluded, and a fair partition of the country effected between them. (695) Sháh Shujá' consents. Text of his reply to his brother. They meet at the castle of Quhandiz [MS. Fahandir], and Sháh Maḥmud agrees to restore the Castle of Sar-i-Band-i Amír to Sháh Shujá', so that he could go that way to Abarqúh. His wife, Khátún-i-'Uẓmá, and youngest son, Sulṭán Zaynu'l-'Ábidín, (696) with Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan Qúrchí, however, took the road by Shúlistán, while Sháh Shujá' himself went by Qaṣr-i-Zard, wherein he acted wisely, as he thereby evaded a party of the hostile *Amírs* from Tabríz who had intended to intercept him. His governor at Abarqúh, Jalálu'd-Dín Túránsháh, received him most loyally, and they agreed to march on Kirmán and endeavour to overthrow the usurper Dawlatsháh.

They set out in the month of Isfandarmudh, A. H. 765, with a small army equalling in numbers the army of the Prophet at the Battle of Badr (*i. e.* 313). Dawlatsháh came out to meet them with an army of 4000 men. An Arab *Amír* named Maḥmúd brought this news to Sháh Shujá', who immediately set out from Shahr-i-Bábak for Sírján. The two armies met towards sun-down; Sháh Shujá', in spite of the smallness of his force, attacked valourously (697), and was completely victorious, capturing abundant spoils and putting Dawlatsháh to rout. Next day he advanced to Kirmán, and on reaching Sháhábád, one parasang from the city, found that Dawlatsháh had closed the city gates and was preparing to withstand a siege. Finally, however, he was induced by Amír Ramaḍán Akhtájí to surrender, on condition of pardon for his offences, this promise being guaranteed by the *wazír* Khwája Túránsháh. Next day Dawlatsháh came out, accompanied by his nobles, and received presents and robes of honour. Shortly afterwards, however, Sháh Shujá', being informed that Dawlatsháh meditated a fresh act of treachery and even an attempt at assassination, (698) put him to death. Sulṭán Uways and Amír Súrghatmish were, on the other hand, honoured and rewarded. Sháh Shujá' soon afterwards set out to try to recapture Shíráz, and received reinforcements and adhesions at Nayríz and other places on his way, but, being deserted by the Afghán and Jurmá'í contingents, and sickness also having attacked him, he was compelled to return to Kirmán.

Campaign in the Garmsír.

Sháh Shujá' next marched into the Garmsír to subdue the Afgháns, who retreated to mountain fastnesses, issuing forth to fight whenever an opportunity presented itself. (699) The campaign was fruitful of hardship to the besiegers, and the Afgháns asked for help from Sháh Maḥmúd, while Sháh Yaḥyá and some of the *Amírs* came to help Súrghatmish.

Sháh Yaḥyá sought to be reconciled to his uncle Sháh Shujáᶜ. Text of the letter written by the latter to the former in response to these overtures. (700). Sháh Shujáᶜ, being again attacked by pain in the foot and other complaints, retired two or three stages. His antagonists, deeming him afraid, prepared to attack him, whereupon he turned back, fell upon them unawares, and defeated them. Most of them submitted, including Amír Súrghatmish, who, with Dá'úd-i-Ghúrí, had taken refuge in the Qalᶜa-i-Sulaymání. Dá'úd, however, escaped to Shíráz. Sháh Yaḥyá set out from Shíráz with an army for Yazd, followed by Mubáraksháh Aynágh. A battle took place between them at Khirama (701), and they turned back. Sháh Yaḥyá sent from Yazd to demand the elder daughter of Sháh Shujáᶜ in marriage. The request was granted and the marriage concluded. Sháh Shujáᶜ then set out to subdue Fárs. At Chahár Gunbad Sháh Manṣúr b. Sháh Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar came from Yazd to do allegiance to his uncle, who treated him with much honour. From Shahr-i-Bábak Sháh Shujáᶜ turned back to Shíráz, and Sháh Maḥmúd came to meet him. Pahlawán Khurram advanced from Mashhad to support Sháh Shujáᶜ, fell in with Sháh Maḥmúd's army, and was almost defeated when Sháh Shujáᶜ and his army arrived on the scene (702), and Sháh Maḥmúd suffered a severe defeat, two hundred of his best horsemen being drowned in a river which they attempted to cross in their flight.

Conquest of Shíráz.

Sháh Shujáᶜ then returned to Shíráz. At Púl Basá he was again attacked by Sháh Maḥmúd on Saturday, 16th of Dhu'l-Qaᶜda, A. H. 767 (= July 25, 1366) and a great battle took place. The people of Shíráz agreed to open the gates to Sháh Shujáᶜ, and on Sunday, 24th of Dhu'l-Qaᶜda, Sháh Maḥmúd retreated towards ᶜIráq. Sulṭán ᶜImádu'd-Dín Aḥmad

left him and made his submission to Sháh Shujá^{c}, who once again ruled in Fárs, (703) and again frequented the assemblies of the learned. Thus he attended the lectures of Mawláná Qiwámu'd-Dín Faqíh Najm and began to study the *Uṣúl* of Ibn Ḥájib with the commentary of Mawláná ^{c}Aḍudu'd-Dín ^{c}Abdu'lláh. He appointed as Chief Qáḍí "the Sháfi^{c}í of the Age" Mawláná Bahá'u'd-Dín ^{c}Uthmán Kúh-gelú'í and made Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymán-sháh b. Khwája Maḥmúd Grand Wazír. He also sent Mawláná Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kíní to Mecca to build a rest-house for pilgrims and buy a plot of ground for a tomb for himself, giving him 200,000 *dínárs* for this purpose. Both the tomb and the rest-house are still in existence. Arabic verse composed by Sháh Shujá^{c} for the latter. In the year A. H. 770 (= A. D. 1368—9) he swore allegiance to the Caliph al-Qáhir bi'lláh Muḥammad b. Abí Bakr al-^{c}Abbásí [1]). After he had established himself in Fárs, in A. H. 768 (= A. D. 1366—7) he (704) marched on Iṣfahán. Sháh Maḥmúd sent messengers with conciliatory letters to him, peace was concluded, and he retired. Some while afterwards Sháh Maḥmúd's wife, Khán Sulṭán, the daughter of Amír Kay-Khusraw b. Sháh Maḥmúd-i-Ínjú, wrote to Sháh Shujá^{c} offering, if he passed through ^{c}Iráq, to surrender Iṣfahán and hand over her husband, Sháh Maḥmúd, bound to his brother. She added that he should lose no time, as a large army was expected shortly from Tabríz, conveying the daughter of Sulṭán Uways. Sháh Shujá^{c} thereupon again set out for Iṣfahán and encamped outside the city. Sháh Maḥmúd sent a deputation of the leading citizens to wait on his brother and try to conciliate him, offering complete submission to

1) There is no evidence of the existence amongst the puppet-Caliphs of Cairo of any one bearing this name and title. According to as-Suyúṭí's *Ta'ríkhu'l-Khulafá* (Cairo ed., pp. 202—3) the titular Caliph at this period was al-Mutawakkil ^{c}ala'lláh Abú ^{c}Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. al-Mu^{c}taḍid, who was chosen Caliph in A. H. 763 and deposed in favour of al-Wáthiq bi'lláh in A. H. 785 (= A. D. 1361—1384).

his commands. Sháh Shujá', seeing his brother's humility (705), agreed to meet him, and concluded a fresh agreement with him, after which he again returned to Shíráz. In the same year he arrested and imprisoned Khwája Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymán-Sháh, and blinded his son Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Maḥmúd, and sent him a prisoner to Kirmán. Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymán-Sháh escaped from prison, went to Iṣfahán, and was made *wazír* by Sháh Maḥmúd. Sháh Shujá' made Sháh Ḥasan the son of Sháh Maḥmúd Sayyid Mu'ínu'd-Dín Ashraf of Yazd his *wazír*. Sháh Maḥmúd's wife, Khán Sulṭán, always filled with the desire of avenging the death of her uncle Amír Shaykh [Abú Isḥáq] and her other relatives, continued to plot for the destruction of the Muẓaffarís, and therefore kept urging Sháh Shujá' to subjugate 'Iráq, and also endeavoured to pass off as her own child the baby son of one of her waiting women. These matters were finally brought to the knowledge of her husband Sháh Maḥmúd, who, having satisfied himself of their truth, ordered her to be strangled. At this juncture the daughter of Sulṭán Uways came with a great army from Tabríz to 'Iráq to reinforce him. He then again advanced against Fárs, and Sháh Shujá' collected an army and came out to meet him. (706) The two armies met at Chásht-khwár. Sháh Shujá' entrusted the right wing to Sulṭán Aḥmad and the left to Sháh Manṣúr, himself taking the centre. A fierce battle ensued and lasted all day. Sháh Shujá' withdrew to Shíráz, but Sháh Manṣúr with the left wing achieved a partial victory, and entered Shíráz laden with spoil.

Sháh Ḥasan is killed and Túránsháh becomes Wazír.

At this juncture Sháh Ḥasan showed to Sháh Shujá' a letter purporting to be written by Khwája Jalálu'd-Dín Túránsháh and Humámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd, (707) wherein they offered him their allegiance and promised to open the city gates to him if he advanced. On the back of this letter

Sháh Maḥmúd had written that he would come that very week. Summoned before Sháh Shujá[c] to give account of this matter, the two accused persons declared that the letter was not in their writing, and that they had no knowledge of it. It happened that Sháh Ḥasan was laid up with pain in the foot. Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan Qúrchí was sent to ascertain how the letter had come into his hands, and suspicion was aroused that it was a forgery effected by order of Sháh Ḥasan by Khwájá Maḥmúd-i-Ḥájji [c]Umar Munshí. Sháh Ḥasan's *wazír* was thereupon seized, tortured and strangled, while Khwájá Jalálu'd-Dín Túránsháh was made *wazír*, a post for which his talents and virtues eminently fitted him. (708) When news of these events reached Sháh Maḥmúd, he at once turned back to Iṣfahán.

Rebellion of Pahlawán Asad b. Ṭughánsháh at Kirmán.

When Amír Maḥmúd, son of Amír Quṭbu'd-Dín Sulaymánsháh, was brought to Kirmán, he ingratiated himself with the governor, Pahlawán Asad, who was an old friend of his, and seduced him from his allegiance to Sháh Shujá[c]. Sháh Yaḥyá also wrote to him from Yazd and inspired him with ambitions of sovereignty, but the presence of "the Mother of Kings", Khán Qutlugh, in Kirmán restrained him for a time from overt rebellion, until a serious quarrel broke out between the wrestlers and athletes of Kirmán and those of Khurásán, in which Khán Qutlugh espoused the cause of the Kirmánís and Pahlawán Asad that of the Khurásánís. Recriminations and complaints ensued, and Khán Qutlugh retired to Sírján. Thereupon Pahlawán Asad, relieved of her presence, began to strengthen the fortifications. Sháh Shujá[c] refused to believe that he really intended rebellion, and Pahlawán Asad, having put the city in a state of defence, began to raise an army. (709) In spite of the exhortations of Sháh Shujá[c] to his sons to avoid intestinal quarrels, his

eldest son Sulṭán Uways joined himself to a tribe of Afgháns and forged a letter in his father's name bidding Pahlawán Asad surrender Kirmán to him, and even began to advance with the tribe on Kirmán. Perceiving, however, that his enterprise was doomed to failure, he left his army and made his way to Iṣfahán to his uncle Sháh Maḥmúd. This increased Pahlawán Asad's boldness, and he proceeded to besiege Lakan, the Warden of Qalᶜa-i-Kúh, until he surrendered that fortress. He then arrested the agents of *Wálidatu's-Saláṭín*, forced them by torture to reveal to him the places where her treasures were concealed, and put Khwája Muḥammad ᶜUlyá-ábádí in chains (710), taking from him all that he possessed, and finally killing him. He also poisoned Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad, called *Záhid* ("the Ascetic") and took his property, and in short greatly oppressed the people, so that Kirmán never again regained its former prosperity. Sháh Shujáᶜ, on learning of these events, sent Farrásh Ḥájji Bahá'u'd-Dín to Iṣfahán to effect a reconciliation with his brothers. Being assured in this quarter, he marched on Kirmán through the Garmsír by Jíraft and Bam, where he learned from the Warden, Amír Ḥusayn, details of the rebellion and tyranny of Pahlawán Asad. Sháh Shujáᶜ then advanced hastily to Máhán and alighted at a place called Sháh-ábád, only one parasang from Kirmán. Here a fierce battle took place. (711) Sháh Manṣúr and his uncle Sháh Sulṭán Abú Yazíd alighted from their horses and valourously endeavoured to fight their way across the bridge by the Darwáza-i-Saᶜádat ("Gate of Happiness") and enter the city, but Sháh Shujáᶜ, fearing lest they should be slain, ordered them to retire, and, leaving his brother Sulṭán ᶜImádu 'd-Dín Aḥmad to reduce the city by siege, himself returned to Shíráz. Sulṭán Aḥmad tarried some days at Zarand, where many deserters from the army of Kirmán joined him. Sháh Yaḥyá asked for reinforcements from Khwája ᶜAlí Mu'ayyad

Sabzawárí, who sent him a hundred horsemen commanded by the Sarbadár Pahlawán (**712**) Ghiyáth-i-Túní. Being short of money wherewith to pay them, Sháh Yaḥyá sent them on to Pahlawán Asad, who, fearing further desertions from his force, would not set foot outside the city. Sulṭán Aḥmad encamped to the south of Máhán, where he was joined by Amír Muḥammad Jurmá'í and his fellow-Amírs, who had forced their way out of the city. Soon, the siege becoming more rigorous, the city began to suffer severely from lack of provisions. Finally permission was granted for the poorer people to leave the city, but many perished and the rest were scattered. When the siege had lasted eight months, Sulṭán Aḥmad was summoned to Shíráz, and the conduct of the siege was entrusted to Pahlawán Khurram, who induced Pahlawán Asad to submit. (**713**) A meeting between the two took place in the city in the Qaṣr-i-Humáyún, and it was agreed that Pahlawán Asad should send his brother Pahlawán Muḥammad b. Ṭughánsháh and one of his sons to Shíráz as hostages, and should surrender the citadel to the retainers of Sháh Shujá', namely to Pahlawán 'Alí-Sháh Marniyání and a hundred of his men. This siege of Kirmán began on Ramaḍán 20, A. H. 775 (= March 5, 1374), and ended early in Rajab, A. H. 776 (= first part of December, 1374), having lasted nine months and twenty days. Now there was a secret passage from the citadel to the Palace, and Pahlawán 'Alí-Sháh, having corrupted some of Pahlawán Asad's retainers, took advantage of it to send a party of determined men into the Palace to assassinate Pahlawán Asad. This was done on Friday in the middle of Ramaḍán, A. H. 776 (= Feb. 16, 1375), and Pahlawán Asad's head was sent to Shíráz. Sháh Shujá' appointed Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan Qúrchí governor of Kirmán. (**714**) He, by his justice and clemency, restored the prosperity of Kirmán, and, by his generosity, made it a rallying-point for learned and pious men.

