فهرست اول: اسماء رجال
فهرست دوم: اسماء اماكن وقبائل
فهرست سوم: اسماء كتب ومتون

در مطبعة بریل در لندن از بلاد هستان بطبع رسید
سال ۱۳۵۱ هجری مطابق ۱۹۳۲ میلادی
THE TA'RÍKH-I-GUZIDA

OR

"SELECT HISTORY"

OF

ḤAMDU'LLÁH MUSTAWFÍ

-I-QAZWÍNÍ

COMPiled in A.H. 730 (A.D. 1330) AND NOW
ABRIDGED IN ENGLISH FROM A MANUSCRIPT DATED
A.H. 857 (A.D. 1453)

BY

EDWARD G. BROWNE,

WITH INDICES OF THE FAC-SIMILE TEXT

BY

R. A. NICHOLSON.

PART II, CONTAINING THE ABRIDGED
TRANSLATION AND INDICES.

PRINTED FOR THE TRUSTEES OF THE
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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."

(Komál 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 Rámi)
"E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL"

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The Futuhi Mír wa’l-Maghríb wa’l-Anáshis of Tón ‘Abd’ll-Hákim (d. a.H. 257), edited and translated by Professor C. C. Torrey.
The Qábús-nánám, edited in the original Persian, with a translation, by E. Edwards.
The Diwáns of at-Ṭusfayl b. ‘Auw and at-Tirmímmáh b. Ḥákím, edited and translated by F. Krenkew. (In the Press).
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Contributions to the History and Geography of Mesopotamia, being portions of the Ta’rikh Mayyáfárikín of Ibn al-Azrák al-Fárika, B. M. MS. Or. 5803, and of Al-Álák al-Khaṭíra of ‘Izz ad-Din Ibn Shaddád al-Halabi, Bodleian MS. Marsh 333, edited by W. Sarasin, Ph. D.
The Ráhatu’s-Súdúr wa Áyatu’s-Súrúr, a history of the Seljuqs, by Najmí’d-Dín Abí Bakr Muhammad ar-Ríwándi, edited from the unique Paris MS. (Suppl. persan, 1314) by Edward G. Browne.
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of a Series
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The Funds of this Memorial are derived from the Interest accruing
from a Sum of money given by the late MRS. GIBB of Glasgow, to
perpetuate the Memory of her beloved son

ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,

and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philo-
sophy 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.

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

The following memorial verse is contributed by 'Abdul-Haqq Hâmid
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 باران ونبلسه ابدرخ صنف
کهی عرنیک وفا گورده اول ذات ادب
که این اولاند ابده اخ کاله واصل
نه اولوردی باشام اولسه ابده مسترگیب
"E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL"

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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'rikh-i-Guzida brought from Persia in the summer of 1907 by my friend Mirzá 'Abdu l-Ḥusayn Khán Wahidu 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, vis.:

(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 Mîrzâ Muḥammad of Qazwin, 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 بین الحبلاب رضی الله عنه روابط کرد سه زنی جامه رسول علیه السلام (p. 227)
آورده و گفتند نذر کردم به جامه بکرم نزین حوالی از اعراب دم
پیغمبر علیه السلام گفت بین جوان، ده بعنی سعید بن العاص، سعد بن خلیفة بن اخو آنها، اندیسی از
یک عمار بن لوی برادر مهاجر بود، سعد بن زید بن مالک العبدی
الاصغری ، سلیمان بن ملک برادر حرام بن ملک باقی خان بود
الک انجلسی از بنی انتیری، سعید ابو عبد الرحمن مولی رسول الله صلی
الله علیه و سلم، نام او روان بیله بود او را خیرید و آزاد کرد بشرط آنکه
خدمت پیغمبر کرد در سفری انتقال منزلگاه می‌کرد پیغمبر صلی الله علیه
و سلم او را سالیه نلب کرد، سکران بن عمر برادر سلطی بن عمر بود قدم
الاسلام است از مساجد حضور و آتش نامیانه زن او سوده بنت زمعه بعد
ارو در حالی روز عید لحظه علیه و سلم آمد، سیاوش فارسی ابو عبدالله
سابقی اهل فارس و اهالی تهران را از موکال رسول بود پیغمبر علیه السلام
و السلام درحقیقی و رمزی‌ای؛ همه اهل بیشه از اهالی تهران بقیه جهاد
نامه مالک بن نویدخان بن مورستیان بن تهمیشان بن فیروز بن شرک
از نسب منویده جهید طلب دین دران کاری از دین کرد
امد دلال افراش نوبود بگریخت و بپنی افراش بدر راهی از دین گیری
بین نرسای نقل کرد و دران مالک نزی حاده‌اش افراش به بندگی شد
افراش بسوی جهادی نامه عثمان بن اسحاف حسن پیغمبر علیه السلام
و السلام به رسمی مهربان فرمود سال اول اورا از آن جهاد بیلی اوقای زر
و سخت فیل و درخت بیلی و آزاد کرد و آزادی او نوشید قائمت
امر المؤسسین علیه کم آمود و آن چه آن را مهربان عثمان
(p. 228) ها هذا ما اند (نفیه به؟) محمد بن عبدالله دانوی از أشاع
بن اسحاف لیه مد فرمود (النفعی؟) المرئی ولی ثلاثه خلقه و آرمان
اویک عنده، بن علی (نفیه؟) مهدی بن عبد الله لنس دانوی
و اوله لمهدی بن عبد الله و اهل بنیه و ل سبیل لاحدی دانوی شده
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 ابن and ابن are ignored. Thus, "ابن الله" is placed under ابن, and "ابن ملک" under ابن.

(2) Names consisting of a proper noun followed by a nisba e.g., "عثمان بن عفان" are placed under the initial letter of the noun.

(3) Names consisting of a kunya followed by a nisba e.g., "أبو حنيفة بن دينور" are usually placed under the initial letter of the second word in the kunya.

(4) Names consisting of a kunya followed by a proper noun, e.g., "أبو عبد الله أحمد بن بكر" 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 "أبو بكر محمد بن علي" will be found under "ب" because he is commonly known as "ابو بكر كاظم". 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’rikh-i-Guzída, and I do not envy him the task.

Reynold A. Nicholson.
COMPARATIVE TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE TEXT CONTAINED IN THE PRECEDING VOLUME AND OF THE TRANSLATION CONTAINED IN THIS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOXOLOGY</th>
<th>Page of text</th>
<th>Page of translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author's account of himself and his work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal sources used by him</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of completion</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the different eras</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan and contents of book</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| INTRODUCTION, on the Creation of the Universe | 16 | 7 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRST CHAPTER, on Pre-Muḥammadan Prophets and Philosophers</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(I) Prophets</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) Philosophers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECOND CHAPTER, on the Pre-Muḥammadan Kings of Persia</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(I) Pishdādiyān</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(II) Kayāniyān</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) Mūlūku 't-Tawā'if</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IV) Sāsāniyān</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THIRD CHAPTER, on the Prophet Muḥammad and his Successors</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefatory, on his genealogy</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(I) Short biography . . . . . 128 of text 43 of translation.
(II) Orthodox Caliphs . . . . 165 " " 46 " "
(III) The Imáms . . . . . 203 " " 48 " "
(IV) The chief "Companions" . . 208 " " 51 " "
(V) The Umayyad "Kings" . . . 255 " " 52 " "
(VI) The ʿAbbásid Caliphs . . . 290 " " 57 " "

FOURTH CHAPTER, on the
Muḥammadan Dynasties of Persia 372 " " 72 " "
(I) Saaffáriyán . . . . . 373 " " 72 " "
(II) Sámániyán . . . . . 379 " " 73 " "
(III) Ghaznaviyyán . . . . . 393 " " 78 " "
(IV) Ghuríyán . . . . . 406 " " 83 " "
(V) Daylamíyán, or Ál-i-Buwayh 413 " " 85 " "
(VI) Saljúqíyán (Seljúqs) . . 433 " " 93 " "
(a) of Persíán ʿIráq . . . . . 434 " " 93 " "
(b) of Kirmán . . . . . 479 " " 107 " "
(c) of Ásía Minor . . . . . 480 " " 108 " "
(VII) Khwárazmsháhiyán . . . 486 " " 110 " "
(VIII) Atábakán . . . . . 503 " " 118 " "
(a) of Syríy and Dýár Bakr. 503 " " 118 " "
(b) of Fárs . . . . . 505 " " 120 " "
(IX) Ismaʿílís . . . . . 509 " " 122 " "
(a) of Égypt and North Africa . 509 " " 122 " "
(b) of Persíá (the Assassins) . 517 " " 127 " "
(X) Qará-Khitáʾíyán of Kirmán 527 " " 131 " "
(XI) Atábakán of Lurístán . . 535 " " 134 " "
(a) of Lur-i-Buzurg . . . . . 537 " " 134 " "
(b) of Lur-i-Kíchak . . . . . 547 " " 137 " "
(XII) The Mongols (Ilkáns) of Persia . . . 557 " " 139 " "

INTERCALATED CHAPTER on
the House of Muẓaffar . . . 613 " " 151 " "

FIFTH CHAPTER, containing
biographies of learned men . . 755 " " 208 " "
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(I) Imáms and Mujtahids</th>
<th>755</th>
<th>708</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(II) &quot;Readers&quot; of the Qur’án</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(III) Traditionists</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IV) Shaykhs, Saints and Holy Men</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(V) Doctors and Divines</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(VI) Poets of (a) Arabia</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Persia</td>
<td>813</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SIXTH CHAPTER, on the city of Qazvin, the Author’s birthplace
(I) Its name and the etymology thereof | 829 | 227 |
(II) Its principal buildings | 830 | 227 |
(III) Its subjugation and conversion by the Arabs | 832 | 228 |
(IV) Its aqueducts, rivers, mosques, tombs and suburbs | 832 | 228 |
(V) Notable men of different classes who have resided in it or visited it | 835 | 229 |
(VI) Governors of Qazvin | 838 | 231 |
(VII) Tribes and families of Qazvin | 842 | 233 |
CONCLUSION AND COLOPHON | 849 | 237 |
ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS OF THE
TA'RÍKH-I-GUZÍDA.

Praise of God (1—2) and of the Prophet and his family (3). The Author, Ḥamdūlláh 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 Rashídū'd-Dín Faḍlulláh, 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 Firdawsi] 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 Ghiyathu'd-Dín Muḥammad, the worthy son and successor of his late patron the deceased minister Rashídū'd-Dín Faḍlulláh (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 Siratu'n-Nabi [Ibn Hishám's Biography of the Prophet is presumably intended].

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

(3) Ar-Risálatu'l-Qushayriyya.

(4) The Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyyá [? of Farídū'd-Dín ʿAṭṭár].

1) For description of the unique MS. of this work, see Rieu's Persian Supplement, pp. 172—4.
(5) The Tadwin of the Imám Râfî'î [or-Yââfî, by which is probably meant the Rawā'îr-Riyyâhîn].
(6) The Tajârîbîl-Ummam of Abû ʿAlî Miskawayhi.
(7) Mashâribîl-Tajârîb [² of Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlî b. Zayd al-Bayhaqî].
(8) The Diwânîn-Nasab.
(10) The history of Ḥamza of Iṣfahân.
(11) The great chronicle of Ibnu'l-Athîr [i.e. at-Taʾrikkhu'l-Kâmil].
(12) The Zubdîn-Tawârîkh of Jamâlu'd-Dîn Abû'l-Qâsim of Kâshân.
(13) The Nizâmûl-Tawârîkh of the Qâḍî Nâṣîru'd-Dîn Abû Saʿîd at-Bayḍawî.
(15) The Kitâbu'l-Maʿârif of Ibn Qutayba ad-Dinawarî.
(18) The Siyârûl-Mulk [more correctly entitled the Siyâsat-nâma] of the Nizâmûl-Mulk.
(19) The Shâh-nâma of Firdawsî.
(20) The Saljûq-nâma of Ẓâhirî of Nîshâpûr.
(22) The Istiṣâhârûl-akhbâr of the Qâḍî Aḥmad of Dâmghân.
(23) The Jâmiʿu't-Tawârîkh of the Author's late martyred master and patron, the minister Rashîdu'd-Dîn Faḍlu'llâh.

This compendium is entitled Taʾrikh-i-Guzida ("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 Ghiyâthu'd-Dîn, and that the faults of omission and commission which mar its pages may be overlooked.
TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE GUZİDA (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 Ka'ba; (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 (Fātiḥa), six Chapters, and a Conclusion (Khātima) as follows:

INTRODUCTION. On the Creation.

CHAPTER I. On the Prophets, in two Discourses, vis.:

First Discourse (11) On the Great Prophets described as Mursal and Ulāʾ-ʾAsm.

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

§ 1. Minor Prophets.
§ 2. Philosophers and moral teachers.
CHAPTER II. On the Pre-Islamic Kings of Persia, in four sections, viz.

§ 1. Pishädâdiyân, 11 Kings who reigned 2450 years.
§ 2. Kayâniyân, 10
§ 3. Mulûku't-Tawâ'if, 22
§ 4. Sásâniyân, 31

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.


§ 3. The remaining ten of the twelve Imâms [excluding Ṭalī and al-Ḥasan who are included in the last section], from 4 Šafer, A. H. 49 until Ramadân, 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.


CHAPTER IV. Muḥammadan dynasties of Persia and some adjacent countries in twelve sections, viz.
§ 1. Three Šaffārīs, 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 Sīstān at the time this history was written.


§ 3. Five (sic) Ghaznavīs, 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 Ghūrīs, who reigned for 64 lunar years, from A. H. 545 until A. H. 609 [= A. D. 1150—1212].

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

§ 6. Saljuqs, divided into:
   (a) Fourteen great Saljūqs, who ruled over Persia for 161 lunar years, from A. H. 429 until Rabī' I, A. H. 590 [= A. D. 1037—1194.]
   (b) Eleven Saljūqs of Kirmān, who ruled there for 150 years, from A. H. 433 until 583 [= A. D. 1041—1187.]
   (c) Fourteen Saljūqs of Asia Minor, who reigned for 220 years, from A. H. 480 until A. H. 700 [A. D. 1087—1300].

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

§ 8. Atábaks, divided into.
   (a) Nine Atábaks of Syria and Diyar Bakr, who
TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE GUZÍDA.

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

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

§ 9. Isma‘ílis, divided into.

(a) Fourteen Fátimid 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].


§ 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 Ílí-Khánis 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 (Qurrâ).

§ 3. Traditionists (Muḥaddithún).
§ 4. Shaykhs (Mashā'ikh).
§ 5. Learned men (ʿulamā).
§ 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 Imāms, Caliphs, Shaykhs, men of learning, kings, ministers and amirs who have visited it.
§ 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" (ʿālam-i-amr), and the visible "World of Creation" (ʿālam-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 Abū Dharr al-Ghiffārī 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 Idris, the first who wrote) and Noah; while 4 were Arabs, viz. Hūd (19), Šāliḥ, Shuʿayb (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 (Ṣaḥīfa) 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 Qurʾān. — Six of the greatest of the Prophets held the rank of ʿUlāʾ-ʿasm, 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 nābi (20), mursal, and ʿulāʾ-ʿasm.

First Discourse. The Prophets, major and minor.


1) Ţabarī, i, 152.
2) These ten are also ascribed to Adam.
THE PROPHETS. — ADAM.


Adam, called ʻAbū-Bashar and Ṣafīyyu‘llāh.

The part played by Gabriel, Michael and ʻAzrā‘il (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 Iblīs. — The creation of Eve. — Adam and Eve are forbidden to eat wheat; or wheat, grapes and figs. — Iblīs 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 Sarandib (Ceylon) and Eve to Jeddah. — (23) After 100 years, on the day of ʻAshūrā Adam’s repentance is accepted. — Other important events which happened on this day (Muḥarram 10). — Adam and Eve meet again at Mecca, at ʻArafāt,
and return to Ceylon. — Cause of the enmity between Cain (Qâbil) and Abel (Hâbil). — Cain’s sacrifice is rejected, and he murders Abel (24) and buries his body. — Iblis 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 Bû 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 Ka‘ba, died at the age of 912 years, and was succeeded by his son Enos (Anušš), 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 (Mahalâ’il), 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.

Idris, son of Jared, called Enoch (Akhnûkh).

Enoch, or Idris, 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 Najiyu’llâh.

Noah, the great-grandson of Idris, 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 Kûfa, submerges the “habitable quarter” of the earth and all the mountains, and continues for six months. — The Ark rests
on Mount Júdi near Mawṣil, and Noah and his companions leave it on Muḥarram 10 (the ʿAshūrā). — They build a village there called [Ṣūq] Thamānīn, “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 were 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 whom Qaḥṭān and Fāligh 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, Yaʿrub, first spoke Arabic. From Qaḥṭān sprang the Ḫimyarites, the Lakhmites, and Sabā (Sheba), who was the father of Qudāʿa, Ashrāf, Aẓd and Ṭaʿyyī. Shem’s second son, ʿAlīm, begot Khurāsān and Haytāl. The former begot ʿIrāq, and the latter Kirman and Mūkrān. Shem’s third son was Aswād, who begot Ahwāz and Pahlū, of whom the latter begot Pārs. Shem’s fourth son was Nūḍhar, who begot Adharbād and Arrān, Arman and Mūghān. Shem’s fifth son was Irām, from whom were descended the tribes of ʿAd and Thamūd. Shem’s sixth son was Yafān, who begot Sām and Rūm.

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, Zangī, Kūs, Hind, Barbar, Qīb, Ḥabash. The last was the father of Nūba.

Japhet had eight sons, Turk, Khazar, Saqlāb, Rūs, Bīshak, Mughūl, Gog and Magog. Chín and Máchin are the sons of

¹) Ṭabarî, i, 197.
Khutan, and the Bulghârs, Birtâsis and Basaghirdis 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.

Hûd.

Hûd, the fifth great prophet, is variously accounted a son of 'Abir or 'Ad, 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 Luqmân to Mecca to ask for rain (29). — A black, a red and a white cloud appear, and the men of 'Ad are told to choose. They choose the black cloud, and are all destroyed by a violent tempest, in the month of Shawwâl, during the bardh-ajûs, or "Old Woman's Cold". Hûd survived this event for fifty years, died at the age of 150 years, and is buried at Hadramawt.

Ṣâliḥ.

Ṣâliḥ was sent to the tribe of Thamûd. His miracle consists in bringing a female camel and its young one out of the rock. Thamûd 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. Ṣâliḥ lived to be 258 (or 180) years of age. He was buried at Mecca.

Ḥândhâla.

Ḥândhâla b. Ṣafwán was descended from Fîhr b. Qahtân, 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 apostatised, and claimed to be God, and his people
practised various unnatural crimes, of some of which the perpetrators are still called Rass and Sa'tari. God finally destroyed them all by thirst, and by the arrows which they would have shot at Ḥandḥala.

_Abraham, called Khalilullāh (31)._ 

Genealogy of Abraham. His father Azar was Nimrod's wasir. 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 [Nimrūd] near Kūfa, 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 Iblīs, 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 aerial 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 Kā'ūs) 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, Šinān 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 Khalilullāh ("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 Ka’ba, 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 (ṣahīfa) were revealed to him. Various practices, chiefly in respect to personal cleanliness, which he instituted.

Lot (35).

The seven Cities of the Plain, Sāmā, Saw‘ā, ʿAmra (= Gomorrah), Rūyā and Sodom, said to have been situated between Kirmān and Sistán 1). — Wickedness of their inhabitants. — The three angels, Gabriel, Michael and Isråfīl, 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 Rabī‘ 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.

1) This idea probably arose from the fact that the desert east of Kirmān is called Dasht-i-Łūt, and that this was misinterpreted as “the Plain of Lot”.
THE PROPHETS. — ISAAC, JACOB, JOSEPH. 15

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. Khidr, Job, Shu'ayb (= Jethro) and Muhammad, 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 ('asiz) 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 Khalilu'llah.

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 'Asis-i-Misr, who was treasurer to the King of Egypt. Zalikha falls in love with Joseph, she being then 15 years old and he 17. His chastity, and her calumnies. 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 (sharab-dar) and chief baker (khwan-
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.

Khídār.

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 drank and so became immortal. Allegorical explanation of this legend.

Job.

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.

Shu‘ayb (Jethro).

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

Moses, called Kalimu'llâh.

He was born in Egypt in the reign of Walid b. Muş'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 handmaidens of Asiya, 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 Asiya, 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'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
CHAPTER I, FIRST DISCOURSE.

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 Uhud was produced), whereat the 70 witnesses die of fright, but are restored to life by Moses’ prayer. — The story of Sámírî and the Golden Calf, which speaks and moves by virtue of a handful of dust whereon Gabriel had trod and which Sámírî 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 spite 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 murdered man with one of its limbs, whereupon he comes to life again and identifies his murderers. The story of Moses and Khîdîr (48). Khîdîr explains the reasons of the three actions which excited the wonder and disapproval of Moses. Moses is sent against Og the son of Anak (‘Uj or ‘Üq b. ‘Unuq), (49) and kills him in single combat, by the help of the hoopoe. Balaam, the nephew of Shu‘ayb (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 Nûn (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 Khîdr by the Arabs, and who found the Water of Life; but this statement is incorrect, for the Khîdr who found the Water of Life was not an Israelite, as was this Khîdr, 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 (ʾulamāʾ). — 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 (Tālūt). — 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 (Zubār) 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, Aṣaf b. Barkhiya. — His adventures with Bilqis, Queen of Sheba (55), whom he marries, and who bears him Rehoboam. — Solomon’s shape assumed and sway usurped by one of the Ḍinn. — His death at the age of fifty-five. — How his death was concealed from the Ḍinn 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. — Luhrāsp, 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.
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 Tawrat (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 Isandiyar, 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 Khuzistan in Persia, and there died. His tomb was discovered there by Abú Músá al-As’ári 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, Śādiq, Šādūq and Salām, 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 (ašāb-i-qaryā) mentioned in the Qurʾān (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 (Kan‘ān). His tomb is near Kūfa, and was a place of pilgrimage of the Jews, until Ūlja‘ytū (Shāh Khudā-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 ‘Imrān 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 Adhār (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. — Iblis 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 (Ashgháni) 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 Kánân-i-Awwal (December) in the year 233 of Alexander. at Nasiratu’l-Khalil (Nazareth) near Jerusalem, on which account his followers are called Nazarenes (Naṣrānī, plural, Naṣārā). 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 (Injīl) 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
CHAPTER 1, SECOND DISCOURSE.

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 Qayruwan, one to Uriqiyya (Tunis), one to the Franks, one to the Hijáz, 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 (Hábīl).

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 Khídr, 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 ‘Alí; Aghrírath, son of Pushang, said to have been the only prophet who came out of Turkistán, who was killed by his brother Afrásiyáb; Šaul; (67) Simon [Peter], who followed Jesus Christ; Fírjís (St. George), who, after suffering much persecution, converted the king and people of Mawṣil (Nineveh); Khálíd 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).
CHAPTER I, SECOND DISCOURSE.

Pythagoras (Fīthāghūras).

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

Hippocrates (Buqrāṭ).

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 Buqrāṭis, whom the author treats as an independent person and a disciple of the above.

Socrates (Suqrāṭ).

Some of his alleged sayings are quoted.

Plato (Aflāṭūn).

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

Aristotle (Aristāṭūlūs).

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

Pliny (Balīnūs) (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 (Fālinūs).

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

Ptolemy (Baṭlimūs).

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

Thiyādḥāq (73).

He was a contemporary of Nūshīrwān 1). His medical aphorisms (73).

1) This is an error. He flourished in reality in the Umayyad period, and was in the service of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. See al-Qiftī's Taʿrīkhūl-Ḥukāmā, p. 105 and Ibn Abī Ḫayyābīn, vol. i, pp. 121—3, where his aphorisms are mentioned.
Buzurjmihr.

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

The Mujāhidūn, or Strivers for God (78).
The seven Sleepers (Aṣḥāb-i-Kahf).

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

Samson (Shamsūn) (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 Bahram Gūr. 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 Najrān (Aṣḥābu'l-Ukhdiūd) (80).

These lived in the time of Pīrūz son of Qubād. Fīmūn the Christian converts the tree-worshippers. How his disciple Ābdu’llah b. Ṭāmir discovers the Most Great Name of God. Dhū Nuwās Yūsuf, the Ḥimyarite king of Yaman, takes captive and kills Ābdu’llah b. Ṭāmir, whose body was discovered during the Caliphate of Umar (81). Dhū Nuwās burns the Christians of Najrān in pits of fire. God punishes him by sending the Abyssinians to invade Yaman and destroy him and the ancient dynasty which he represented. Hasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, the founder of the Assassins (Malāḥida) was of his posterity.
CHAPTER II. — PRE-ISLAMIC KINGS OF PERSIA.

Section 1. The Pishdâdiyân.

1. Gayûmarth.

Various accounts of his genealogy. His son (or grandson) Siyâmak is killed by the divs or demons, but his death is avenged by his son (or grandson) Hûshang (82). Ištakhr, Balkh and Damáwand are said to have been founded by Gayûmarth, who lived 1000 years.

2. Hûshang.

He succeeded his grandfather Gayûmarth, and is also called Bûm-Shâh, and entitled Pish-dâd, because he first dispensed equal justice amongst men. His institutions, and the cities founded by him. He reigned for 40 years. The prophet Idris was his contemporary. His philosophical aphorisms (83—85).

3. Tâhmûrat (85).

He succeeded his father Hûshang, and was entitled Div-band, “the Binder of Demons”. Fasting instituted in his time, on account of a famine which prevailed. — Bûdâsaf and the Chaldaeans. — Sa’dî’s Bûstân cited (86). Origin of idolatry. — Origin of the Sabaeans and of star-worship. — Religious toleration enjoined by Tâhmûrat. He reigns 30 years. — Cities founded by him.


He succeeded his father (or, according to others, his brother) Tâhmûrat. He instituted three castes in his kingdom, soldiers, artisans and agriculturalists. Invention of the arts of Music and Medicine (87). Idolatry prevails. Jamshîd’s impious claim to be divine. Cities founded by him. He reigne
700 years, and survives his deposition by Daḥḥák 100 years more.

5. Daḥḥák.

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

6. Firidün.

His genealogy and names. Now he overthrows Daḥḥák (89). The dirafsh-i-Káwayán becomes the national standard. Its final capture by the Arabs at Qadisiyya. Firidün 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 Irán and Túrán dates from that time. Wars of Kúsh, the nephew of Daḥḥák, with Sám the son of Naríman. Firidún 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.


After killing Núdhar, Afrásiyáb usurped the Persian throne,
until, after he had wrought much devastation, he was expelled by Zál the son of Sám.


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 Amirul-Umár. Institutions of Kay-Qubád. The frontier between Iran 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 Himyarites 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.

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 Bížhan and Manízha. Rustam is sent in disguise to Túrán to deliver Bížhan from prison. The combat called farang-i-duwázda rukh between the champions of Írán and Túrán. Afrásiyáb is defeated and pursued by Kay-Khusraw until he is finally taken captive near Lake Chichast in Adharbayján 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 Naššar (Nebuchadnezzor), whom the Persians call Bakht-Narsi, 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 Bálkh, 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. Isfándiyár's zeal for Zoroastrianism. Arjásp, the grandson of Afrásiyáb, invades Persia, kills Luhrásp at Bálkh, and defeats Gushtásp, who sends his brother Jámásp to release Isfándiyár. Isfándiyár 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 Isfándiyár 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.


He seeks revenge for his father, and kills Rustam’s son Farámarz. He is called Ardashir-i-Dirázdast (“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 (daráb). 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-Ištákhr), which Alexander afterwards destroyed.

8. Dáráb, son of Bahman.

He establishes the post (barid) 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. Dáráb appoints another son named Dará his successor, and dies after a reign of twelve years.


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

Iskandar the son of Dárá the son of Bahman (100) succeeded his brother Dará, and conquered the whole world. Qaydáha the queen of Andalusia alone outwits him. He goes in quest of the Water of Life with Khídr. Aristotle acts as his Wasír, 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 Mulūku’t-Ṭawā’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 Wāmíq and ʿAdhrá lived in his time. (101) Some of his aphorisms.

Section 3. The Tribal Kings (Mulūku’t-Ṭawā’if).

These ruled over Persia from the death of Alexander until the foundation of the Sášání dynasty by Ardashír Bábákán, in all 318 years. 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) Abtaḥán.