Death of Sháh Maḥmúd and march of Sháh Shujáᶜ on Tabríz.

In the month of Shawwál of this year (March, 1375) news was brought to Sháh Shujáᶜ from Tabríz that Sulṭán Uways was dead; and on Wednesday the 14th of that month (March 18, 1375) news arrived that Sháh Maḥmúd had died on Shawwál 9 (= March 13) and that the two factions in Iṣfahán known as Du-dánga and Chahár-Dánga were fighting, the former wanting Sulṭán Uways b. Sháh Shujáᶜ to be *qá'im-maqám* or Viceroy, and the latter demanding a king. The deceased Sháh Maḥmúd was 38 years, five months and nine days old when he died, and had ruled over ᶜIráq for 17 years, and for two years of this period over Fárs also. On hearing this news, Sháh Shujáᶜ prepared to set out, and several messengers from Ṭabarak (**715**) and elsewhere urged him to make all possible haste to Iṣfahán. On approaching that city he was met by Sulṭán Uways and many of the *Amírs* and nobles of Sháh Maḥmúd, and took possession of Iṣfahán without opposition. Sulṭán Uways shortly afterwards had a fall from his horse and broke his leg. Sháh Shujáᶜ continued his preparations for an advance on Tabríz, and raised an army of 12,000 men. He advanced by way of Jarbádhakán (Gulpáyagán) and Qazwín. At the former place he received adhesions and reinforcements, but at the latter he met with opposition. He thereupon attacked the city and took it by storm, but restrained his troops from looting, threatening death to any who should offend in this way. He next advanced to Jurmákhwárán, when Sulṭán Ḥusayn the son of Sulṭán Uways opposed his advance with 24,000 horsemen. Sháh Shujáᶜ defeated the opposing army, and (**716**) took captive two of their leaders, ᶜAbdu'l-Qáhir and Pahlawán Ḥájji Khar-banda, whom he sent in bonds with an announcement of his victory to Fárs and ᶜIráq. He then occupied Tabríz without further difficulty, and sent

Sháh Manṣúr with 2000 horsemen to Qará-bágh, Amír Faraj to Nakhjuwán, Amír Iṣfahán-sháh b. Sulṭán Sháh Jándár to Awján, and other *Amírs* to other parts of Ádharbáyján.

Return of Sháh Shujáᶜ to Tabríz.

When Sháh Shujáᶜ had been at Tabríz for two or three months, two nomad chiefs named Shiblí Dá'úd and ᶜUmar Júbdastí agreed to attack Awján with their followers and overthrow Amír Isfahán-sháh, proclaiming that Sulṭán Ḥusayn was at hand with 10,000 horsemen. In this plan they were successful, capturing Iṣfahán-sháh and scattering or slaying his soldiers, of whom the survivors fled to Tabríz. Sháh Shujáᶜ, in spite of the snow and the pain in his foot from which he suffered, at once set out in a litter and retreated without halting to Qazwín, where the people again opposed him (**717**), but he passed on, without concerning himself with them, to Káshán, where he was joined in a few days by Sháh Manṣúr and many of the *Amírs* who had been dispersed in different directions, and who contradicted the rumours of Sulṭán Ḥusayn's arrival. It was only two months later that he arrived from Baghdád at Tabríz, and, in exchange for the nobles of Tabríz taken captive and afterwards released by Sháh Shujáᶜ, sent Amír Iṣfahán-sháh to ᶜIráq. Sháh Shujáᶜ gave the daughter of Sulṭán Uways [1]) in marriage to his son Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín, appointed him governor of Iṣfahán, and himself set out for Fárs, accompanied by many of the captains and nobles of ᶜIráq. Being angry with Sháh Yaḥyá because of the help he had given to Pahlawán Asad, he sent an army against him to Yazd, and also composed some very uncomplimentary verses about him (5 couplets given). (**718**) Sháh Yaḥyá succeeded in persuading the army investing Yazd to take

1) *i. e.* Sulṭán Uways 'Ilkání of Tabríz, who had recently died, not the homonymous son of Sháh Shujáᶜ.

no action against him until he should have time to communicate with Shíraz and make his submission, but, when they were off their guard, he made a sudden sortie and put them to rout, seizing much spoil. The remnants of the army fled to Shíráz, and Sháh Shujáᶜ then resolved to go in person, to take revenge on Sháh Yaḥyá, but Sháh Manṣúr persuaded him to allow him to go instead. Sháh Yaḥyá, realizing that this army would not withdraw until they had made an end of him, sent his mother to intercede for him, and she eventually succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the two brothers. The army, learning this, began to make off in successive bands for Shíráz, leaving only Sháh Manṣúr and his immediate followers at Yazd. (**719**) Sháh Yaḥyá now strove to persuade Sháh Manṣúr to go to Mázandarán and raise an army there to enable them to carry out their joint projects, nor would he allow Sháh Manṣúr to enter the city. Finally the latter set out for Mázandarán, and Sháh Shujáᶜ arrived in person with a large army to punish Sháh Yaḥyá, who again, however, by means of the intercession of the daughter and elder sister of Sháh Shujáᶜ and his youngest son Sulṭán Jahángír, succeeded in pacifying the angry monarch and inducing him to withdraw to Shíráz.

In the year A. H. 780 (= A. D. 1378—9) Sháh Ḥusayn b. Sháh Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar, the younger brother of Sháh Yaḥyá, came to Shíráz, and was well received by his uncle Sháh Shujáᶜ who appointed him deputy (*qá'immaqám*) of his brother Sháh Manṣúr. In A. H. 781 (= A. D. 1379—1380) Sháh Shujáᶜ set out for Sulṭániyya, where a certain Sáriq ᶜÁdil had gathered together an army and was endeavouring by violence to usurp the supreme power. (**720**) He suffered a serious reverse; his great army, drawn from Fárs, ᶜIráq and Luristán, was scattered, and he himself was thrown from his horse. Surrounded by a few faithful retainers he continued to fight on foot, until Malik Báwarchí, one of

his officers, gave him his own horse. Another officer, Akhí Kúchuk, "the Rustam of the Age", came up and stayed the panic, and presently 10,000 or 15,000 gathered round Sháh Shujá^{c}. One of Sháh Ḥusayn's standards and a set of his kettle-drums were recovered by them, and Sháh Shujá^{c}, taking this as a good omen, ordered shouts of victory to be raised. Hearing these, and seeing such trophies in the hands of their foes, Sáriq ^{c}Ádil's men were panic-stricken and fled to the city, which was soon afterwards occupied by Sháh Shujá^{c}. Sáriq ^{c}Ádil and his captains took refuge in the citadel, and began to sue for peace. Sháh Shujá^{c} received their overtures favourably, and a treaty was concluded. (721) Rich presents were given to Sháh Shujá^{c}, who then received Sáriq ^{c}Ádil with honour, left him in possession of the city, and returned with his army to Shíráz.

About this time several other events took place deserving of mention.

First, Sulṭán Zaynu'l-^{c}Ábidín, to whom the government of Isfahán had been entrusted, by reason of his youth and the pride of ignorance neglected his duties to the people. He was therefore dismissed, and Pahlawán Khurram was made governor in his stead. He on his death was succeeded by Pahlawán Muḥammad Zaynu'd-Dín. Ultimately Sulṭán Zaynu'l-^{c}Ábidín, after suffering a brief imprisonment, was restored.

Secondly, Sulṭán Aḥmad, the son of Sultán Uways [1]), rebelled in Tabríz, killed his brother Sulṭán Ḥusayn and others of his kinsmen, and usurped control over the province of Ádharbáyján.

Thirdly, Pír ^{c}Alí Bádak, one of the chief nobles of Hamadán, fled to Shíráz, where he was well received by Sháh Shujá^{c} and sent to Shúshtar, which he subdued, appointing a servant named Islám as its governor, and himself proceeding to Baghdád, where he struck coins in the name of

1) Here again Sulṭán Uways 'Ilkání of Tabríz is intended.

Sháh Shujáᶜ, and caused the *khuṭba* to be read in his name.

(722) *Fourthly*, Sulṭán Aḥmad set out from Tabríz for Baghdád. Prince Shaykh ᶜAlí and Pír ᶜAlí Bádak went with an army to intercept him, but were both killed and their army routed, and Baghdád also fell into Sulṭán Aḥmad's hands.

Fifthly, Sulṭán Uways, son of Sháh Shujáᶜ, sickened and died.

Sixthly, Sháh Manṣúr, who had been for a while a fugitive in Mázandarán, came to Sulṭániyya to Sáriq ᶜÁdil, who, since he claimed to be loyal to Sháh Shujáᶜ, arrested and imprisoned him. He was, however, released by some of his adherents, and came to Baghdad, where he was well received by Sulṭán Aḥmad, of whose sincerity, however, he was suspicious. Islám, the governor of Shúshtar, informed Sháh Shujáᶜ of this, and he sent Pahlawán ᶜAlí Sháh Marniyání to Islám's help. The former, as soon as he had established himself, designed to oust the latter, but his plot miscarried, and he himself was killed. In the same year Sulṭán Aḥmad sent Sháh Manṣúr to Shústár, into which he gained admittance by the help of certain friendly Shaykhs. He then gradually rid himself of his most powerful opponents, and began to harry the province of Luristán, killing and plundering the people. (723) The Atábek Pashang complained to Sháh Shujáᶜ and begged him to send an army and take Shúshtar. At this juncture an ambassador arrived from Baghdád, and Sulṭán Aḥmad complained of Sáriq ᶜÁdil, because he had placed his younger brother, Sulṭán Báyazíd, on the throne at Sulṭániyya, and had thus created an estrangement between the brothers. Sháh Shujáᶜ answered both ambassadors according to their desires, promising to march on Sulṭániyya with an army, and, on his return thence, to proceed to Shúshtar by way of Lur-i-Kúchak.

Sulṭán Shiblí is arrested and blinded.

Sháh Shujáᶜ, on setting out from Shíráz, was accompanied

by his son Sulṭán Shiblí, who generally followed two or three stages behind him. At Bayḍá he wished to review his army before his father. (724) Certain mischief-makers sought to alarm Sháh Shujáᶜ by misrepresenting the Prince's object, and accusing him of rebellious intentions, asserting that he was secretly in league with Amír Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Salghar-sháh Rashídí. Sháh Shujáᶜ, recalling the legendary king Firídún's words to his undutiful sons (here given not from the *Sháhnáma*, but in Arabic), was much alarmed, and in the month of Rabíᶜ 1, A. H. 785 (= May 1383) arrested both the accused, imprisoning the Amír Salghar-sháh in the citadel, and Sulṭán Shiblí in the castle of Iqlíd. Then one day, being drunk, he ordered Amír Ramaḍán Akhtájí and Khwája Jawhar-i-Kúchak to go to the castle and deprive the Prince of his sight. Next day Sháh Shujáᶜ repented of his action, and sent off a mounted messenger to countermand the cruel order, but he arrived too late, and the king's repentance was vain. This cruel deed, moreover, brought him ill luck, for Khán Qutlugh "the Mother of Kings" died (725), and Sháh Ḥusayn, the brother of Sháh Yaḥyá and Sháh Manṣúr also died on that campaign. Sháh Shujáᶜ then proceeded to Sulṭániyya. When he reached Qazwín, Sulṭán Báyazíd and Sáriq ᶜÁdil came out to meet him, and were graciously received. Amír Yaᶜqúb-sháh the standard-bearer was sent to Sulṭán Aḥmad, and peace was concluded between the brothers. Sháh Shujáᶜ removed Sáriq ᶜÁdil from his post, and returned to Shíráz.

Sháh Shujáᶜ marches against Shúshtar and Luristán.

On returning from Qazwín, Sháh Shujáᶜ sent his army by way of Lur-i-Kúchak to Khurram-ábád, where he encamped beneath the citadel and received the allegiance of Malik ᶜIzzu'd-Dín, whose daughter he demanded in marriage. The service was conducted by Mawláná Saᶜdu'd-Dín Anasí, and four days

were devoted to the celebration of their nuptials. After this Sháh Shujá^{c} proceeded over bad roads and through mountains to Dizfúl and Shúshtar, the army suffering much from the cold, for it was winter. When they reached the Shúshtar river, heavy rain came on, which lasted for several days, but finally the weather cleared, and the Atábek Shamsu'd-Dín Pashang arrived, and also Sháh Manṣúr, from the other side of the river, with 500 or 600 horsemen fully equipped. Thus they remained for a week, as the river was too high for them to be able to cross. On both sides there was talk (726) of peace. Sháh Manṣúr came to one bank of the river, and Sháh Shujá^{c} to the other, and this was as near as they could come to meeting. Sháh Shujá^{c} then retired, promising the Atábek to send an army from Shíráz under the command of Sulṭán Báyazíd to reinforce him, and proceed with him to Shúshtar by way of Kúh-Gaylúya. Sháh Shujá^{c} returned to Shíráz, while the Atábek went to Ídaj. On the march Faraj Ágha deserted Sháh Shujá^{c} and went to Shúshtar. On reaching Shúlistán, Sháh Shujá^{c} remained there a few days making merry, but, falling ill, he proceeded to Shíráz, where he was met by the ladies of the court, who were returning from Iṣfahán. Once more he plunged into an orgie of drinking, which he continued without intermission until his illness again grew serious, and he was obliged to take to his bed. His complaint baffled the skill of the physicians, (727) and he presently realized that he must die, and set about making all the arrangements for his funeral and interment. Meanwhile the *Amírs* and people were divided into two hostile parties as to who should succeed the dying king, one preferring Sháh Shujá^{c}'s son Sulṭán Zaynu'l-^{c}Ábidín, and the other his brother Sulṭán Aḥmad. Sháh Shujá^{c}, on hearing this, sent for his son Zaynu'l-Ábidín, and gave him some fatherly advice on the necessity of unity and concord amongst kinsmen, of which the substance is given. (728) Zaynu'l-^{c}Ábidín was much moved by

this, and by his father's impending death, and on his coming forth from the death-chamber, Sháh Shujá^{c} sent for his brother Sulṭán Aḥmad and they wept together. Then Sháh Shujá^{c} gave Sulṭán Aḥmad a similar admonition, begged him to set out at once for Kirmán and assume the government of that city, and urged him not to suffer himself to be led into rebellion against Zaynu'l-^{c}Ábidín, nor to give countenance to those mischief-makers who were already engaged in stirring up strife. He then gave him further advice as to his behaviour, and what he should seek and avoid. (**729**) Advice of Sháh Shujá^{c} to Sulṭán Aḥmad as to the government of Kirmán and Bam, the treatment of the tribes, and other matters, continued. (**730**) On that very day Sulṭán Aḥmad left Shíráz and set out for Kirmán. After this Sháh Shujá^{c} wrote a letter to Tímúr (Tamerlane). Text of this letter. (**731**) Same continued. (**732**) Same continued. Sháh Shujá^{c} mentions his age as fifty-three. He announces his choice of Zaynu'l-^{c}Ábidín as his successor, and commends him and his other sons and brothers to Tímúr's favour. (**733**) Conclusion of letter. — Having completed all these arrangements, Sháh Shujá^{c} expired on Sunday, 22nd of Sha^{c}bán, A. H. 786 (= October 9, A. D. 1384), and was buried at the foot of the Mountain of Chil Maqám at Shíráz, according to the wish which he had expressed [1]). (**734**) His age at the time of his death was 53 years and 3 months, and he had reigned 27 years. On his death confusion ensued: the people of ^{c}Iráq demanded Sháh Yaḥyá; Sulṭán Aḥmad, as already narrated, was ruler of Kirmán; and Sulṭán Zaynu'l-^{c}Ábidín reigned in Shíráz in the place of his father.