Abtaḥán-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 Dará.

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

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1) The period was in reality much longer, over 550 years, for Alexander died B.C. 330 and the Sášání dynasty was founded in A. D. 226. The only Muhammadan historian who was aware of, and explained the reason of this falsification is, so far as I know, Masá’dí, in his admirable Kitáb’t-Tanbih wa’l-Ishríf (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) Shāpūr son of Ashk son of Dārā.

He is called “the Great Shāpūr”. He defeated the Greeks (Rūm), and recovered a large part of the spoils taken from Persia by Alexander. He reigned six years, and was succeeded by his son —

(4) Bahrām son of Shāpūr.

He reigned eleven years and was succeeded by his son —

(5) Balāsh (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) Narṣī.

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

(8) Firūz son of Firūz son of Balāsh.

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

(9) Balāsh.

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

(10) Khusrāw son of Narṣī son of Balāsh.

He reigned six years, and was succeeded by —
THE PARTHIANS (ASHGHÁNIYÁN).

(11) Baláshán son of Balásh son of Firúz.

Margházár-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 Firiburz 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) Gúdars, 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) Biri.

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.
CHAPTER II, SECTIONS 3—4.

(6) Gūdarz.

He reigned two years and was succeeded by his uncle —

(7) Narsi son of Gūdarz son of Balāsh.

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

(8) Narsi son of Gūdarz son of Biri.

In his time the Romans attacked Persia, but he sought help from the [other] Mulāku’t-Ṭawdīf and drove them back. He reigned thirty one years and was killed by Ardashīr Bābakān, and with him the “Tribal Kings” came to an end.

Section 4. The Sāsāniyān (Akāsira, pl. of Kirsā).

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

(1) Ardashīr Bābakān.

Bābak, from whom Ardashīr derives his patronymic, was his maternal grandfather and was Ardawān’s governor in Fārs. The town of Shahr-i-Bābak takes its name from him. Story of Sāsān and Bābak’s dream. The latter gives his daughter in marriage to the former. Birth of Ardashīr. He goes to Ardawān’s court. His flight and revolt. He fights and kills Ardawān, whose daughter he marries. Her story. Birth of Shāpūr. His recognition by Ardashīr. The Barmecides (Āl-i-Barmak) were descended from Ardashīr’s devoted minister [Abarsām]. — Story of Haftawād and the Worm of Kirmān, from which that city derives its name. Ardashīr destroys the Worm (105), takes Kirmān, and kills Haftawād and his sons. Cities founded by Ardashīr. — Some of his aphorisms. He reigned 44 years and 2 months, of which time 30 years were spent in subduing the Tribal kings.
(2) Shápur son of Ardashir.
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 Shápur.
His strength and courage. He persecutes the Manichaeans. Cities founded by him. He reigned 2 years.

(4) Bahram son of Hurmazd.
He reigned for 13 years and 3 months.

(5) Bahram son of Bahram son of Hurmazd.
He reigned for 8 years.

(6) Bahram son of Bahram son of Bahram.
He was called Bahram Bahramán and Sagán-sháh (*i.e.* king of Sijistán or Sístán). He reigned 13 years and 4 months.

(7) Narši son of Bahram son of Bahram son of Hurmazd.
He succeeded his brother, who died childless. He reigned 9 years.

(8) Hurmazd son of Narši.
He also reigned 9 years.

(9) Shápur 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 Táhir, the Arab leader, and bears him a daughter named Malika. Shápur, on reaching man’s estate, makes war on the Arabs, and with the help of Malika, kills Táhir, 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 Dhul’-Akdáf ("the Shoulder-man"). Shápúr explains to Málik b. Naḏr, 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-Rūm), 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 Mānis (Māni) appeared in Shápúr’s reign. (109) His miracles or pretended miracles. He is put to death. — Another false prophet named Adhārbaḏād, from whom the province of Adhārbaḏhagān (Azarbayjān) takes its name. Cities founded by Shápúr. He lived 72 years, and was king during the whole of this period.

(10) Ardāshīr 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 Khūrwín were his contemporaries. The former was lent to Rūm to act as regent for the Qayṣar’s infant son, and remained there until the time of Bahram Gūr. Then are many Pahlavi poems about him, including one named Sharwiniyān.

(12) Bahram son of Shápúr son of Shápúr.

He succeeded his brother, and is entitled Kirmānshāh.
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-Athim), 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 21½ years.

(15) Bahrám son of Yazdigird son of Shápür son of Shápür (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 Gür. — Story of him and his mistress Dilárám. His reign was a time of pleasure and merry-making. Lúls 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 Adharbayján. 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 Gür.

He had an uneventful reign of 17 years.
(17) Hurmazd son of Yazdigird (114).

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

(18) Firúz 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 Firúz.

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

(20) Qubád son of Firúz.

In Pahlawi 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) Anusharwán (Núshírwán).

He was the first Sásánian king who was known as Kísrá, a title given to all his successors. His justice. His institutions. His defences against the people of Qipcháq. His Sipah-sálárs Shíráǹsháh (Sharwánsháh) etc. (116). The book of Kalila and Dimna and the game of chess brought from India in his reign. — Drafts invented by Buzurjmíhr. — 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 Nūshirwan.

His tyranny. — (120) Persia is invaded on all sides, by Turks, Khazars, Arabs and Greeks. The last three are pacified by concessions, and Bahram Chubin is sent to fight the Turks, whom he defeats, and whose leader, Sawa-Shah, 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 Parviz, 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 Parviz is placed on the throne. Genealogy of Bahram Chubin. He defeats Parviz, who flees to the Qaysar of Rûm, and marries his daughter Maryam. He returns to Persia, conquers Bahram Chubin, and puts him to flight. (121) At the instigation of Parviz, Bahram Chubin is murdered in Turkistan after he had maintained a successful rebellion for two years.

(23) Khosrow Parviz.

He was the eighteenth in descent from Ardashir Bâbakân, and all his ancestors were kings. His luxury, pomp and power. — Some of his wonderful possessions. (122) Bârbad the minstrel, and the 360 tunes he invented. Parviz obtains possession of the Qaysar's treasures. — The Prophet Muhammad's letter to Parviz and its reception. The Prophet curses him. His son Shiruya rebels against him and kills him. — He reigned 38 years. — Some of his sayings.

(24) Shiruya son of Parviz (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) Ardashir son of Shiruya.

He was still but a child when he was murdered by a servant after a reign of 18 months. One of the nobles of
Parwiz named Qará'in then usurped the supreme power, but was killed two years later.

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

(27) Asarmi-Dukht, daughter of Parwiz.
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 Shákar (Sugar), and his parentage uncertain. After a reign of one month he also was murdered by a slave.

(29) Yazdigird son of Shákiyávr son of Parwiz.

(124) He was the last Sásánían king. His life was saved by his nurse when Shírúya killed so many of his relatives. In the Caliphate of 'Umar, Sa'd b. Waqqáś attacks Persia. — Defeat and death of Rustam son of Farrukh-zád at Qádísíyya. — 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 effectivelly for four years only.

CHAPTER III. — THE PROPHET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

(125) Introduction. On the Prophet's genealogy.
The pre-existent "Light of Muhammad" (Núr-i-Muhammad).

(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. Saṭḥīḥ interprets the omens. Full genealogy of the Prophet (130) up to Adam. His mother Amina. Death of his father ʿAbdu’llāh. His childhood. (131) Death of Amina. — Death of ʿAbduʾl-Muṭṭalib. — His uncle Abū Ṭālib becomes his guardian. — He goes as a merchant to Syria. He is nick-named “the Trusty” (al-Amin). He enters ʿKhadija’s service, and marries her. Abū Ṭālib’s khitba (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 ʿAlī, ʿAbbās and Jaʿfar, in order to relieve Abū Ṭālib. — Beginning of the Revelations in his fortieth year (133). All sacred books were revealed in the month of Ramadān. — Muḥammad comforted by his wife ʿKhadija and her cousin Waraqa b. Nawfāl. The conversions of ʿKhadija, ʿAlī, (134) Zayd, Abū Bakr, ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥa, Zubayr, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās, ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ all took place within 20 days of Muḥammad’s call. — Enmity of Quraysh. Conversion of ʿUmār, who was the fortieth convert during the first three years of the Prophet’s Mission. Islām now began to be preached openly. — Persecution of the Muslims. (135) Flight of ʿUthmān and his wife Ruqayya, and ʿHamza to Abyssinia. — The miracle of the “Cleaving of the Moon”. — Death of Abū Ṭālib and ʿKhadija in the 10th year of the Prophet’s Mission, which he therefore named “the Year of Woe”. The Prophet goes to Ṭāʾīf. (136) He is badly received, but is consoled by the conversion of a company of the Ṣinn. His Ascension (Miʿrāj). — Conversion of many of the people of al-Madīna. — The people of Mecca, instigated by Iblīs in the form of an old man of Najd, try to kill the Prophet. — His Flight (hijrat) to al-Madīna.— The
first mosque built there. — The Anṣār. (137) Treachery of the Jews of al-Madīna. — 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 ʿAʾishah. (138) A.H. 2. The Prophet gives his daughter Fāṭima in marriage to his cousin ʿAlī. (139) She was then 13 years old. She bore him 3 sons, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Muḥsin, and two daughters, Zaynab and Umm Kulturūm. She died A.H. 11, six months after her father. (140) ʿAlī nick-named Abū Turāb. — The Fast of Ramaḍān instituted. (141) Battle of Badr. — Death of Ruqayyya, the wife of ʿUthmān. Umm Kulthūm 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. ʿAlī’s sword is broken, and the Prophet gives him Dhuʾl-Fiqār instead, Ḥāmza killed. A.H. 4. (144) Other battles. A.H. 5 (145) Attack on al-Madīna, which Salmān the Persian helps to fortify. ʿAlī kills ʿAmr b. ʿAntar. — Defeat and slaughter of the Jews of Qurayḍha. A.H. 6. Wars with Banū Libyān and Banū Mustaliq (146). The scandal concerning ʿAʾishah, and the Revelation exculpating her. Conversions of ʿAmr b. ʿAṣ and Khālid b. Walīd. (147) The Prophet sends letters to the rulers of adjacent countries inviting them to embrace Islām. The King of Egypt answered politely and sent presents, including the girl Māriya (whom the Prophet took in marriage, and who bore him Ibrāhīm), and the mule Duldul, which was given to ʿAlī. The King of Syria did not answer at all. The King of Yamāma answered politely, but declined to accept Islām. The Kings of ʿUmān, Bahrayn and Abyssinia accepted Islām and wrote polite answers. Heraclius, the Emperor of the Romans, secretly accepted Islām, though he concealed his belief, and wrote a polite answer. Khusraw Parwiz, 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. 'Ali's valour. Fadak surrenders. Attempt to poison the Prophet. Death of Umm Khulthúm. (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. — Şafiyya's elegy on him (155). Fátima'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. Khadijá, Zaynab and Jâfí died during his lifetime; 'Aliya and Khuwá he divorced; the remaining nine were 'A'ísha, Súda, Haiša, Umm Salma, Zaynab, Jiwayriya, Şafiyya, Maymúna and Umm Ḥabiba. 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.

CHAPTER III, SECTIONS 2—3.

'Ali's tomb and its history. He was 69 years of age when he was killed, having been Caliph for 4\(\frac{3}{4}\) years. He had 35 (or 32) children, of whom the names of 11 sons are recorded. Account of these. Account of 13 of his daughters. — Terms of this agreement. His son Hasan, called al-Mujtabá, succeeds as fifth Caliph. He makes peace with Mu'áwiya. — (203) Section 3. The remaining ten Imáms. [The first two Imáms, 'Ali and his son Hasan, alone exercised temporal power. The remaining ten were as follows: —]


He was Imám during 11 years, 11 months and 6 days. He was born on Sha'bán 2, A.H. 41, at al-Madína. His son and successor 'Ali Zaynu'l-Abidín was born when he was 42 years old, and was 14 years old when his father was killed at Kerbelá in A.H. 61. Husayn's head and his captive family before Yazid. His seven sons and two daughters. He was 56 years old at the time of his death (204).


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

He was Imám for 22 years, 7 months and 8 days, was born in A. H. 65 at al-Madīna, was 18 years old when his son and successor Jaʿfar-i-Ṣādiq was born, and died in A. H. 117 at al-Madīna. The Shiʿa say that he was poisoned by order of Hishām b. ʿAbduʾl-Malik. He was 52 years old at the time of his death. He had six sons and two daughters.


(205) He was Imám for 31 years, and 8 days, was born at al-Madīna in A. H. 83, lived 65 years and 4 months, and thus attained a greater age than any other of the Imāms, of whom, excepting ʿAli, he was also the most learned. He first nominated his elder son Ismaʿil to succeed him, but deposed him because he had drunk wine, and replaced him by Mūsā al-Kādhim. Ismaʿil pre-deceased his father, who caused him to be publicly buried, so that all might be aware of his death. This is denied by the Ismaʿil sect. Jaʿfar died in A. H. 148 at al-Madīna. The Shiʿa say that he was poisoned by command of Jaʿfar Abuʾd-Dawāniq. He had six sons and seven daughters. One of his sons, Muḥammad, is buried in Jurfān at the place called Gūr-i-Surkh ("the Red Tomb").


He was Imám for 34 years, 6 months and 21 days, was born in A. H. 128 at al-Madīna and lived 55 years and 5 days. His son and successor ʿAlī ar-Ridā was born when he was 24 years old. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 183, (206) and was buried at Karkh. The Shiʿa say that he was murdered by order of Hārūn ar-Rashid, 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) \textit{Ali ar-Riḍā\ b. Mūsā al-Kādhim}.

He was Imám for 27 years and 23 days, was born at al-Madīna in A. H. 151 and lived 51 years, 2 months and 26 days. His son and successor Muḥammad at-Taqī, called Jawād, was born when he was about 44 years of age. He died at Tūs in Khūrāsān in A. H. 203, poisoned, as the Shi‘a assert, by the Caliph al-Ma‘mūn. He had five sons and one daughter (207).

(9) \textit{Muḥammad at-Taqī} b. \textit{Ali ar-Riḍā}.

He was Imám for 16 years, 8 months and 26 days, was born at al-Madīna in A. H. 195, and lived 24 years, 9 months and 18 days. His son `Alī an-Naqī was born when he was about 19 years old. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 220, and was buried at Karkh. The Shi‘a say that he was poisoned by al-Mu‘taṣīm. He had two sons and four daughters.

(10) \textit{`Alī an-Naqī} b. \textit{Muḥammad at-Taqī}.

He was Imám for 33 years, was born at al-Madīna in A. H. 224 and lived 39 years, 11 months and 18 days. His son Ḥasan al-Askarī was born when he was about 18 years old. He died at Sāmarra in A. H. 254. The Shi‘a say that he was poisoned by the Caliph al-Mu‘tazz. He had four sons and one daughter.

(11) \textit{Ḥasan al-Askarī} b. \textit{`Alī an-Naqī} (208).

He was Imám for 5 years, 8 months and 5 days, was born at Sāmarra in A. H. 232 and lived 27 years, 2 months and 27 days. His son, the Imám Mahdī, was born when he was about 22\(\frac{1}{2}\) years of age. He died in A. H. 260 at Sāmarra, his son being then 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) years old. The Shi‘a say that he was poisoned by the Caliph al-Mu‘tamīd. He had only one son.

(12) \textit{The Imám Mahdī, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Askarī}.

He was the last of the Twelve Imāms, was Imám for
Section 4. Account of some of the chief Companions and Followers.


1) The “ten” are included in the “forty”, of whom they constitute a superior class.
'Utba b. Abi Waqqas. [The list of the remaining "Companions", arranged in alphabetical order, extends to p. 243, and concludes with an account of "the Hypocrites" (Munafiqun) who apostasized or otherwise shewed the insincerity of their belief. Then follows (pp. 243—255) a similar alphabetical list of the "Followers" (Tabiriun).

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

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

(1) Mu'awiyah b. Abi Sufyân.

His genealogy, conversion and position in Islam. The Sunnis regard him as in error in his conduct towards Ali, 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-Hasan abdicated in his favour. He recognizes Ziyad as his brother. He makes Damascus his capital. Heroic methods adopted by Ziyad to secure order in Basra. (256) Yazid placed by his father in command of the expedition against the "Romans" in A. H. 52. Its success. Death of Abi Ayyub al-Ansari. Yazid receives the people's allegiance as successor to the throne in A. H. 56. Five persons refuse (257) to take the oath, 'Abdu'llah b. 'Abbás, Husayn b. 'Ali, 'Abdu'llah b. Zubayr, 'Abdulláh b. 'Umar. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán b. Abi Bakr. Mu'awiyah warns Yazid 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) Yazid b. Mu'awiyah (258).

Flight of Husayn and Ibn Zubayr from al-Madina. — The people of Kufa promise support to Husayn. — He sends his cousin Muslim b. 'Aqil to learn the temper of the people
at Kūfa. — Ḥusayn, with his kinsfolk, and a little army of 40 horsemen and 100 infantrymen, sets out for Kūfa, in spite of the warnings of ʿAbduʾlláh b. ʿAbbás and ʿAbduʾlláh b. ʿUmar. ʿUbayдуʾlláh b. Ziyád is made governor of Kūfa. He kills Muslim and Hání. (259) Ḥusayn’s meeting with Farazdaq. Account of the Battle of Karbalá. (260) Ḥusayn and all his kinsmen, except his son ʿAlí Zaynuʿl-ʿAbidín, are killed. Of his kinsmen 17 and of his followers 124 perished. The captive women and Ḥusayn’s head are taken before Yazid at Damascus. The captives sent to al-Madīna. (261) Yazid takes and plunders al-Madīna. Ibn Ziyád is made governor of ʿIráq and South Persia. Success of Muslim arms in Transoxiana. Rebellion of Ibn Zubayr in A. H. 64. Yazid 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) Muʿáwiya b. Yazid, called ar-Ráji bīlláh.

He reigned only 40 days and then died.

(4) Khálid b. Yazid.

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 Ráḥīt. War with Ibn Zubayr. (264) Battle of ʿAyunʿl-Ward. Pestilence in Başra 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, Náfiʿ b. Azraq and Najda b. Muʿáwiya.

(6) ʿAbduʾl-Malik b. Marwán (265).

Revolt of Mukhtár. He avenges the death of Ḥusayn,

(7) Walīd b. ʿAbdullāl-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 Turkistān, and the spoils taken by him. Bukhārā, Samarqand, Sughd, Chāch, Farghānā (274) and Khwārazm taken by the Muslims. Constantinople attacked. Buildings erected at al-Madīnā, Damascus etc. (275) Death of al-Ḥajjāj 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). Ḥajjāj's culminating crime was the execution of Saʿīd b. Jubayr, a month after which Ḥajjāj went mad, and was eaten by worms. Plague in Baṣra, followed by earthquake. Walīd died in A. H. 96, after a reign of 9 years and 8 months, at the age of 45.
(8) Sulaymán b. ʿAbduʾl-Malik.

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

(9) ʿUmar b. ʿAbduʾl-ʿAzīz.

His piety and justice. He abolishes the cursing of ʿAlī. He imprisons Yazīd b. Muhallab. The Imám Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbduʾl-láh b. ʿAbbās begins the ʿAbbāsid propaganda. Death of ʿUmar b. ʿAbduʾl-ʿAzīz in Rabīʿ, 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 Hishām.

(10) Yazīd b. ʿAbduʾl-Malik.

War with Yazīd b. Muhallab. Abū Muslim enters the service of the ʿAbbāsids. (280) Yazīd’s love for two singing-girls named Ḥabbāba and ʿAllāma. (281) His grief at the death of Ḥabbāba causes his own death in Rabīʿ, A. H. 105, at the age of 40, after a reign of 4 years and one month. He is buried beside her.

(11) Hishām b. ʿAbduʾl-Malik.

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


He causes Yahyā b. Zayd to be released. Yahyā’s rebellion. (284) He is killed in battle, and his body with that of his brother crucified, until, in the reign of Marwān, 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 ʿAbbāsid colour, and the partisans of the House of ʿAbbās to be called Siyāh-pūshān (or, in Arabic, Musawwida). Death of the Imām Muhammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbbās in A. H. 125. He nominates his son Ibrāhīm to succeed him, and after him Abuʾl-ʿAbbās. Walīd’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) Yazīd b. Walīd.

His mother Shāh Afarīd was the grand-daughter of Yazdīgird the last Sāsānian king. He inclined to the Muʿtazilite heresy. He reigned six months and died of the plague in A. H. 126.

(14) Ibrāhīm b. Walīd.

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

(15) Marwān b. Muhammad b. Marwān, called al-Ḥimār ("the Ass").

Increasing disorder in the Empire. Revolt of al-Kirmānī. Abū Muslim raises the ʿAbbāsid standard near Merv on
Ramaḍān 27, A. H. 129: (286) Naṣr b. Sayy ār's celebrated verses, in which he appeals for help to Marw ān. Naṣr defeats al-Kirmānī, but is defeated by Abū Muslim and dies. Abū Muslim conquers Khurāsān, Gurgān, Ray, Sāwa, Qum, Kāshān, Nahāwand, Hamadān, Ḥulwān and Shahrazūr. (287) Kūfā is taken. Abu Salama made Wasir. Abūl-ʿAbbās as-Saffāḥ, his brother Abū Jaʾfār and their four uncles, who were in hiding at Kūfā, are acclaimed by Abū Muslim and his army. Allegiance is sworn to Abūl-ʿAbbās as-Saffāḥ. Marwān cruelly puts to death Ibrāhīm the brother of Abūl-ʿAbbās. (288) Defeat of Marwān by the Euphrates. He flees to Egypt. (289) He is killed at Būṣīr in Fayyūm at the end of A. H. 132, after a reign of 5 years, at the age of 55. Abūl-ʿAbbās seeks out and kills 80 of the Umayyad princes, and holds a banquet over their remains. A "Pahlawi" verse cited à propos of this. Desecration of the Umayyad 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 ʿAbbāsid Caliphs.

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

(1) Abūl-ʿAbbās as-Saffāḥ.

He was the fifth in descent from al-ʿAbbās, and was recognized as Caliph on the 13th of Rabiʿ I, A. H. 132. Some of his aphorisms. He buys the Prophet's mantle for 400 dinārs. His governors. He sends his brother Abū Jaʾfār to Khurāsān to investigate the doings of Abū Muslim and obtain his allegiance. Abū Salama, the "Wazīr of the House of Muḥammad", is put to death on suspicion of partiality for the House of ʿAlī, and his office is given to Khālid the Barmecide. (291) Revolt of Ṭalibul-Ḥaqq ʿAbduʾllāh b. Yaḥyā. He is defeated by Abū Muslim. Abū Muslim's growing ambition.
Death of as-Saffāḥ at the end of A. H. 136, after a reign of 4 years and 3 months.

(2) Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr.

He succeeded his brother. His avarice. He is nicknamed Abū'd-Dawānīq. (292) Abū Muslim arouses his hostility. (293) Abū 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 Sha'ībān 25, A. H. 137. Abū Muslim was 67 years old, and was originally from Isfahān, though generally regarded as belonging to Merv, where his first successes were achieved. Rebellion of Muḥammad b. ŠAbdu'llāh the ŠAlawi, who claims to be the Mahdī. He is killed, but his brother Ibrāhīm 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 Ayvān-i-Kisrā. (296) Death of al-Manṣūr at the age of 63 after a reign of 22 years. His sayings. His wazirs. The book of Kalīla and Dimna translated by 'Abdu'llāh b. al-Muqaffā from Pahlawi into Arabic. Abū Ḥanīfa.

(3) Al-Mahdī.

He was the sixth in descent from al-ŠAbbās. (297) His generosity and prodigality. (298) Rebellion of 'Abdu'llāh b. Mu'āwiya—the 'Alawi at Isfahān. He is conquered and dies in captivity. Rebellion of Ḥakam b. Hāshim, "the Moon-Maker", known as al-Burqā'ī and al-Muqanna'. 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 wazirs of al-Mahdī (299—300). Death of al-Mahdī in Ramadān, A. H. 179, after a reign of 13 years and 1 month at the age of 43.

He was 7th in descent from al-ʿAbbás. He was in Gurgán when his father died and he became Caliph. Another ʿAlawi revolt. Idrís takes part of Andalusia, where his descendants reigned for more than 300 years. The Zindigs (Manichæans) became prominent in his reign. ʿAbdu'lláh b. al-Muqaffá is one of their leaders. (301) His translation into Arabic of the Book of Kalila and Dimna. His attempt to imitate the Qurʾán. He and his confederates are put to death by al-Hádi. Death of al-Hádi on 16 Rabiʾ 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 wazirs.

(5) Hárúnur-Rashid.

He was the seventh in descent from al-ʿAbbás. The death of his brother and predecessor, his accession, and the birth of his son and successor al-Maʿmún 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 Yahyá b. Khálid al-Barmakí ("the Barmecide") his wazir. 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 Yahyá b. ʿAbdu'lláh the ʿAlawi 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-Maʿmún and al-Muʿtaman, whose names were included in this order in the khutba. Story of Jaʿfar the Barmecide and Hárún's sister ʿAbbás. (305) Hárún's

(6) Al-Amin b. Hárún.

He was the eighth in descent from al-ʿAbbās, 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-Maʿmūn. (308) Al-Maʿmūn’s wazīr, Faḍl b. Sahl the Persian. Anecdote of his conversion from the faith of Zoroaster to that of Muḥammad. Al-Amin strives to divest his two brothers of their rights and nominate his son Mūsā as his successor. Outbreak of war between al-Amin and al-Maʿmūn. (309) Their respective generals, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān and Ṭāhir, “Dhuʾl-Yaminayn” (“the Ambidexter”). Victory of Ṭāhir near Ray. Another victory over al-Amin’s troops at Hamadān. Al-Maʿmūn’s troops occupy the Pass of Ḥulwān. They are re-inforced by Harthama. Ahwāz, Baṣra, Wāṣīṭ and al-Madāʾin yield to al-Maʿmūn. (310) Death of al-Amin and capture of Baghdad on Muḥarram 5, A.H. 198. Al-Maʿmūn’s reception (311) of the news. Al-Amin had reigned 4 years and 9 months, and was 27 years of age at the time of his death.


He also was eighth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. His character. His trust in his wazīr Faḍl b. Sahl “Dhuʾr Riyāsatayn”. (312) Revolt of the ʿAlawi Ṭabāṭabā in Kūfa. Other ʿAlawi revolts. Faḍl b. Sahl induces al-Maʿmūn to nominate
the Imám ʿAlí ar-Riḍá [the 8th Imám of the Shiʿa] to succeed him (313), give his daughter Zaynab to him in marriage, and change the ʿAbbásid black for the ʿAlawí green. Anger of the other ʿAbbásids, who wish to depose al-Maʾmún in favour of his uncle Ibráhím. Al-Maʾmún, in Muḥarram, A. H. 202, causes Faḍl b. Sahīl 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. Sahīl. Splendour of the wedding. (314) Death of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣádiq (A. H. 203) in Jurján. His tomb is known as “the Red Tomb” (Gūr-i-Surkh: see p. 49 supra). Al-Maʾmún’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 ʿAbdu’lláh b. Ṭáhir and al-Muʿtaṣim. (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 Adharbājjan. Death of al-Maʾmún 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 Muʿtazilite views. His severity towards the orthodox, especially Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. (317) His sayings.

(8) Al-Muʿtaṣim b. Hárún.

He also was the, eighth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, 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 dinārs to his heirs. For these reasons he is called al-Khalīfatuʾl-Muthamman. (318) Character of al-Muʿtaṣim. Increasing power of Bábak “Khurram-din”, the false prophet. He is finally defeated, and 40,000 of his followers slain, by Ḥaydār (or Khaydhar) b. Káwús, better
known as Afshin. Bābak and his brother are mutilated and slain at Sāmarra on Šafar 3, A.H. 223. Bābak's executioner (one of ten) confesses to having killed more than 20,000 persons. Campaign against the Greeks. (319) "Ammūriyya taken by al-Mu'taṣīm. Abortive conspiracy against him. His zeal for Islām. He undertakes a successful winter campaign against the Greeks to release a captive Muslim women. He builds the town of Sāmarra, or Surra man ra'a, for his Turkish guards. (320) Rebellion of Māzyār b. Qārūn in Ṭabaristān. His followers wear red clothes and profess the tenets of Bābak. Māzyār is defeated and taken captive by ḤAbu'llāh b. Tāhir. He is scourged and crucified opposite Bābak. Compromising letters from Afshin are found amongst Māzyār's papers, and Afshin is tried and condemned to death. Al-Mu'taṣīm, like his predecessor, holds the Mu'tazilite doctrine, and persecutes the orthodox. He refuses to ransom from the Christians Muslim prisoners who regard the Qur'ān as ineradicable. Death of al-Mu'taṣīm in Rabī' i, A.H. 227. He is buried at Sāmarra. His wazīrān. (321).

(9) Al-Wāthiq b.ʿillāh b. al-Mu'taṣīm.

He was the ninth in descent from al-'Abbās. He also was a Mu'tazilite, but friendly to the House of ʿAlī and a patron of the learned. In consequence of this, and of his learning and eloquence, he is called "the Lesser Ma'mūn" (al-Ma'-mūnul-ʿAgghar). He was also a good poet and musician. Death of ʿAbdu'llāh b. Tāhir, whose son Tāhir succeeds him in A.H. 230 in the government of Khurāsān. The quarter of Karkh in Baghdad is burned down. Liberality of al-Wāthiq to the distressed. He is persuaded by his chamberlain to be equally liberal towards the people of Farghāna. (322) Story of a darwish who proves the Caliph. How al-Wāthiq 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 Sámarrā. Anecdotes concerning his death and last moments.

(10) Al-Mutawakkil b. al-Mu'taṣim.

He was the ninth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. Seven persons swore allegiance to him who were the sons of previous Caliphs of his house. Satirical verses by Diʿbīl al-Khuzaʿī on al-Mutawakkil and his predecessor. (324) Al-Mutawakkil’s hatred of the Shiʿa and the House of ʿAlī. 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 Fāṭḥ b. Khāqān. (325) Bukht-Yishūʿ the physician. Disabilities imposed on non-Muslims. Revolt of Zayd b. Aḥmad al-Bāqirī. Al-Mutawakkil’s five sons. (326) Al-Mutawakkil and his favourite Fāṭḥ b. Khāqān murdered on the same night, in the middle of Shaykwal, 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 Waṣīf and Būqā. 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-ʿAbbās. He showed favour to the House of ʿAlī. He reigned only 6 months, and died early, like other parricides, in the middle of Rābīʿ ii, A. H. 248, at the age of 25.

(12) Al-Mustaʿin bīllāh.

He was the tenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās, like his cousin, whom he succeeded. Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbduʾllāh b. Ṣāḥib dies, and is succeeded in the government of Khurāsān by his son Aḥmad. Revolt of Yaʿqūb b. Layth aṣ-Ṣaffār in Sīstān.
Revolt of Ḥasan b. Zayd al-ʿAlawi, called ad-Dāʾi ilaʾ-Ḥaqq in Ṭabaristān 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. Hārūn aided by Ismaʿil-i-Sāmānī. Al-Mustaʿīn 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-Muṭṭazz b. al-Mutawakkil.

He was the tenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. His learning and accomplishments. Ad-Dāʾi ilaʾ-Ḥaqq adds Qazvin, Abhar and Zanjān to his possessions, and collects a following of 10,000 man. Mūṣā b. Būqā is sent against him, and (330) defeats him by a stratagem in A. H. 253. Yaʿqūb b. Layth, in A. H. 255, conquers Khurāsān, Quhistān, Kirmān and Fārs. Al-Muṭṭazz murders his brother al-Muʿayyad. 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-Muḥtadī b. Wāthéq.

He was the tenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. His poetry. His Muʿṭazilite convictions. Owing to his piety, he is compared to ʿUmar b. ʿAbduʾl-ʿAzīz. (332) His personal superintendence of the administration of justice. The revolt of the Ethiopian slaves (Zanj) at Baṣra, under the ʿAlawi ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḵāmad al-Bāqir, called al-Burqaʾi ("the Veiled") in A. H. 255. They hold Baṣra and the surrounding region for 14 years and some months. Al-Muḥtadī 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-Mu'tamid bi'llâh b. al-Mutawakkil.

He was the tenth in descent from al-Abbâs, and succeeded to some extent in restoring the prestige of the Caliphate. Ya'qûb b. Layth adopts the heresy of the Bâtinis (Isma'îlis), tâkes Şabaristân from ad-Dâ'î ila'l-Ḥaqq, and marches on Baghdad. The Caliph sends his brother al-Muwaffaq bi'llâh against him.  
(334) Ya'qûb, deserted by most of the Amîrs of Khurâsân, is defeated and flees to Khûzistân. His bold reply to the Caliph's conciliatory message. He dies of colic. Al-Muwaffaq is sent against al-Burqa'i and the Ethiopian slaves in A. H. 270. Al-Burqa'i is killed and his head sent to Baghdad. It is buried by Sayyid ar-Ra'dî. Al-Muwaffaq governs the Hijâz and Baṣra until A. H. 270. (335) Revolt in 'Irâq-i-AYam of another 'Alawî named Ḥasan b. 'Ali, called al-Uţûrîsh ("the Deaf") and entitled an-Nâşir bi'llâh. Various relatives nominated by al-Mu'tamid to succeed him. Death of al-Mu'tamid in Rajab, A. H. 279 from over-eating, after a reign of 23 years at the age of 51.


He was the eleventh in descent from al-'Abbâs. His character. He is called "the second Saffâh". He transfers his capital from Surra man ra'a to Baghdad. (336) His sayings and verses. Ibnû'r-Rûmî's verses on him. His severity in punishment. (337) In consequence of a vision, he honours the House of 'Ali. Alarmed by the growth of the Şâfârî power, he stirs up Isma'il the Sâmâni against them. He restores the Persian Naw-rûz (338) from the Vernal Equinox to Midsummer 1). He died after a reign of 9 years and 9 months at the end of Rabî' i, A. H. 289, at the age of 47.


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

racter. His verses. Rebellion of Zikrawayhi b. Mahruswayhi the Carmathian in A. H. 294. He conquers Kūfa, Diyar Bakr and part of Syria, sacks Mecca, kills many of the pilgrims, and closes the Ka'ba. Finally he is killed by the Caliph's armies, and his head sent round the empire. (339) Al-Muktafi reigned 6 years, 7 months and 20 days, and died at the age of 34 on Dhu'l-Qa'da 13, A. H. 295. His Wazīrs.

(18) Al-Muqtadir bi'llāh b. al-Mu'taqqid (MS. -Muqtadid).

He was also the twelfth in descent from al-'Abbās, and succeeded at the age of 13. Eleven years after his accession (340) certain of his Amīrs desire to depose him in favour of Iibnul-Mu'tazz. The attempt fails, and Ibnul-Mu'tazz is cruelly put to death. Further conspiracies and rebellions, Isma'īlī rising in N W. Africa, and defeat of Aqhlābī princes. (341) Revolt of the Daylamīs in A. H. 315. In A. H. 319 the Carmathians under Abū Sa'id al-Jannahī 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. Abū Sāj is sent against them. Abū Sa'id demonstrates the blind devotion of his followers. (342) He defeats and takes captive Abū Sāj, and chains him up amongst the dogs. Al-Muqtadir is killed on Shawwāl 27, A. H. 320 at the age of 33 after a reign of 24 years and 11 months. Circumstances of his death. His Wazīrs. One of them was Ibn Muqla, the celebrated calligraphist (343).

(19) Al-Qāhir bi'llāh b. al-Mu'taqqid (MS. -Muqtadid).

He was the twelfth in descent from al-'Abbās. He massacres the Amīrs of the Turkish guard, and pacifies the soldiers with money. He crucifies Abū Aḥmad b. al-Muktafi, whose rivalry he fears. (344) He reigned 1 year, 5 months and 7 days, and was deposed and blinded in Jumāda i,
A. H. 322. He survived 16 years and a half after this, and died at the age of 51.

(20) As-Rāḍī b’l-lāh b. al-Muqtadir.

He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ʾAbbās. His poems. (345) Murder of Mardāwīj by Bajkam, who becomes Amirul-Umarā of Baghdād. Ibn Muqla’s right hand is cut off. (346) Tribute is paid to the Carmathians. Ar-Rāḍī reigned 6 years, 10 months and 2 days, and died on the 17th of Rabi’ i, A. H. 329 at the age of 32 (or? 52).

(21) Muttaqī b’l-lāh b. al-Muqtadir.

He also was the thirteenth in descent from al-ʾAbbās. (347) He was deposed and blinded by Tūzūn, the Amirul-Umarā, on Safar 20, A. H. 333. He survived this 24 years, and died in Shaʾbān, A. H. 357. He reigned 3 years, 11 months and 11 days, and lived 50 years.

(22) Al-Mustahfi b’l-lāh b. al-Muktasfī.

He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ʾAbbās. (348), and was forty-one years of age at his accession. His sayings. Death of Tūzūn, the Amirul-Umarā. He is succeeded in this office by Muʿizzu’d-Dawla the Daylamî. He deposed and blinded the Caliph in Jumāda 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-Muṭṭī b’l-lāh b. al-Muqtadir.

(349) He was the thirteenth in descent from al-ʾAbbās. Continued power of Muʿizzu’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 'Ali's. (350) Miraculous circumstances connected with its restoration. Al-Muṭṭiṣ reigned 29 years and a half, was then stricken with paralysis, abdicated in Dhu'l-Qa'ida A. H. 363, and died two months later.


He was the fourteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. He reigned for 17 years and 10 months. (351) In A. H. 365 Syria and the Ḥijāz passed from his control into that of the Ismaʿilīs. The portent of the monstrous bird in A. H. 375. Aṭ-Ṭāʾīṭi, at the instigation of Bahāʿu'd-Dawla the Daylamī, abdicates in Shaʿbān, A. H. 381. He survived 12 years longer, and died at the age of 69.


He was the fourteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbās. Khurāsān at first refuses to recognize the abdication of ʿaṭ-Ṭāʾīṭi, until compelled to do so by Sūltān Mahmūd b. Subuktigin. (352) Al-Qādir reigned 41 years and four months. His poems. Activity of Bāṭinīs, and attempts at bribery on their part. (353) correspondence between al Qādir and Sūltān Mahmūd b. Subuktigin about the poet Fīrđawsī. Al-Qādir died on Dhu'l-Ḥijja 15, A. H. 422 at the age of 78. Fall of the Sámānī and rise of the Ghaznawī dynasty in his time.

(26) Al-Qāʾim b. amrīllāh b. al-Qādir.

(354) He was the fifteenth in descent from alʿAbbās. His poetry. Decline of the Daylamī power, and rise of the House of Seljuq. Ṭughrūl Beg the Seljuq comes to Baghdad on Ramaḍān, 22, A. H. 447. (355) War with al-Basāsīrī. (356) War between Ṭughrīl and Ibrāhīm Ināl. Ināl put to death. Al-Basāsīrī besieges Baghādād in Dhu'Il-Ḥijja, A. H. 450. (357) For a year and 4 months the power of the Carmathians prevailed even at Baghādād. Ṭughrīl enters Baghādād at the
Caliph's invitation, and (358) receives the title of Ruknu'd-Din. Al-Basásiri 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-Qā'im in Sha'bán, 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-Qā'im's sayings.

(27) Al-Muqtádi bi-amri'lláh.

He was the seventeenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, 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 Isma'íls under the direction of Hasan-i-Ṣabbaḥ, who takes possession of the Castle of Alamút. Abú Bakr al-Ḥamawi made qādi of Baghdád. His uprightness and incorruptibility. (360) Death of al-Muqtádi in Muḥarram, A. H. 487 at the age of 37 years, 8 months and 8 days.

(28) Al-Mustażhir bi'lláh b. al-Muqtádi.

He was the eighteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. 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 Rabiʿ ii, A. H. 512, at the age of 41 years and a half. Contemporary rulers. Fall of the House of Daylam. Continuance of Hasan-i-Ṣabbaḥ's propaganda.

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

He was the nineteenth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. His character. His poetry. (362) He is defeated at Dinawar by Sultán Mas'ūd the Seljúq, and while a captive in that Prince's hands is assassinated by the fiddā'is of Hasan-i-Ṣabbaḥ. 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-Râshid b. al-Mustarshid.

He was the twentieth in descent from al-Abbâs. He embarks on a fruitless war with Mas'ûd the Seljûq to avenge his father, is driven out of Baghûdâd, and finally is assassinated by fidâ'is at Iṣfâhân on Ramaḍân 27, A. H. 532 (364).


He was the twenty-first in descent from al-Abbâs. His character. His poetry. (366) Anecdotes illustrating his sagacity and penetration. (367) Fall of the Fâṭimid Dynasty in Egypt, which becomes orthodox and subject to the Caliph of Baghûdâd. Al-Mustanjid dies in Rabî' 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 Ghûr.

(33) Al-Mustâqî bi-amrîllâh b. al-Mustanjid.

He was the twenty-first in descent from al-Abbâs. His character. (368) Fall and death of the Amirû'l-Umarâ, Qûţbu'd-Dîn Qâyûmâz. Assassination of the Caliph's wazîr 'Aḍudu'd-Dîn. Al-Mustâqî'î reigned 9 years and 8 months, and died in Shawwâl, A. H. 575. Contemporary rulers. (369).

He was the twenty-second in descent from al-ʿAbbās. 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-Nāṣir died in Shawwál, A. H. 622.

(35) ʿAz-Ẓáhir bi-amri'lláh b. an-Nāṣir.

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

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

He was the twenty-fourth in descent from al-ʿAbbás. 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 Irbil. In Rajab. A. H. 625 he begins to build the Mustanṣirīyya 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-Mustaʿṣim bi'lláh b. al-Mustanṣir.

(372) He was the twenty-fifth in descent from al-ʿAbbás, and the last Caliph of that House. He reigned 15 years and 7 months. His character. Hulágú Khan 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 Ṣaffārī Dynasty (373).

This Dynasty included 3 rulers, who reigned for 33 years. Their ancestor, Layth, was a coppersmith in Sīstān, 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. Rāfī b. Layth b. Naṣr b. Sayyār.

(1) Yaʿqūb b. Layth.

His son Yaʾqūb revolts against the sons of Dirham, Šāliḥ and Naṣr, (374), and begins to be powerful in A. H. 237. In A. H. 253 he was in possession of the whole of Sīstān. By a stratagem he defeats Tanbal the King of Kābul. Two years later he takes Herāt, and shortly afterwards Kirmān. (375) He subdues Khurāsān and Fārs, and is recognized by the Caliph al-Muʿtazz as King. He reigned 2 years and 6 months, and amassed much treasure. He attacks ad-Dāʾī ilaʾ-l-Ḥaqq, and conquers Māzandarān. He then marches on Baghhdād against the Caliph al-Muʿtammid, but is defeated at Ḥulwān, and retires to Khūzistān, where he dies on Shawwāl 14, A. H. 265.

(2) ʿAmr b. Layth.

He succeeded his brother, and reigned 22 years over Khurāsān, ʿIrāq, Fars, Kirmān, Sīstān, Quhistān, Māzandarān and Ghazna. (376) Rāfī b. Harthama opposes him, but is killed. The Caliph al-Muʿtamid incites Ismaʿīl-i-Sāmānī to attack him. Admirable discipline of Ismaʿīl's army. ʿAmr is taken prisoner by Ismaʿīl. Anecdote of how ʿAmr'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. Ismaʿīl refuses the treasures offered by ʿAmr. (378) The author moralizes on his degenerate days. ʿAmr is sent in chains to the Caliph al-Muʿtammad (MS. -Muʿtaḍid),
who imprisons him for two years, but on the accession of the new Caliph he is killed, or allowed to die of starvation.

(3) ِّTāhīr b. Muḥammad b. ِّAmr.

He succeeded his grandfather ِّAmr, reigned a little more than a year, and was then overcome by Isma‘īl the Sāmānī. His grandson, Aḥmad, and his descendants continued to rule Sīstān until A.H. 558, and even in the author’s time the family still exercised authority there.

Section 2. — The Sāmānī Dynasty (379).

These were 9 in number, and ruled in Persia for 102 years, 6 months, and 20 days. Their ancestor Sāmān was a descendant of Bahrām Chūbin, 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 Tāhīr Dhu‘l-Yamīnayn in the time of al-Ma‘mūn. His sons become governors, Nūḥ of Samarqand, Aḥmad of Farghāna, Yahwā of Ashnās, Ilyās of Herāt. In A.H. 261 al-Mu’tāqid grants the government of all these districts to (1) Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Asad b. Sāmān. His brother Isma‘īl was governor of Bukhārā. War between the two brothers. (380) Naṣr died in A.H. 299, and the supremacy of (2) Isma‘īl is henceforth uncontested. Bukhārā is made the Sāmānī capital, and the Ṣaffārī domains are conferred on the Sāmānīs by the Caliph al-Mu‘taḍīd. Anecdote illustrating the character of the Tāhīrī, Ṣaffārī and Sāmānī dynasties. (381) Theory of recompense. Isma‘īl reigned 7 years and 10 months, and died on Ṣafar 14, A.H. 295.

(3) Aḥmad b. Isma‘īl.

His love for men of learning. He substitutes Arabic for Persian (“Dari”) 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 Herá. He is induced by Rúdaki’s celebrated ballad to return to Bukhárá. His generous treatment of a scion of the Şaffári House, whom he appoints to the government of Sístán, which his descendants still ruled in the author’s time. Kirmán taken by Abú ʿAlí Ilyás. He rules it for 37 years (383) when he is driven out by the people, and replaced by his son Ilísa. Mákan b. Káki attacks Khurásán, but is defeated and slain in A. H. 329 by Naṣr’s general Amír ʿAlí. The celebrated despatch of Amír ʿAlí’s secretary (Iskáfi) on this victory. Naṣr reigned 30 years and 3 months, and died on Ramázan 1, A. H. 330.

(5) Máq b. Naṣr ʿal-Ḥamid”.

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 Rabíʾ, A. H. 343. Alptagín was commander-in-chief in his days (384).

(6) ʿAbdu’ll-Malik b. Núḥ.

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

(7) Manṣūr b. Núḥ “as-Sadid”.

Alptagín endeavours to place Manṣūr’s uncle on the throne. Failing in this, he ultimately makes his way with 3000 followers to Ghazna. ʿAbdu’ll-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. Manṣūr sends against him another army of 30,000 horsemen, whom Alptagin, with 6000 men, defeats. Khalaf b. Aḥmad, the ruler of Sistān, goes on the pilgrimage, leaving Ṭāḥir b. Ḥusayn as his viceroy. The latter refuses him entrance on his return, and Khalaf takes refuge with Manṣūr, who lends him troops wherewith he retakes Sistān. He is again driven out by Ṭāḥir b. Ḥusayn, who soon afterwards dies. He is succeeded by his son Ḥasan, who surrenders, and Khalaf is reinstated. Manṣūr reigned 15 years, and died in Shawwāl, A. H. 365. His wasir was Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Baḥḵhī [MS.-Balkhī], who translated Ṭabarī's chronicle into Persian.


Contrary to the advice of Sīmjūrī, he gives the premiership to Abuʾl-Ḥasan al-ʿUtbī. (386) Hostility between al-ʿUtbī and Sīmjūrī. Ḥusām b. ʿd-Dawla Tāsh is made commander-in-chief and Fāʾiq chamberlain. Khalaf revolts in Sistān. Nūḥ sends Ḥusayn b. Ṭāḥir against him. Khalaf holds out for 7 years, to the great hurt of the Sāmānī prestige. Abuʾl-Ḥasan b. Sīmjūr is removed from the government of Khurāsān (where he is replaced by Tāsh) and despatched against Khalaf, with whom he comes to an understanding. He conspires with Fāʾiq and murders Abuʾl-Ḥasan al-ʿUtbī. Disorders supervene in Khurāsān. Tāsh occupies Nīshāpūr, Fāʾiq Balkh, and Abuʾl-Ḥasan b. Sīmjūr Herāt. Death of the latter, who is succeeded by his son Abū ʿAlī, on whom Nūḥ confers the government of Khurāsān. (387) War between Abū ʿAlī and Tāsh. The latter takes refuge with Fakhrud-Dawla the Buwayhid in Gurgān. Fakhrud-Dawla makes him governor of Gurgān until his death in A. H. 379. War between Gurgān and Khurāsān. Abū ʿAlī b. Sīmjūr becomes governor of Khurāsān. Nūḥ, being suspicious of him, gives the government of Herāt to Fāʾiq. War between Fāʾiq and Abū ʿAlī Sīmjūr.
The former, defeated, flees to Bukhárá, whence he is driven back to Balkh by Begtázún. Abú ʿAlí b. Símjúr demands for himself from Núḥ the government of Khurásán, which he obtains. He renounces his allegiance to the Sámaní and takes refuge with Bughrá Khán the Turk, whom he incites to attack the Sámaní, stipulating that he shall himself be recognized as king of Khurásán. Bughrá Khán defeats and takes captive the Sámaní general. Núḥ (388) propitiates Fáʾiq 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 Jurjáníyya (Khwárazm), which was governed by Maʾmún b. Muḥammad-i-Farighnún ¹) and Abú ʿAbdilláh Khwárazm-Sháh. Fáʾiq went out from Bukhárá to meet Bughrá Khán, who proclaimed himself king, and sent Fáʾiq to Balkh, but afterwards fell sick and retired to Turkestán. Núḥ invited the help of Subuktígin and his son Maḥmúd of Ghazna against Fáʾiq and Abú ʿAlí b. Símjúr. The latter, suddenly deserted by Dára b. Qábus, the Ziyárid prince of Tabaristán, was routed, and with Fáʾiq took refuge with Fakhruʾd-Dawla of Daylam (389). Abú ʿAlí meditates treachery, but in dissuaded by Fáʾiq. Núḥ makes Subuktígin governor of Khurásán and gives him the title of Nášíruʾd-Dawla and his son Maḥmúd that of Sayfuʾd-Dawla (A. H. 384). Subuktígin goes to Herát and Maḥmúd to Níshápúr. The latter is attacked and defeated by Abú ʿAlí b. Símjúr and Fáʾiq, but, reinforced by his father Subuktígin, attacks and defeats them, whereupon they flee to the Castle of Kalát (MS. Kaláb or Gúláb). Fáʾiq subsequently goes to Ilák Khán, brother of Bughrá Khán, while Abú ʿAlí b. Símjúr goes to Maʾmún-i-Farighnún ¹). He is seized on the way by Abú ʿAbdilláh

¹) This error of confusing the Maʾmúní of Khwárazm with the Farighnúns of Júján is also committed by the author of the Jahán-árd. See notes to Chahár Moghâla (Gúb Series, Vol. x), pp. 242—4.
Khwárazmsháh, but is released by Ma'mún, who kills Abú ʿAbdilláh and sends Abú ʿAlí b. Simjúr to Núḥ. Núḥ grants him an amnesty (390), but breaks his word and kills him. Ilák Khán marches on Bukhárá with Fáʾiq, to whom Núḥ cedes the government of Samarqand, and dies soon afterwards on Rajab 13. A. H. 387.


He reigned for 1 year and 7 months. He appoints Fáʾiq amír and Abúl-Muẓaffar al-ʿUtbi wasír. Ilák Khán again advances on Bukhárá, takes it and appoints a governor, but the city is retaken by Mansúr and Fáʾiq. War between Begtúzún and Abúl-Qásim b. Simjúr. The latter is defeated and flees to Fakhru ʿd-Dawla in Gurgán, who, on his death, is succeeded by his son Majduʾd-Dawla Rustam. Súltán Maḥmúd of Ghazna attacks Begtúzún and takes Khurásán, but (391) retires in favour of Mansúr. Mansúr is blinded in favour of Mansúr. Mansúr is blinded in favour of Mansúr.


He succeeded his brother and reigned 8 months and 17 days. Maḥmúd of Ghazna, to avenge Abúl-Ḥáricht Mansúr, marches on Begtúzún and Fáʾiq, drives them into Transoxiana, and occupies Khurásán. Fáʾiq and Ilák Khán return and drive out ʿAbdullzl-Malik from Bukhárá. The Sámani power comes to an end on Dhuʾl-Ḥijja 22, A. H. 389. Al-Muntaṣir Ismáʾīl b. Núḥ, brother of ʿAbdullzl-Malik, escaped to Khwárazm, where he collected an army and defeated Ilák Khán’s brother at Samarqand. (392) Ilák Khán in person marches against him, and he retreats to Nishápúr, where he is joined by Abúl-Qásim b. Simjúr. They are attacked by Maḥmúd of Ghazna and his brother Naṣr. Al-Muntaṣir takes refuge with Qábúṣ b. Washmgír, who offers him the kingdom of Ray. He is joined by Minúchíhr and Dárá, sons of Qábúṣ.
and goes to Nishápúr. He is finally defeated by Naṣr b. Subuktigín, and seeks aid from the Ghuzz Turks, by whose help he defeats Tlak Khán and recaptures Bukhárá. He invokes and receives the help of Maḥmúd of Ghazna, who replaces him on the throne (393). He disbands his army, is taken off his guard by Tlak Khán, is defeated, flees westwards to Bárdaš, and is killed there by Arabs of the Banú Bahîj in Rabî‘i, A. H. 395.

Section 3. — The Ghaznavi 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 Sámanís. Alptigín, not trusting Mašṣûr b. Nūḥ the Sámaníd, fled from Khurásán to Ghazna, where he established himself, and ruled for 16 years. He conducted several campaigns against the Indians. On his death Subuktigín, who was married to his daughter, was elected Amir.

(1) Subuktigín.

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

(2) Isma‘īl b. Subuktigín,

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

(3) Maḥmúd Sayf ‘d-Dawla,

Who overcomes him, Núshtigín, Isma‘īl’s servant (394) is put to death by Maḥmúd, who sends his brother Isma‘īl into exile. Maḥmúd is refused the governorship of Khurásán in favour of Begtúzún. He takes Nishápúr. He is attacked by the Sámaní prince Abu‘l-Hárith Mašṣûr, to whom, from motives of loyalty, he offers no resistance. Later, when
Fā'iq and Begtúzún kill Abu'l-Ḥárith, who is succeeded by ʿAbdu'l-Malik, Maḥmūd seizes Khurāsān, and makes his elder brother Amīr Naṣr governor of it. On the extinction of the Sāmānī dynasty in A. H. 390, Maḥmūd is recognized as King of Ghazna and Khurāsān (395) by the Caliph al-Qādir bi'llāh, who confers on him the title of Aminu'l-Milla, which he afterwards supplements with that of Yaminu'd-Dawla. Maḥmūd, whose mother was the daughter of the Prince of Zāwul (Zābulistān), fixes his capital at Balkh. His victories and achievements are well known, and are recorded in the Kitāb-i-Yamini of al-ʿUtbī, the Maqāmāt of Abū Naṣr [Mushkān], and the writings of Abu'l-Faḍl ash-Shaybānī 1). His love of poets, on whom he spends a yearly sum of 400,000 dinārs. His minister consolates him for his personal ugliness. Discovery of a gold mine in Sīstān. A mountain swallowed up in an earthquake. Campaign against Būshān. In Muḥarram A. H. 392 (396) Maḥmūd again invades India. Jaypāl, the Indian King, burns himself alive, having appointed his son to succeed him. Maḥmūd receives the title of Ghāṣṭ, and afterwards of Sultān. He subdues Sīstān. He again invades India and penetrates to Multān and Kashmir. He defeats Ilaq Khān. (397) Further campaigns of Sultān Maḥmūd. He kills Sūrī of the House of Ghūr. Sūrī's son commits suicide. Destruction of idols. Conquest of Gharjistān. Capture of Màrdīn. (398) Death of Ilaq Khān in A. H. 403. He is succeeded by his brother Tūghān. Maḥmūd helps him in his wars with the unbelievers, and obtains the daughter of Ilaq Khān in marriage for his son Mas'ūd. He puts to death a Fāṭimī emissary from Egypt. His campaign against Qinnawj (A. H. 409). Abundant spoils taken. Revolt of Afghans during his absence. Maḥmūd wrests ʿIrāq from the Buwayhids in A. H. 426, and confers it on his son Mas'ūd. How Sultān Maḥmūd,

1) Abu'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqī 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 Abúl-‘Abbás Faḍl b. Aḥmad. (401) Shamsu’l-Kufát Abúl-Qásim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan of Maymand appointed wazirs. Sultán 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 Maḥmúd b. Maḥmúd.