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1) This statement hardly agrees with that made on p. 703 of the text (p. 178 *supra*) to the effect that Sháh Shujá^{c} spent a large sum of money in buying a plot of ground for his tomb at Mecca.

Reign of Zaynu'l-ᶜÂbidín b. Jalálu'd-Dín Sháh Shujáᶜ b. Mubárizu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Sharafu'd-Dín Muẓaffar b. Shujáᶜu'd-Dín Manṣúr b. Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Ḥájji.

No sooner had Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín succeeded his father than Sháh Yaḥyá marched from Iṣfahán to attack him. Sulṭán Báyazíd deserted the former and joined the latter. The two armies, however, separated without fighting, and some sort of agreement was made between the two rivals. Soon afterwards the Iṣfaháníṣ, prompted by their intrinsic malice and turbulence, expelled Sháh Yaḥyá from their city (735), and he fled with his retainers to Yazd, while Sulṭán Báyazíd went to Luristán. Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín, being informed of this, appointed his mother's brother Amír Muẓaffar-i-Káshí governor of Iṣfahán.

Sulṭán ᶜImádu'd-Dín Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Manṣúr b. al-Ḥájji comes to Kirmán.

Sulṭán ᶜImádu'd-Dín Aḥmad reached Kirmán on Friday, the 20th of Shaᶜbán, A. H. 786 (= October 7, 1384), and was met by the loyal and God-fearing Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan Qúrchí, and other notables of the city, who brought him to the *Qaṣr-i-Humáyún* (Royal Palace) and delivered to him the keys. Amír Ḥasan wished, but was not permitted, to go to Shíráz. Two days later the news of the death of Sháh Shujáᶜ arrived, and public mourning was observed. Sulṭán Aḥmad was enthroned as ruler of Kirmán. His virtues and beneficence, especially towards the *ᶜulamá*. His lack of decision and easy-going character.

Amír Súrghatmish the Afghán joins his tribe.

Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín, having made peace with Sháh Yaḥyá, released Amír Súrghatmish (736), who had been for some time detained by Sháh Shujáᶜ, and sent him to his tribe. Sulṭán Aḥmad, on his arrival at Kirmán, showed much favour to Amír Muḥammad Jurmá'í, who had formerly served him

faithfully, and imprisoned Amír Tákúr the Afghán. The Afghán *amírs* were, generally speaking, in a miserable and impoverished condition, and, on the arrival of Amír Súrghatmish in the Garmsír, at once joined him. Sulṭán Aḥmad, being informed of this by ʿAmír Muḥammad, set out from Kirmán with an army. On reaching the Garmsír [1]) he was joined by a number of warriors, whom he received with honour, and proceeded to Chahár Gunbad, where he was further reinforced by Amír Muḥammad with a number of the Jurmá'í *amírs*. Súrghatmish sent scouts to bring him correct information about this army, but these fell in with a detachment of Sulṭán Aḥmad's army and were put to rout. Súrghatmish thereupon retreated to the Garmsír to Ṭárim, leaving his brother Jamshíd in the Castle of Árzú. A letter from ʿAlí [b.] Naṣr, the governor of Sírján, to Súrghatmish, promising him help, fell into Sulṭán Aḥmad's hands, and he caused ʿAlí [b.] Naṣr to be put to death, and set out for Sírján, where he confiscated the traitor's possessions. Two or three days later the Sulṭán set out to lay siege to the Castle of Árzú, (737) which he subdued without much difficulty, and put certain suspected persons to death, sending Jamshíd in chains with the severed heads of the slain to Kirmán, whither he followed him. In A. H. 787 (= A. D. 1385—6) arrived an envoy from Tímúr, *viz.* Mawláná Quṭbu'd-Dín, bringing assurances of favour and friendship, and Sulṭán Aḥmad caused Tímúr's name to be inserted on the coinage and in the *khuṭba*. After this Amír Súrghatmish sought help from Shíráz, and received reinforcements commanded by Pahlawán Zaynu'd-Dín Shahr-i-Bábakí. Amír Muḥammad at once informed Sulṭán Aḥmad, who wished to march against Súrghatmish in person, but was dissuaded, and contented himself with sending an army commanded by Pahlawán ʿAlí Qúrchí, who was "the

1) MS. "Shíráz", which is certainly an error, though the emendation is conjectural.

Rustam of the Army of Kirmán", supported by Amír Muḥammad Jurmá'í. (738) A battle took place in which Amír Muḥammad slew Súrghatmish in single combat with a blow of his mace, and the enemy, on seeing this, lost all discipline and courage and were speedily routed, with great losses in slain and prisoners. Sulṭán Aḥmad then appointed Pahlawán ᶜAlí Qúrchí governor of the Afgháns.

Arrival of Sulṭán Abú Yazíd [or Báyazíd] b. Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar at Kirmán.

In A. H. 788 (= A. D. 1386—7) Sulṭán Báyazíd set out from Luristán for Kirmán, sending Khwája Táju'd-Dín Salmání on in advance to announce his arrival. Sulṭán Aḥmad sent Mihtar Ḥasan the *farrásh* to meet him and prepare fodder and provisions for his escort. Sulṭán Báyazíd halted at Shahr-i-Bábak, and his ill-disciplined and hungry soldiers began to loot and plunder. Sulṭán Aḥmad was much vexed at this, and refused to allow Sulṭán Báyazíd to enter Kirmán, so he turned back disappointed to Yazd and joined Sháh Yaḥyá.

(739) *Tímúr's first entry into ᶜIráq and Fárs.*

In Shawwál, A. H. 789 (= Oct.—Nov., A. D. 1387) news arrived that Tímúr had advanced into ᶜIráq, and that Amír Muẓaffar-i-Káshí and all the nobles and captains of ᶜIráq had waited upon him and surrendered to him the keys of all the cities and fortresses. Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín with his *Amírs* left Shíráz and went towards Baghdád, while Sháh Yaḥyá busied himself in preparing suitable presents wherewith to propitiate Tímúr (who promised security to all who submitted to him) and ordered a certain sum of money to be paid to him for the maintenance of his army. His officers entered Iṣfahán to collect this money, but the Iṣfahánís rose against them and slew them all. Next day Tímúr's soldiers entered the city and made a general massacre, in which

nearly 200,000 of the inhabitants were slain. Then Tímúr set out for Fárs, and Sulṭán Aḥmad came from Kirmán to pay him his respects, sending Amír Ikhthiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan on in advance. (740) The latter was well received by Tímúr, and in consequence sent messages to Sulṭán Aḥmad urging him to come without delay. He also met with a favourable reception from the great conqueror, and was by him confirmed in the government of Fárs, ʿIráq and Kirmán. Then Tímúr returned to his capital Samarqand.

Sulṭán Báyazíd comes to Kirmán.

Sulṭán Aḥmad was accompanied on his return to Kirmán by some of Tímúr's revenue officers. Sulṭán Báyazíd was preparing to march on India, but, on hearing how the kingdom had been apportioned by Tímúr, he returned to the Garmsír, where he was joined by the tribe of the Afgháns. Sulṭán Aḥmad was greatly disturbed by this news, the country being in disorder and the army scattered, some of the soldiers having even joined Sulṭán Báyazíd, but nevertheless he marched out to attack his rival, whom he defeated and took prisoner, but treated kindly (741) and forgave, though he put to death those who had misled him, and sent their heads with a proclamation of victory to Kirmán, whither he followed them, accompanied by his brother. Thence he went to Sírján on a hunting excursion, sending his brother to Manúqán to look after the revenues of Hurmúz. He then returned to Kirmán, where he was presently joined by his brother Báyazíd after he had compelled the people of Manúqán (or Manúján) to submit and pay tribute.

Capture of Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ʿÁbidín.

When Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ʿÁbidín, with his *Amírs*, soldiers and treasures, set out from Shíráz for Baghdád, he was met at Shúshtar by Sháh Manṣúr, and brought across the river to

the city, outside which he encamped. He was hospitably entertained by Sháh Manṣúr, and was visited by the wife of the latter (who was the daughter of Sháh Shujá[c] and therefore his sister or half-sister) and her son Sulṭán Ghaḍanfar. Gradually, as confidence increased, the soldiers of Zaynu'l-[c]Ábidín, and finally he himself with his captains, ventured into the city in pursuance of their affairs, until suddenly Sháh Manṣúr seized and bound Zaynu'l-[c]Ábidín and his chief officers, took possession of his treasure and property, and invited his soldiers to take service with him. (742) Being aware that his brother Sháh Yaḥyá was in Shíráz and that Tímúr had returned to Samarqand, Sháh Manṣúr imprisoned Zaynu'l [c]Ábidín in the citadel, induced most of his *Amírs* to join him, and marched on Shíráz. Sháh Yaḥyá, unable to meet him, retreated to Yazd, and Manṣúr occupied Shíráz without opposition. He seized the chief nobles, and blinded Amír Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Manṣúr Shúl. Sháh Yaḥyá, on reaching Yazd, lured Pahlawán-i-Muhadhdhab, the governor of Abarqúh, thither on some pretext, and on his arrival put him to death, seized Abarqúh, and took possession of his treasure, which he had amassed in the course of many years. He then sent messengers to Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq at Sírján, and induced him to enter into an alliance.

Sháh Yaḥyá marches on Kirmán.

When Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq, relinquishing all thought of Kirmán, allied himself with Sháh Yaḥyá, the latter marched from Yazd by way of Anár to subdue Kirmán, plundering as he went, until he arrived at Núq. Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḥasan, one of the principal nobles of Kirmán, had recently died. Sulṭán Aḥmad and his brother [Sulṭán Báyazíd] set out on their march, while Sháh Yaḥyá proceeded from Núq to Báft, where he was joined by Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq and the army of Sírján, and where the two armies met in battle. At this

juncture an ambassador, who was coming from the court of Tímúr to Kirmán (743), came up, and strove to effect a reconciliation, but without success. On Saturday, the 7th of Jumáda I, A. H. 792 (= April 23, 1390) a battle took place at Báft between the two factions, in which Sháh Yaḥyá was finally defeated and fled to Yazd, while Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq entrenched himself in Sírján. Sulṭán Aḥmad sent a proclamation of his victory with the heads of the slain to Kirmán, and proceeded to Sírján, which capitulated after a few days' siege. Abú Isḥáq surrendered, did obeisance to Sulṭán Aḥmad, was pardoned and received back into favour, and was restored to his former position as governor of Sírján. Amír Ḥájji Sháh, the brother of Abú Isḥáq's mother, who was deemed responsible for this rebellion (744) was, however, put to death after a brief imprisonment. In the same year, in the month of Shawwál (Sept. 12—Oct. 10, 1390), Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq died, aged 37, and was deeply mourned by the people of Kirmán. He was a poet, and one of his quatrains is quoted as a specimen.

Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ᶜÂbidín comes to Iṣfahán.

When Sháh Manṣúr had established himself in Shíráz, some of those charged with the custody of Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín at Shúshtar agreed to liberate him and bring him to Iṣfahán, where he was well received by the people.

Reign of Sháh Manṣúr b. Sháh Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar [b. Manṣúr] b. Ḥájji.

When Sháh Manṣúr had established himself in Shíráz, he proceeded to attack and capture Abarqúh, and then marched on Iṣfahán, devastating the country as he passed. He returned, however, to Shíráz without effecting much, and found it suffering from famine and drought (745), in consequence of which many of the people of Fárs had perished

or emigrated. The Atábek Shamsu'd-Dín Pashang had been succeeded on his death by the Atábek Pír Aḥmad, between whom and his younger brother Malik Húshang a quarrel had arisen, in which the latter was slain. Thus internecine strife arose in Luristán, and Sháh Manṣúr proceeded thither and drove out Pír Aḥmad, who went to lay a complaint before Tímúr. Sháh Manṣúr meanwhile appointed Malik Uways, a local nobleman, governor of Luristán, and himself set out for Shíráz to prepare a fresh expedition against Iṣfahán. Meanwhile Sháh Yaḥyá had persuaded Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín that he must ally himself with Sulṭán Aḥmad to seek vengeance on Sháh Manṣúr, and the two allies agreed to meet at Sírján in Ṣafar, A. H. 793 (= January, 1391). There Sulṭán Aḥmad and his son Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad were met by Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín coming from Iṣfahán, and entertained by Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq (746). After a few days they set out for Fárs. At Ṭárim they were joined by the Hazára tribe, but at Furg Sháh Manṣúr with a large army barred their way. Sulṭán Aḥmad made his way to Nayríz by way of Khush-Nawá. Sháh Yaḥyá sent word that he was coming with all speed and that his allies should await his arrival, so, in spite of the advice of their officers and nobles to continue their advance, they tarried some ten days in that neighbourhood. However, Sháh Yaḥyá did not arrive, and meanwhile Sháh Manṣúr re-entered Shíráz, raised and equipped a fresh army, and again took the field. Sulṭán Aḥmad went by way of Sarvistán to Pasá (Fasá), while Sháh Manṣúr proceeded by another road to the Garmsír. The two armies met on a Friday evening at Fasá. Sháh Manṣúr, who expected reinforcements, pretended to wish to arrive at a peaceful agreement, and battle was not joined until Saturday, when he fiercely attacked the armies of Kirmán and Iṣfahán, put them to rout, and killed many. The fugitives made for Kirmán, but Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín left them at Qaṭra and went to Iṣfahán,

while Sulṭán Aḥmad went to Kirmán, and Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq halted at Sírján.

Iṣfahán is captured by Sháh Manṣúr, and Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín taken and blinded.

(747) Sháh Manṣúr after his victory returned to Shíráz, and was joined by many deserters from the rival army. He then marched on Iṣfahán, and Sulṭán Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín, unable to oppose him, fled to Khurásán by way of Ray. Sháh Manṣúr was now master of ᶜIráq. The governor of Ray, Músá "Jaw-kár" ("the barley-farmer"), treacherously seized Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín and sent him bound to Sháh Manṣúr, who immediately deprived him of his eyesight. What Sháh Manṣúr subsequently suffered at the hands of Tímúr is regarded by the author as a punishment for this cruel deed. Sháh Manṣúr next proceeded to Yazd, and laid waste that city and its environs, after which he set out for Kirmán, whither he sent an ambassador bidding his uncle and his brother Sháh Yaḥyá renounce their allegiance to Tímúr and each send one of the sons and some retainers to accompany him to Khurásán and hold the river (Oxus) against a possible invasion of Tímúr. (748) In case of their refusal, he threatened them with war. Sulṭán Aḥmad declined to accede to this proposal, and pointed out the folly of provoking Tímúr. Sháh Manṣúr thereupon harried the neighbourhood and then returned to Shíráz, whence he presently set out again to lay siege to Yazd where Sháh Yaḥyá was. Several skirmishes took place, in one of which a certain Amír of Sháh Manṣúr's named Gurgín was killed. Sháh Manṣúr, greatly enraged, laid waste the whole country-side and again advanced on Kirmán as far as Rúdán and Rafsinján, laying waste this country also. Some of his *Amírs* deserted him and joined Sulṭán Aḥmad, who accorded them a good reception. Sháh Manṣúr, alarmed at these desertions, withdrew to Shíráz, and succeeded by favours and gifts in inducing Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq

to join him (749) in attacking Kirmán. Abú Isḥáq advanced from Sírján into the Garmsír, and Sulṭán Aḥmad marched thither to meet him, halting for a month at Báft, where ambassadors from Tímúr came to him and informed him that their master was advancing with his army on ʿIráq and Fárs, and that it behoved him to meet them with the army of Kirmán at Ray. Sulṭán Aḥmad thereupon returned to Kirmán, where, prompted by certain envious and malicious slanderers, he put to death Pahlawán Quṭbu'd-Dín Ḥaydar on a false charge of intriguing with Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq. Tímúr's envoy [1]) began to approach Kirmán at the beginning of A. H. 795 (= latter part of November, 1392), and Sulṭán Aḥmad with all his nobles went to meet him and bring him in to Kirmán. Sháh Manṣúr, who was then at Iṣfahán, retired to Shíráz and betook himself to the wine-bottle, so that for forty days no one saw him in public.

(750) *Second invasion of Fárs by Tímúr.*

Tímúr, on leaving his winter quarters in Mázandarán, and subduing Sulṭániyya and the neighbourhood, proceeded to Hamadán, whence he sent Muḥammad Sulṭán Bahádur through Kurdistán, with orders to rejoin the main army at Ḥuwayza and Dizfúl. At the same time he sent prince ʿUmar Shaykh Bahádur by way of Qum, Âwa, Sáwa and parts of Lur-i-Buzurg and Lur-i-Kúchak to meet him at the same rendezvous. Malik ʿIzzu'd-Dín the Lur was at that time engaged in a dispute with his son, but on hearing of the advance of Tímúr's troops they at once made peace, and, going in opposite directions, evacuated Lur-i-Kúchak. Tímúr, leaving

1) This passage is obscure. The literal translation is: "the King of kings (*Sháh-i-Sháhán*) with the army reached the Kirmán road". Either the expression "King of kings" refers to some one other than Tímúr, or the words "envoy of" have been omitted, for it appears certain from the other histories of the period (*Ẓafar-náma*, *ʿAjá'ibu'l-Maqdúr*, *Maṭlaʿu's-Saʿdayn*, *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*, etc.) that Tímúr never visited Kirmán.

Amír Sayfu'd-Dín Qúltásh with some 500 men to hold Burújird, and Amír Ḥájji Tímúr Búqá and Shaykh Sístání, with the same number of men, to hold Khurramábád, advanced towards Shúshtar by way of Samra (751), and thence to Dizfúl, where he was received by the nobles and chief men. When ᶜAlí Kútwál and Amír Isfandiyár who governed Shúshtar on behalf of Sháh Manṣúr, heard this, they fled to Shíráz, and Tímúr entered Dizfúl without opposition. Leaving Khwája Masᶜúd with a thousand men to garrison Shúshtar, and Ḥasan-i-Rashíd at Ḥuwayza, and one of his Khurásání officers at Dizfúl, Tímúr advanced by way of Bahbahán towards Shíráz. Mihtar Saᶜádat the *farrásh*, who was the Warden of Qalᶜa-i-Safíd, trusting in the impregnability of that fortress, renowned from ancient times, opposed Tímúr, who, on the third day after his arrival, stormed and took the castle and put all the garrison to the sword. When this news reached Sháh Manṣúr he fled incontinently from Shíráz to the Bridge of Fasá. Being joined there by certain fugitives, he enquired of them what the people of Shíráz were saying, and they replied that they were laughing at him because, with all his arrogance and heavy quiver, he had "fled like a goat". (752) On hearing this, shame and his evil destiny prompted him to turn back and oppose Tímúr, who had already reached Shíráz, with his small army of 3000 men, mostly nomads. When Tímúr saw him prepared for battle, he entrusted the right wing of his host to Pír Muḥammad Bahádur, the left to Prince Muḥammad Sulṭán Bahádur and the centre to his son (753) Prince Sháh Rukh. As Tímúr's army advanced, Sháh Manṣúr's right and left wings at once gave way and fled; but he himself, with his bravest retainers, stood firm, and fought with desperate valour, so that Tímúr's body-guard gave way, all except four or five men [1]), until at last he was left

1) That Tímúr was very hard pressed, and that Sháh Manṣúr even succeeded

alone, wounded in three places in the neck and face. (754) Unrecognized, he made his way into the city; but one of Tímúr's soldiers dragged him from his horse, and, as he fell to the ground, his helmet fell off his head, and he cried, "I am he whom you seek: give me a draught of water, and take me alive to Tímúr." The soldiers paid no heed to his request, but killed him on the spot and brought his head to Tímúr. Most of his retainers were also killed or taken captive; Fárs was subjugated, and proclamations of victory were sent by Tímúr through his empire. Sulṭán Aḥmad and Mahdí the son of Sháh Shujá^{c} were on their way to Tímúr's camp when news of these events reached them: they hastened their advance and made their submission. Sulṭán Abú Isḥáq b. Uways b. Sháh Shujá^{c} left a servant named Gúdarz in charge of the Castle of Sírján, and himself went to Tímúr, who caused all these princes to be put in chains. Fárs and ^{c}Iráq were assigned to Prince ^{c}Umar Shaykh Bahádur, and Kirmán to Ídakú Bahádur, to whom, on presentation of a letter from Sulṭán Aḥmad to his son Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad, the keys of the city were at once surrendered (755). A week later, during the first third of Rajab, A. H. 795 (= May 13—22, 1393) an Imperial Rescript was issued in the village of Máhyár, ordering all the House of Muẓaffar, great and small, to be put to death, which order was ruthlessly carried out.

[Here ends the intercalated history of the Muẓaffarí dynasty, and the interrupted text of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* is resumed.]

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in striking him twice on the helmet, is asserted in the *Ẓafar-náma*, *Maṭla^{c}u's-Sa^{c}dayn* and *Ḥabíbu's-Siyar*.

CHAPTER V. — ON THE IMÁMS, 'READERS', SHAYKHS AND DOCTORS OF ISLÁM, IN SIX SECTIONS.

Section 1. — Imáms and Mujtahids of Islám (13).

(1) *Jaᶜfar-i-Ṣádiq* "the Imám of the Sunnís" (*sic!*) [1] (p. 756), of whom mention has been already made.

(2) *Abú Ḥanífa Naᶜmán b. Thábit b. Ṭá'ús b. Hurmazd.* His ancestor blessed by ᶜAlí, whose standard-bearer he was. Abú Ḥanífa's dream. He died at Baghdád in A. H. 151 (= A. D. 768), at the age of 80. Maliksháh's *Mustawfí*, Sharafu'l-Mulk Abú Saᶜd, built a mausoleum over his grave. He had met and conversed with 7 of the Prophet's Companions (names given).

(3) *Málik b. Anas* (757). His father was one of the Companions. He died, aged 85, in A. H. 179 (= A. D. 795—6) at al-Madína, and was buried in al-Baqíᶜ.

(4) *Muḥammad b. Idrís ash-Sháfiᶜí.* His dreams. He is accused of being a "Ráfiḍí" (Shíᶜite) on account of his excessive love for the House of the Prophet. He is persecuted by the Caliph to declare the Qur'án created. The trick whereby he satisfies his persecutors. He flees to Egypt and dies there on Rajab 7, A. H. 204 (= Dec. 28, 819), aged 54, and is buried at Fusṭáṭ (Old Cairo).

(5) *Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* (758) was the disciple of ash-Sháfiᶜí. He was imprisoned and beaten to death for refusing to admit that the Qur'án was created. His death took place in A. H. 230 (= A. D. 844—5) [2]. He was buried beside Abú Ḥanífa.

(6) *Ṭá'ús b. Kaysán al-Yamání*, d. A. H. 106 (= A. D. 724—5: this text has A. H. 600 erroneously).

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1) This must he a mere scribe's error for "Imám of the Shíᶜís".

2) This is an error. The correct date, A. H. 241 (= A. D. 855—6) is given by Ibnu'l-Athír and Ibn Khallikán.

(7) *Ḥasan b. Yasár al-Baṣrí*, d. A. H. 110 (= A. D. 728—9) at Baṣra.

(8) *Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. Abí Layla*, d. A. H. 106 (A. D. 724—5) [1]).

(9) *Rabíᶜa b.* [*Abí*] *ᶜAbdi'r-Raḥmán*, d. A. H. 136 (= A. D. 753—4).

(10) *ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. ᶜUmar al-Awzáᶜí*, d. A. H. 157 (= A. D. 773—4).

(11) *Sufyán ath-Thawrí*, d. A. H. 161 (= A. D. 777—8) at Baṣra, aged 64.

(12) *Qáḍí Abú Yúsuf Yaᶜqúb b. Ibráhím b. Ḥabíb b. Saᶜd*, d. A. H. 182 (= A. D. 798—9), aged 89.

(13) *Muḥammad b.* (759) *Ḥasan ash-Shaybání*, d. A. H. 189 (= A. D. 805), aged 58.

Section 2. — "Readers" (10), or "Qurrá".

(1) *Náfiᶜ b. ᶜAbdu'r-Raḥmán b. Abí Naᶜím* of al-Madína, originally of Iṣfahán, d. A. H. 169 (= A. D. 785—6).

(2) *ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Kathír* of Mecca, d. A. H. 120 (= A. D. 738).

(3) *Abú ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlá' al-Baṣrí*, d. A. H. 154 (= A. D. 771) at Kúfa.

(4) *ᶜAbdu'lláh b. ᶜÂmir* of Damascus, d. A. H. 118 (= A. D. 736).

(5) *ᶜÂṣim b.* [*Abi'n-Najúd*] [2]) *al-Kúfí*, d. A. H. 127 (= A. D. 744—5).

(6) *Ḥamza b. Ḥabíb b. ᶜUmára az-Zayyát* [3]) *al-Kúfí*, d. A. H. 156 (= A. D. 772—3).

(7) *Abu'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlí b. Ḥamza al-Kisá'í al-Kúfí*, d. in A. H. 189 (= A. D. 804—5) at Ray. These seven persons are

1) Another error. The correct date is A. H. 148 (= A. D. 765—6).

2) See Ibn Khallikán under the letter ع; *Fihrist*, p. 29; and Ibnu'l-Athír *sub anno* 128.

3) See Ibn Khallikán under the letter ز; *Fihrist*, p. 29; and Ibnu'l-Athír *sub anno* 156.

the "Seven Readers" of primary authority. The remaining ones are:

(8) *Abú Ja'far Yazíd b. al-Qa'qá'*.

(9) *Khalaf b.* (760) *Hishám*, d. A. H. 229 (= A. D. 843—4) [1]).

(10) *Abú Muḥammad Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq b. Zayd b.* ['Abdu'lláh b. Abí] *Isḥáq al-Ḥaḍramí* [2]).

Section 3. — Traditionists (7), *or "Muḥaddithún"*.

(1) *Al-Bukhárí*, d. Shawwál, 1, A. H. 256 (= Sept. 1, A. D. 870) at Samarqand. His great-grandfather was converted to Islám from Zoroastrianism.

(2) *Muslim* of Níshápúr, d. 24th of Rajab, A. H. 261 (= April 23, A. D. 875).

(3) *Abú Dá'úd Sulaymán ... as-Sijistání*, d. 16th Shawwál, A. H. 257 (= Sept. 6, A. D. 871) at Baṣra, aged 55.

(4) *Abú 'Ísá Muḥammad at-Tirmidhí*, d. A. H. 279 (= A. D. 892—3) at Tirmidh, aged 55.

(5) *Abú 'Abdi'r-Raḥmán* [Aḥmad] *an-Nasá'í*, d. at Mecca, A. H. 303 (= A. D. 915—6): other MSS. have A. H. 203 (= A. D. 818—9), which is correct [3]).

(6) *Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Yazíd b. Mája* of Qazwín, d. A. H. 273 (= A. D. 886—7) at Qazwín.

(7) *Abú Muḥammad 'Abdu'lláh ... ad-Dárimí*. These seven were the greatest Traditionists, and each of them left a *Corpus* of critically selected Traditions entitled *aṣ-Ṣaḥíḥ*.

Section 4. — Shaykhs.

Those who had met any of the actual Companions (*Ṣaḥába*) of the Prophet were known as "Followers" (*Tábi'ún*), and those who had met any of them as "Followers of the Followers" (*Taba'u't-Tábi'ín*), but afterwards, for the sake of

1) MS. erroneously "129". See *Fihrist*, p. 31, and Ibnu'l-Athír *sub anno* 229.

2) See Ibn Khallikán under *Ya'qúb*.

3) See Ibn Khallikán and Ibnu'l-Athír *sub anno* 303.

brevity (761), later holy men were known simply as Shaykhs (*Mashá'ikh*) or "Elders". A few of the chief of these are here enumerated. (About 300 are mentioned in the text, but of these only the more important are given here).

(1) *Uways al-Qaraní* was one of the Companions of the Prophet, but is placed at the head of this list of Shaykhs "for a blessing". His devotion to the Prophet. He is said to have been killed in a war with the people of Daylam, and to be buried near Qazwín, but others say he was killed at the Battle of Ṣiffín, A. H. 36 (= A. D. 656—7), and others that he is buried near Kirmánsháh. Some of his sayings.

(2) *Ḥasan of Baṣra*, d. A. H. 110 (= A. D. 728—9) [1]. Some of his sayings (762).

(3) *Ḥabíb al-ᶜAjami*. His conversion. Some of his sayings.

(4) *Muḥammad-i-Wásiᶜ*, d. A. H. 120 (= A. D. 738).

(5) *ᶜUtbatu'l-Ghulám* [2]) was a disciple of Ḥasan of Baṣra.

(6) *Abú Ḥázim* of Mecca, another disciple of the same (763).

(7) *Málik-i-Dínár*, d. A. H. 130 (= A. D. 747—8).