By his father’s will, Iráq, 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. Maṣ’úd is defeated by the Seljúqs (402) and killed in A. H. 433 after a reign of 10 years. After this the authority of the Ghaznavis was confined to Ghazna.

(5) ’Imádu’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 Maṣ’úd’s death. He was killed by his nephew in A. H. 434.

(6) Shihábu’l-Dawla Mas’úd b. Maṣ’úd.

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

(7) Maṣ’úd b. Maṣ’ud.

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

¹) The MS. adds “Faríghání”. See p. 76 supra, ad calc.
(8) Bahā'ū'd-Dawla Ḥālī b. Mašūd.

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

(9) Majdu'd-Dawla Abū Mansūr Ḥādūr-Rashid b. Maḥmūd.

He succeeded his nephew and reigned for one year, when he was defeated by the daughter of Chaghri Beg. Ṣughīl "the Ingrate" finally kills him. Nine princes, grandsons of Maḥmūd, were surviving at this time, viz. Ḥasan, Naṣr, Trāshāh, Khālid, Ḥādūr-Rāḥīm, Mansūr, Humām, Ḥādūr-Raḥmān and Ismā'īl, all imprisoned in the Castle of Dīhak. They escaped, but were betrayed by Nūshtigśn to Ṣughīl, who killed them all. Three other princes of the House of Ghazna survived them, viz. Farrukh-zād, Ibrāhīm and Shujā', who were also imprisoned. Ṣughīl was preparing to kill them also (404), when he was himself killed by Nūshtigśn.

(10) Ḧamālu'd-Dawla Farrukh-zād b. Mašūd 1).

He gave decent burial to the princes slain by Ṣughīl "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) Zahiru'd-Dawla Ibrāhīm b. Mašūd.

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

(12) Ḫīdūr-Dawla Mašūd b. Ibrāhīm.

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

1) MS. "b. Ḥādūr-Rashīd", but this is an error.
2) A. H. 451 according to Bayhaqī, Ibnul-Athīr, etc.
(13) Kamālu'd-Dawla Shirzād b. Maṣʿūd.

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

(14) Sulṭānu'd-Dawla Arslānshāh b. Maṣʿūd.

His accession is contested by his brother Bahrāmshāh, who is helped by his uncle Sanjar the Seljūq. He abandons Ghazna, and flees to Lahāwar (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) Yaminu'd-Dawla Bahrāmshāh b. Maṣʿūd.

He was a great patron of learning. The Imám Naṣru'llāh b. ʿAbdu'l-Ḥamīd translated the Book of Kalila and Dimna from Arabic into Persian for him. He reigned for 32 1) years, when ʿAlāʾu'd-Dīn Husayn b. Husayn of Ghūr drove him into India, and bestowed his capital, Ghazna, on his brother, Sayfū'd-Dīn. (406): Bahrāmshāh returns and defeats Sayfū'd-Dīn, whom he parades through Ghazna mounted on a cow. ʿAlāʾu'Dīn, hearing this, marches against him, but, ere he reaches him, Bahrāmshāh dies in A.H. 544 1).


He flees to India from ʿAlāʾu'd-Dīn Ḥasan, who again takes Ghazna and gives it to his nephew Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Fatḥ [Muḥammad b.] Sām. Khusrawshāh is induced to surrender himself to ʿAlāʾu'd-Dīn, 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.

1) The Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri says that he reigned 41 years, and died in A.H. 552 at Ghazna, after three wars with ʿAlāʾu'd Dawla and a retreat to India. See notes to Chahār Maqāla (Vol. xi of this Series), pp. 156—159.
2) A.H. 559 according to the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri.
Section 4. — The Ghurí Dynasty.

These were five in number, and reigned from A. H. 545 until A. H. 609, 64 years in all. Their ancestor was Súr', King of Ghur, 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 Dihl, where he became a rich merchant. To him was born a son named Husayn, 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 Sultán Ibráhím, who put them all to death with the exception of Husayn, whose he spared. (408) He becomes Sultán Ibráhím's chamberlain, and afterwards, under Sultán Mas'úd b. Ibráhím, governor of Ghur.

(1) 'Alá'u'd-Dín Husayn b. Husayn.

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. Mas'úd 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-Fath 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 Ibnul-Athir and the Tahdīd-ardād.
2) Rather more than a year, according to the Tahqīqāt-i-Nāṣirī.
tribute, and set his cousin Maḥmūd b. Masʿūd (1) over them as governor. To this Mahmud he gave his sister in marriage, and to them was born a son named Bahá’u’l-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 Tukush Khán at Khwárazm. The Ghúris take Merv. Ghiyáthu’l-Dín and his brother besiege Nishápúr, which is defended by Tukush’s son ‘Alísháh, and take it. (410) After sundry vicissitudes, Khurásán falls into the hands of the Ghúris. Death of Ghiyáthu’l-Dín in A.H. 598 after a reign of 40 years.

(4) Shihábu’d-Dín Abúl-Muṣaffár 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 Tálaqán, but he buys his safety and retreats in disorder to Ghazna, where his slave Ṭildíż refuses to admit him, so he passes on to Múltán in Sind, where his slave Aybák was governor. (412) Having fought and killed Aybák, 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 Nishápúr, 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.


For a while Bahá’u’l-Dín Sám b. Muḥammad was his

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1) From the Tabaqát-i-Nášírī it would appear that this Maḥmūd was really the son of Ghiyáthu’l-Dín Muḥammad.
rival, but he died suddenly. Maḥmūd gave the government of Bāmiyān to the sons of Bahā'u'd-Dīn Sām, Ṭālā'u'd-Dīn and Jalālū'd-Dīn. Owing to Maḥmūd's weakness, his provinces were seized by his governors. Ṭūğbū'u'd-Dīn Aybak took his Indian possessions and made Dihlī his capital (413), where he was in turn succeeded by his slave Shamsu'd-Dīn, who assumed the title of Sulṭān, and whose sons succeeded him until they were overthrown by Sulṭān Jalālū'd-Dīn Khalaj. So likewise Tāju'd-Dīn ʿIlīdīgīz took Ghazna and Zābulistān, and Qubācha Mūltān, Lahore, and other Indian provinces, while Sulṭān Maḥmūd retained only Herāt and Fīrūzkūh. Sulṭān Maḥmūd reigned 7 years, and in A.H. 609 was one day found dead in his house. The murderer was not found, but ʿAlīshāh b. Tukush Khūn was suspected of instigating the murder. Thus the line of the House of Ghūr came to an end, and their possessions passed into the hands of Khwārazmshāh. The kings of Kart, who still ruled in Herāt in the author's time, were descended from the Ghūrids.

Section 5. — The House of Daylam or Buwayh.

These were 17 in number, and reigned for 127 years, from Dhu'l-Qaʿda A.H. 321 until A.H. 448. According to their historian aṣ-Ṣābī, their ancestor, Buwayh or Būya (414) was descended from Bahrām Gūr (genealogy given), and was born and dwelt in a village Kiyākīlīsh in Daylamān near Qazwīn. He entered the service of Mākān b. Kākī. He had three sons named ʿAlī, Aḥmad and Ḥasan. Asfār b. Shīrūya, Mardāwīj and Washmīrī were also in attendance on Mākān. In A.H. 315 Asfār revolted against Mākān, but a year later was assassinated by the Carmathians, and was succeeded by Mardāwīj b. Ziyār, who took possession of Rūdbār, Ṭālaqān and Rustamdār, and later of Māzandarān, Ray, Qazwīn, Abhar, Zanjān and Ţārimayn. He also took and sacked Hamadān, 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-Muqtaḍír, Muẓaffár b. Yáqút, who fled to Fárs to his father. (415) Meanwhile ʿAlí b. Buwayh and his brothers were in Arraján, 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 Iṣfahán, having defeated Washmgir b. Ziyár, whom he drove back into Ṭabaristán. Thus ʿAlí b. Buwayh became supreme in ʿIráq and Fárs on Dhuʾl-Qaʿda 11, A.H. 321, and took the title of —

(1) Ṣimādaʾ d-Dawla.

He gave ʿIráq to his brother Ḥasan, together with the title of Ruknuʿ 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. ʿImáduʿ d-Dawla’s dream and victory. He obtains the government of Fárs from the Caliph on a guaranty of remitting 800,000 dinárs (417) a year. He reigned 16 years and a half and died in Jumáda ʿa, A.H. 338, leaving to succeed him his brother —

(2) Ruknuʿ d-Dawla Ḥasan b. Buwayh.

His wars with the son of Qará-tígin, the Sámaní general. He ruled ʿIráq for 44 years, 16½ in the time of his brother ʿImáduʿ d-Dawla, and 27½ in the time of his son ʿAqíduʿ d-Dawla. He died in Muḥarram, A.H. 366, leaving ʿIráq to his little
sons, and Yazd, Iṣfahān, Qum, Kāshān, Naṭanz and Jurbādhāqān to Muʿayyiduʿd-Dawla Abū Naṣr; Ray, Ḥamadān, Qazwīn, Abhar, Zanjān, Sāwa, Awa and part of Kūrdistān to Fakhruʿd-Dawla ʿAlī; and Fārs to his eldest son ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla Fannākhusraw. His wasir, Ibnul-ʿAmīd Abul-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, was one of the most talented men of his time. (418) Verses in his praise. His own compositions.

(3) Muʿizzuʿd-Dawla ʿAhmad b. Buwayh.

He is sent to subdue Kirmān, but is put to shame by the generosity of Abū ʿAlī Ilyās. On the death of Abū ʿAlī and the accession of his son Alyasa he again attacks and annexes Kirmān and Mukrān. His wars with the Balūches, in which he loses his left hand. He subdues Khūzistān, Basra and Wāṣīṭ. In A.H. 334 he paid a visit to the Caliph al-Mustakfi, and was made Amīruʿl-ʿUmār, and practically ruled Baghdad for 21 years, for 3 years of which he was contemporary with ʿImāduʿd-Dawla, and for 18 years with Ruknuʿd-Dawla. He died in A.H. 356 at the age of 54 years (419).

(4) ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla Abū Shujaʿ Fannākhusraw b. Ruknuʿd-Dawla.

He succeeded his uncle in Fārs in A.H. 338, and reigned 34 years. He was the best of all the Buwayhidīs. In A.H. 356 Washmgīr b. Ziyār died in Tabaristān, and was succeeded by his son Bihistūn. On the death of his father Ruknuʿd-Dawla ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla proceeded to Baghdad in A.H. 367, and fought with his cousin ʿIzzuʿd-Dawla Bakhtiyār and killed him. The Caliph receives him with unprecedented honour, and added to his other titles that of Tājuʿl-Millat. In the same year Bihistūn b. Washmgīr died, and was succeeded by his brother Qābūs. (420) War between ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla and Muʿayyiduʿd-Dawla on the one hand, and Fakhruʿd-Dawla on the other. The latter flees to Qābūs in Tabaristān.
Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla defeats Fakhru'd-Dawla and Qābūs, and takes Ṭabaristān and Gurgān. The fugitives go to Khurāsān and seek help from Nūḥ b. Mašūr the Sāmānī, who sends Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla Tāsh and Fā'iq to help them. Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla's wise wāzir, the Šāhīb Isma'il b. ʿAbbād, detaches Fā'iq from his allies and defeats them. (421) The Sāmānīd ruler sends his wāzir Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan al-ʿUtbī to help the allies, but he is killed on the way. Fakhru'd-Dawla remains 3 years and Qābūs 18 years in Khurāsān. Amongst the monuments left by ʿAḍūdu'd-Dawla are the Band-i-Amīr in Fārs, the shrines of Ṭāli and Ḥusayn, the hospital of Baghdad, the wall of al-Madinā, the town of Sūqul-Amīr south of Shīrāz, and the palace in Baghdad called Sarāy-i-Sultān. (422) ʿAḍūdu'd-Dawla reproved by a madman. He died at Baghdad in A. H. 372, and was buried at Mashhad-i-Ṭāli [i. e. Najaf].

(5) ʿIssu'd-Dawla Bakhtiyār b. Mu'issu'd-Dawla.

His position at Baghdad, and vicissitudes. (423) He is attacked by ʿAḍūdu'd-Dawla and killed in Shawwāl, A. H. 367. The wāzir Ḥabū'1-'Amīd 1) is also put to death.

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

He was governor of ʿIrāq in the time of ʿAḍūdu'd-Dawla, to which, on the defeat of Fakhru'd-Dawla and Qābūs, he added Gurgān and Ṭabaristān. He ruled over these for 6 years in the time of ʿAḍūdu'd-Dawla, and one year after his death. On the death of Abu'1-Fath Ibnu'l-'Amīd he made the Šāhīb Isma'il b. ʿAbbād his wāzir in A. H. 367. Learning and industry of the Šāhīb. Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla died in A. H. 373. Verses on the Šāhīb by Abu Sa'id ar-Rustamī of Sijistān.

(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. Baqīyya.
retained the Şâhib Isma'îl b. ʿAbbâd as his minister. In A. H. 379 war broke out between him and his nephew Bahá'u'd-Dawla. Fakhru'd-Dawla occupied Khúzístán and was marching on Başra 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 Amír'u'l-Umará. He builds a mosque in Baghdad, which was restored in the author's time by Khwája Sa'du'd-Dín Muḥammad Sáwají, the Minister of Gházán Khán the Mongol. In A. H. 385 the Şâhib Isma'îl b. ʿAbbâd falls ill. His dying advice to Fakhru 'd-Dawla. (425). His death after serving 18 years as wasīr. 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 dinârs to Abú'l-ʿAbbáš aḏ-Dabbí and Abú ʿAlí b. Jamúla of Iṣfahán. Their exactions and oppressions. The Qâdî ʿAbdu'l-Jabbâr was fined a million dirhams by them and dismissed from his judge-ship. This ʿAbdu'l-Jabbâr was a Muṭāzilī, 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 Țālib Rustam b. Fakhru'd-Dawla.

In A. H. 388 Qábús b. Washmigír returned from Khurásán and recaptured Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. After protracted fighting he makes peace with Majdu'd-Dáwla on condition that these two provinces and Mázarandárán shall be ceded to him. Qábús subsequently takes Gilán, 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 Sulțán 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 Amīr (428) of Kurdistán. He helps her to defeat Majdu’d-Dawla, captures Ray, takes prisoner Majdu’d-Dawla and his wāzīr Abū ʿAli, 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 Sulțán 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 Sulțán Maḥmúd’s help to restore order. Sulțán Maḥmúd kills him and his son in A.H. 420, after he had reigned 33 years and takes possession of ʿIrāq.

(9) Sharafu’d-Dawla Abū’l-Fawāris-Shirzil b. ʿAḍudu’d-Dawla.

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

(10) Șamșāmu’d-Dawla Abū Kālanjār (430) Marsubán b. ʿAḍudu’d-Dawla.

On the death of Sharafu’d-Dawla, Șamșāmu’d-Dawla was brought forth from his prison and proclaimed king, but his claims were disputed by his nephew Shamsu’d-Dawla ʿAlī b. Sharafu’d-Dawla, and his brother Bahā’u’d-Dawla b. ʿAḍudu’d-Dawla. In the wars which ensued Ahwáz and Baṣra were destroyed. At length Șamșāmu’d-Dawla fled, and eight years
later was killed in Fárs by the sons of 'Izzu’d-Dawla Bakh-
tiyár and Núru’d-Dawla Sálár, in A. H. 388.

(11) Bahá’u’d-Dawla Abú Naṣr Sháhínsháh 1) b. ʿAḍudu
    ’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-Din 2). He made peace with Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna,
and demanded his daughter in marriage, and died at Arraján
in Fárs in Rabi’i, A. H. 404 [Ibn’l-Athir, 403].

(12) Sulṭánu’d-Dawla Abú Shujá’ 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 Sultán Maḥmúd, who sent Abú
Sa’īd at-Tá’i to help him. Aided by troops from Baghdad,
Sulṭánu’d-Dawla again drove him out of Kirmán, and he


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. ʿAḍudu’d-Dawla.

He was first governor of Basra 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

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1) In other histories his name is given as Fírúz.
153) he was entitled Niḵámu’d-Din, and was the first person to receive a
title compounded with -Din 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 Manṣūr al-Maliku’l-ʿAziz was governor of Wāsit, but on his father’s death he fled to Diyár Bakr and there died in destitution.


He succeeded his father as ruler of Fārs in A. H. 416. His uncle Jalālu’d-Dawla was Amīru’l-Umarā 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 Shīrāz and left his son al-Maliku’r-Raḥīm to represent him at Baghdad. He reigned in all 24 years, for five of which he resided at Baghdad. Ismaʿīl of Shabānkāra revolted against him, and Tughhril Beg the Seljūq prepared to attack him, but the mediation of the Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad an-Nāṣirī 1), author of the manual of Ḥanafite law entitled al-Maṣūdi, secured a peaceful solution, which was ratified by the marriage of Tughhril Beg’s daughter to Abū Kālanjār, who died in A. H. 440. ʿĪrāq had by this time passed into the control of the Seljūqs.


He ruled in Baghdad as Amīru’l-Umarā for 7 years. In (433) A. H. 447 Tughhril the Seljūq marched on Baghdad, seized him, and imprisoned him in the Castle of Ṭabarāk near Ray until his death.


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

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 ʿAlí b. Abú Kálanjár survived his brother nearly 40 years, and held Nawbanján in Fárs and Kirmánscháhán 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 Rabiʿ i, A. H. 590.

(2) The Seljúqs of Kirmán, who were 11 in number, and reigned 150 years, from A. H. 433 until 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-ʿAlá al-Aḥwal in his history traces Seljúq’s descent through 34 generations from Afrásiyáb. Seljúq had 4 sons, Isráʿil, Míkáʿíl, Músá and Yúnus, who possessed spacious pastures in Turkistán. In A. H. 375 they moved into Transoxiana, and settled near Buhrá and Sughd and Samarqand. Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (435) cultivated friendly relations with them, but, being alarmed by the boasts of Isráʿil as to the number of men whom he could sunimton to his standard,
treacherously seized him and imprisoned him in the castle of Kālanjar, where he died 7 years later. Isrá‘īl’s brothers wished to cross the Oxus, but Arslān Ḥājib advised Sultān Maḥmūd not to permit this. However permission was granted them, and they settled near Nasā and Bāward (Abiward) in Khurāsān. Miskā‘īl had 2 sons, Chaghri Beg and Tughril Beg, who were at the head of these settlers. They won the esteem and confidence of the people of Khurāsān. Sultān Mas‘ūd of Ghazna on his accession attacked them, but was defeated. (436) Troubles in India prevented him from returning to the attack, and the governor (Ṣū-bāshī) of Khurāsān, whom he commanded to attack them, was immediately and completely routed.

(1) Tughril Beg b. Miskā‘īl b. Seljūq.

He was crowned at Nishāpūr in A.H. 429, and appointed his half-brother Ibrāhim b. Thāl 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) Sultān Mas‘ūd of Ghazna gave battle to the Seljuqs at Dandanaqān near Merv, but was defeated and fled to Ghazna, where he put aside all further ambition and took to drink. (437) The Seljuqs divide their empire as follows. To Chaghri Beg, the elder brother, was assigned Khurāsān, and he made Merv his capital. Musá Payghú Kalán received Ghazna, Herāt and India. To Qāwurd the son of Chaghri Beg were given Tabas and Kirmān, Tughril Beg himself took ʻIrāq-i-ʻAjam and such further lands to the west as should subsequently be conquered, and made Ray his capital. There he found the treasures of ʻAlī Kāma of Daylam and Majdu’d-Dawla Rustam, which he distributed amongst his soldiers, and then set out to conquer ʻIrāq, Adharbāýjān, Kurdistan,

¹) Abu‘l-Faḍl Bayhaqī, who himself took part in the battle and flight, gives the date in his history (ed. Tihrān, pp. 622—8) as Ramadān, A.H. 431.
Fārs, 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 khutba and on the inscriptions of the coins, and he received the titles of Sultānu'd-Dawla and Yaminu Amīri'l-Mu'minīn. The name of the Buwayhid al-Maliku'r-Raḥīm was added after his. In the year above mentioned he finally crushed the Buwayhids and performed the pilgrimage before entering Baghdād. (438) The revolt of al-Basāsīrī. Ṭughrīl makes 'Amīdu'l-Mulk Abū Naṣr Kundurī his waṣāṭ, and demands the Caliph's daughter in marriage. The Caliph, though unwilling to grant this, is compelled to accede to this request. Chaghri Beg died in Khurāsān in A. H. 453, and was succeeded by his son Alp Arslān. Ṭughrīl died on his way to Ray, where he intended to consummate his marriage with the Caliph's daughter Sayyida (439), on Ramaḍān 8, A. H. 455, and Sayyida returned with her dowry to Baghdad. Ṭughrīl was 70 years old at the time of his death, and had reigned 26 years.

(2) Alp Arslān b. Chaghri Beg.

Alp Arslān's brother Sulaymān was nominated as Ṭughrīl's successor, but Ṭughrīl Beg's cousin Qutulmish defeated and dispossessed him. Qutulmish was in turn defeated and slain by Alp Arslān, who, on his accession received from the Caliph al-Qā'im the titles of Sultān 'Aḍūdu'd-Dīn 1) and Burhānu Amīri'l-Mu'minīn. He put to death 'Amīdu'l-Mulk Abū Naṣr-i-Kundurī, and made Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq of Tūs, better known as Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, his minister. Al-Kundurī's dying message to the king and his minister. Account of Ḩasan-i-Ṣābāh. (440) His enmity towards the Niẓāmu'l-Mulk. His attempt to displace him from the Sultan's favour, and its failure. (441) Ḩasan flees from court

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1) 'Aḍūdu'd-Dawla, according to Ibn Khalikān.
and becomes a "heretic" (Isma'îlî). New fashion of keeping state accounts inaugurated in consequence of Hasan's disaster. Alp Arslân'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 Nižâm'u'l-Mulk, to whom she bore sons. Armânús, Emperor of the Byzantines, attacks Persia, but is utterly defeated at Malázgird, taken prisoner, and forced to give tribute. (442) Alp Arslân sends his brother Qâwurd to attack Fa'dlawayhi the Shabánkâra in Fârs. He himself marched against the Khán of Transoxiana, but was stabbed by his captive, Yûsuf-i-Kútwál, in Rabî' 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) Malikshâh b. Alp Arslân.

Though he had several elder brothers, the Nižâm'u'l-Mulk secured his succession. He was attacked by his uncle Qâwurd, 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 Malikshâh's empire. He marries Turkân Khátûn the daughter of Tamghâj Khán b. Bughrá Khán. A son was born to him on Rajab 25, A.H. 479 at Sinjâr, whom he names Sinjar or Sanjar. Malikshâh makes the pilgrimage in A.H. 481 (?). He discharges a blood-debt to Jámi` the farrâsh at Baghdad. He confers benefits on the pilgrims. He twice inspects his

1) The date was really A.H. 477, according to Ibn`l-Athîr and 'Imádu'd-Dîn al-Kâtîb.
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 Ṭāʾīf 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 Dāʾūd b. Sulaymān b. Qutulmish, in whose family it remained until the time of Ghāzān Khān; the government of Kirmān on Sulṭānshāh b. Qāwurd, in whose family it remained for more than a century; and the government of Syria on another brother. The siege of Tyre. He makes Nūshīgīn (the ancestor of the Khwārazmshāhs) governor of Khwārazm. Other governors appointed (447). Malikshāh’s love of the chase. He builds pyramids of the hoofs of the animals which he slew. He nominates his son Barkiyāruq to succeed him, by the advice of the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk. Turkān Khātūn wished him to nominate her son Maḥmūd, and is consequently furious with the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk, and poisons the mind of Malikshāh against him and his 12 sons, who all hold important governments. (448). Malikshāh dismisses the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk, and replaces him by Tājū’l-Mulk 1) Abu’l-Ghanā’im. Other changes in the ministry, and consequent impairment of the government. Verses on this subject. Assassination of the Niẓāmu’l-Mulk at Saḥna 2) by a fiddī on 12 Ramaḍān, A. H. 485. Verses sent by Niẓāmu’l-Mulk to the Sulṭān. Death of Malikshāh in the following month. (449) Verses by Muʿizzī on this double calamity. Malikshāh was 38 years old when he died, and had reigned 20 years. His titles. He chose Iṣfahān as his capital, and was buried there. His wealth and state. After his death Turkān Khātūn desired to put his son Maḥmūd on the throne, but the

1) MS. Tājū’d-Dīn, male.  
2) MS. Miḥna, male.
Caliph al-Muqtadi would not at first permit it, though he was finally compelled to yield.

(4) Barkiyāruq b. Malikshāh.

He was at Isfahān at the time of his father's death. Turkān Khātūn's troops drive him thence (450) to Ray, where he is crowned. He defeats them at Burūjird at the end of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A.H. 485. He is bribed by Turkān Khātūn not to press his advantage. She, by a promise of marriage, induces his maternal uncle, Qūṭbu'd-Dawla Isma'il b. Yāqūtī, to attack him, but Isma'il is defeated by him at Karaj, taken captive and put to death in A.H. 486. In the following year Tutush 1), Barkiyāruq's uncle, who had been blinded by Malikshāh, revolted. Barkiyāruq, unable to oppose him, and hearing that Turkān Khātūn had died in Ramaḍān of this year) at Isfahān, marched thither, and was ostensibly reconciled with his brother Mahmūd. Some of Mahmūd's 'amīrs, however, seized Barkiyāruq and wished to blind him, but at this juncture Mahmūd was attacked by small-pox, and died on the third day, and Barkiyāruq was declared king. He made the Mu'ayyiyū'd-Mulk, son of the Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, his minister, and received from the Caliph the titles of Ruknū 'd-Dīn and Yamīnu Amīri'l-Mū'minīn. In Şafar, A.H. 488 he again fought a battle with his uncle Tutush 1) near Isfahān, took him captive, and interned him in the Castle of Tikrit (451), where he died. Mu'ayyiyū'd-Mulk was replaced as Prime Minister by his brother Fakhru'l-Mulk. The Assassins tried but failed to kill Barkiyāruq. Zangi b. Aq-sunqur is made ruler of Syria 2). In A.H. 489 Barkiyāruq was attacked by his uncle Arslān Arghūn, who, however, was assassinated by one

1) MS. Tukush, male.
2) According to Ibnul-Athīr and the Isfahān-ārā this ʿImādu'd-Dīn Zangi was made governor of Syria and Mesopotamia by Sulṭān Mahmūd (p. 102 infra, No. 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. Majdul-Mulk of Qum (452) is dragged from Barkiyáruq’s presence and murdered by the nobles. Barkiyáruq fled by way of Ray and Isfahán to Khúzistán, where he was reinforced by Ṣadaqa. Meanwhile Muḥammad b. Maliksháh was crowned at Hamadán, made Mu’ayyidul-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’ayyidul-Mulk taken prisoner (453), and a few days later put to death by Barkiyáruq with his own hands, on Sha’bán 8. Meanwhile Muḥammad b. Maliksháh was reinforced by his great-uncle Sinjar. A temporary peace was ended by a battle near Sáwa in Rabí‘ ii, A. H. 495. Muḥammad was defeated, and fled to Isfahán, whence, after a second defeat, he was driven back to Ganja. In Jumáda 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 Ghiyāthu'd-Din, Qasīmū Amīrī-l-Mu'minīn. Muḥammad next applied himself to the task of suppressing the Assassins, who had waxed strong during the civil war, so that Aḥmad b. Āṭṭāšh had taken possession of the castle of Shāh 1) Dīzh, close to Isfahān, and had won over to himself 30,000 men. Sa'īdū'l-Mulk, the king's wasīr, 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 Sa'īdū'l-Mulk's chamberlain to her paramour, and by him to the king, who kills the barber and the wasīr and his adherents. Thereupon Aḥmad b. Āṭṭāšh capitulates, and is put to a shameful death. Story of 'Alī b. Madāni, the blind decoy of the Assassins, and their secret murder-house. (456) Discovery of the victims' remains. 'Alī b. Madāni, his wife and their associates are put to death. The king sends the Atābek Shīr-gīr to attack Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh and the Assassins of Alamūt, but the king's death took place before anything was effected. In A. H. 500 Fakhrū'l-Mulk b. Nizāmu'l-Mulk was assassinated, and his brother Ziyā'u'l-Mulk 2) was made wasīr in his place. 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Abū Ḥashim of Hamadān outwits the malice of Ziyā'u'l-Mulk. In A. H. 502 (457) Sultān Muḥammad undertakes a campaign against India. He brings back an immense idol to Isfahān 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. Malikshāh.