(8) *Rábiᶜa al-ᶜAdawiyya*.

(9) *Abú Sulaymán Dá'úd-i-Ṭá'i*, d. A. H. 165 (= A. D. 781—2).

(10) *Abú Isḥáq Ibráhím b. Adham*, a prince of Balkh. His conversion. (764) He goes to the Ḥijáz and meets Fuḍayl b. ᶜIyáḍ. He died in Asia Minor in A. H. 161 (= A. D. 777—8) [3]), and is buried near Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

(11) *Abú ᶜAlí Shaqíq* of Balkh. His conversion. He died in A. H. 190 (= A. D. 805—6) [4]). (765) His sayings.

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1) MS. A. H. 117 (= A. D. 735). The correct date is given on p. 209 *supra* (7). See Ibn Khallikán, etc.

2) See *Fihrist*, p. 183, l. 23; p. 185, l. 5; and the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá* of *ᶜAṭṭár* (ed. Nicholson, vol. i, pp. 57—9).

3) This MS. has "A. H. 101, or, according to another account, A. H. 130)". The date A. H. 161, given by most MSS. of the *Guzída*, is confirmed by Ibnu'l-Athír, Ibn Shákir, Jámí, etc.

4) Ibn Khallikán gives A. H. 153 (A. D. 770) and Jámí, in the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, A. H. 174 (= A. D. 790—1).

(12) *Fuḍayl b. ᶜIyáḍ* of Merv, d. A. H. 187 (= A. D. 803). He was originally a highway-robber. His conversion. His sayings.

(13) *Ḥátim al-Aṣamm* ("the Deaf"). Why called "the Deaf". Speaks boldly to the Caliph. (766) "The Four Deaths" which the mystic must die.

(14) *Abú Maḥfúẓ Maᶜrúf b. Fírúz al-Karkhí*, d. A. H. 200 (= A. D. 815—6). His parents were Christians. His conversion. His sayings.

(15) *Muḥammad-i-Sammák*, a contemporary of him last mentioned.

(16) *Buhlúl.* He reproves Hárúnu'r-Rashíd (767) [1]).

(17) *Abú Naṣr Bishr b. Ḥárith*, called *al-Ḥáfí* ("the Barefooted") of Merv, d. A. H. 227 (= A. D. 841—2). Cause of his blessedness. His sayings.

(18) *Abú Yazíd* (*Báyazíd*) *Ṭayfúr b. ᶜÍsá b. Surúshán* of Bisṭám, d. A. H. 261 (= A. D. 874—5) or 234 (= A. D. 848—9). His sayings (768). He had two brothers named Ádam and ᶜIsá [2]), some of whose sons also bore his name.

(19) *Ibráhím* of Merv (or Herát [3]), according to other MSS.), a contemporary of the above. His tomb is at Qazwín.

(20) *Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad* [*b. Abi'l-*] Ḥawárí, d. A. H. 230 (= A. D. 844—5) [4]).

(21) *Aḥmad b. Ḥarb*, another contemporary of Báyazíd. His sayings.

(22) *Abú Ḥámid Aḥmad b. Khiḍrawayhi* (769) of Balkh, d. A. H. 240 (= A. D. 854—5), aged 95.

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1) Other MSS. here insert two other biographies, of Shaykh Muḥammad-i-Aslam of Ṭús, and Shaykh Abú Sulaymán of Damascus.

2) According to Ibn Khallikán the second brother was called ᶜAlí.

3) Herát appears to be correct, for Jámí (*Nafaḥát*) calls him Ibráhím Sitanba-i-Hirawí.

4) So also in the *Nafaḥát* of Jámí; but the *Fihrist* (p. 184 and notes thereon) and the *Táju'l-ᶜArús* (under ج و ز) give A. H. 246 (= A. D. 860—1).

23) *Abú ᶜAbdi'lláh Ḥárith b. Asad al-Muḥásibí*, d. A. H. 243 (= A. D. 857—8) at Baghdád.

(24) *Dhu'n-Nún al-Miṣrí* ("the Egyptian"), d. A. H. 245 (= A. D. 859—860).

(25) *Dhu'l-Kifl*, brother of the above.

(26) *Abú Turáb ᶜAlí b. Ḥuṣayn* of Nakhshab, d. A. H. 245 (= A. D. 859—860) (**770**) Preservation of his corpse. His sayings.

(27) *Abú Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAmr* of Tirmidh, d. A. H. 247 (= A. D. 861—2).

(28) *Abú ᶜAlí Aḥmad b. ᶜÁṣim* of Antioch, d. A. H. 205 (= A. D. 820—1: other MSS. have "A. H. 250" = A. D. 864—5) [1]).

(29) *Abú ᶜAbdi'lláh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá*, d. A. H. 240 (= A. D. 854—5).

(30) *Muḥammad b. ᶜAlí al-Ḥakím* of Tirmidh. (**771**).

(31) *Abu'l Ḥasan as-Sarí* [2]) *as-Saqaṭí*, d. A. H. 257 (= A. D. 870—1). His sayings.

(32) *Abú Zakariyyá Yaḥyá b. Muᶜádh ar-Rází*, d. A. H. 258 (= A. D. 871—2). His sayings.

(33) *Muḥammad b. Ismaᶜíl as-Sámirí*, d. A. H. 296 (= A. D. 908—9) at Qazwín (**772**). His sayings.

(34) *Abú Ḥafṣ ᶜAmr* [3]) *b. Muslim* [4]) *al-Ḥaddád* of Níshápur, d. A. H. 266 (= A. D. 879—880).

(35) *Abú Ṣáliḥ Ḥamdún b. Aḥmad b. Qaṣṣár* of Níshápúr, d. A. H. 271 (= A. D. 884—5).

(36) *Abú Muḥammad Sahl b. ᶜAbdu'llah Tustarí* (of Shúshtar), d. A. H. 273 (= A. D. 886—7).

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1) The latter date is correct, for he is stated to have died in the time of al-Mustaᶜín, who was Caliph from A. H. 248—251 (= A. D. 862—5).

2) MS. "at-Tustarí", *i. e.* of Shúshtar, but the reading adopted is that given by the *Fihrist*, *Ibn Khallikán*, the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá*, *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns*, etc.

3) MS. ᶜUmar, but the *Kashfu'l-Maḥjúb* and *Nafaḥát* give the reading here adopted.

4) For "Muslim" the *Nafaḥát* has "Salama" and the *Kashfu'l-Maḥjúb* "Sálim."

(37) *Abú Isḥáq Ibráhím b. Yaḥyá Gawáhán* of Tabríz, d. A. H. 277 (= A. D. 890—1).

(38) *Abu'l-Ḥasan ᶜAlí b. Sahl* of Iṣfahán, d. A. H. 280 (= A. D. 893—4) [1]).

(39) *Abú Ḥamza al-Bazzáz* of Baghdád, d. A. H. 287 (= A. D. 900).

(773) (40) *Abú Bakr b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr ad-Daqqáq*, d. A. H. 290 (= A. D. 903).

(From this point onwards only the more notable Shaykhs are mentioned here. The number prefixed to each indicates his position in the series given in the text.)

(45) *Abu'l-Qásim Junayd* of Niháwand, better known as of Baghdád, d. A. H. 297 (= A. D. 909—910). His (774) sayings.

(776) (58) *Ḥusayn b. Manṣúr al-Ḥalláj*, of Bayḍá in Fárs, put to death at Baghdád, A. H. 309 (= A. D. 921—922) [2]), during the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir at the instigation of the Wazír Ḥámid b. ᶜAbbás. His execution, and some of his sayings.

(779) (73) *Abú Bakr Shiblí*, d. A. H. 334 (= A. D. 945—6). Specimen of his Arabic verses. Anecdote of him and a Magian.

(784) (96) *Abu'l Qásim ᶜAbdu'l-Karím b. Hawázin al-Qushayrí* of Níshápúr, author of the well-known treatise (*Risála*) on Ṣúfíism.

(97) *Abú Saᶜíd b. Abi'l-Khayr*, author of the well-known quatrains, d. A. H. 440 (= A. D. 1048—9) [3]), aged 89.

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1) This MS. has A. H. 208 (= A. D. 823), but the reading adopted, which is that of most MSS. of the *Guzída*, is confirmed by the statement that he died in the time of the Caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid (A. H. 279—289 = A. D. 892—902).

2) The reading "307" in this MS. is evidently an error, for the *Fihrist*, Ibnu'l-Athír and Ibn Khallikán all agree in the date here adopted.

3) MS. "340", which is certainly erroneous. See the *Nafaḥátu'l-Uns* and Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, p. 342.

(99) *Majdúd b. Âdam Sanáʾí* of Ghazna, the celebrated mystical poet.

(785) (100) *Abu'l-Qásim Gurgání*, who forbade the burial of Firdawsí's body, and was reproached by the poet's spirit in a dream.

(103) *Bábá Kúhí*, whose tomb is at Shíráz.

(106) *ʿAbdu'lláh Anṣárí*, a contemporary of Abú Saʿíd b. Abi'l-Khayr. His (786) sayings. Malik Sharafu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Sháh Ínjú, who reigned over so large a portion of Persia, claimed to be his descendent (pedigree given).

(787) (107) *Aḥmád Ghazzálí*, brother of the more celebrated Muḥammad Ghazzálí. Died at Qazwín, A. H. 520 (= A. D. 1126) [1]). Persian verses by him.

(108) *Muḥammad Ghazzálí*, known as *Ḥujjatu'l-Islám*, d. A. H. 505 (= A. D. 1111—12) [2]).

(109) *Ḥáfiẓ Abu'l-ʿAlá Ḥasan b. Aḥmad ʿAṭṭár* of Hamadán, d. A. H. 560 (= A. D. 1164—5). Verses about him by Kháqání cited.

(788) (116) *Awḥádu'd-Dín Kirmání*, the poet.

(117) *Majdu'd-Dín Baghdádí*, put to death on suspicion of an intrigue with the mother of Khwárazmsháh. After his death Khwárazmsháh repented of what he had done, and went to Shaykh Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá, and asked (789) what atonement would suffice to expiate this deed, to which the Shaykh replied that their lives and the lives of many others would hardly expiate it; a saying presumably held to have hinted prophetically at the fatal results of the impending Mongol invasion. One of Majdu'd-Din's Persian quatrains cited.

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1) MS. "510", but the date adopted is that given by Ibnu'l-Athír, Ibn Khallikán, etc.

2) MS. "500", but see the authorities cited in the last note.

(789) (118) *Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá*, called "*Wali-tarásh*" ("the Saint-carver"). In his whole life he only accepted twelve disciples, all of whom, however, became famous. They included Majdu'd-Dín Baghdádí, Sa^{c}du'd-Dín-i-Ḥammúya [1]), Raḍiyyu'd-Dín ^{c}Alí Lálá, Sayfu'd-Dín Bákharzí, Jamálu'd-Dín Gílí, Jalálu'd-Dín [Rúmí?] [2]), etc. Chingíz Khán warned Najmu'd-Dín to flee from Khwárazm, as he intended to massacre all the inhabitants; but the Shaykh refused to abandon his fellow-citizens in the time of their distress when he had lived for 80 years amongst them in times of prosperity, and perished in the massacre in A. H. 618 (= A. D. 1221—2). Some of his verses.

(790) (119) *Shihábu'd-Dín Suhrawardí*, d. A. H. 632 (= A. D. 1234—5) in Baghdád. One of his Persian quatrains.

(121) *Sa^{c}du'd-Dín-i-Ḥammúya*, d. A. H. 650 (= A. D. 1252—3) [3]).

(791) (122) *Najmu'd-Dín Dáya*, author of the *Mirṣádu'l-^{c}Ibád*, fled to Turkey in Asia at the time of the Mongol invasion.

(123) *Sayfu'd-Dín* [*Bákharzí*], d. A. H. 658 (= A. D. 1260). One of his Persian quatrains.

(124) *Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí*, who fled from Balkh to Asia Minor in the time of the Mongol invasion. He is buried at Qonya. Specimen of his lyric poetry.

(792) (131) *Shaykh Aḥmad-i-Jam*, called "*Zinda-Pil*".

(793) (139) *Shaykh Rúzbihán*, who is buried at Shíráz.

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1) See on the form of this name (often erroneously written "Ḥamawí") note 2 on p. Lxiii of the Persian Introduction to vol. i of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-Gusháy* of Juwayní (vol. xvi, i, of this Series).

2) There seems to be no other authority for the statement that Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí was a pupil of Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá, and, for chronological reasons, it is very improbable.

3) This MS. has "658". The date adopted in the text is from Jámí's *Nafaḥát*.

(145) *Saᶜdu'd-Dín Qutlugh-Khwája al-Khálidí* of Qazwín, where he died, aged 80, in Muḥarram, A. H. 728 (= Nov.—Dec., A. D. 1327). Gházán Khán and many of the Mongols were converted by him [1]).

(146) *Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín Ardabílí.*

(147) *ᶜAlá'u'd-Dawla b. Malik Sharafu'd-Dín Simnání.*

(After Nº. 151, on p. 794, there follows a mere list of names, concerning whom the author has been unable to ascertain any particulars as to date or circumstances. This list extends to p. 796, l. 14, and, with the longer notices which precede, brings up the total number of Shaykhs mentioned to 287). — (796) According to a tradition there are always 300 of God's Saints (*Awliyá*) on earth, of whom 40 attain great, 7 still greater, and one supreme eminence. This last is the *Quṭb* or "Pole", the Pivot of the World, and God's Proof to His creatures. On his death he is succeeded by the next in order, and (797) this hierarchy thus exists unbroken. The author puts the total number of Saints whose names are recorded at over 80,000 and possibly as many as 124,000, of whom, for the sake of brevity, he has, he says, enumerated 313, so that there are evidently some omissions in this manuscript and most others. The author ends this section with a bitter denunciation of the Shaykhs and Ṣúfís of his own time.

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1) According to the *Jámiᶜu't-Tawáríkh* (Paris MS., Suppl. persan 209, ff. 352*b*—354*a*) and Ibn Taghrí Bardí's *al-Manhalu'ṣ-Ṣáfí* (Paris MS., Fonds arabe 2068, f. 28*a*) it was Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Shaykh Saᶜdu'd-Dín Ḥammúya who was instrumental in converting Gházán Khán and some 100,000 Mongol soldiers to Islám. See vol. i of the *Taᵓríkh-i-Jahángusháy* in this series, pp. Lxii—Lxiii (سج—سب) of the Persian Introduction. It is difficult to account for the discrepancy between these and the *Taᵓríkh-i-Guzída*, since the authors of all three works were in a position to know the truth. Perhaps the author of the *Guzída* war anxious to give credit to a fellow-citizen for this achievement.

Section 5. — Learned men (ʿUlamá) of all sorts.