He was for 20 years ruler of Khurāsān, and afterwards

1) MS. Siyāh Dīzh, male.
2) According to Ibnul-Aṭīr he also bore the title of Nizāmu'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 Sultān Muḥammad of Ghazna.
THE HOUSE OF SELJUQ.

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 Parwiz was amongst the Sásá-nians. He won 17 out of 19 great battles which he fought. The Caliph Mustarshid (458) conferred on him the titles of Mu'izzu'd-Dîn 1) and Burhânî Amîrîl-Mu'mînîn. He placed Bahrámshâh on the throne of Ghazna, and allowed him 1000 dînârs a day. He defeats his nephew Maḥmûd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshâh, but forgives him and confers on him the government of the Western provinces, which, on Maḥmûd's death, he transferred to Maḥmûd's brother Ṭughril, and afterwards on another brother, Masûd. In A. H. 515 Sinjar's mother died. In A. H. 524 he took Samarqand from its ruler, Muḥammad b) b. Sulaymân, who had defied him, but afterwards reinstated him. In A. H. 530 Bahrámshâh of Ghazna opposed him (459), but was reduced to obedience. War with the Khwârazmshâhs. In A. H. 535 he was defeated at Dasht-i-Qaṭawân near Samarqand by the army of Cathay and lost Transoxiana, which passed into the hands of the heathen. Verses of Farîdu'd-Dîn-i-Kâtîb on this subject. Heavy losses of the Muslims in this war. In A. H. 543 Bahrámshâh defeated the Ghûris (460), and sent the head of Sûri to Sinjar. Verses of Fakhru'd-Dîn Khâlid of Merv on this event. In A. H. 544 3) 'Alî Châtrî 4), whom Sinjar had raised from the position of court-jester to the governorship of Herât, rebelled against him, and joined 'Alâ'u'd-Dîn Ḥusayn of Ghûr. Sinjar conquered and captured them, and put 'Alî Châtrî 4) to death, but

1) MS. Mu'izzu'd-Dawla, male.
2) MS. Aḥmad, male.
3) The real date was A. H. 547, according to Ibnu'l-Athîr and the author of the Châhâr Maqâla (pp. 65, 87), who was himself present at the battle.
4) MS. Hîmîyarî; but the Rîḥatû'l-Ṣûdûr (Suppl. pers. 1314, f. 73) in five places, as well as Gântin's Paris edition of the Gievâda, p. 264, gives Châtrî as the correct reading.
pardoned ʿAláʿu’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 Rabíʿ i, A.H. 552, at the age of 73. He was at first succeeded by his nephew Maḥmúd Khán b. Muḥammad Khán, of the family of Bughra 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 Muʿayyad, and part by Khwárazmsháh.


He succeeded his father in ʿIráq, and, after being reconciled to his uncle, extended his sway over Adharbáyján, Baghdád, Diyár Bakr, Fárs, Arrán, Armenia and Georgia. The Caliph al-Mustarshid confers titles on him. In A.H. 514 he defeated his brother Mašʿúd 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 wasir Náṣir b. ʿAlí Darkajíní (al-Darkazíní) tried to place Prince Dáʿúd on the throne, but Sinjar appointed Ṭughril, the brother of the late king.
THE HOUSE OF SELJŪQ.

(8) Ṭughril Beg b. Muḥammad b. Malikshāh.

The Caliph al-Mustarshid gives him the titles of Ruknu’d-Dīn and Yamīnu Amīri’l-Mu’mīnīn. Wars between him and his elder brother Masʿūd. Darkajini put to death. Ṭughril reigned 3 years and 2 months, and died at Hamadān in Muḥarram, A.H. 529, at the age of 25 years.


He gave his daughter Gawhar Khāṭūn in marriage to his rival Prince Dā’ūd b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, on whom he conferred the government of Adharbāyjān, Arrān and Armenia (465), and who made Tabrīz his capital. Dā’ūd reigned 7 years, at the end of which time he was assassinated by fidā’īs at Tabrīz in A.H. 533 as he was entering the bath. Sūltān Masʿūd fought and took captive the Caliph al-Mustarshid, who was also assassinated by fidā’īs at Marāgha. He then inflicted a defeat on the Caliph ar-Rāshid, who was also assassinated at Isfahān. Al-Muqtasī was then made Caliph, and conferred on Masʿūd the titles of Ghiyāthu ’d-Dīn and Qasīmu Amīri’l-Mu’mīnīn. Khwāja Kamālu’d-Dīn Muḥammad-i-Khāzin made wasīr. He arouses the hostility of the Amīrs, and the Atābek Qarasunqur compels the Sūltān to put him to death. (466) Troubles in Fārs. Death of Qarasunqur. The Atābek Tılduguz made governor of Adharbāyjān and Arrān, and the Atābek Jāwulī of Fārs. Abortive revolt against Masʿūd by his nephews and certain Atābeks. Sulaymānshāh imprisoned in the citadel of Qazwīn, where he was kept for 7 years. Masʿūd makes war against the Assassins and besieges the Qal’a-i-Qāhīra, one of their strongholds near Qazwīn, but, dissensions breaking out in the army, nothing is effected. Death of Amīr Jāwulī at Zanjān. (467) The Atābek Qarāja becomes ruler of Fārs, but is killed there soon afterwards. Masʿūd then makes his nephew Mu-
ḥannad b. Maḥmūd governor of Fārs, and gives him his daughter Gawhar Khâtún (the widow of Dá'ūd) in marriage. Plots of certain Amîrs, and the doom which overtook them. In A.H. 543 the Salgharî Sunqur b. Mawdūd seized Fārs, which thus passed from the possession of the Seljûqs. (468) Four years later Sultân Mas'ûd died on Rajab 1, A.H. 547 at Hamadân, after a reign of 18 years and a half, at the age of 45 years.


He succeeded his uncle, and received the titles of Mughîthu 'd-Dîn and Yamînu Amîri'l-Mû'minîn. After 4 months he was deposed and imprisoned by Khâṣṣ-beg, who proclaimed his brother [Muḥammad] king. He escaped from prison to Iṣfahân, where he again asserted his sovereignty, but died 15 days later on the 11th of Rabî'î, A.H. 555, at the age of 32, eight years after his first accession.


He succeeded his brother, and put Khâṣṣ-Beg and Zangî-Jândâr to death at Hamadân. (469) His liberality to the troops. Titles conferred on him by the Caliph. Escape of his uncle Sulaymânshâh from the citadel of Qazwîn. His rebellion, at first successful, utterly collapses, and Muḥammad re-establishes his rule. Continued civil war. Death of Sinjar. Growing anarchy. Khurâsân is lost to the Seljûqs in A.H. 553. War and reconciliation with the Caliph. Death of Sultân Muḥammad in A.H. 554 after a reign of 7 years.


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

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. Seljūqshāh. 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’a-i-Qāhirā, which Sultán Mas’ūd 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 Khwárazmshāh in A. H. 561 and A. H. 563. Assassination of Tínānj. Death of Arslán’s mother in A. H. 568, and of the Atábek Ilduguz a month later. Verses of the Qádī 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 Atábek Muḥammad and Qızıl Arslán, the sons of Ilduguz, marches against them. Arslán marries Sittí Fátima, daughter of 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) Ţughril b. Arslán b. Ţughril.

He succeeds his father, and receives titles from the Caliph. His gracious appearance and character. His verses. His uncles Atábek Muḥammad b. Ilduguz and Qızıl Arslán administer his kingdom. Invasion of the Abkházis, and of the king’s uncle Muḥammad b. Ţughril, 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 Anwârî, to predict some great dis-

1) MS. Kirmân Khátün, but the name is given as above in the Rāhlatn-i-Sudâr (Suppl. pers. 1314, f. 116b).
aster, such as gales and earthquakes\(^1\). At the time predicted, however, a remarkable calm prevailed. Verses satirizing Anvari. However in this year was born Chingiz Khan, who afterwards wrought such devastation in the world, and at the end of the same year the Atäbek Muhammad died, and the kingdom fell into confusion. (475) Qizil Arslän succeeds Muhammad as Atäbek, but soon quarrels with and revolts against Tughril, proclaims Sinjar b. Malikshâh in his stead at Hamadân, and finally defeats Tughril, and imprisons him and his son in the castle of Khârân. Next day, however, Qizil Arslän is found killed, in Shawwwâl, A.H. 587. (476) Massacre of Assassins (Malâhida) at Baghçâd. Sayfû’Dîn Malâmud releases Tughril and his son from captivity. In the middle of Jumâda ii, A.H. 588 Tughril fought a battle with Qutlugh Inânj\(^2\) outside Qazwín, and defeated him. Soon afterwards Tukush Khwârazmshâh invaded Persia, defeated Tughril, and compelled him to cede Ray. In A.H. 590 Tughril was victorious in another battle with Qutlugh Inânj, and celebrated his victory at Ray with wine and poetry (477). Tukush returned to the attack, accompanied by Qutlugh Inânj. Tughril went into battle drunk, reciting verses from the Shâhnâmâ, 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) Inânj Qutlugh killed him as he lay helpless on the ground. His head was sent to Baghçâd and gibbeted opposite the Caliph’s palace. Thus ended the power of the Seljûqs in ‘Irâq, which passed into the hands of the Khwârazmshâhs. Most of the Atâbeks and Âmîrs of the Seljûqs - who had betrayed their masters came to a bad end. Of those

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1) Mîrzâ Muhammad regards this well-known story as apocryphal, since he has shown by internal evidence that Anwari 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 Atäbek Muhammad, son of the Atäbek ‘İldûqûz.
who were faithful, Nuṣratu’d-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ilduguz reigned for 20 years after his uncle Qızıl Arslán over Arrán and Adharbāyjān, and died in A. H. 607. He was succeeded by his brother Muẓaffar u’d-Dīn Uzbeg, who reigned for 15 years and died in A. H. 622, after which his kingdom (479) passed into the possession of the Khwārazmshāhs.

2. The Seljūqs of Kirmān.

The first of them was (1) Qāwurt b. Chaghri Beg b. Mīkā’il, who became governor of Kirmān in A. H. 433, and ruled over it for 32 years. In A. H. 455 he added Shirāz to his domains, and drove out the Daylamites. In A. H. 465 he was taken prisoner and poisoned by Malikshāh, who gave Kirmān to his son (2) Sulṭānshāh, who died in A. H. 476 after a reign of 12 years. He in turn was succeeded by his brother (3) Tūrānshāh, who reigned 13½ years and died in A. H. 489. He was succeeded by his son (4) Trānshāh, 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) Arslānshāh b. Kirmānshāh b. Qāwurt, who reigned for 42 years, and died in A. H. 536. He was succeeded by his son (6) Muḥammad-shāh, who reigned for 14 years and died in A. H. 550. He was succeeded by his son (7) Tughhrilshāh, who reigned for 12 years and died in A. H. 562. Thereupon his three sons (8) Arslānshāh, Bahrāmshāh and Tūrānshāh 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-shāh b. Bahrāmshāh succeeded, but Mubārakshāh and others of his kinsmen revolted against him, and he took refuge with Arslān b. Tughril, who gave him help, so that he compelled Mubārakshāh to flee to Ghūr. But in A. H. 583 the Ghuzz, led by Malik Dīnār, invaded Kirmān and put an end to the Seljūq rule there.
3. The Seljús of Rûm (Asia Minor).

When Alp Arslán conquered and slew Qutulmish b. Isrá'îl, he wished to extirpate his family, but the Nişámu'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 'Ali (?), who collected tribute for the Seljús 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 Maliksháh what had happened, but before an answer came was attacked by Táju'd-Dawla Tutush b. Alp Arslán (481), and, being deserted by his amirs, committed suicide. Maliksháh 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 Oonya (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 Mas'úd ruled in 'Iráq, and the Caliph, disliking him, held out to Qilij Arslán hopes of the sovereignty of 'Iráq, so, leaving his son Mas'úd as his vicegerent in Asia Minor, he marched on Baghdád, but perished in A. H. 539, and was buried at Mayyífáriqín. (482) His son (4) Mas'úd succeeded him, reigned 19 years, and died in A. H. 558. He was succeeded by his son (5) 'Izzu'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 Qayşariyya, and built Aq-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 Band 'Aqil. See Ibnu'l-Áthir, under the year A. H. 477, and the Ijáhán-árád (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 1270).
successes of the Atábek Núru’d-Dín, king of Syria, and Fakhrú’d-Dín ʿAbdu’l-Masih 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-Rûm (Erzeroum), but is defeated by the Georgians. He then prepared to march into Rûm, but died in A.H. 602, after a reign of 24 years and was succeeded by his son (8) ʿIzzu’d-Dín Qilij Arslán, then only a child. When ʿIzzu’d-Dín had reigned 18 months, dissensions broke out amongst the amirs, and Ghiyáthu’d-Dín Kay-Khusraw returned, took Qonya, and deposed his nephew, who shortly afterwards died in captivity. Kay-Khusraw conquered Qara-mán 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) ʿIzzu’d-Dín Kay-Ká’us, who died a year later, and was succeeded by his brother (10) ʿAlá’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 Sulaymán-sháh 1), whose minister was Muʿinu’d-Dín Parwána of Káshání, and who sent his brother ʿAlá’u’d-Dín Kay-qubád as ambas-

1) In the Jahánu-rád (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 95a), and by Lane-Poole, who follows it, this king’s name is given as Ruknu’d-Dín Qilij-Arsán.
sador to the Mongol Qāʾān. This brother returned, having successfully accomplished his mission, but was poisoned by Ruknuʿd-Dīn on his arrival at the frontier. (485) Another brother, Kay-Kāʿūs, attempted to wrest the crown from him, but died ere he could effect anything. In A. H. 664 Ruknuʿd-Dīn Sulaymānshāh was put to death by order of Abāqā Khān, 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 Muḥsinuʿd-Dīn Parwāna, who married the young Sultan's mother. Kay-Khusraw reigned 18 years, and was finally put to death by order of the Mongol Akhmad Khān. He was succeeded by (14) Ghiyāthuʿd-Dīn Masʿūd b. Kay-Kāʿūs, who was appointed by Arghūn Khān the Mongol. In his reign the realm was disturbed, and Antioch and Latakia were lost. A Mongol army was sent by Gaykhātū and Hūlāchū, and the author's cousin Fakhruʿd-Dīn Muḥammad Mustawī was made wasīr. He restored order to the kingdom, but was put to death through the intrigues of Saʿduʿd-Dawla, the Jewish wasīr of Arghūn Khān, and was succeeded in this office by Fakhruʿd-Dīn (486) Akhmad-i-Arkushī of Tabrīz. Ghiyāthuʿd-Dīn Masʿūd died in A. H. 697, and was succeeded by his nephew (15) Kay-qubād b. Farāmūrza, who was appointed by Ghāzān Khān. Later he rebelled, but was defeated and deposed by the Mongols, and so ended the dynasty, save that some princelings of the House of Seljuq still held sway in the author's time in certain regions on the coast 1).

Section 7. — Khwārazmshāhs.

These were 10 in number, and reigned from A. H. 491 until the month of Shawwāl, 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.
THE KHWÁRAZMSHÁHS.

(1) Núshtigin Gharcha 1).

He was originally the slave of Bulkatigin, a slave of Sultán Maliksháh, 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. Núshtigin,

who was appointed by Sinjar, and received the title of Qutbu'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 Waṭwát 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. Adîb Şábir, the poet, is sent

1) MS. Gharácha, male. Ibn'ul-Athír (sub anno 490) says he was called Gharsha, because he was a native of Gharshistán, while in the Jahán-árá (British Museum, Or. 141, f. 99a) it is stated that he was called after Gharcha in Samarrâ‘ and because he had been bought there as a slave by Maliksháh's servant Bulkatigin. As the author of the Güsida says just above that the dynasty began in A.H. 491 it appears that he does not reckon Núshtigin 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 Anwárí written on an arrow and shot into the Castle. (489) Verses composed by Rashíd-i-Watwát 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 Rashídú’d-Dín Watwát on his death.

(4) Il-Arsán (MS. Abu 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 Il-Arsán. 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).


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

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1) The text is corrupt. The incident is fully described in the second part of the Ta’rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá of Juwayyí. The name of the Turkish tribe in question is variously given as Qarluq, Qarlukh, and Kharlukh.

2) Rajab 9, A.H. 560 is the more correct date given in the Jahán-Gushá. Ibnul’-Athir gives A.H. 568.
acted as regent. His elder brother Tukush demands a share of the kingdom. Verses exchanged between Sultânsháh and Maliksháh b. Tukush on this subject. Civil war of an indecisive character ensues for 10 years. In A.H. 568 (MS. 558) Tukush invokes the help of the daughter of the Gür Khán of Qará-Khitáy, to whom he offers tribute, and obtains possession of Khwárazm. Sultânsháh reigned over his diminished kingdom for 21 years more (492) and died at the end of Ramaḍán, A. H. 589.

(6) Tukush Khán b. Il-Arsâlán.

He succeeded to a part of the kingdom on the defeat of his brother on the twelfth of Rabî‘i‘, A. H. 568. Congratulatory verses on his accession by Rashídú‘d-Dín Watwât. Successive conquests of Tukush. He kills Sultan Tughril the Seljûq and takes ʿIrâq (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 Arsâlán-Gushây. In revenge the Assassins killed Shamsu‘d-Dín the wāzîr of Tukush. Tukush prepares to take further measures against the Assassins, but dies on Ramaḍán 19, A. H. 596, after a reign of 28½ years, for 6 of which he also held sway over ʿIrâq (494).

(7) ʿAlá‘u‘d-Dín 2) Muḥammad Tukush.

His wars with the kings of Ghûr. Earthquakes at Nishâpûr 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

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

2) MS. Quṣbu‘d-Dín, which (Ibnu‘l-Athîr, sub anno 596) was his title before he succeeded to the throne, when it was changed to his father's title ʿAlá‘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 Sáṣánian king Yazdigird called Gházi rules in Mázandarán. He is murdered by his brother-in-low, a man of low origin named Abú Rizá, who is in turn killed by his wife in revenge for her brother. She then offers herself in marriage to Khvárazmsháh, 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'áyyyidu'll-Mulk Qiwámu 'd-Dín Abú Bakr ruler of Zawzan, which afterwards passes to Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín, Shujá'u'd-Dín Abu'll-Qásim acting as deputy-governor for some while. (495) In A. H. 609 the Ghúris are overthrown, and Khvárazmsháh takes possession of their kingdom. His three campaigns against the Gúr-Khán of Qára-Khítáy, whom he finally subdues, and receives the title of “the Shadow of God on the Earth” (Zahú'lláhi j'ird). Verses on this composed by the Munshí Núru'd-Dín 1). Verses on this poet’s predilection for wine. The Gúr-Khán is taken captive by Kúch-luk, king of the Náymán 2), and dies two years later. Khvárazmsháh, on the death of Taju’d-Dín Iduguz, takes Ghazna and Ghúr, and bestows them on his son Jalálu’d-Dín. He receives the title of “the Second Alexander” (Iskandar-i-tháni), 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 Baghádí 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

1) In the Jaháns-Gushá he is entitled Ní‘ámu’d-Dín, not Núru’d-Dín.
2) See vol. i of the Jaháns-Gushá in this series, p. 48.
3) This Majdu’d-Dín was a celebrated Súfí, a pupil of Shaykh Najmu’d-Dín Kúbrá and one of the spiritual directors of Shaykh Farídú’d-Dín ‘Aţţár. The circumstances to which reference is here made are set forth in the Naşahátú’l-Un, Haft Iqlím, Majmu‘al-Fu‘ahá (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 Írãq he defeats the Atábeks of Fárs and Adharbáyján. The former, Sa’d b. Zangi, 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 Chingïz 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. Chingïz Khán sent ambassadors to demand reparation, and these too were insulted and killed. Thereupon Chingïz 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 b. Amíd, 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 Ahasgún 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, Aq-Sultán, Arzláq Sultán, Kúcháy-tígin 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’íjí, of whom the last, though the youngest, first succeeded to the Throne on his father’s death.

(8) Ruknu’Dín Ghúrsá’íjí.

His father left him Íráq, and ‘Imádu’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 Fīrūzkūh, and entrenched himself in the Castle of Gird-Kūh, which the Mongols besieged for 6 months and finally captured. As Ruknu’d-Din refused to bow the knee before the Mongol commander (499) they slew him and all his soldiers and attendants in A. H. 619.

(9) Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Pir-Shāh.

On the death of his father he went to Kirmān, which his father had assigned to him. Shujā’u’d-Dīn Abūl-Qāsim-i-Zawzanī, who had hitherto acted as his deputy, refused to admit him, so he turned back on Fārs, where he defeated the Atābek Sa’d b. Zangi, devastated the country, passed on to ‘Irāq, and assumed the crown at Ray. Here he was attacked by his brother Jalālu’d-Dīn, who had just returned from India, and was compelled to submit to him. After a while he killed Nuṣrat Malik b. Kharmīl, a favourite of Jalālu’d-Dīn, and fled into Khūzistān and later to Kirmān, where Burāq Ḥājib received him with magnanimity and concluded a treaty with him. Later a conspiracy was formed by some of Burāq’s relatives (500) to put Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn on the throne. Burāq discovered it, publicely put the conspirators to death, and secretly strangled Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn and his mother, whom he had taken to wife. This happened in A. H. 627.

(10) Jalālu’d-Dīn Mankobīrī.

On his father’s death he proceeded to Khwārazm, but, not being loyally supported by his amirs, he retreated to Ghazna. His brothers Arzlaq and Aq-Sulṭān followed him to persuade him to return, but when they reached the frontiers of Khurāsān they were attacked by the Mongols and
killed. In that year Jalālū’dd-Dīn fought seven battles with the Mongols and was victorious in all, until finally Chingiz Khān himself marched against him, in the month of Shaw-wāl, A.H. 618, and defeated him. Jalālū’dd-Dīn 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 Chingiz Khān had withdrawn from Persia, he left Jahān Pahlawān Uzbek as his deputy in India (501), and himself set out for Persia, where he arrived in A.H. 621. He first entered Kirmān, and there married the daughter of Burāq Ḥājīb. Thence he proceeded to Fārs, and married the daughter of the Atābek Sa’d. Thence he advanced through Īšfahān to Ray, where his brother Ghiyāthu’dd-Dīn was ruler. Thence to Baghdād, where he defeated the Arabs. He next seized Adhurāvāyjān, and married Malika Khātūn, daughter of the Seljuq Turchīl, who had been divorced by the Atābek Uzbek Jalālū’dd-Dīn, next subdued Georgia. He returned from Tīfīs to Kirmān in seventeen days, but was met on his approach by its ruler Burāq Ḥājīb, who persuaded him to retire 1). Meanwhile al-Malik al-Ashraf abducted Malika Khātūn from the Castle of Khūy, while the Georgians revolted. Jalālū’dd-Dīn thereupon marched to Akhlāt to punish al-Malik al-Ashraf, but ere it surrendered news came that the Indian army had attacked Ḳirāq. Jalālū’dd-Dīn now completed the subjugation of Georgia, reduced Akhlāt, 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 ‘Alā’u’dd-Dīn Kay-qubād the Seljuq, 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 Jalālū’dd-Dīn killed Burāq, 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 Isfahán. Both right wings were defeated. Death of 'Alá‘u’l-dawla ') Yazdí, the grandson of 'Alá‘u’l-dawla ') Garshásp b. 'Alí b. Farámarz b. 'Alá‘u’l-dawla (a descendant of the ancient Kayání kings, whom Jalálud-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 Jalálud-Dín retires to the mountains of Luristán, while his fugitive troops enter Isfahán. Good offices of the Qádí Ruknud-Dín Sá‘ídí in keeping the peace between them until the return of Jalálud-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 Akhlát. With him perished the dynasty of the Khwárazmshahs, and the Mongols became supreme in Persia.

Section 8. — The Atábeks.

Of these there were two separate dynasties, one in Syria and Diyáz 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 Salghuris, 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

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 Diyyár Bakr and Fárs were originally of one family, while others say that the Atábeks of Shíráz were descended from Solghur, and the Atábeks of Diyyár 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) Zangi succeeded him, and was made governor of all Syria by Barkiyáruq, with the title of 'Imádu’d-Dín 2). In the reign of Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, Arbil, Moṣul and part of Diyyár Bakr were added to his dominions. He had 3 sons, Buzába 3), Núru’d-Dín [Maḥmúd] and Mawdúd. Buzába 4) was made governor of Fárs, Núru’d-Dín [Maḥmúd] of Syria, and Mawdúd of Diyyár Bakr. Núru’d-Dín Zangi died in A.H. 541 5). His son (3) Núru’d-Dín [Maḥmúd] reigned in Syria 46 years and died in A.H. 568 6). He was succeeded by his son (4) al-Malik aṣ-Ṣalih, who was driven out by his cousin (5) [Qūṭbu’d-Dín] Mawdúd, who reigned 43 years in Diyyár Bakr and died in A.H. 565. He was succeeded by his son (6) Sayfu’d-Dín Gházi, who took Syria from his cousin al-Malik aṣ-Ṣalih, but lost it to the Egyptians in A.H. 571, and died in A.H. 576. He was succeeded by (7) his brother [Izzu’d-Dín] Mas’úd 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 Mas’úd, known as Malik-i-Qáhir, who died in A.H. 615. He was succeeded

1) This MS. has Intumáz (أَطْمُزُ), others أَطْمُزُ (Aghur) or أَطْرُ (Aghú).
2) MS. Núru’d-Dín.
3) This MS. has Buzába, but Buzába is the usual form.
4) MS. 522, an evident error, as shown by Ibn’l-Athír, who was himself the protegé of this family, the Jahásn-dár and Ibn Khalilkán.
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) 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 as-Šálih, 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. Aqsunqur, and others of Zangi b. Aqsunqur, the founder of the Atábeks of Diyár Bakr, who, to avenge his uncle Bázába, killed in battle by Sultán Mas’úd the Seljúq in A. H. 543, revolted during the reigns of this king and of his nephew Muḥammad b. Mahmúd and made himself king of Fárs, where he reigned 13 years, and died in A. H. 556. The Masjíd-i Jámi’ of Shíráz was built by him, and also a rest-house (ribat).

He was succeeded by his brother (2) Zangi 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. Ťughril. He reigned 14 years, repaired and endowed the mausoleum of the celebrated saint Shaykh Abú ‘Abdillāh [b.] Khafff, 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) Ťughril b. Sunqur b. Mawdúd, whose rule was, however, contested by his cousin Sa’d b. Zangi, and in this fratricidal war Fárs was devastated by plague and famine. In A. H. 599, after a reign of 9 years, Ťughril was overcome and taken captive by (5) Sa’d b. Zangi, 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 Jámi’s Nafašātu’l-’Umr, pp. 262-4.
to prosperity, he added Kirmán to his dominions and pacified Shabánkára. In A. H. 613 he prepared to attack ḫiráq, 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 Sultán Jalálú'd-Dín Khwárazmsháh passed through Fárs on his return from India, he interceded for, and obtained the release of Abú Bakr. Sa'd died in A. H. 628 after a reign of 28 years.

He was succeeded by his son (6) Abú Bakr b. Sa'd b. Zangi, who proved a wise, just and magnanimous sovereign, and a generous patron of learned and pious men. His chief noble was Muqarrabu'd-Dín Abú'l-Mafákhír Mašúd. Abú Bakr added to his dominions Kish, Bahrayn, Qaṭif and Laḥsá (or al-Aḥsá). Public buildings erected by him (508). His endowment of the mausoleum of Abú 'Abdillah [b.] Khafff1). He died in A. H. 658 after a reign of 30 years.

He was succeeded by his son (7) Sa'd 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. Salghursháh b. Sa'd b. Zangi, who reigned only 8 months, when he was overthrown and put to death by Turkán Khátún on Ramaḏán 10, A. H. 661.

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

1) For his biography see Jámi's Nafaḥátu'l-UNS, pp. 262—4.
ghursháh, who defeated and slew Turkán Khátún. Her brother, 'Alá‘u'd-Dawla, sought help from Húlágu Khán (509), against whose troops Shíráz was gallantly defended by Muqarrabu’d-Dín Masú’d. Seljúqsháh was finally killed by the Mongols in Şafar, A.H. 663.

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

Section 9. — The Isma‘ílis.

This section is divided into two Discourses, the first treating of the Isma‘ílis of Egypt, Syria and the Maghrib, the second of the Assassins or Isma‘ílis of Alamut.

First Discourse. The Isma‘ílis of Egypt etc. (Fátimids).

These, fourteen in number, reigned from A.H. 296 until A.H. 536, i.e. for 240 years, and are mentioned here because of their connection with the Persian Isma‘ílis commonly known as the Assassins.

(1) Al-Mahdí.

(510) According to the author of the Ta‘rikh-i-Jahán-Gushá, the Sunnis assert that he was descended from ‘Abdu’lláh b. Sálím of Baṣra, while the people of ‘Iráq trace his descent from ‘Abdu’lláh b. Maymún al-Qaddáh, who was one of the propagandists of the Imám Isma‘íl b. Ja‘far as-Sádiq. On the other hand Abú Ṭalíb ‘Alí b. Najib 1) al-Baghdádí in his ‘Uyún‘ut-Tawárikh asserts that al-Mahdí was directly descended from the Imám Isma‘íl as follows: [Abú]

1) Other MSS. have Kházin or Anjáb. See p. 2 supra (14).
Muḥammad [ʿUbaydullāh] al-Mahdī b. ʿAbdu’llāh ar-Raḍī b. Qāsim at-Taqī b. Aḥmad al-Wāfi b. Muḥammad al-Waṣī b. Ismaʿīl, etc., which pedigree would make him the twelfth of the Ismaʿīlī Imāms and the tenth in direct descent from ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib. This Muḥammad, who was the great-great-grandfather of the Mahdī, fled to Ray to escape the persecution of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs, and is buried near there in Muḫammad-ābād. His descendants settled at Qandahār, where the family is well known. The Mahdī declared himself in A.H. 296, and in A.H. 302 overcame the Banū Aghlab (who then ruled in North Africa on behalf of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph al-Muqtadīr), and possessed himself of their domains. Herein, say the Ismaʿīlīs, 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" [Maghrīb]. Al-Mahdī reigned 26 years, and died in A.H. 322 at the age of 62 years. He was 5 years younger than the Imam Mahdī recognized by the rival sect of the Shi'a, the ʿIthnā ʿashariyya or "Sect of the Twelve".

(2) Al-Qāʾīm bi-amrīllāh.

Al-Mahdī was succeeded by his son Aḥmad 1) al-Qāʾīm, who was defeated by the Sunnis under Abū Yazīd and imprisoned at al-Mahdiyya (in Tunisia). (511) He died in Shawwāl, A.H. 334, but his death was concealed until his son could succeed him. He reigned twelve years.

(3) Al-Manṣūr bi-Quwwatīllāh.

Ismaʿīl b. al-Qāʾīm succeeded his father, defeated and killed Abū Yazīd, reigned 7 years, and died at Mahdiyya in A.H. 341.

1) Ibnʿl-Athīr, Ibn Khallikān and the Ṣahāḥīrā give his name as Muḥammad, which is probably correct.

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

(5) *Al-‘Azíz b’l-láh Abú Manṣúr b. al-Mu‘izz.*

He succeeded his father and added Syria to his domains, after killing Alptígín, the ‘Abbásid 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].


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-Istízhár* of the Qádí Aḥmad-i-Dámghání concerning ‘Alawi-i-Madání, whom al-Ḥákím commissioned (513) to remove the bodies of Abú Bakr and ‘Umar from their graves, which impious attempt was miraculously prevented. Al-Ḥákím’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) *Aq-Zâhir bi-Ṣzázi Din’l-láh 1) b. al-Ḥákím.*

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

1) So Ibn’l-Athîr. The *Guzida* has aq-Zâhir b’l-láh.
stigators of his assassination. He reigned 16 years, and died in Cairo (514) in A. H. 427.

(8) Al-Mustansir bıllah Abu Tamım Ma'add b. aṣ-Zahir.

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 'Abdu '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-Musta'li. The allegiance of the Isma'ilis was divided between these two. The celebrated Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāh espoused the cause of Nizár, and thereafter carried on the propaganda in his name. Al-Mustansir died in A. H. 487.

(9) Al-Musta'li bıllah Abu'l-Qásim Aḥmad b. al-Mustansir.

(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-Musta'lı reigned 10 years, and died at Cairo at the end of A. H. 497.

(10) Al-'Āmir bi-aḥkámıllah Abū 'Ali Manṣür b. al-Musta'lı.

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


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

(12) Aṣ-Zāfır Bıllah.

He was the son of al-Ḥāfız li-Dini'llah. In his reign the

¹) MS. omits the words in brackets, which are supplied from Ibnul'-Athır. For "Abu'l-Qāsim" the Ḥabān-dré has "Muḥammad".
Franks took Ascalon. He reigned 5 years and was assassinated by his wāzir 'Abbās b. Tamīm in A.H. 549.

(13) Al-Fā'iz bīllāh.

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.

(14) Al-'Aḍīd li-Din Illāh b. al-Fā'iz.

He succeeded his father. When, in A.H. 554, the Franks prepared to invade Egypt. Al-Fā'iz, filled with alarm, sought protection from the ruler of Syria, who sent al-Malik an-Nāṣir Salāḥu'd-Dīn Yusuf b. Ayyūb (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-'Aḍīd and his wāzir Shāwir. Al-'Aḍīd fled for protection to Salāḥu'd-Dīn, who put Shāwir to death. In A.H. 556 (or, according to another statement, in A.H. 565) the khūṭba was pronounced in Egypt in the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph 2), and a week afterwards al-'Aḍīd, the last Fāṭimid Caliph, died, and Salāḥu'd-Dīn took possession of Egypt, taking the title of Sultān ("king"). In A.H. 571 he also took possession of Syria, and expelled therefrom the Atābek Sayfū 'd-Dīn Ghāzī Salghūrī. 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 ʿAkkā (St. Jean d'Acre). On the decline of the House of Ayyūb, Egypt passed (517) into the hands of slave-dynasties (Mamlūks). The author adds that at the time he wrote Nāṣiru'd-Dīn was king there, and was reported to have recognized a scion of the House of 'Abbās as Caliph

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1) So Ibnul-Athir. The MS. has 552.
2) Ibnul-Athir, Ibn Khallikān and the Tahān-ārād 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. ʿAkkā was taken in A.H. 583 according to Ibnul-Athir.
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 Isma'îlis 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-Šabbāḥ.

His genealogy and alleged descent from the Ḥimyarite kings of Yaman. He was at first a Shi‘i of the Sect of the Twelve, and was chamberlain to Alp Arslân the Seljûq, but was converted to the Sect of the Seven, or Isma'îlis, by ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. ʿAbbâs. His quarrel with the Nizâmu'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. Mustanṣîr. There he remained several years, during which period he is alleged to have been entrusted by Nizâr with the care of one of his sons, whom he brought back with him to Persia. Fearing the vengeance of the Nizâmu'l-Mulk, he remained in hiding in Isfahân, in the house of the Ra'is Abû'l-Faţl Lünbarî, to whom he said one day, „If I had two congenial friends, I would destroy this empire„. Abû'l-Faţl, deeming him mad (518), began to give him medicines appropriate to that distemper. Ḥasan-i-Šabbâḥ, perceiving this, fled to Ray. He converted to his doctrine sundry warders of castles, such as Ra'ıs Muẓaffar of Gird-Kûh, and Ḥusayn of Qâ’in, governor of Turshiz. He then went to Qazwin, and in A.H. 483 (a number equivalent to the sum of the numerical values of its component letters) captured the Castle of Alamût, which, being interpreted, means „the Eagle's Nest‟
(Aluh-amūt), of which the governor was Mahdi-i-Alawi. Description of the stratagem whereby Hasan-i-Sabbāh obtained possession of the Castle. It is attacked (519) by Altun Tash, a slave of Malikshāh, who reduces it to considerable straits, but dies before he has captured it. Rapid progress of the propaganda. Malikshāh sends Arslān Tash and Qizil-Tash against the Assassins; who are reinforced by the Dīhadār Abū ‘Ali Ardistānī with 300 men. Death of Arslān Tash and assassination of the Nizāmu’ll-Mulk. Death of Malikshāh at Baghdad shortly afterwards. Civil war between Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad. Further progress of Hasan-i-Sabbāh’s propaganda. His lieutenant, Kiyā Buzurg-umid, takes the Castle of Lammaasar at the end of A.H. 495. (520) Sultān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh undertakes fresh operations against the Assassins, and besieges Alamūt for eight years, but dies before he can effect anything. Sultān Sanjar in turn attempted to extirpate the Assassins, but was intimidated by an attempt on his life into abandoning it. Hasan-i-Sabbāh’s meeting with his former host, Ra’is Abū’l-Fāzīl. Ascetic life of Hasan-i-Sabbāh. During the 35 years of his rule no one made or drank 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 Hasan-i-Sabbāh come out of his house. His books and his “Esoteric” (Bâtînî) doctrine. He died on Wednesday the 6th of Rabî’ ii, A.H. 518, and was succeeded by —

(2) Kiyā Buzurg-umid of Rādbār.

He, while professing the belief of his predecessor, observed the external forms of the law of Islām. He reigned 14 years, two months and twenty days, and died on the 26th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 532.
THE ISMAILIS OF ALAMUT.

(3) Muhammad b. Buzurg-umid.

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


On his father’s death he again claimed to be the Imám, and professed to be the great-grandson of Nizár b. Mustansir. Explanations of this claim, and pedigree advanced by Ḥasan. He institutes the impious ‘Idūl-Qiyám, or „Festival of the Resurrection”, on Ramaqán 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 ḥijra by the Isma’īlīs. Ḥasan is given the title of ‘ala Dhi-kirihi’s-Salām (“on his Mention be Peace”), and is called “Lord” by his followers, but by the Muslims of Qazwín “Kūra 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 Rabī’ i, A.H. 561, after a reign of 4 years.


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 Rabī’ i, A.H. 607, poisoned, as some assert, by his son and successor.

(6) Jalālu’d-Din Hasan b. Muhammad.

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-Musulmān”. He invites the ‘ulamā 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 Jalâlu'd-Dîn's family and the nobles of (525) Gilán and other Muslims, and he availed himself of this permission to marry four ladies of Gilán, one of whom, the daughter of the Amir of Kútam 1), bore him 'Alá'u'd-Dín, who afterwards succeeded him. Jalâlu'd-Dín also made friends with Mużaffaru'd-Dín Uzbek, the Atâbek of Adharbáyján, and joined him in a campaign against Mun-gulí the ruler of 'Iráq, as a result of which Abhar and Zanján were added to his domains. When Chingíz Khán invaded Persia, Jalâlu'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 wife and sister) after a reign of 11 1/2 years.

(7) 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muhammad b. Jalâlu'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. Hasan-i-Mázandarání murders 'Alá'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 Tá'úsí.

(8) Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín.

To avert from himself the suspicion of parricide, he put

1) Kútam is the name of a district in Gilán.
to death Ḥasan-i-Mázandarání, 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, Húlagú 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 Húlagú took and destroyed about fifty of the Assassins’ strongholds, such as Alamút, Maymún-i-Dizh, Surúsh, Surkha-Dizak, Níra, Bahárm-Dizh, Ahan-Kúh, Zawrán, Táj, Shayharán 2), Firdaws, Manšúriyya, etc. Gird-Kúh [and Lammasar] alone held out for a time, and with their fall the power of the Persian Isma’ílís ended. Alamút, their chief stronghold, was built by ad-Dá‘í ila’l-Ḥaqq Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Báqírí in the reign of al-Mutawakkil in A.H. 246, and thus endured in all 410 years.

Section 10. — The Qará-Khítây 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-Hájíb.

He was one of the amírs of the Gúr Khán of Qarákhítáy, and on the conquest of Qarákhítáy 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 Súltán Ghiyáthu’d-Dín. He fights and kills Shujá’u‘l-Qásim A‘war-i-Zawzání, the governor of Kirmán, takes Gáwáshír, 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

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1) Shálrúd and Sálrúd are the usual MS. readings. Gantín’s edition, pp. 512—3.
2) Most of the Paris MSS. have Shímírán, which is probably correct.
3) So in the Jahán-Gushkây. Most MSS. of the Guzida have Ḥamíd-Búr or ·Púr.
in A. H. 632, leaving a son named Mubarak-Khwaja and four daughters, Sunj Turkhan, who married Chaghatay Khan; Yaqut Turkhan, who married the Atabek Qutbud-Din Mahmud Shah of Yazd; Maryam Turkhan, who married Muyyid-Din Amir Sain, the grandson of the Yazdi Atabek; and Khan Turkhan, who married his nephew (her cousin) Qutbud-Din Tayangu. The latter succeeded Buraq-i-Hajib, and reigned over Kirmán for two years.

(2) Ruknud-Din Mubarak-Khawa b. Buraq.

He defeated Tayangu, and was named ruler of Kirmán by Ogotay. He reigned 16 years, and was dismissed in A. H. 650 [MS. 605] by Manggu Khan.

(3) Qutbud-Din. Tayangh.

Four months after his restoration he married Qutlug Turkhan, formerly one of the concubines of Buraq Hajib, who guided him with wise councils and bore him several daughters. Ruknud-Din Mubarak-Khawa again began to intrigue to displace his rival, and Tayangu, having got him into his power, put him to death with his own hands in A. H. 651. (530) A pretender appears and impersonates Jalalu'd-Din Khwárazmsháh, and gathers round him many people, but is killed by Tayangu. Tayangu next surprises and massacres a number of Balúchis (Kúch u Balúch) ¹), who had by their depredations long terrorized the countryside. Tayangu finally died in Ramadán, A. H. 655.

(4) Sultán Hajjáj b. Qutbud-Din.

He was appointed by Manggu Khan to succeed his father, his mother, Qutlug Turkhan, acting as regent during his minority. She gave her daughter, Fádishá Khátún, in marriage

¹) The Kúch (Arabic Qufs and Qifs, see Yaqût, z. v. and نففلاق, بالوس), 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 Bibí Turkán.

(5) Sultán Jalálú'd-Din Sūrghatmush.

He reigned for 9 years. His wāzir Fakhru'l-Mulk Maḥmūd b. Shamsu'd-Din 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 Jalálú'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 Qutbu'd-Din.

She had been married "in the Mongol fashion" to Gay-khátú, 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) Muẓaffar u'd-Din Muḥammad Sháh b. Ḥajjáj.

He succeeded by command of Gházán Khán in A. H. 695, with the Qāḍí Fakhru'd-Dín Hirawí as his wāzir. 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 'Iráq and Fárs. (534) The Amírs suggest to Gházán Khán that he should send Sultán 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-Dīn Shāh-Jahān b. Sārghatmush.

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 Uljāytū to his court, and not permitted to return, Malik Naṣiru’-d-Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān being sent to replace him at Kirmān. Quṭbu’-d-Dīn finally died in retirement at Shirāz, and was buried at Kirmān.

Section 11. — The Atābeks of Luristān.

Account of the Zubdatu’l-Tawārikh 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 Gīlakis. Another legend makes the Lurs of semi-Arabian descent. Evidences afforded by their language. (537) Ten Arabic letters (خ، ح، ق، ف، غ، ع، ط، ظ، ص، ش) said not to occur in the Luri dialect. The Lurs are divided into two branches.

(t) 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 Mašūr over Lur-i-Kūchak. Badr had a long reign and was succeeded by his grandson Naṣiru’-d-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Badr, who ruled justly, aided by his waṣīr Muḥammad b. Khurshid. At this time half of Luristān was in the possession of the Shūls. Their chief was Sayfu’-d-Dīn Mākān Rūzbahānī, whose ancestors had been governors of that region since Sāsānian times, and whose descendants still hold that position. About A.H. 500 some hundred families of Kurds emigrated from Jabalu’Summāq into Luristān. Their chief was Abu’l-Ḥasan Faḍlūya, who had a son named ʿAlī. How he is wounded by his
enemies (538) but saved by his dog. ʿAlī leaves a son named Muḥammad, who was in the service of the Salghari Atābeks. He died leaving a son named Abū Ṭāhir, who, by his courage, rose high in Sunqur’s service, subdued Luristān, and became an independent sovereign. He died in A. H. 555 1), leaving 5 sons, Hazārāsp, Bahman, ʿĪmaduʿd-Dīn Pahlawān, Nuṣrātuʿd-Dīn ʿIlwākūš, and Qīzil. (539) Hazārāsp succeeded his father, and ruled well and justly, so that more tribes, such as the ʿAqīlīs and Hāshimīs and some two dozen others, whose names are enumerated, migrated into the country from Jabaluʿs-Summāq and other places. These ultimately displace the Shūls, who are driven into Fārs, while Hazārāsp extends his domain to within four parasangs of Isfahān. His wars with the Atābek Tikla. (540) The title of Atābek is conferred by the Caliph an-Nāṣir on Hazārāsp. On his death he is succeeded by his son Tikla, who is attacked by the Atābek Saʿd of Fārs. The Atābek’s army, in spite of its size, is dispersed on the death of their leader Jamāʿuʿd-Dīn ʿUmar Lālbā. Three subsequent campaigns of the Salghuri Atābeks against Luristān are equally unfortunate. Tikla b. Hazārāsp annexes portions of Lur-i-Kūchak. His country is invaded by the Caliph’s generals Bahāʿuʿd-Dīn Garshāṣf and ʿĪmādūʿd-Dīn Yūnūs, who take captive his brother Qīzil and confine him in the Castle of Lāḥūj (or Lāmūj). (541) Tikla kills ʿĪmādūʿd-Dīn and takes captive Bahāʿuʿd-Dīn. In A. H. 655 Tikla joins Hūlāgū Khān’s attack on Baghdad, but, disgusted at the atrocities committed by the Mongols, withdraws to Luristān, whither he is pursued by them. (542) He finally surrenders to Hūlāgū on promise of amnesty, but is put to death at Tabrīz. His body is conveyed to Luristān by his followers and buried. He was succeeded by Shamsuʿd-Dīn Alp Arghūn, who restored the prosperity of the country, and ruled 15 years. He left two sons, of whom Yūsufshāh was nominated ruler of Lu-

1) This MS. reads A. H. 505, evidently an error.
ristán by Abáqá Kháń, (543) who held him in high favour on account of his valour in the campaign against Gilán. 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 Lürs 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 Šáhíb-Díván, [who, on Aḥmad’s defeat, had fled to Qum and Isfahán] and bring him to his court, and Shámsu’d-Dín gave him his daughter in marriage. Later, when Shámsu’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 Nizámu’d-Dín, Jalálu’d-Dín and Ṣadrú’d-Dín, who had faithfully served his predecessors as wazirs, and ruined their family, some members of which took refuge at Isfahán. Death of Arghún. Báýdú, the Mongol governor of Isfahán, is killed by Qízil, Salgharsháh and others, who thereupon seized Isfahán in the name of Afrásiyáb. The Lürs 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 Lürs. 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 Kháń, who, however, afterwards caused him to be put to death, and appointed his brother Nuṣratú’d-Dín Aḥmad to succeed him. This prince ruled well and wisely, sought to repair the mischief done

\(^1\) This MS. has A.H. 688, 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-Kuchuk* (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 ʿIrāq. At this date, Ḫusāmuʿd-Dīn Sūhīlī, one of the Aq-sari Turks, a follower of the Seljūqs, was governor of Luristán and part of Khūzistán. (548) Shujāʿuʿd-Dīn Khurshīd b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Khurshīd was the first independent ruler of Lur-i-Kuchuk. He had two sons, Badr and Ḥaydar, of whom the latter was killed during the siege of Dīzh-i-Siyāḥ (“the Black Fortress”). The other, Badr, and his cousin Sayfūʿd-Dīn Rustam, made war on the Turkish ruler of Bayāt, 1) overcame him, and took his country. Sayfūʿd-Dīn treacherously compassed the death of Badr, who left four Sons, Ḫusāmuʿd-Dīn Khalīl, Ḫadruʿd-Dīn Masʿūd, Sharaṭuʿd-Dīn Tahamtaṇ and Amīr ʿAlī. Shujāʿuʿd-Dīn 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 Sayfūʿd-Dīn Rustam, who ruled justly and suppressed highway robbery with a strong hand, but was finally killed by ʿAlī, a son of the murdered Badr. (551) His brother, Sharaṭuʿd-Dīn Abū Bakr succeeded him, and he in turn was succeeded by his brother ʿIzzuʿd-Dīn Garshāsf, who was speedily deposed (552) by Ḫusāmuʿd-Dīn Khalīl, and, a year later; murdered by him. War ensues between Ḫusāmuʿd-Dīn and Shihābuʿd-Dīn Sulaymānshāḥ, the brother of ʿIzzuʿd-Dīn’s widow and the guardian of his infant children. So

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1) Bayāt is the name of a district in or near Khūzistán.
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-khwáist. 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 Mas’úd, 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 Mas’úd, 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 Mas’úd died in A. H. 658. His justice and piety. His sons, Jalálu’d-Dín 1) Badr and Naṣiru’d-Dín ‘Umar, 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 Mas’úd’s two sons Falaku’d-Dín Ḥasan and ‘Izzu’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 Jamál’u’d-Dín Khídr, son of Táju’d-Dín Sháh, who was killed by rival competitors

1) Jamál’u’d-Dín in other MSS.
for the throne in A.H. 693 near Khurramábád. With him the family of Husámú’d-Dín Khalíf came to an end. He was succeeded by Husámú’d-Dín ‘Umar Beg, who (556) was speedily deposed in favour of Samsámú’d-Dín Maḥmúd, who was put to death by command of Gházán Khán in A.H. 695. He was succeeded by Izzu’d-Dín [Aḥmad, the son of Amín] 1) Muḥammad, the son of Izzu’d-Dín Ḥusayn, the son of Badru’d-Dín Maṣʿūd, the son of Shujá’u’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 Maṣʿūd 2), and, after Izzu’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 (Maṭla’), and followed by a Conclusion (Makhla’).

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


1) The words enclosed in brackets are omitted in many MSS.
2) This Badru’d-Dín Maṣʿūd was the son of Falaku’d-Dín Ḥasan and the grandson of the Badru’d-Dín Maṣʿūd mentioned above.
CHAPTER IV, SECTION 12.

Makhlaš (Conclusion).

565—571 Tables of the Mongol rulers descended from Chingiz Khán, down to Abú Sa'íd, 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 Qur láš [? Birúláš], one of the branches of Qunquirát. 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) Chingiz Khán. Pedigree of Chingiz Khán. He was originally named Temúchín, and was born on Dhu’l-Qa’da 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 Úng 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 Chingiz 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, Qirghiz, Alán, Tangut and Russia. (573) Convention with Sulṭán Muhammad Khwárazmsháh. Increased commercial relations between Persia and Mongolia. Treacherous murder of Mongol merchants by Tnáljúq the governor of Utrár in A. H. 615. Chingiz 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 Chingiz Khan to four of his seven sons. Death of Chingiz Khan in Ramađán, A.H. 624 ( = Aug.—Sept., A.H. 1227) after a reign of 25 years.

(2) Ogotây Qâ'an, son of Chingiz Qâ'an.

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 Sultân Jalâlu'd-Dîn Khwárazmshâh in A.H. 628. Amîr Jintimîr made governor of Persia until A.H. 633, when he was succeeded by Naw-sâl, who died in A.H. 637 and was succeeded by Gûrkûz. After 8 years, he was put to death in A.H. 645, and was succeeded by Arghûn, who held this position until his death in the reign of Abuqâ Khân. Ogotáy died of excessive drinking on the 5th of Ju-mâda ii, A.H. 639 ( = Dec. 11, A. D. 1241) Account of Tûshî (who predeceased his father Chingiz by six months) and (576) his son Bâtû and his successors. Account of Chaghâtây Qâ'an, who predeceased his brother Ogotáy by one year. (577), and of his successors. Account of Tûlî Qâ'an, who died in A.H. 628 1) (578).

(3) Kuyûk Qâ'an, son of Ogotây Qâ'an.

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 —

1) In A.H. 630, according to the Jâmi'ât-Tawârikh (ed. Blochet, p. 221).
CHAPTER IV, SECTION 12.

(4) Mangú Qá’án, son of Túlí Qá’án.

He was crowned in Rabí‘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. Idíqút, king of the Uyghúrs, plans a massacre of Muslims at Besh-Báliq, but is himself put to death. Earthquake in Adharbáyján 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 Chingiz.

He was sent to extirpate the Assassins in Persia by his brother Mangú, at the instigation of the Qádí 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. Húlágú captures and sacks Baghdád, and puts to death al-Mustaṣ‘im, the last ʿAbbásid 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 Marágha in A. H. 663, after a reign of 9 years, at the age of 48. The Zij-i-Ilkhání compiled for Húlágú by Naṣīru'd-Dín Ţúsí, Mu'ayyadu'd-Dín ʿArūḍi, Fakhru'd-Dín Akhláṭi and Najmu'd-Dín Qazwíní.

(7) Ābáqá Khán, son of Húlágú.

He was appointed to succeed his father by his uncle Qubiláy Qá'án in Ramaqlán, A. H. 663 (June—July, A. D. 1265). Tarálkáy Khátún sends an army against Persia. A battle is fought on Safar 8, A. H. 664. (582) Ābáqá Khán marches on Tíflís. Mâṣ'ūd Beg b. Mâhmúd Yalwâj goes to Persia in A. H. 666. Wars of Ābáqá Khán with various rivals. Birth of Gházáán at the end of Rabí'ii, A. H. 670 (beginning of December, A. D. 1271). Revolt of Tárábí in Bughará in A. H. 636 1). (583) Death of Arghún at Tús on Dhú'il-Hiǧja 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 Ābáqá. — Earthquake at Akhláṭ and other places. Defeat of Mongols by Bunduqdar's Egyptians at Abulustayn 2). — Mu'ínu'd-Dín Parwâna put to death by Ābáqá in A. H. 676. Invasion of Fárs by Nikúdar's army. Defeat of Mongols by Syrians near Ŧimş (Emessa). Death of Ābáqá at a banquet given by Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Khwája Bahá'u'd-Dín Šáhib-Diwán (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. — Majdul-Mulk of Yazd was latterly preferred to him, and hence some suspected that he had poisoned his master Ābáqá in revenge. — Death of Prince Manggú Tímúr at Baghdad in A. H. 681.

1) MS. "671", but the author of the Tahán-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 Váqút's Geographical Dictionary: *بُكْرَةٌ*.
CHAPTER IV, SECTION 12.

(8) Aḥmad Khān, son of Hūlāgū.

He was crowned at Aladāq 1) in A.H. 681, and appointed as his wasir Shamsu’Dīn the Sahlīb-Diwān, at whose instigation he put Majdu’l-Mulk of Yazd to death on the 20th of Jumādā i, A.H. 681. — Rebellion of Arghūn. (585), who defeated Aḥmad at Qazwin in A.H. 683. Aḥmad sacks Dāmghān, and Arghūn retires to the fortress of Kalāt, and afterwards surrenders voluntarily and is imprisoned, though Aḥmad’s amirs urgently counsel him to kill him. Arghūn 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. ʿAlā’u’Dīn ʿAtā-Malik the Sahlīb-Diwān, brother of Shamsu’Dīn, [author of the Ta’rikh-i-Jahān-gushā] and governor of Baghdaḏ and Arabia after the destruction of the last Caliph by Hūlāgū, died during Aḥmad’s reign in A.H. 681.

(9) Arghūn, son of Abāqā.

On Sha’bān 4, A.H. 683 (= Oct. 16, 1284) Shamsu’Dīn Muḥammad Saḥīb-Diwān was put to death at Ahar by Arghūn, on suspicion of having poisoned Abāqā Khān. He had served Arghūn’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 Hārūn was put to death in Jumādā ii, A.H. 685 (= August, 1286). Malik Jalā’u’Dīn Hamadānī was then made prime minister, but was put to death on Rajab 15, A.H. 688 (= August 5, 1289), and was succeeded by Sa’du’d-Dawla of Abhar, the Jew. (588) His vigorous administration. Amīr Chūbān’s first military achievements in A.H. 688 (= 1289). Sa’du’d-Dawla’s hostility is aroused against Fakhru’Dīn

1) This form alternates in the histories of the period with Aladāgh, Alatāq, and Alatāq.
Mongol Ilkâns of Persia. 145

Mustawfi 1) (589), and he causes him to be put to death on Ramaḍān 1, A. H. 689 (= Sept. 7, 1290). Arghūn's illness. Sa'du'd-Dawla and others are put to death in Șafar, A. H. 690 (= February, 1291). Arghūn died in the following month, after a reign of seven years. Verses on the execution of Khwāja Wajīhu'd-Dīn in A. H. 685.