(a) *Ráwís* (handers down of tradition) *of the Four Orthodox Sects.*

(798) One only is mentioned for the Ḥanafí School; four or five for the Málikí; some 19 or more for the Sháfiʿí, (799) and about the same number for the Ḥanbalí. Next follow —

(b) *Ráwís of the Qurrá or "Readers".*

Of these 14 are mentioned, two for each of the "Seven Readers".

(c) *Ráwís of the four chief Traditionists,*

viz. al-Bukhárí (800), Muslim, as-Sijistání and al-Kisá'í.

(d) *Men learned in various sciences arranged alphabetically.*

(Many of these notices also are very exiguous, merely mentioning the name of an author and one of his books, without any date or other particulars. Here also only a selection of the more interesting are given.)

(801) (4) *Imámu'd-Dín ar-Ráfiʿí*, author of several commentaries and works on Jurisprudence, died in Dhu'l-Qaʿda, A. H. 623 (= Oct.—Nov., A. D. 1226). Specimen of his Persian verse.

(5) *Athíru'd-Dín Abharí*, who died a little before the Mongol invasion. His works on philosophy, etc. His Persian verse.

(9) *Qáḍí Aḥmad Dámghání*, author of the history entitled *Istiẓháru'l-Akhbár* [1]).

(802) (12) *Abu'l-Fatḥ b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-*

1) This is one of our author's sources: see p. 2 (N°. 22) *supra*, and p. 8 of the Persian text.

Iṣfahání [1]), author of the *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhí* and the *Khuffiyy-i-ᶜAlá'í* [2]).

(14) *ᶜAbdu'lláh b. al-Muqaffaᶜ*, translator into Arabic of the *Book of Kalíla and Dimna.*

(16) *Abú ᶜAlí b. Síná* ("Avicenna"), d. A. H. 427 (= A. D. 1035—6). His works. His Arabic versified translation of the Aphorisms of the physician Barádiq ("Tayáduq" is given as a variant in the margin; he is represented as a contemporary of King Anúsharwán, or Núshírwán, the Sásánian).

(803) Avicenna is rebuked by a crossing-sweeper.

(17) *Abú Maᶜshar al-Balkhí*, the astronomer, d. A. H. 190 (= A. D. 805—6) [3]).

(804) (19) *Abú Rayḥán al-Bírúní al-Khwárazmí*, the astronomer, who wrote the *Kitábu't-tafhím fi't-tanjím* in A. H. 421 (= A. D. 1030), and subsequently the *Qánún-i-Masᶜúdí.*

(20) *Abu'l-Fatḥ al-Bustí.* Specimen of his Arabic verse.

(22) *Abu'sh-Sharaf Náṣir b. Khalífa b. Saᶜd* [4]) *al Jarbádhaqání*, translator into Persian of al-ᶜUtbí's history of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní*). He died a little before the Mongol Invasion.

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1) The name, *kunya* and *nisba* of this writer are here wrongly given. In the most correct of the Paris MSS. (Suppl. persan 173, f. 277*a*) they are given as follows: "Sayyid Ismaᶜíl b. Ḥusayn b. Maḥmúd b. Aḥmad al-ᶜAlawí al-Jurjání". See also the *Chahár Maqála* (vol. xi of this series, pp. 70 and 236—8) where it is given as "Abú Ibráhím Ismaᶜíl b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayní al-Jurjání". This much at least is certain, that his name was Ismaᶜíl and his native place Jurján.

2) See the *Chahár Maqála* (vol. xi of this series), pp. 237—8.

3) An obvious error. According to the *Fihrist* (p. 277) and Ibn Khallikán (*s. v.* Jaᶜfar) Abú Maᶜshar died in A. H. 272 (= A. D. 885—6).

4) In the preface to the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní* the translator gives his name as *Náṣiḥ* instead of *Náṣir*, and his father's name as *Ẓafar* instead of *Khalífa*. The Paris MS. of the *Guzída* mentioned in the last note but one agrees in the second particular.

(805) (27) *Badiᶜu'z-Zamán al-Hamadání*, author of the *Maqámát*.

(32) *ᶜAmr b. Baḥr al-Ǧáḥiḍh*, d. A. H. 255 (= A. D. 869).

(33) *Abú Naṣr Ismaᶜíl b. Ḥammád al-Ǧawharí*, author of the celebrated lexicon the *Ṣiḥáḥ*.

(806) (44) *Ǧáru'lláh Abu'l-Qásim Maḥmúd b. ᶜUmar az-Zamakhsharí*, author of the *Kashsháf*, d. A. H. 588 (= A. D. 1192) [1]).

(50) *Shaykh Shiháb'd-Dín as-Suhrawardí*, called *al-Maqtúl* ("the Slain"), celebrated for his magical powers, put to death in the time of the Caliph Náṣir.

(52) *Ṣadru'd-Dín Sáwají*, put to death in the time of Húlágú on suspicion of practising magic.

(807) (55) *ᶜIzzu'd-Dín ᶜAlí b. al-Athír al-Ǧazarí*, author of the great history called *al-Kámil*.

(58) *ᶜAbdu'lláh b. Muslim b.* [Qutayba] [2]) *Abí Muḥammad ad-Dínawarí*, the historian, a contemporary of the Caliph al-Muᶜtamid.

(60) *ᶜAbdu'lláh . . . b. Khurdádh[bih] al-Khurásání*, author of the *Masáliku'l-Mamálik*, contemporary with the Caliph al-Mutawakkil.

(61) *ᶜAbu ᶜAmr* [*ᶜUthmán b. ᶜUmar*] [3]), better known as *Ibnu'l-Ḥájib*, author of the *Káfiya*, the *Sháfiya* and the *ᶜArúḍ*.

(808) (66) *ᶜAlá'u'd-Dín ᶜAṭá Malik Ṣáḥib-Díwán* [4]), author of the *Ta'ríkh-i-Ǧahán-Gushá*, and brother of Shamsu 'd-Dín Ṣáḥib-Díwán.

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1) The correct date, as given by Ibn Khallikán and Ibnu'l-Athír, is A. H. 538 (= A. D. 1143—4).

2) So in the Paris MS. mentioned above, and in Ibn Khallikán's Biographical Dictionary.

3) The title *ᶜAynu'l-Quḍát* added in the original is an error, arising, as the Paris MS. shows, from a notice, omitted in this MS., of ᶜAynu'l-Quḍát -i-Mayánají.

4) Here also there are several errors in the name as given in the original.

(67) *ᶜAbdu'l-Karím b. Hawázin al-Qushayrí,* contemporary with Alp Arslán.

(69) *ᶜAḍudu'd-Dín Shabánkára'í.* There is a tradition that every hundred years some great theologian will arise to strengthen and defend Islám. Of such was the Umayyad Caliph ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAzíz in the first century of the *hijra*; the Imám ash-Sháfiᶜí in the second; Abu'l-ᶜAbbás Aḥmad b. Surayj [1]) in the third; Abú Bakr al-Báqilání in the fourth; al-Ghazzálí, called *Ḥujjatu'l-Islám,* in the fifth; Fakhru'd-Dín ar-Rází in the sixth; and ᶜAḍudu 'd-Dín, the subject of this notice, in the seventh. Mention of some of his works.

(70) *Abú Ḥámid Muḥammad al-Ghazzálí "Ḥujjatu'l-Islám"* ("the Proof of Islám"). He is said to have written 999 books. Mention of some of those best known.

(809) (72) *Fakhru'd-Dín .... ar-Rází,* died A. H. 606 (= A. D. 1209—10) at Herát. Chronogram on his death. His works. One of his Persian quatrains.

(77) *Muḥammad b. Jarír aṭ-Ṭabarí,* the historian, died A. H. 320 (= A. D. 932) [2]).

(78) *Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá ar-Rází,* the physician.

(810) (79) *Al-Farrá al-Baghawí,* (810), author of the *Maᶜálimu 't-Tanzíl.* Persian quatrain by him.

(80) *Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá ash-Sháfiᶜí,* killed in the rebellion of the Ghuzz.

(83) *Al-Qáḍí Abú ᶜAlí Muḥassin b. ᶜAlí at-Tanúkhí,* author of the well-known collection of stories entitled *al-Faraj baᶜda'sh-Shidda,* died Muḥarram, A. H. 384 (= Feb.—March, 994) [3]).

1) The original has *Shurayḥ*, corrected as in the text from Ibn Khallikán.

2) The correct date, as given by Ibnu'l-Athír and Ibn Khallikán, is A. H. 310 (= A. D. 922—3).

3) MS. 484, here corrected from Ibnu'l-Athír, Ibn Khallikán and Ḥájji Khalífa.

(90) *Abú ᶜAlí Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Balᶜamí* (**811**),
(**811**) translator into Persian of Ṭabarí's history.

(93) *Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí*, died 18th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 672 (= Jan. 25, 1274) at Baghdád. His writings. Some of his Persian verses.

(94) *Najmu'd-Dín ᶜAlí .... al-Kátibí al-Qazwíní*, author of *ar-Risálatu'sh-Shamsiyya* and other works, a contemporary of Húlágú Khán.

(95) *Al-Qáḍí Náṣiru'd-Dín Abú Saᶜíd ᶜAbdu'llah .... al-Bayḍáwí*, author of the well-known Commentary on the *Qur'án* and other works, died A. H. 685 (= A. D. 1286—7) at Tabríz [1]).

(97) *Naṣru'lláh b. ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥamíd b. Abu'l-Maᶜálí*, a contemporary of Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh the Ghaznawí, author of the Persian translation of *Kalíla and Dimna*.

(**812**) (102) *Yáqút al-Mustaᶜṣimí*, the celebrated calligraphist. (This section contains in all 105 names).

Section 6. — Poets.

(A.) *Arabic poets.*

(1) *Imru'u'l-Qays.*

(**813**) (2) *Abú Nuwás*, died A. H. 195 (= A. D. 810—811).

(3) *Abú Firás.*

(4) *Al-Mutanabbí*, died A. H. 354 (= A. D. 965) [2]).

(B.) *Persian poets* [3]).

(1) *Anwarí*, contemporary with Sulṭán Sanjar the Seljúq.

1) The original has, erroneously, *Saᶜd* for *Saᶜíd*, and 605 for 685.

2) The original has 364, corrected here from Ibnu'l-Athír and Ibn Khallikán.

3) Of this section I published a translation, together with the text of all the poems cited, in the *J. R. A. S.* for October, 1900, and January, 1901. This article is also obtainable as a *tirage-à-part*. It is based upon several of the best MSS. of the *Guzída*, and is much fuller than the list here given, for it contains notices of 89 instead of only 63 poets and poetesses. Amongst those here omitted are Azraqí, Asadí, Púr-Bahá-yi Jámí, ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Gurjí, Fakhru'd-Dín Gurgání, and several others, including most of the poets who composed verses in dialect.

(814) (2) *Adíb Ṣábir*, also contemporary with the above, drowned in the Oxus by order of Atsiz Khwárazmsháh.

(3) *Athír-i-Awmání* (Awmán is a village near Hamadán), the panegyrist of Sulaymán-sháh, governor of Kurdistán. He died in the time of Húlágú Khán.

(4) *Athír-i-Akhsíkatí* (Akhsíkat is near Farghána in Transoxiana).

(5) *Imámí* [of Herát]. He was the panegyrist of the Kings of Kirmán, and died in the time of Abáqá Khán.

(815) (6) *Abu'l-Faraj-i-Zawzaní* [1]), a contemporary of Malikshán the Seljúq, and one of Anwarí's teachers.

(7) *Ibn Khátíb* of Ganja, a contemporary of Sulṭán (816) Maḥmúd of Ghazna (816). His *munázara*, or poetical duel, with the poetess Mahistí (*q. v.*).

(8) *Awḥadí*.

(9) *Bundár-i-Rází*, who wrote verses in dialect.

(10) *Bahá'u'd-Dín Sáwají*.

(11) *Jamálu'd-Dín Rustuqu'l-Quṭní* [2]). He came from near Qazwín and wrote verses in the dialect of that place, and died, aged 90, in the time of Abáqá Khán.

(817) (12) *Jalálu'd-Dín ᶜAtíqí*, still living in the author's time.

(13) *Jamálu'd-Dín Káshí*, contemporary with Abáqá Khán. His parody of a poem of Saᶜdí's.

(14) *Sayyid Ḥasan* of Ghazna, contemporary with Sulṭán Bahrámsháh the Ghaznawí.

(15) *ᶜUmar Khayyám*, the Astronomer-poet of Níshápúr.

(818) (16) *Afḍalu'd-Dín Kháqání* of Shirwán, died A. H. 582 (= A. D. 1186—7) at Tabríz, and was buried in the "Poets' Corner" at Surkháb.

(17) *Khwájú of Kirmán*.

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1) Other MSS. have *Rúní* (of Rúna) for *Zawzaní*, and this appears to be the correct reading.

2) The original and other MSS. have *Rasíqu'l-Quṭní*.

(18) *Daqíqí*, contemporary with Amír Núḥ the Sámání. He began the versification of the *Sháhnáma* and wrote 1000 [1]) verses, which Firdawsí afterwards incorporated in his work.

(19) *Rafí'u'd-Dín Kirmání*, originally of Abhar, a contemporary of Gházán Khán.

(20) *Ruknu'd-Dín*, son of the above, a contemporary and friend of the author.

(819) (21) *Rúdagí*, contemporary with Amír Naṣr the Sámání. He is said to have written 700,000 verses of poetry. He also translated the *Book of Kalíla and Dimna* into Persian verse.

(22) *Malik Raḍiyyu'd-Dín Bábá* was governor of Diyár Bakr in Abáqá's reign. Quatrain addressed by him to Shamsu'd-Dín *Ṣáḥib-Díwán* on his dismissal from this post.

(820) (23) *Súzaní*, contemporary with Sulṭán Sanjar, noted for his satires and frivolous poems.

(24) *Sa'dí* of Shíráz, who took this *nom de guerre* in compliment to his patron the Atábek Sa'd b. Abí Bakr b. Sa'd b. Zangí. He died on the 17th of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 690 (= Dec. 11, 1291) at Shíráz.

(25) * * * [2]) *Sagzí* (of Sijistán or Sístán).

(26) *Siráj[u'd-Dín] Qumrí*.

(821) (27) *Saná'í* of Ghazna, already mentioned amongst the Shaykhs (p. 215 No. 99 *supra*), survived until the time of Bahrámsháh. He composed the well-known *Ḥadíqatu'l-Ḥaqíqa*.

(28) *Shams-i-Káshí*, d. A. H. 602 (= A. D. 1205—6) at Tabríz, and is buried at Surkháb. He collected and edited the poems of Ẓahír-i-Fáryábí.

1) MS. "3000", but the reading adopted is that of the *Sháhnama* itself, as well as of other MSS. of the *Guzída*.

2) Other MSS. have *Siráji*. The word "*bayt*" ("verse") here inserted in this text is an obvious scribe's error.

(29) *Sharafu'd-Dín Shufurwah* of Iṣfahán, a contemporary of Sulṭán Arslán [b. Ṭughril the Seljúq.]