(10) Gay-Khátū b. Abáqa.

Ṣadru'd-Dīn Aḥmad-i-Khālidī is made prime minister. (590) Gay-Khátū's extravagance and licentiousness. Revolt of the Atābek Afrāsiyāb Faḍlūya in Luristān, who was afterwards put to death by Gházān and succeeded by his brother Nuṣratu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, who was still Atābek when the author wrote. The attempt to establish paper currency (chāw) causes much discontent, which is increased by Gay-Khátū's extravagance and immorality. Baydū rebels (591), defeats Gay-Khátū, and puts him to death in Șafar, A. H. 694 (= January, 1295) after a reign of three years and seven months.

(11) Baydū b. Ṭarḥhāy b. Hūlāgū.

Jamālu'd-Dīn Dastgardānī is made prime minister. Revolt of Gházān Khān, aided by the Amīr Nawrüz and the late prime minister Aḥmad-i-Khālidī. After fierce struggles they agree that the south of Persia shall be assigned to Gházān and the north to Baydū. The latter violates the compact, and Gházān flies to Khurāsān, where, in A. H. 694 (= A. D. 1295) he is persuaded by the Amīr Nawrüz to embrace Islām. He subsequently defeats Baydū, whom he puts to death at Tabrīz after a reign of eight months.


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

1) This Fakhrud-Dīn was the Author's cousin on the father's side. See p. 485 of the text (= p. 110 supra).
November, 1295), and, aided by Amīr Nawrūz, devoted himself to the restoration of Islām 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. Jamālū’d-Dīn Dastgārdānī is again made wazīr, but is put to death two months later. He is followed by Ṣadru’d-Dīn Ṭḥān-i-Khālidī, who checks the evil practices which have grown up in connection with the demands for horses, fodder and the like made by the innumerable iclehis or king’s messengers. (593) Ghāzān Khān suspects the Amīr Nawrūz of treasonable correspondence with the Sultān of Egypt, and first kills his brothers and sons, and finally, after a struggle in which he is assisted by Malik Fakhrū’d-Dīn Kart, captures Nawrūz himself near Herāt 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-Dīn Ṭḥān-i-Khālidī, and appointed in his place the author’s beloved patron and master, Rashīdū’d-Dīn Faḍlullāh. (594) In A. H. 700 (= 1301—2) Ghāzān Khān also put to death Ruknū’d-Dīn Šā’in, Qāḏī of Simnān, Sayyid Qutbū’d-Dīn Shīrāzī, and Mu‘īnu’d-Dīn Ghānjī; and at the beginning of A. H. 702 (= end of August, A. D. 1302) he also put to death Niẓāmū’d-Dīn Yaḥyā, son of Wajhū’d-Dīn Zangi. Ghāzān Khān’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 Ghāzān’s troops were utterly defeated. Ghāzān was ill when this evil news arrived, and his illness was aggravated by the rebellion of Prince Alafrank, the son of Gaykhātū, (595) and proved fatal on Shawwāl 10, A. H. 703 (= May 16, 1304). He died at Qazwīn, after a reign of eight years, at the age of 30, and was buried at Tabrīz, 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'rikh-i-Khānī, which took as its starting-point Rajab 12, A. H. 701 (= March 13, 1302).

(13) Ulijáytū (Khudá-banda Muḥammad) b. Arghún.

He was in Khurásán when the news of his brother's death arrived. He was crowned at Tabrīz 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 Abū Saʿīd on Wednesday, Dhu'l-Qa'da 8, A. H. 704 (May 29, 1305). In A. H. 705 Sayyid Tāju'd-Dīn Gūr-surkhī, the agent of Amīr Hūrqūḍāq, was guilty of seditious actions, and was put to death on Shawwāl 20 (= May 5, 1306). In the same year certain rebellious Mongol princes and the Amīrs of Egypt and Syria submitted. In A. H. 706 Gilān was subdued, and a tax imposed on its silk. In this war Amīr Qutlugshāh was killed. Foundation of the cities of Sulṭān-iyya (east of Tabrīz), Sulṭānābād (near Mount Bisutūn), and Ulijāytū Sulṭānābād near Mūghān, by the sea-shore. Death of Ulijāytū's wife ʿIldūzmish Khāṭūn in Jumāda 1, A. H. 708 (Oct.—Nov., 1308). Submission of Shamsu'd-Dīn Aq-sunqur, lord of Ḥamā (597), Jamālū'd-Dīn Afram, lord of Aleppo, and other amīrs of Syria in that year. In A. H. 710 differences arose between the ministers Rashīdu'd-Dīn and Saʿdu'd-Dīn, and, suspicion of a conspiracy being cast on the latter, he was put to death on Shawwāl 10, A. H. 711 (= Feb. 19, 1312) at Baghdād with Amīr Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Yaḥyā, Khwāja Zaynu'd-Dīn, Khwāja Shihābu'd-Dīn Mubārakshāh, and others. Verses by the author on this event. On Dhu'l-Ḥijja 3 of the same year Sayyid Tāju'd-Dīn Awjī, a prominent Shī'ite,
was put to death, and Sayyid Imádu’d-Dín ‘Alá’u’l-Mulk was blinded, and (598) Khwája Táju’d-Dín of Tabríz was made wasir, on condition that he should obey Rashídú’d-Dín, by whom the author was placed in charge of the district comprising Qazwín, Ābhar, Zanján and Táirimayn. In Shawwwál, A. H. 712 (= February, 1313) Uljaytú marched into Syria, and reduced the fortress of Raḥba. Some of the Mongol princes invaded and ravaged Khurásán, and Uljaytú sent the Amír Shaykh ‘Alí Qúshjí to avenge this insult. He crossed the Oxus and ravaged Tírmídíl and Transoxiana, and Prince Abú Sa’íd was appointed governor of Khurásán, with Amír Súnum as his lieutenant. (599) In A. H. 715 (= A. D. 1315—6) a quarrel arose between the ministers Rashtídú’d-Dín and Táju’d-Dín ‘Alísháh, to whom Uljaytú gave joint powers. In the following year (A. H. 716) (= Dec. 17, 1316), Uljaytú died at Sultáníyya, 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 Qara-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.


On receiving news of his father’s death, Abú Sa’íd at once left Khurásán, which was immediately seized by Prince Yusúr and Amír Begtút. Abú Sa’íd was crowned in Šafar, 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
Begtūt in Khurāsān, and brings them to submission. Renewed quarrels between the ministers Rashīdu’d-Dīn and ʻAlīshāh. As a result of intrigues the former was dismissed from his post and sent to Tabrīz in disgrace. (603) In the winter Abū Saʻīd went to Baghdad, where, on Dhu’l-Qa‘da 20, A.H. 717 (= Jan. 24, 1318) the Amīr Sūnuj died. In the spring Abū Saʻīd returned to Sultānīyya, while Amīr Chūbān went to hunt in Adhārba'yjān, taking Rashīdu’d-Dīn with him, in spite of his unwillingness to leave Tabrīz. The partisans of his rival ʻAlīshāh succeeded in poisoning the minds of Sultān Abū Saʻīd and the Amīr Chūbān against him, and finally on the 18th of Jumāda i, A.H. 718 (= July 18, 1318) he was put to death, with his son ‘IZzu’d-Dīn Ibrāhīm, near Abhar. (604) Overthrow of Amīr Zanbūr in Ramadan of this year, on account of his opposition to Amīr Chūbān, who had made himself very unpopular by his severities. War between Qur-mishī and Chūbān. (605) The latter is extricated from his embarrassments by Tāju’d-Dīn ʻAlīshāh. Further mischief wrought in Adhārba'yjān by the Amīrs Iranchīn and Qur-mishī, both of whom belonged to the Karāyīt tribe of the Mongols. Sultān Abu Saʻīd meets them in battle at Miyāna in Rabī’ ii, A.H. 719 (= May—June, 1319), and utterly routs and destroys them. It was on account of the Sultān’s courage in this battle that he received (606) the title of Bahāduration. On Rajab 20, A.H. 719 (= Sept. 6, 1319) Amīr Chūbān married Sātī Beg, the daughter of ʻUljāytū. Death of Amīr Ḫūsayn b. Aq-būqā in Muḥarram, A.H. 722 (= Jan.—Feb., 1322). Amīr Timūr-tāsh, son of Amīr Chūbān, governor of Rūm (Asia Minor), revolted, but was reduced to obedience by his father, who put to death his evil counsellors, and brought him to the Sultān, who shortly afterwards reinstated him. Death of the minister ʻAlīshāh in Jumāda ii, A.H. 724 (= June, 1324) at ʻUjān. He was the only minister of the Mongols who died a natural death, and was succeeded by his son
Amīr Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Muḥammad, who was soon, however, displaced by Malik Nuṣratu’d-Dīn ʿAdil, called Ṣā’īn Wazīr. (607) In A. H. 725 (≈ A. D. 1325) Amīr Chūbān, passing through Gurjistān, invaded the realms of Uzbek Khān, and devastated them, to avenge the devastation wrought by him when he came to Persia. Dismissal of Ṣā’īn Wazīr from the position of Grand Wazīr. Dimashq-Khwāja, son of Chūbān, succeeds him. Amīr Chūbān sends his eldest son Ḥasan against Zābul and Kābul to attack Tirma Shirīn, whom he defeated. He then ravaged those countries, and defaced the tomb of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. To this impious act the author ascribes the fall of the family of Chūbān which shortly ensued. (608) The king, alarmed at the growing power of this family, sought an occasion against them, and on Shawwāl 5, A. H. 727 (≈ Aug. 24, 1327) a rumour was put about that Chūbān had been put to death in Khurāsān, and an attack was made on the house of his son Dimashq-Khwāja, who was killed. Verses by Shamsu’d-Dīn of Sāwa on this subject. Chūbān, on receiving this news, put to death Ṣā’īn Wazīr the ex-minister in revenge at Herāt, and marched on ʿIrāq. The king hastened from Sulṭāniyya to meet him. When Chūbān reached Ray and the king Qazwīn, many of the amirs who were with Chūbān 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 Herāt with only 17 followers, and there sought shelter from Malik Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn [Kart], who, in Muḥarram, A. H. 728 (≈ Nov.—Dec., 1327), treacherously slew him, together with his son Jalāw Khān and several of his principal followers. But Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn [Kart] did not profit by his treachery, for shortly afterwards both he and his son Ḥāfīz died. Timūr-Tāsh, another of Chūbān’s sons, fled to the Sulṭān of Egypt, who, fearing his popularity, put him to death in
Shawwāl, A. H. 728 (= August, 1328), and sent his head to Sultān Abū Sa‘īd. (610) Chūbān’s son Ḥasan and his son fled to Khwārazm, where they were honoured by king Uzbek, but soon afterwards Ḥasan was killed in battle, and his son died a natural death. Shaykh Maḥmūd, another of Chūbān’s sons, who was governor of Gurjistān, was taken prisoner by Abū Sa‘īd’s troops and put to death at Tabrīz, and in short the family of Chūbān was practically exterminated. Thereupon Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Muḥammad, son of the talented but unfortunate Rashīdu’d-Dīn Faḍlu’llāh, the author’s master and patron, was made prime minister, jointly with Khwāja ʻAlā’u’d-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʻImādu’d-Dīn, 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 wazir to the governor of Khurāsān. Execution of Nārīn-Ṭaghāy and Tāsh-Timūr at the beginning of Shawwāl, A. H. 729 (= July 29, A. D. 1329). Praises of Shamsu’d-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nizām al-Ḥusaynī al-Yazdī. Verses cited from Zahiru’d-Dīn Farvābī. The author prays for the long life and prosperity of Sultān Abū Sa‘īd and of his just and accomplished ministers.

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

Account of the Muẓaffari Dynasty, which included seven rulers, and reigned in Fārs, etc. from A. H. 718—795, a period of 77 years. Pp. 613—755]

Mawлānā Mu’īnu’d-Dīn Yazdī 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, Maḥmūd Kutb(?)1, having read the Ta’rīkh-i-Guzida,

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 Tīmūr-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) Amir Mubārizu’-d-Din Muḥammad.

He was the son of al-Muẓaffar, son of al-Manṣūr, son of al-Ḥājj Amīr Ghiyāthu’-d-Dīn, who was from Khwāf in Khorāsān. 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 Ḥājjī had three sons, Abū Bakr, Muḥammad and Manṣūr. The two former were attached to the service of the Atābek ‘Alā’u’-d-Dawla 1) of Yazd. When Hulāgū Khān marched against Baghdād, the Atābek sent Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥājjī with 300 horsemen to assist him. After the capture of Baghdād, this Abū Bakr was sent with an army to the Egyptian frontier, and was killed in battle by the Arabs of Khaṇājā. His brother Muḥammad succeeded him as lieutenant to the Atābek of Yazd, until he also died, leaving no issue.

Manṣūr b. Ḥājjī.

The third brother, Manṣūr, dwelt at the little town of Maybud near Yazd, and assisted his father during his lifetime. He had three sons, Mubārizu’-d-Dīn Muḥammad, Zaynu’-d-Dīn ‘Alī, and Sharafu’-d-Dīn Muẓaffar. The first had one son, Amīr Badru’-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, who was the father of Shāh Sultān.

Sharafu’-d-Dīn Muẓaffar.

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

1) MS. ‘Alā’u’-d-Dīn. See the foot-note on p. 118.
virtuous and talented. (617) He dreamed that the sun arose from the house of the Atábek ʿAláʾuʾd-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. ʿAláʾuʾd-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 Sultán Jaláluʾd-Din Súrghit-mish 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 Rabíʾ i, A. H. 694 (= Jan.—Feb. A. D. 1293), 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 Mubárizuʾd-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 Ardístán to Kirmánsháh and from Herát and
Merv by to Abarqûh. He also accompanied the Sulṭán on his campaign against Gilân. At this time the wasir Rashídû’d-Dîn had a grudge against Muẓaffar, but his deputy, Sayyid Jalâlû’d-Dîn Kâshî, succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. In A. H. 707 (= A. D. 1307—8) Muẓaffar was sent to Yazd and Shîrâz, accompanied by his son Mubârizu’d-Dîn Muḥammad. In A. H. 711 (= A. D. 1311—12) when Uljâytû marched to Bagh-dâd, Muẓaffar met him at Khânîqîn. A little later he was charged with the duty of subduing the rebellious Shabân-kâra. (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’dâ 13, A. H. 713 (= March i, 1314). His body was conveyed to Maybud and buried in a college which he had erected and endowed. He left one son (Mubârizu’d-Dîn Muḥammad) and three daughters. His younger daughter was married to his nephew Bâdrû’d-Dîn Abû Bakr, to whom she bore Shâh Sulṭán. One of his daughters was the mother of Sulṭán Aḥmad’s wife, while the other was the mother of Amîr Ghiyâthû’d-Dîn Muḥammad b. Quṭbu’d-Dîn Sulaymân-shâh b. Maḥmûd b. Kamâl.

*Mubârizu’d-Dîn 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 Nikûdarîs, in which his sister and other women take part. He is confirmed in his father’s offices by Uljâytû, with whom he remains for four years. At the beginning of Shawwâl, A. H.

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

2) MS. “two”, but three are afterwards enumerated.
716 (= Dec. 17, 1316) Uljaytú died, and was succeeded by his son Abú Sa'id. In A. H. 717 (= A. D. 1317—8) Mubárizu 'd-Dín returned to Maybud. (622) Sayyid 'Aḏudu' d-Dín Yazdí repelled. Amír Kay-Khusraw b. Maḥmúd Sháh Injú 1), a descendant of Khwája 'Abdu'lláh Anšári, 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 Súltán Abú Sa'id 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 Sístáníís, known as Nikúdarís, led by a certain Navrúz, 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 Báfí, killing many of them, including Navrúz. The captives and heads of the slain were sent to the Súltán'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 Muṣaffar.

(625) Sháh Sharáfu' d-Dín Muṣaffar 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 Jahân-árdá (Brit. Mus., Or. 141, f. 167a). 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-'Umari which his father had built. In A. H. 729 (= A. D. 1328—9) Amír Mubárizu’d-Dín Muḥammad went to Kirmán to marry Quṭluḥ Khán, the daughter of Sultán Quṭbu’d-Dín Sháh Jahán b. Sultán Jalálu’d-Dín Súrghitmish b. Sultán 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. ‘Izzu’d-Dín was at this time wasír.

Birth of Sháh Shujá’

Jalálu’d-Dín Sháh Shujá’ was born on Wednesday, 22 Juḿáda ii, A. H. 733 (= March 10, 1333). (626) In A. H. 734 (= A. D. 1333—4) Amír Muḥammad again visited the Camp of Sultán Abú Sa’íd, accompanied by his son Sháh Muẓaffar, and received from the Sultán the most notable marks of favour. Thereafter Mubárizu’d-Dín visited the Shrine of ‘Alí b. Abí Ṭalíb.

Death of Sultán Abú Sa’íd.

On the death of Abú Sa’íd in A. H. 736 (= 1335—6), chaos ensued (627), and pretenders to the throne arose on all sides. The wasír, Ghiyáthu’d-Dín Muḥammad b. Rashídú’d-Dín placed Arpá on the throne, but Amír ‘Alí Páshá 2), the maternal uncle of the late Sultán, disapproved of this choice, attacked Tabríz, routed Arpá’s troops, and put him and the wasír Ghiyáthu’d-Dín to death. In Juḿáda 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 “Khámičbúr”. This MS. of the Gusída has “Khamítár”, probably for “Khámičbúr”, 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 ‘Alí is confirmed by Ibn Taghrí-bardí and the Jahán-árá.
The Amir Abu Ishaq Shaykh goes to Yazd.

Shiraz was ruled by the sons of Mahmud Shah [Inju] (628), of whom the eldest, Amir Jalalu'd-Din Mas'ud Shah, was supreme. His youngest brother Jamalu'd-Din Shaykh Abu Ishaq went to Yazd, and was met at a distance of one parasang from that city by Amir Mubarizu'd-Din Muhammad. 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 Shihabu'd-Din Ali Baba 'Imran he retired.

The Repentance of Amir Mubarizu'd-Din Muhammad.

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

Amir Pir Husayn comes to Fars.

Mubarizu'd-Din's devout life was interrupted by a summons to join Amir Pir Husayn, who was marching on Shiraz. After some hesitation he consented, and the two met at Isfahan. On hearing this, Amir Mas'ud Shah b. Mahmud Shah [Inju], the governor of Shiraz, escaped to Kazarun, whither he was pursued by Mubarizu'd-Din. (630), who, having put him to flight, returned to lay siege to Shiraz. After a fierce sortie, the defenders were reduced to great straits, and finally capitulated to Amir Pir Husayn, who conferred on Mubarizu'd-Din 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 Qutbu'd-Din b. Nasiru'd-Din Muhammad b. Burhan, who with his father, had ruled there for 35 years. (631) Mubarizu'd-Din disbanded his army and sent for Shah Shujah, who arrived a few days later.

1) Many of the poems of Hafez are in praise of this prince.
The army of Khurásán marches on Kirmán.

On the loss of Kirmán, Malik Qutbu'd-Dín set out for Khurásán, and asked for help from the king of Herát, who lent him an army of Ghúris 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 Ísá. Having collected an army, he marched back to Kirmán to attack the invaders, while Sháh Mu'áaffár and Sháh Sulţán 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 Qutbu'd-Dín again sought help from Herát. Meanwhile Amír Pír Ísá arrived from Shiráz 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 Ísá, 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 Sulţán Ímádu'd-Dín Aḥmad.

(633) Conquest of Bam.

The strong fortress of Bam was held by Akhí Shujá'ú'd-Dín, who had been appointed its governor in the life-time of Sulţán Abú Sa'úd, 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 Qutluq-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 Shujá'ú'd-Dín was spared at the time, but was afterwards killed.
War with the Arabs.

Certain Arabs in Herát, Merv 1), Şahn-i-Rúdhán, Rafsinján and Shahr-i-Bábak betook themselves to robbery, and Mubárizu’d-Dín with his son Sháh Muẓaffar and his wasír Ruknu’d-Dín Maḥmúd b. Rashíd set out to attack them, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. (635) Birth of Sháh Yahyá 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-Maṣáli, claimed descent from the Caliph ‘Uthmán. 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 wasír 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 Amir Pir Husayn and Amir Shaykh Abú Isháq.

(636) Attempts made by mischief-makers to sow discord between Amír Pir Husayn and Mubárizu’d-Dín. In A.H. 742 (= A.D. 1341—2) the government of Isfahán was given to Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq, who joined Malik Ashraf [b. Tímúrtásh b. Chúpán] when he marched against ‘Iráq and Fárs. Amír Pir Ḩusayn 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 Kírmán district.
Isfahán, but was deserted by the Qāḍī Shamsu'd-Dīn Šā'īn and Amīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Ṭayyibshāh, the commander of the Turkmān army, who deserted to Malik Ashraf. Amīr Muẓaffar u'd-Dīn Salghar urged him to seek help from Mubārizu 'd-Dīn, but this his suspicions prevented him from doing, and he set out that same night for Tabrīz to seek help from his cousin, Amīr Shaykh Ḥasan b. Timūrtāsh, who, however, cast him into prison. Most of his captains, including Zahiru 'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm-i-Ṣawāb, thereupon joined Mubārizu'd-Dīn, who thus became possessed of an uncontested domain. (638)

In Muḥarram, A. H. 744 (= June, 1343) a battle took place at Nā'īn between Malik Ashraf and Shāh Muẓaffar and Shāh Sulṭān. Malik Ashraf was defeated and retired to Sulṭaniyya and Tabrīz, where he collected a great army to invade Fārs. He plundered and massacred, and in the valley of Shi'b Bawwān, 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 Tabrīz. The strong fortress of Sīrjān capitulates, and agrees to pay a yearly tribute of 100,000 dinārs. Khwāja Tāju'd-Dīn ʿIrāqī saves himself from death at the hands of Mubārizu'd-Dīn by a verse of poetry (640).

Amīr Shaykh Abū Ishaq goes to Kirmān.

On the departure of Malik Ashraf from Fārs, Amīr Shaykh's power greatly increased, and he assumed the title of king and struck coins and caused the khaṭba to be read in his name. In Ṣafar, A. H. 748 (= May—June, 1347) he marched on Kirmān, attacking Sīrjān on the way, and destroying the town with some 1200 of the inhabitants, but leaving the citadel unreduced. On reaching Bahrāmjird, some 15 parasangs from Kirmān, he ascertained that Mubārizu'd-Dīn was awaiting him with a large army, whereupon he retired to Shīrāz. (641) On his arrival there he made Amīr Zahiru'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm-i-Ṣawāb
his wasir, and when he was assassinated shortly afterwards he appointed Sayyid Ghiyáthu'd-Dín 'Alí and Shamsu'd-Dín Sá'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 Ishaq 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 Hazärá.

Mubárizu'd-Dín, finding the Afghán스 settled in the SE. of Persia disobedient and disloyal, distinguished the loyal Jurýmá'iís with a special badge, and ordered the Afghán스 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 Afghán스 1).

Soon after Mubárizu'd-Dín had returned to Kirmán, he heard (644) that the Afghán스 and Jurýmá'iís had united and were plundering the country. Thereupon he marched against them, and the two forces met in the plain of Kháwun (?) The Afghán스 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 Afghán스, 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 Gházi or champion of the faith.

1) I am not sure whether by “Afghán스” or “Awghán스” (ارگایان) 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 Jurýmá'iís as Mongol tribes.
He returned safely to Kirmán, where Sháh Shujá' and the \textit{wazír} Burhánu’d-Dín were awaiting him.

\textit{(645) Faithlessness of Amir Shaykh Abú Isháq.}

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

\textit{Events in Kirmán.}

Meanwhile Amir Sulṭáns Sháh Jándár with his Afghans advanced on Kirmán, but Mubárízu’d-Dín kept them at a distance of four parasangs from the city. When Abú Isháq returned from Maybud he sent Sayyid Šádru’d-Dín to Kirmán to negotiate. Mubárízu’d-Dín complained of \textit{(647)} Abú Isháq’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 Sultānshāh returned to Shīrāz.

Account of the Afghāns and Jurmā'īs.

Finding no party willing to support them, the Afghāns submitted, and in one day received 1000 robes of honour, while some of their amirs attached themselves to the Court at Kirmān. At this juncture Muḥammad Beg, son-in-law of Malik Ashraf, marched against Irāq, and asked help from Mubārizu’d-Dīn, who set out to follow them when they had nearly reached Isfahān, accompanied by some of the Afghāns. Treacherous intentions becoming apparent on their part, Mubārizu’d-Dīn slew a great number of those who had accompanied him, and of those who were at Kirmān. Amīr Tīmūr, one of the bravest captains of Abū Isḥāq, was also put to death on suspicion of treachery (648).

Campaign in the Garm-sīr.

Winter being now near at hand, Mubārizu’d-Dīn and his son Shāh Shujā’, who was then 10 years of age, set out for Jīrāfīt. On arriving there, they found the Afghāns holding the Qal’ā-i-Sulaymānī. Abū Isḥāq again violated his promise and allowed the Afghāns at Shīrāz to march thither with Amīr Sultānshāh Jāndār, to collect the taxes from Mukrān, Hurmūz, etc. On arriving near Mubārizu’d-Dīn’s camp a message reached them from Abū Isḥāq that he was sending six regiments to reinforce them, and that they should proceed to Kirmān. Amīr Sultānshāh communicated this letter to Mubārizu’d-Dīn. (649) This was the seventh time that Abū Isḥāq had violated his promises. Desultory fighting and raiding went on until the spring came and the weather grew hot, when Mubārizu’d-Dīn returned to Kirmān, whither he was followed by Sultānshāh, 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 Nawrúzis, 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 ʿAffúʿd-Dín, son of Muḥammad-i-Yaʾqūb, was invited to come from Yazd and open it. Other buildings were erected with money derived from Mubárizuʿd-Dín’s estates at Maybud, and in A.H. 755 (= A.D. 1354) Muʿinuʿd-Dín Yazdī, the author of the original of this chronicle, was appointed professor in one of these colleges named the Dārūʿs-Siyādat.

Ministry of Qiwāmūʿd-Dīn.

In A.H. 750 (= A.D. 1349—50) Qiwāmūʿd-Dīn Muḥammad became wazir to Shāh Shujāʾ. In A.H. 755 (= A.D. 1354) he was made viceroy. Next year he was Qāʿīm-Maqām of Kirmán, and acted as adviser and instructor to Shāh Shujāʾ.

Abū ʿIṣḥāq again marches on Yazd.

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

Conquest of Amir Beg Ḥakāz.

When Amir Beg Ḥakāz deserted the cause of Malik Ashraf, he came to Abū ʿIṣḥāq and was made commander of his army. After the retreat of Abū ʿIṣḥāq from Yazd, he was sent with Amir Kayqubād 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 infra, p. 161, ad eund.
against Kirmán. Mubárizu’-d-Dín, on hearing this, made a
treaty for mutual defence with the Afghanás 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
Mu’azzafar from Yazd, and they foregathered at Rafsinján.
Mubárizu’-d-Dín and Amír Beg Jakáź met at Panj Angušt
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 Shiráz by Mubárizu’-d-Dín.

Mubárizu’-d-Dín now decided to march on Shíráz, and first
moved to Bam, where he received from Murtuqá’ A’zam
Shamsu’-d-Dín ‘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-Siyyádat of
Kirmán. (654) Mubárizu’-d-Dín then proceeded to Riqán, where
he nominated Jalálú’-d-Dín Sháh Shujá’c his successor. Abú
Isháq, hearing of the approaching attack, consulted the nobles
and ulama’. One of the latter, Aqudu’-d-Dín ‘Abdu’r-Rahmán
al-Tjí advised him to make peace, and, his advice being accep-
ted, he set out to seek Mubárizu’-d-Dín. At Súján he met Sháh
Mu’azzafar, who was coming from Yazd, and they proceeded to-
gether, coming up with Mubárizu’-d-Dín in the plain of Arzúya (?)
and Dasht-bard. Mubárizu’-d-Dín received al-Tjí very graci-
ously and assigned him an allowance of 50,000 dinýrs and
10,000 for his attendants. He also read Ibn Hájjib’s Commentary
on the Mufassal 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 Isháq
had already violated his promises eight times, and proceeded to Furg and Ṭārim, while al-Tijī went by way of Nayriz to Shabānkāra. (655) Mubārizu’d-Dīn reached Fārs in Ṣafar, A. H. 754 (= March, 1353), and Abū Ishāq advanced to meet him with an army, but fell back next day on Shīráz, whither he was followed by Mubārizu’d-Dīn.