(30) *Shamsu'd-Dín Ṭabasí.* There were two poets of this name, one still living in the time of the author, who was a friend of his.

(31) *Shamsu'd-Dín Káshí,* who died about two years before the author wrote, and was the panegyrist of Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín Ṣáḥib-Díwán-i-Juwayní.

(822) (32) *Ẓahír-i-Faryábí,* died in Rabíᶜ i, A. H. 598 (= March —April, 1192) at Tabríz, and was buried at Surkháb.

(33) *Fakhru'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Buzurjmihr b. ᶜAbdu'l-Ghaffár al-Jawáliqí,* better known as *ᶜIráqí,* of Hamadán, died A. H. 686 (= A. D. 1287) at Damascus.

(34) *ᶜUnṣurí,* one of Sulṭán Maḥmud of Ghazna's court-poets. Anecdote of him, Farrukhí, ᶜAsjadí and Firdawsí.

(823) (35) *Farídu'd-Dín ᶜAṭṭár* of Níshápúr, author of the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá.*

(36) *ᶜAbdu'l-Wásiᶜ* [*Jabalí*], contemporary with Sulṭán Sanjar the Seljúq.

(37) *ᶜImádu'd-Dín Faẓlu'í* (*ᶜImád-i-Lur*), contemporary with Abáqá Khán. His poetical repartee to Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín Ṣáḥib-Díwán.

(38) *ᶜUthmán-i-Máki,* the Qáḍí, of Qazwín, panegyrist of the author's cousin Khwája Fakhru'd-Dín Mustawfí. He wrote the *Raḍí-náma,* in 5000 couplets, recounting theoppressions he had suffered at the hands of his cousin Mawláná Raḍiyyu'd-Dín.

(824) (39) *Malik ᶜImádu'd-Dín Ismaᶜíl al-Bukhárí.*

(40) *Firdawsí* (*Abu'l-Qásim al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlí*) of Ṭús.

(41) *Falakí* of Shírwán, panegyrist of Minúchihr king of Shirwán.

(42) *Quṭbu'd-Dín ᶜAtíqí* of Tabríz.

(43) *Kamálu'd-Dín Ismaᶜíl* of Iṣfahán.

(825) (44) *Muʿizzí*, the panegyrist of Sulṭán Sanjar the Seljúq.

(45) *Mubárak-sháh-i-Ghúrí*, the panegyrist of Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Ghúrí.

(46) *Mujír i-Baylaqání*, author of a *Sawgand-náma*.

(47) *Majd-i-Hamgar* of Yazd, one of the poets patronized by Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín Ṣáḥib-Díwán-i-Juwayní.

(48) *Malik Maḥmúd b. Muẓaffaru'd-Dín* of Tabríz.

(49) *Najmu'd-Dín Zarkúb*, contemporary with Abaqá Khán.

(826) (50) *Niẓámí* of Ganja, author of the *Khamsa*.

(51) *Niẓámí-i-ʿAruḍí-i-Samarqandí*, author of the *Majmaʿu'n-Nawádir* (= *Chahár Maqala* [1])).

(52) *Náṣir-i-Khusraw*, called "*Ḥujjat*" ("the Proof") by the Ismaʿílís, a contemporary of the Fáṭimid Caliph al-Mustansir. He was born in A. H. 358 (= A. D. 968—9) [2]), and is said to have lived nearly 100 years. He wrote the *Rawshaná'í-náma*.

(53) *Najíbu'd-Dín Jarbádhaqání*, died towards the end of the Seljúq period. The *Book of Bishr and Hind* is one of his compositions.

(54) *Náṣir-i-Bajja'í* [3]), Saʿdí's contemporary and fellow-countryman.

(827) (55) *Humám-i-Tabrízí*, also a contemporary of Saʿdí.

(56) *Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwáṭ*, a contemporary of Sulṭán Sanjar the Seljúq, author of the *Ḥadá'iqu's-Siḥr*.

(57) *Abu'l-ʿAlá* of Ganja. His verses against Kháqání.

(828) (58) *Saʿd-i-Bahá*, contemporary with Sulṭán Uljáytú.

(59) *Fakhru'd-Dín Fatḥu'lláh*, brother of the author.

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1) See pp. XIV—XVI of the Introduction to the text of this work published in the Gibb Memorial Series, of which it constitutes vol. XI.

2) The correct date is A. H. 394 (= A. D. 1003—4), according to the poet's own statement. See my *Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 226.

3) See Yáqút's *Muʿjamu'l-Buldán*, s. v. بجه.

(829) (60) *Mahsatí*, the poetess.
(61) *Firdaws*, the lady-ministrel.
(62) *Áyisha*, the rhapsodist.
(63) *Bintu'n-Najjáriyya* [or, *Bintu'l-Bukháriyya*].

CHAPTER VI. — ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF QAZWÍN, THE AUTHOR'S NATIVE PLACE, IN SEVEN SECTIONS.

(830) *Section I. — How it received its name.*

In the *Kitábut-Tibyán* it is stated that Shápúr I the Sásánian founded the city and named it *Shád-Shápúr*. One of the Sásánians was conducting a campaign against the Daylamís, and a battle was taking place in the Plain of Qazwín. The general in command, seeing a weak point in his ranks, said to one of his officers "*Án kash vín va rást kun*" ("See that crooked thing and put it right"), and the name *Kashvín* (afterwards *Qazwín* and *Qazbín*) was afterwards applied to the town.

Section 2. — Character and buildings of the city.

The quarter called Shahristán is in the middle of the old town built by Shápúr, when he fled from Rúm to Persia. An old fire-temple which once stood by the river is now a monastery for *qalandars*. After the victory which he obtained over the Greeks (831), Shápúr regarded Qazwín with especial veneration, and took great pains to enlarge and beautify the city, but his builders were much harrassed by the Daylamites, and Shápúr, being occupied with the subjugation of the Arabs, was obliged to bribe the Daylamites to keep quiet. The building was begun in the month of Ábán in the year 463 of Alexander, 1178 solar years before the time of writing [1]), the sign of Gemini being in the ascendant. As

1) This is obviously erroneous, for the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* was completed in A. H. 730 (= A. D. 1330), and 1178 years before that would give A. D. 152, a century earlier than the reign of Shápúr I the Sasánian.

soon as Shápúr was freed from other preoccupations, he attacked the Daylamites with vigour, subdued them, and treated them with the utmost severity, and the persistent hostility between them and the people of Qazwín dates from those days. Introduction of Islám and conquest and enlargement of Qazwín by Sa^{c}d b. al-^{c}Áṣ the Umayyad (832). Qazwín again enlarged by the Caliph al-Hádí, who called the city *Madínata Músá* ("the City of Músá", Músá being his own name). This portion of the present town is now called Sanámak [1]).

Section 3. — Conquest and Conversion of Qazwín.

Account of the conquest of Qazwín by the Arabs in the *Kitábu'l-Buldán*. Apostacy of inhabitants after first conquest. Second conquest by Abú ^{c}Abdi'r-Raḥmán al-Ḥárithí. Genuineness of their subsequent conversion to Islám. In the author's time a few of the inhabitants of the Dastajird quarter were Ḥanafís and Shí^{c}ís, but the vast majority Sháfi^{c}ís, and there were also a few Jews, but no other sect or religion was represented.

Section 4. — Suburbs, rivers (833), qanáts, mosques and tombs of Qazwín.

Suburbs. — Bisháriyyát; Dashtí; Abhar-Rúdh; Fáqirán.

Rivers and valleys. — The rivers are partly fed by the snows on the hills, partly by springs, and are mostly dried up in the summer.

Qanáts (Persian *Káríz*), or underground aqueducts. — One in Mubárakábád, made by Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín, and bequeathed by him with a garden to maintain his mausoleum. Originally the whole town was supplied by wells, some of which are over a hundred yards in depth. A *qanát* was made by Ḥamza b. Alyasa^{c}, Sulṭán Maḥmúd's

1) The Paris MS. Suppl. persan 173 has "Sábik" or "Sábak", سابك.

governor of Qum and Qazwín. Another is called *Ṭanfúrí*; a third *Rúdhbárí*; a fourth, in the Dastajird quarter, *Sayyidí*; a fifth, *Khátúní*; a sixth, now the principal one, *Khumár-táshí*; a seventh, *Ṣáḥibí*, in the Abhar quarter; an eighth *Malikí*, in the Abhar, Azraq and 'Urí quarters (834).

Mosques. — The *Masjid-i-Jámiᶜ*, ascribed to the Imám ash-Sháfiᶜí; — the Ḥanafí Mosque, enlarged by Muẓaffaru'd-Dín Alp Arghún, of which the great arch (*Ṭáq*) was constructed by Khwája ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Ḥanafí; — *Masjid-i-Thawb Báb-Kanán*, originally an idol-temple, the first building used as a mosque after the conversion of the people to Islám, but held in detestation by the Shíᶜites because in Umayyad times ᶜAlí used to be cursed from its pulpit; — another Mosque (*Masjid-i-Shahr*), originally a Fire-temple; — *Masjid-i-Murádiyán*, repaired by Khwája Fakhru'd-Dín Mustawfí; — *Masjid-i-Ṭabíb-ábád*, repaired by Khwája Ṣadru'd-Dín Ahmad Khálidí; — *Masjid-i-Qáḍí Ismaᶜíl*; — *Masjid-i-Mádá*, in the Darkh quarter; — a Mosque in the middle of the *bázár* in the Shahristán quarter; — *Masjid-i-Dahak*; — another Mosque on the road the cemetery, near the *Ḥawḍu'n-Nabí* ("Prophet's Pond") and the *Khánqáh*, or monastery, of Niẓámu'd-Dín. — Other less important mosques (835) and tombs.

Section 5. — Eminent men of different classes who visited Qazwín.

Companions of the Prophet. — Barà b. ᶜÁzib, who conquered Qazwín for the Muslims, and whose posterity still exist there, many of them being preachers. — Bakr Zaydu'l-Khayl aṭ-Ṭá'í, who accompanied the preceding. — Saᶜíd b. al-Áṣ al-Umawí, who was governor of Qazwín under ᶜUthmán. — Salmán al-Fárisí, who took part in wars against the Daylamites. — Abú Hurayra.

Followers of the Companions. — Ibráhím b. Yazíd an-Nakhaᶜí; Uways al-Qaraní; Rabíᶜ b. Juthaym al-Kúfí; Sammák b. Makhzama al-Asadí; Sammák b. ᶜAbdu'l-Qays, and a third Sammák; (836) Shimra b. ᶜAtiyya al-Asadí; ᶜUrwa b. Zaydu'l-Khayl al-Hamdání; ᶜUbayd b. ᶜAmr as-Salmání; Muḥammad b. Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf ath-Thaqafí; Mazyad b. Kaysán as-Sukkarí.

Imáms and Caliphs. — ᶜAlí b. Músá ar-Riḍá (the eighth Imám of the Shíᶜa); al-Mahdí and Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, the ᶜAbbásid Caliphs.

Shaykhs and Men of Learning. — Ibráhím b. Shayba of Herát; Ibráhím b. Adham; Ibráhím Khawwáṣ; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzálí; Ḥátim al-Aṣamm; Sufyán ath-Thawrí; Shaqíq of Balkh; Yaḥyá b. Muᶜádh of Ray;

Kings and Wazírs. — Faḍl b. Yaḥyá al-Barmakí (837); Ismaᶜíl b. Aḥmad the Sámání; Ilyás, brother of the preceding, was governor of Qazwín in A. H. 293 (= A. D. 905—6); Ibnu'l-ᶜAmíd, *wazír* of Ruknu'd-Dawla, came to Qazwín in A. H. 358 (= A. D. 969), and exacted from the inhabitants a price of 1,200,000 *dirhams*; the Ṣáḥib Ismaᶜíl b. ᶜAbbád came several times; Ṭughril the Seljúq, and Malikshán the Seljúq, who, learning the terror inspired by the Assassins (*Maláḥida*) in the people of Qazwín, appointed ᶜImádu'd-Dawla Túrán b. Alfaqsháh governor, with special orders to check their depredations; Muḥammad b. Malikshán, during his war with his brother Barkiyáruq; Arslán b. Ṭughril remained there some time and took the Qalᶜa-i-Qáhira from the Assassins, and named it "Arslán-Gusháy"; his son Ṭughril came there during his wars with Qutlugh Ínánj and Qizil Arslán; Sulṭán Muḥammad [Khwárazmsháh] came there after his defeat by the Mongols, and lodged in the house of ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Karímán in the *Kúcha-i-* (838) *Naw* ("New Street"), until the Qazwínís guided him to the Island

[of Ábasgún] in the Caspian in which he finally took refuge; the Salghurí Atabek Saᶜd-i-Zangí came there when he escaped from Khwárazmsháh, and lodged in the Ardáq quarter, in the house of ᶜImádu'd-Dín Aḥmad, whom he afterwards richly rewarded when he came to the throne of Fárs.

Kháqáns and Amírs. — Húlágú Khán, after he had destroyed the Assassins; his son Abáqá Khán with his son Arghún and his *amírs* and captains stayed 18 days in the house of Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín; Aḥmad Khán, Gaykhátú Khán, Gházán Khán, 'Uljáytú Sulṭán, and Abú Saᶜíd all of them repeatedly passed by or visited Qazwín.

Section 6. — Governors of Qazwín.

In Sásánian times the governors lived at Sarv-ḃádh in the summer and at Ray in the winter. In Muḥammadan times, Abú Dujána Simák (839) b. Kharasha al-Anṣárí and Kathír b. Shiháb al-Ḥárithí were governors for the Caliph ᶜUmar; and Saᶜíd b. al-ᶜĀṣ al-Umawí for ᶜUthmán. Five successive governors (named) represented ᶜAlí. In Umayyad times Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf, who was governor of most of Persia, appointed his son Muḥammad; later Yazíd b. al-Muhallab, Qutayba b. Muslim, and Naṣr b. Sayyár appointed governors. In early ᶜAbbásid times the government of Persia was chiefly in the hands of the Barmecides (*Al-i-Barmak*); later came ᶜAlí b. ᶜIsá b. Máhán and the House of Ṭáhir. In the time of the Caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim, when the Daylamites were again giving trouble, the author's ancestor (the fourteenth in line of ascent) Fakhru'd-Dawla Abú Manṣúr al-Kúfí, a descendant of Ḥurr b. Yazíd ar-Riyáḥí, was sent there to command the army and administer the province (840) in A. H. 223 (= A. D. 838), and for nearly 200 years his descendents, all of whom bore the title Fakhru'd-Dawla, were entrusted with these functions. Thus in A. H. 251 (= A. D. 865) they

acted for two years for ad-Dáʿí ila'l-Ḥaqq Ḥasan b. Zayd [1]); then for 38 years for Músá b. Búqá, governor of Persia for the Caliph al-Muʿtazz. For two years after the rise of the Sámání power Ilyás b. Aḥmad the Sámání was governor. In A. H. 294 (= A. D. 906—7) the Caliph recovered his authority and appointed the author's twelfth ancestor in the line of ascent, Fakhru'd-Dawla Abú ʿAlí, to this government, which he held for 27 years. When in A. H. 321 (= A. D. 933) the House of Buwayh or Daylam obtained possession of most of Persia, the author's ancestors governed in their name for 100 years. When in A. H. 421 (= A. D. 1030) Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna took possession of ʿIráq, the author's ninth ancestor Fakhru'd-Dawla Abú Manṣúr died, and the government of the city passed out of the family, who were charged with the duties of state-accountants, and were thenceforth known by this title, *Mustawfí*, which the author still bore. One of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's courtiers named Kárástí was made governor. (841) How he caused the people of Qazwín to eat "doubtful" meat, so that their prayers might no longer be efficacious, then oppressed them, and was finally killed by them, after he had been governor for rather more than a year. He was succeeded by Ḥamza b. Alyasaʿ, previously governor of Qum, who ruled for more than two years. After him the Amír Abú ʿAlí Muḥammad Jaʿfarí and his sons governed for about sixty years. The last of them, Fakhru'l-Maʿáli Dhu's-Saʿádát Abú ʿAlí Sharafsháh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Jaʿfarí, died in A. H. 484 (= A. D. 1091). His yearly income from his extensive estates amounted to 366,000 *dínárs* in gold. He left one daughter, who lost all this immense wealth, and was reduced to penury, so that she was obliged to live on the charity of others. Reflections on the vicissitudes of fortune. — After the Mongol invasion

1) The MS. adds *al-Báqir*, which seems to be an error. For the genealogy of Ḥasan b. Zayd, see Ṭabarí's Annals, iii, p. 1523, and Ibnu'l-Athír, *sub anno* 250.

of Persia, Mangú Qá'án appointed Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín Muḥammad al-Bukhárí governor (842) in A. H. 651 (= A. D. 1253—4), and he and his brother Malik Imámu'd-Dín Yaḥyá ruled for 27 years. In A. H. 677 (= A. D. 1278—9) the government was given jointly to Ḥusámu'd-Dín Amír ʿUmar of Shíráz and Khwája Fakhru'd-Dín Aḥmad Mustawfí. Thenceforth, until the end of 'Uljáytú's reign, the government was chiefly in the hands of the Iftikhárís. Sulṭán Abú Saʿíd Bahádur Khán at the beginning of his reign conferred it on the agents of his mother Gunjishkán Khátún to provide money for her army.

Section 7. — Tribes and leading families of Qazwín.

Many of the leading families are of Arab origin. The following are the principal ones:

(1) *Sayyids*, notable here for their piety and learning. Amongst the most eminent were Sayyid Riḍá; Sayyid ʿImádu'd-Dín ʿAbdu'l-ʿAẓím al-Ḥusayní an-Naqíb (843); and Sayyid ʿIzzu'd-Dín Muḥammad, a friend of Shaykh Jamálu'd-Dín Gílí, one of whose living descendents is the Qáḍí Sayfu'd-Dín Muḥammad al-Ḥusayní, chief judge of Sulṭániyya and the district (*túmán*) of Qazwín, Abhar, Zanján and Ṭárimayn.

(2) *ʿUlamá* (doctors of Theology). Praised for their orthodoxy and piety.

(3) *Iftikháriyán*. These are the descendants of Iftikháru'd-Dín Muḥammad Bakrí, a descendant of the Caliph Abú Bakr, who studied with the Imám Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá of Níshápúr. His chief living descendent is Malik Iftikháru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Abú Naṣr, whose accomplishments are enumerated. Amongst others he was skilled in the Mongol and Turkish languages (844), and his pronouncements on the philology of these languages are deemed authoritative by the Mongols. He has translated the *Book of Kalíla and Dimna* into Mon-

golian, and the *Book of Sindibád* into Turkí. He rose to a high position under Mangú Khán, and enriched Qazwín with many beautiful buildings. His brother ᶜImádu'd-Dín Maḥmúd, was governor of Mázandarán, and [another brother], Ruknu'd-Dín Aḥmad, was ruler (*Malik*) of Gurjistán. A third brother, Raḍiyyu'd-Dín Aḥmad, was governor of Diyár Bakr, and was a good poet. Later the family fell into poverty.

(4) *Bázdárán* (Keepers of the Falcons). Their ancestor was Baranghash, falconer of the Caliph al-Muqtafí, who made him governor of Qazwín under the title Muẓaffaru'd-Dín.

(5) *Bashsháriyán*, a wealthy family, to which belonged Khwája ᶜIzzu'd-Dín Bashshárí.

(6) *Ḥulwániyán*, originally from the frontier-town of Ḥulwán.

(7) *Khálidiyán*, descended from Khálid b. Walíd al-Makhzúmí. There are two branches of the family. To the first belonged Shaykh Núru'd-Dín Gíl, ancestor of the Shaykhu'l-Islám Saᶜdu'd-Dín Qutlugh-[? MS. Qatl-] Khwája; to the second, which came from Zanján, Ṣadru'd-Dín Aḥmad al-Khálidí, who was for two years Prime Minister of Persia, and was related to the Ṣadr-i-Jahán.

(8) *Dabírán*. Of these was Najmu'd-Dín ᶜAlí b. ᶜUmar (845) al-Kátibí.

(9) *Ráfiᶜán*, of Arab origin, descended from Ráfiᶜ b. Khadíj al-Anṣárí. From them many learned men of note have arisen.

(10) *Zákániyán*, also of Arab origin, descended from the Banú Khafája. They have in their possession a document (text given) professedly emanating from the Prophet and written in ᶜAlí's handwriting, dated Muḥarram 7 (year unspecified) and (846) witnessed by Abú Bakr, ᶜUmar, Salmán al-Fárisí and four others of the Companions. Of this family also there are two branches, to the first of which, eminent in learning, belong Sharafu'd-Dín ᶜUmar and his son Ruknu'd-Dín Muḥammad, who vigorously opposed the Shíᶜites in their endeavours to win over the Mongols to their interest, jour-

neying to Khurásán to see the Mongol Amír Jurmághún and dispute with the Shí'a doctors in his presence. To the second branch, eminent in statesmanship, belonged Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín Zákání and Niẓámu'd-Dín 'Ubaydu'lláh, writer and poet, generally known as 'Ubayd-i-Zákání.

(11) *Zubayriyán*, descended from Zubayr b. Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr b. al-'Awwám.

(12) *Zádániyán*, whose ancestor Zádán was a contemporary of the Prophet.

(13) *Shírzádiyán*, whose ancestor was Shírzád son of Shírán, a middle-class sheep-farmer. His son, Ḥájji Badru'd-Dín, became rich, and was appointed Ulugh Bitikji of Qazwín by Ogodáy Qá'án (847). His son, Ḥusámu'd-Dín 'Umar, was favoured and promoted by Amír Búqá, and was for some years governor of Fárs.

(14) *Ṭá'úsiyán*, whose ancestor was Ṭá'ús b. Kaysán.

(15) *'Abbásiyán*, related to the 'Abbásid Caliphs.

(16) *Ghaffáriyán*, of whom was the great Sháfi'í theologian Najmu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár, author of the *Kitábu'l-Ḥáwí*, who died Muḥarram 8, A. H. 665 (= Oct. 9, 1266), and whose sons are at the present time leading theologians in Qazwín.

(17) *Qaḍawiyán*, descended from Fakhru'd-Dín Fakhr-áward, who held office in the *Díwán-i-Qaḍá* (Ministry of Justice), whence their name.

(18) *Qaráwulán*, a Turkish family, who settled at Qazwín in Mongol times and became very wealthy. They were celebrated for their beauty.

(19) *Karajiyán*, descended from Abú Dulaf al-'Ijlí, who came to Persia in the time of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, built the city of Karaj, and dwelt there.

(20) *Anasiyán*, descended from Anas b. Málik, included many learned lawyers and theologians (848), but are now extinct.

(21) *Kayá'án*. To this family belonged Mawláná 'Izzu'd-

Dín Abu'l-Faḍá'il, who went to Tabríz and rendered great services in the Khwárazmsháhí troubles.

(22) *Mákániyán*, descended from Mákán b. Kákí of Daylam. His descendant Sadídu'd-Dín Ismaᶜíl b. ᶜAbdu'l-Jabbár b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAzíz b. Mák became Qáḍí of Qazwín, and this office is still in the family.

(23) *Mustawfiyán* (the Author's family), descended from Ḥurr b. Yazíd ar-Riyáḥí. (The facts already mentioned about them in the Section on the Governors of Qazwín (pp. 231—2 *supra*) are here repeated in an abridged form).

(24) *Mú'minan*. One of them, the late Táju'd-Dín Mú'mini, was employed by Khwája Shamsu'd-Dín *Ṣáḥib Díwán*. In later life he repented of the acts of tyranny which he had committed and retired to Tabríz.

(25) *Mú'áfá'iyán*. Of these was ᶜAbdu'l-Malik b. Muḥammad, who was one of the secretaries of Ṭughril Beg the Seljúq. The family is now extinct in Qazwín.

(26) *Marzubániyán*. These inhabit the Dastajird quarter, near the Bágh-i-Maydán (849).

(27) *Nísábúriyán*. These left Níshápúr, their original home, in A. H. 540 (= A. D. 1145—6), at the time of the great earthquake, and amongst those who came to Qazwín was the chief Qáḍí ᶜAbdu'r-Razzáq. The family is now extinct in Qazwín.

(28) *Búlá Timúriyán*, descended from Amír Tukush, whose ancestor was Táyáng [1]) Khán, ruler of the Ná'imán. Tukush was chief magistrate (*Shaḥna*) of Qazwín in the time of Ogodáy Khán. His son, Búlá-Tímúr, from whom the family derives its name, became an Amír and amassed much property, some of which is still in the hands of his son Nuṣratu'd-Dín Búqá.

1) This name is neither clearly nor correctly given in the original, but the correct reading is certain. See Berezine's *Jámiᶜu't-Tawáríkh*, vol. i, p. 138, and the *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gusháy*, vol. i, p. 46, n. 3 in this Series.

CONCLUSION.

Concerning the genealogical trees inserted by Rashídu'd-Dín in his great history [the *Jámi*ᶜ*u't-Tawáríkh*]. These, in spite of their excellence and the originality of the plan on which they are constructed, appeared to the Author susceptible of improvement, and are briefly criticized by him. (850) He thesefore devised a new and simplified system of such "trees", in which he designed to use various colours as indications, which he briefly explains (850—851), and so ends his book. [The actual trees are wanting in this MS., as in most others which I have examined.]

COLOPHON (852).

Transcribed by Zaynu'l-ᶜÁbidín b. Muḥammad al-Kátib ash-Shírází, and completed at noon of the 6th of Ramaḍán, A. H. 857 (= Sept. 10, 1453). Below this is a note in the hand of a former possessor, the Muᶜtamadu'd-Dawla ᶜAbdu'l-ᶜAlí Mírzá, son of Prince Farhád Mírzá (uncle of the late Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh), dated the 17th of Rajab, A. H. 1313 (= Jan. 1, 1896), and another note in the margin dated Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 1108 (= June—July, A. D. 1697).

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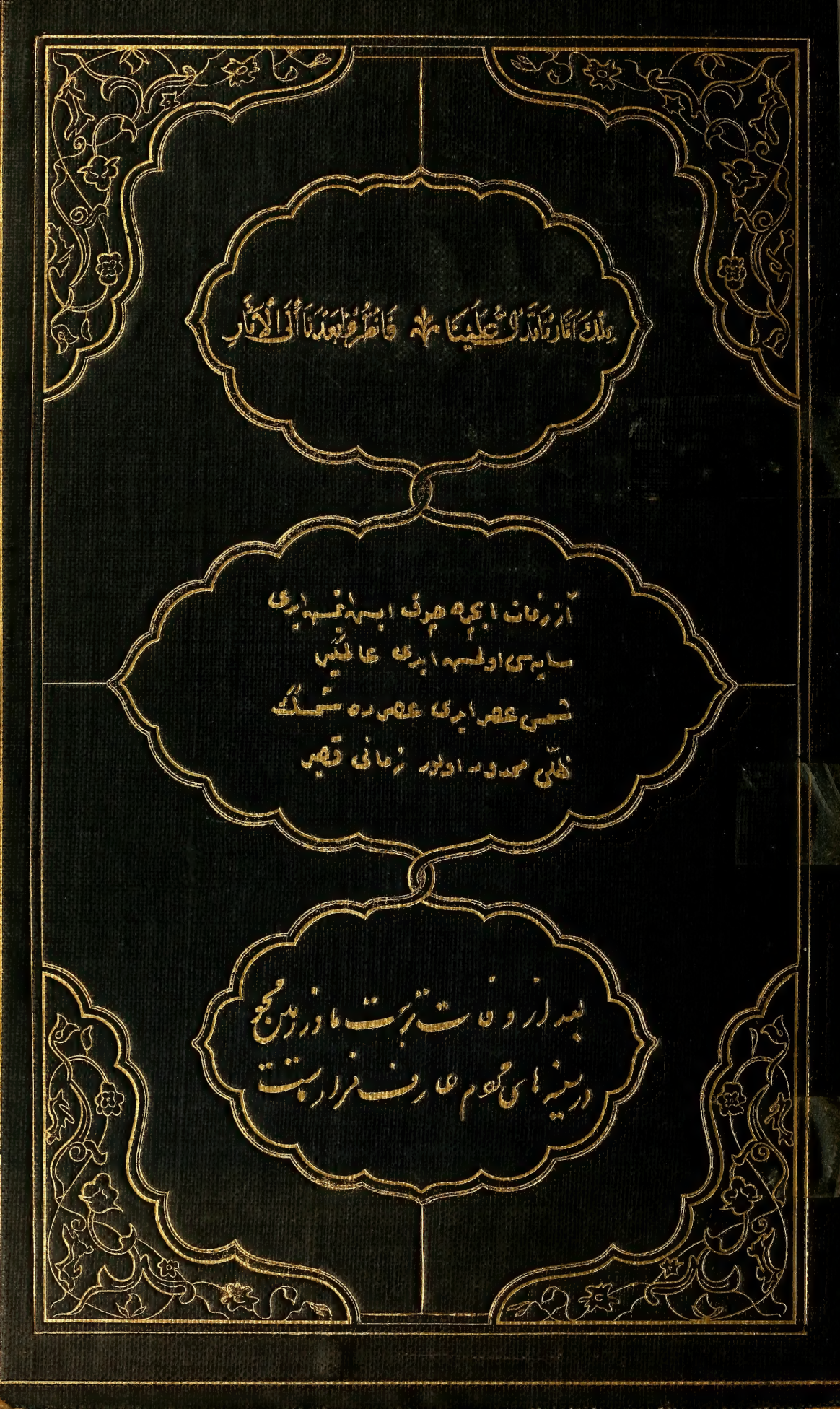
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