Capture of the Castle of Sarband.

Majdu’d-Dīn of Sarband surrendered his castle, and was confirmed in the Wardenship of it and of Khafrak, but soon rebelled, whereupon Mubārizu’d-Dīn, accompanied by his son Shāh Shujā’, attacked and subdued it. Majdu’d-Dīn and his elder son went to Shīráz, while his younger son and his followers were captured and put to death. He then returned to lay siege to Shīráz but fell ill for a time, while Shāh Muṣaffar was also taken seriously ill, and (656), notwithstanding all that the physicians could do, died in Jumāda i, A. H. 754 (= July; 1353) and was buried at Maybūd in the Muṣaffariyya College. He was 28 years and a half in age when he died, and left four sons, Shāh Yahyā, Shāh Manṣūr, Shāh Ḥusayn and Shāh ʿAlī, and two daughters.

Capture of the Red Castle (Qalʿa-i-Surkh).

Shortly after this, Shāh Shujā’ set out to capture the Red Castle situated 4 Parasangs from Shīráz, which was occupied by some of Abū Ishāq’s troops. It was reduced, and the spoils were divided by Shāh Shujā’ amongst his troops. Meanwhile Mubārizu’d-Dīn, in spite of his illness, continued to prosecute the siege of Shīráz. On Friday, 6th of Rabī‘ i, A. H. 754 (= April 11, 1353) Ḥājjji Qiwāmu’d-Dīn Ḥasan, one of the chief men of Fārs (657), died, to the great grief of Abū Ishāq 1). His son narrates to the author of this history

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1) Ḥājjī has a qilfa on this event, giving the date as above, except that the month is given as Rabī‘ ii, not Rabī‘ i. See Rosenzweig-Schwannau’s edition of the Dīwān, vol. iii, p. 304.
how he went, on the third day after Qiwâmu'd-Dîn's death, to see Abû Ishâq, 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) Abû Ishâq aroused the hostility of the Shírâzîs by putting to death Sayyid Amîr Hâjjî Darrâb and Hâjjî Shamsu’d-Dîn. Finally in the month of Ro mâdân [A. H. 754 = October, 1353] Ra’îs ʿUmar, son of ʿAlâ’u’d-Dîn, caused the Mûrdistân gate to be left open, and Mubârizu’d-Dîn and his troops entered the town on Shawwâl 3 (= Nov. 1, 1353), and Abû Ishâq, with some of his followers, fled to Shûlístân, and thence to the White Castle (Qal’â-i-Sapid), noted since Sásânian times for its strength. He then demanded help from Amîr Shaykh Ḥassan, governor of Baghdad, who sent his son Amîr-Aqbbûqá by way of Shûshtar to help him. (659) On hearing that Shâh Shujâ’c was advancing against them, however, Aqbbûqá returned to Baghdad, while Abû Ishâq fled to Iṣfahân. Mubârizu’d-Dîn conferred the government of Kirmân on Shâh Shujâ’c, and handed over to him ʿAlî Sahl, the ten-year-old son of Abû Ishâq, Amîr Beg Jakâz, and Kulû Fakhru’d-Dîn. The second was drowned in the Kirmân river, the last was put to death at Kirmân, and the child was murdered near Râfsinjân, 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) Mubârizu’d-Dîn’s good government of Fârs, encouragement of learning and repression of dissipation. Quatrain on this composed by Shâh Shujâ’. In A. H. 755 (= A. D. 1354) Mubârizu’d-Dîn set out to conquer ʿIrâq, accompanied by Shâh Shujâ’c and the Afghân, Arab and Jurmâ’î levies. Shâh Shujâ’c left Kirmân in the month of Rabî’i (= April), but at Shahr-i-Bâbak he was deserted by the Afghâns and Jurmâ’îs. 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 Manşúr, governor of the Shúl, and intended to seize Shíráz. Thereupon Sháh Shujá 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 Sulţán, Mubárízu’d-Dín’s governor of Shíráz (661), was completely taken by surprise, and fled to Sháh Shujá. The invaders set fire to the quarter of Múrdistán, which was most loyal to Mubárízu’d-Dín. Sháh Shujá hastened back to the town, which he entered by the Ištákhr 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 at the Kázarún gate. (662) Complete security restored in Shíráz by Sháh Shujá. Verses on this. Another attempt made by ’Imádu’d-Dín Mahmúd and Amír Salgharsháh, the nephew of Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq, to overthrow the Muẓaffarí rule in Fárs. These collected an army at Dárábjírd, and invited the Afghán Mongols to join them. They were promptly attacked by Sháh Shujá, who put them to flight. (663), and then returned to Shíráz. At this time Majdu’u’d-Dín surrendered the strong castle of Quhandiz [or Fahandir] to Sháh Sulţán, and also Amír Shaykh Abú Isḥáq’s treasures, which were stored up there. He was pardoned by Sháh Shujá for his rebellion, and these treasures were given to him.

Mubárízu’d-Dín swears allegiance to the Caliph and besieges Isfahán.

Mubárízu’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 ʿAbbásid Caliph al-
Muʿtaṣid b. Bīlāh Abú Bakr, he restored the Caliph’s name in the khulṭba (from which it had been omitted ever since the Mongol invasion) throughout ʿIrāq, exactly 100 years after the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols. Tradition cited à propos of this. (664) Meanwhile Amir Shaykh Abú Ishāq was trying by every means to recover his dominions. He pardoned Sulṭānshāh, whom he had held prisoner at ʿTabararak for some time, and, relying on his loyalty, sent him to rally the Afghāns and Jurmās; but Sulṭānshāh made his way to Luristān and thence to Shīrāz, where he joined Shāh Shujāʾ. As winter drew on, the siege of Isfahān was raised, but in the spring the task of subduing it was entrusted by Mubārizu’d-Dīn to Shāh Shujāʾ. When the army had encamped at the gates of Isfahān, Sayyid Jalālū’d-Dīn Mir-Mīrān, governor of that place, hid himself. (665) A few days later news came that Abū Ishāq, with the Atābek Nūrāward b. Sulaymānshāh b. Ahmad, had gathered an army in Luristān. Shāh Shujāʾ decided that he must first disperse this, and so marched to Kandamān and thence to Firūzān. Mubārizu’d-
Dīn also came hither with lightning speed. Thereupon the Atābek returned into Luristān, while Abū Ishāq went to Shūshtar, Shāh Shujāʾ returned to lay siege to Isfahān, and Mubārizu’d-Dīn encamped at Mārwānān to bar the return of the enemy. Soon afterwards Jalālū’d-Dīn Mir-Mīrān made his submission to Shāh Shujāʾ, who returned to Shīrāz.

1) The MS. here has wrongly “al-Muṣṭaṣid”, Ibn Taghri-bardī in his Nu-
jāmu’z-Zāhirat fi Mutāki Miṣr wa’t-Qāhirat records under the year A.H. 754 the death of the Caliph al-Ḥakīm bi’amīr li’l-Sahāb Abūl-ʿAbbās Ahmad. As he had not nominated his successor, a meeting of the nobles and judges was held, and they elected Abū Bakr b. al-Mustakfī bi’l-Sahāb Abīr-Rahīm Sulaymān, and swore allegiance to him under the title of al-Muṣṭaṣid. See also as-Suyūṭī’s Tāʾrikhu’l-Khulūfā, Cairo ed., p. 201.
SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

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 Mubárízu'd-Dín, and collected an army to resist him. Mubárízu'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 Mubárízu'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 Kírmán to extirpate the Afgháns and Jarmásis.

These tribes were settled in this region in the time of Sháh Shujá’s great-grandfather Jaláláu’d-Dín Súrghatmish to protect it. In course of time they waxed prosperous and multiplied. Súltán Sháh Jahán took a wife from amongst them and of that union was born Qutlugh, called “the Mo- ther of Kings” (Unnu’s-Saláṭín. When Mubárízu’d-Dín con- quered Kírmán 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 Kírmán 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" 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 Súltán Úways, Súltán Shibli, and Súltán Jahángír, and of Súltán Pádisháh the wife of Sháh Yaḥyá, died. Two years earlier he had married another wife (669), and the marriage was consummated on Sha'bán 12. Two robbers, Maḥmúd Tímúr and an Arab of Sháhr-i-Bábak, were captured and put to death.

_Sháh Shujá" again marches on Isfahán._

At the end of Sha'bán, Sháh Shujá" left Kirmán. On the 2nd of Ramačán he reached Rafsínján, and on Tuesday the 9th he reached Yazd, where he remained three days, and then met his father Mubárizú'd-Dín outside Ná'ín. A few days later news arrived that Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq had collected an army of the Hazára-i-Shádí at Jarbádhaqán (Gulpáyagán), and Mubárizú'd-Dín, leaving Sháh Shujá" 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" encamped at Fírúzán, one stage from Isfahán, 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 Isfaháníís were taken prisoner. Mubárizú'd-Dín, leaving Sháh Súltán to conduct the siege, returned to Shíráz.

_Conquest of Luristán._

The Atábek Núr-áaward, whose ancestors had ruled Luristán for generations, was from the first inclined to dispute Mubárizú'd-Dín's supremacy, and he and his kinsman Kayú-marth b. Takla wished to give their support to Amír Shaykh Abú Isháq. Mubárizú'd-Dín was anxious, on account of family connections, to avoid a conflict with them, but when (671)
Nūr-award allied himself with Abū Iṣḥāq, placed all his resources at his disposal, and marched on Iṣfahān, so that no doubt remained as to his hostility, Mubārizu'd-Dīn was very angry. He sent Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Khunjī, Amīr Kamālu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Rashīdī, Khwāja Ruḫnu'd-Dīn ʿAmīду'l-Mulk and Khwāja Ṣadrū'd-Dīn Anārī to remonstrate with them, but without effect. In the year A. H. 756 (= A. D. 1355) when Mubārizu'd-Dīn encamped outside Iṣfahān, the Atābek Nūr-award sent the Qāḍī Quṭbu'd-Dīn, the chief judge of Luristān, as an ambassador to him. In Muḥarram, A. H. 757 (Jan. 1356) it was decided to invade Luristān. Shāh Shujāʿ joined his father, and the expedition started, in spite of the intense cold. When they reached Bahbahān, however, the weather turned warmer. At this juncture news arrived that Kayūmarth, Shaykh ʿĪsā the Kurd, and other chiefs, were advancing with an army of 10,000 horse and foot. Thereupon Mubārizu'd-Dīn (672) prepared for battle, entrusting the right wing to Shāh Shujāʿ and the left wing to Shāh Maḥmūd, while he himself took command of the centre, in company with his grandson Shāh Yahya. In the battle which ensued Kayūmarth was killed and his army defeated. Next day the survivors, including the Atābek Shamsu'd-Dīn Pashang b. Salgharshāh b. Ḍhāmad b. Yūsufshāh b. Shamsu'd-Dīn Alp-Argūn b. Ḥazārāsp b. Abū Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abūl-Ḥasan Faḍlu'ī, and ʿAla'ū'd-Dīn ʿAṭā, Tāju'd-Dīn Takīn-Tāsh, Sirāju'd-Dīn ʿUmar Lāl-pā, and the other chiefs came to make their submission, and were well received. On reaching Ḥdaj 1), the capital of Luristān, news arrived that Nūr-award had occupied the strong fortress of Sūsān. Shāh Shujāʿ set out to attack him, whereupon he retreated to another fortress. Mubārizu'd-Dīn, having practically subdued Luristān, conferred the fellowship of it on the Atābek Shamsu'd-Dīn Pashang, the cousin and son-in-law of Nūr-award, whom he

1) The modern Māl-Amīr, one of the chief Bahšīṭīyārī centres.
soon succeeded in capturing and deprived of his eye-sight. Mubárizu’d-Dín, returning homewards from Tdaj, celebrated his victory by a great hunt in the plain of Rakhshábad (673).

*Conquest of Isfahán and capture of Shaykh Abú Isháq.*

While the campaign in Luristán was in progress, Sháh Sulá tán was vigorously besieging Isfahán, whither Shaykh Abú Isháq 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 Sulá tán’s forces, to the great discouragement of Shaykh Abú Isháq and his ally Jalálu’d-Dín, which was presently increased by the treacherous surrender of the fortress of Tabarak to Sháh Sulá tán 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 Isháq, unable to get out of the city, took refuge in the house of Mawlána Nízámu’d-Dín Asífí, the Shaykhu’ Islám of Írāq. Finally his whereabouts was discovered, and he was brought to the Castle of Tabarak, news of his capture being sent to Amír Mubárizu’d-Dín, who ordered him to be sent to Shiráz. In the náydíín of that city he was brought before Mubárizu’d-Dín, who was surrounded by all the ‘ulamá, judges and nobles of Fárs, and there he was put to death by Amír Quţbu’d-Dín, the youngest son of Sayyid Amír Hájjí Dárráb, whom he had formerly slain. (675) Two quatrains recited by him at his death ¹).

¹) The poet Hájjí has many poems on Shaykh Abú Isháq, amongst others the following on his death, of which he gives the date as 21 Jumáda 1, A. H.

757 (= May 22, A. D. 1356): —

بروز کاف و اف آن جاده‌ای اوَل * بَلال ذَال دَکر نِون وَرَزَی عَلی الاعلائِی
خَدا‌کَبِرت سَلَاتِن مشَری وَ مغربَ * خَذِبَ کِیْبَل لَفَقَ وَ کِرَّه باَجْهِانِن
سَبَه عَلِم وَ حِیا آفَابِ جَاهَ وَ جِلَال * جَالَ دُنَبی وَ دِین شَاه لَخِ ای اعیانِن
مِبَان عَرَمْهُ میدانِ خَور بَنی عَدَم * عَذَاب بَسِر مَل احْبَاب خَوْبی دَاغ نَرانِن
Rebellion of the Afghāns and Jurmā’is.

In the year A.H. 757, when Shāh Shujā’ set out for Shirāz on his way to Luristān, he was accompanied by a number of amirs and soldiers of the Afghāns and Jurmā’is. Amīr ‘Alī Malik, who had hitherto been loyal, was appointed to go to Rūdbār. Soon after his arrival there he had a quarrel with Taqtāy as to a certain pasture, as a result of which Taqtāy was slain, and ‘Alī Malik obtained possession of an undisputed territory. He took captive Amīr ‘Izzu’d-Dīn, chief of the Jurmā’is, but could not kill his brother Shamsu’d-Dīn, who was in attendance on Shāh Shujā’. He sent ‘Izzu’d-Dīn in chains to Kīrmān, 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 ‘Alī Malik, marched against him, and killed him. When news of this reached Amīr Mubārizu’d-Dīn, he wished to march at once and take vengeance (676), but, being engaged in a campaign against Adharbāyjān, he was compelled to postpone his intention for a year.

The Subjugation of Tabrīz.

In Muḥarram, A.H. 758 (January, 1357) Mubārizu’d-Dīn, having overcome all his rivals and occupied Fārs and ‘Irāq, set out for Iṣfahān 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 Shāh Sulṭān, who expected, but did not receive, much favour for his service, for the Minister Khwāja Burhānu’d-Dīn had accused him of embezzling a sum of 700 tūmāns from the revenues of ‘Irāq. This caused a certain estrangement, in spite of which Shāh Sulṭān gave a great banquet, at which, however, Mubārizu’d-Dīn, 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 Jáni 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 Vásáwut, 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 Sultán, whose anger was further increased by this new and unexpected burden. After they had departed, news arrived that Jáni Beg had fallen sick and had returned to his own tribe (uluš), leaving Akhí Júq in Tabríz. This news decided Mubárizu’d-Dín to undertake the conquest of Adharbáyján. Then news came by successive messengers that Jáni 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 Iráq 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 Shujá’, the left to Sháh Mahmúd, and himself took command of the centre, having Sháh Yahyá with him. He ordered his soldiers to fire three arrows each and then charge. Kamálú’d-Dín Luţfu’lláh, son of Șadru’d-Dín Iráqí, 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 Yahyá 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-Dīn was greatly incensed at this, reprimanded them, and honoured only Shāh Yaḥyā, 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 Tabrīz from Baghdād, and Mubārizu'd-Dīn decided to withdraw. On the march he was continually threatening punishments to his sons and others, and they, being alarmed, laid the matter before Shāh Sulṭān, who, having already a grudge against Mubārizu'd-Dīn, 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 Bādī'u'l-Jamāl. (680) They therefore agreed together on reaching Isfahān to seize and bind their father Mubārizu'd-Dīn. They arrived there on Tuesday in the middle of Ramadān, A.H. 759 (= Aug. 21, 1358). On the following Thursday at midnight Shāh Sulṭān came with one attendant to Shāh Shujā’s house and announced that he would flee, as it was said that Mubārizu'd-Dīn 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. Shāh Sulṭān then proceeded to Shāh Maḥmūd, who was in the bath, and gave him the same information, whereupon he at once mounted and came to the house of his father Mubārizu'd-Dīn, who was busy reading the Qur'ān. Shāh Maḥmūd waited outside in the porch, while Shāh Shujā and Shāh Sulṭān stood at the door of the room in which Mubārizu'd-Dīn 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 Shāh Sulṭān went and killed Khwāja Burhānu'd-Dīn. That night they conveyed Mubārizu'd-Dīn to the Castle
of Ţabarakan and blinded him ¹). (681) Reflections of the author on the vicissitudes of Fortune. Mubárizu’d-Din is conveyed from Ţabarakan to Qal’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-Din and his sons. The former was permitted to come to Šíráz and to have with him Bādšu’l-Jamál and his youngest son Sultán 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 Šíráz, 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 Rabi’i, A. H. 765 (= beginning of January, 1364), at the age of 65, having reigned 40 years, 22 years in Yazd, 13 years in Kirmán, and 5 years over ‘Iráq and Fárs.

_Falálu’d-Din Sháh Shujá’c b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar b. al-Manṣír b. Ḥájjí Khúsrawi [ʔ 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) Ḥáfíz refers to this event in a fine _qīfa_ which will be found on pp. 230—232 of Rosenzweig-Schwannau’s edition, vol. iii. It begins:

دل من بسر ذُلی و استاد او زآکیه ازوری کس و نادریه یاد
succession to the throne he bestowed Persian ʿIrāq and Abarqūh on Shāh Maḥmūd and Kirmān on Sulṭān Aḥmad, and made Khwāja Qiwāmūʿd-Dīn Muḥammad his Prime Mi-
nister. At the beginning of Muḥarram, A. H. 760 (= Dec. 3, 1358) he set out for Kirmān to chastise the rebellious Af-
ghāns and Jurmāʾis. Thence he proceeded to Bam, Jīraft and (685) Manūjān. He defeats the Afgāns and kills a great 
number of them. The Afgāns rally and again give battle, 
but after a fierce fight, in which Shāh Shujāʾ himself took 
part, sue for peace. They did not, however, observe the 
truce, and permission was given to plunder their possessions. 
(686) The Afgāns then got Khwāja Shamsuʿd-Dīn Muḥamm-
mad to intercede for them, and by means of the Shaykhuʾl-
Islām Ṣadruʾd-Dīn ʿAbduʾl-Azīz, a descendent of Burhānul-
Aqtāb Shaykh ShihābūʾDīn Tūrāyashāʾī, succeeded in obtain-
ing forgiveness from Shāh Shujāʾ by promising obedience 
in the future. Shāh Shujāʾ then returned to Shīrāz. Shortly 
afterwards his brother Shāh Maḥmūd rebelled against him, 
attracted and took Yazd, placed Khwāja Bahāʾuʾd-Dīn Qūrjī 
there as governor, and himself marched to Iṣfahān.

Shāh Yahyā is sent to Yazd.

At this time Shāh Yahyā, Shāh Muẓaffarʾs son and Shāh 
Shujāʾs nephew was imprisoned in the Castle of Quhandiz 
[MS. "Fahandir"], but he succeeded, with the help of con-
federates, in seizing the governor and taking possession 
of the castle. Shāh Shujāʾ sent an army to besiege him. 
(687) Finally a truce was concluded, on condition that 
Shāh Yahyā should evacuate the castle and retire to Yazd, 
but, though treated with honour by Shāh Shujāʾ, he conti-
nued at Yazd to intrigue against him. Verses of Shāh Shujāʾ 
on this subject. Shāh Shujāʾ marches towards Yazd, and 
sends Khwāja Qiwāmūʿd-Dīn Muḥammad this letter from Abar-
qūh, where he himself remains. A rumour is started that
one of Qiwámu’d-Dín’s intimates named ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmán Kúnbání was intending to assassinate him, and Qiwámu’d-Dín, without investigating the matter, immediately caused (688) ‘Abdu’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 Shujá’, who accepted his excuses. Text of the fresh agreement concluded between the uncle and nephew. (689) Sháh Shujá’ 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 wāzir [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-Qa’dá, A.H. 764. His place was taken by Khwája Kamálu’d-Dín Rashídí.

The Conflict between Sháh Shujá’ and Sháh Maḥmúd.

Sháh Shujá’ now marched on Isfahán 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 (kűctá-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 Šadrú’d-Dín ‘Iráqí on this subject. After this defeat Sháh Shujá’ retired to Shíráz, and Sháh Maḥmúd began to seek support and alliance from Sulṭán Uways at Tabríz. Simultaneously with Mu’ínu’d-Dín’s second mission to Isfahán, 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 Ḍálí Aynágh, Amír Sáti Bahádur, Mubáraksháh Dúlí, and sundry Amírs, like Ghiyáthu’d-Dín
Shúl, Salghur-sháh Turkmán, etc., and Sháh Yahyá as well as Sháh Maḥmúd joined them. The combined army marched out of Iṣfahán in A. H. 765 (= A. D. 1363–4), and Sháh Shujáʾ advanced to meet them from Shíráz, entrusting his right wing to his youngest brother Sultán Aḥmad, and his left wing to his eldest son Sultán Uways. Sultán Aḥmad, angered at not being admitted to the Council of War held by Sháh Shujáʾ and his amirs, deserted in the night to Sháh Maḥmúd, and many of the soldiers followed his example. Sháh Shujáʾ, however, undeterred by these defections, gave battle near Khwánásár. (692) When night fell the battle was still undecided. Sháh Shujáʾ fell back on Shíráz, while the opposing army scattered, many of the leaders retreating swiftly to distant places, e.g. Sayyid Humám-u’d-Dín to Iṣfahán, the son of Amír Shaykh ‘Ali Aynágh to Kashán, and Sháh Yahyá to Yazd, while Sháh Maḥmúd and Amír Shaykh ‘Ali reached Iṣfahán by different routes, and decided to take no further action until they should learn what had befallen the army of Sháh Shujáʾ. News reached them that Sháh Shujáʾ 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 Shujáʾ, 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 Shujáʾ to Kirmán to bring money to Shíráz for the payment of the army. On reaching Sīrján he met Sultán Shíbí and Amír Súrghatmish, who were advancing to Shíráz with reinforce-
ments for Sháh Shujá', and persuaded them and [Badru'd-Dín] Hilál, Súltán Shíblí's guardian (Atábek) to return with him to Kírmán. There he seduced many of the Amirís and nobles from their allegiance; put to death Amír Hájí the Master of the Horse (Mír-ákhár), who was governor of Kírmán on behalf of Sháh Shujá', and Súltán Shíblí's Atábek, Badru'd-Dín Hilál; imprisoned Súltán Shíblí in the Qál'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 Máhmu'd's army arrived before Shíráz and daily skirmishes took place. Finally Sháh Shujá' decided to send his son Súltán Uways to seek Amír Súrghatmísh (who was believed to be still loyal) in the Garmsír and to march with him against Kírmán to subdue Dawlatsúh; but they could effect nothing. Meanwhile the siege of Shíráz dragged on, until finally Sháh Máhmu'd sent a message to his brother Sháh Shujá' to say that the "foreign" Amirís from Baghádád prevented him from concluding any peaceful agreement, but that if Sháh Shujá' would retire to Abarqúh for a while until he could induce these Amirís 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 Qubándiz [MS. Fahándír], and Sháh Máhmu'd 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, Kháhtún-i-'Uzmá, and youngest son, Súltán Zaynu'l-Abidín, (696) with Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Hasan Qúrchí, however, took the road by Shúlístán, while Sháh Shujá' himself went by Qásr-i-Zard, wherein he acted wisely, as he thereby evaded a party of the hostile Amirís 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 Kírmán and endeavour to overthrow the usurper Dawlatsúh.
They set out in the month of Isfandarmudh, A.H. 765, with a small army equaling 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 Amir named Maḥmúd brought this news to Sháh Shujá'í, who immediately set out from Shahr-i-Bábak for Sirján. The two armies met towards sun-down; Sháh Shujá'í, 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 Ramádán Akhtájí to surrender, on condition of pardon for his offences, this promise being guaranteed by the waqf Khwája Túránsháh. Next day Dawlatsháh came out, accompanied by his nobles, and received presents and robes of honour. Shortly afterwards, however, Sháh Shujá'í, being informed that Dawlatsháh meditated a fresh act of treachery and even an attempt at assassination, (698) put him to death. Sultán Uways and Amír Súrghatmish were, on the other hand, honoured and rewarded. Sháh Shujá'í soon afterwards set out to try to recapture Shiráz, and received reinforcements and adhesions at Nayríz and other places on his way, but, being deserted by the Afgán and Jurmá'í contingents, and sickness also having attacked him, he was compelled to return to Kirmán.

_Campaign in the Garmsir._

Sháh Shujá'í next marched into the Garmsir to subdue the Afgán, 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 Afgán asked for help from Sháh Maḥmúd, while Sháh Yahyá and some of the Amírs came to help Súrghatmish.
THE MUṢAFFARĪ DYNASTY.

183

Sháh Yahyá sought to be reconciled to his uncle Sháh Shujá'. Text of the letter written by the latter to the former in response to these overtures. (700). Sháh Shujá', 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 Súrghatmísh, who, with Dá'úd-i-Ghúrí, had taken refuge in the Qal'a-i-Sulaymání. Dá'úd, however, escaped to Shíráz. Sháh Yahyá set out from Shíráz with an army for Yazd, followed by Mubárákh Sháh Aynágh. A battle took place between them at Khírama (701), and they turned back. Sháh Yahyá sent from Yazd to demand the elder daughter of Sháh Shujá', in marriage. The request was granted and the marriage concluded. Sháh Shujá' then set out to subdue Fárs. At Chahár Gunbad Sháh Mansúr b. Sháh Mu'ášfár b. Muḥammad b. Mu'ášfár came from Yazd to do allegiance to his uncle, who treated him with much honour. From Shahr-i-Bábak Sháh Shujá' turned back to Shíráz, and Sháh Maḥmúd came to meet him. Pahléwán Khurram advanced from Mashhad to support Sháh Shujá', fell in with Sháh Maḥmúd’s army, and was almost defeated when Sháh Shujá’ 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 Shujá' then returned to Shíráz. At Púl Basá he was again attacked by Sháh Maḥmúd on Saturday, 16th of Dhu'l-Qá'dá', A. H. 767 (= July 25, 1366) and a great battle took place. The people of Shíráz agreed to open the gates to Sháh Shujá', and on Sunday, 24th of Dhu'l-Qá'dá', Sháh Maḥmúd retreated towards ʿIráq. Sulṭán ʿImádud-Dín Aḥmad
left him and made his submission to Sháh Shujá', who once again ruled in Fárs, (703) and again frequented the assemblies of the learned. Thus he attended the lectures of Mawláná Qiwámú'd-Dín Faqíh Najm and began to study the Usúl of Ibn Ḥájib with the commentary of Mawláná ʿAḍudú'd-Dín ʿAbdu'lláh. He appointed as Chief Qádi “the Sháfi’i of the Age” Mawláná Bahá'ú'd-Dín ʿUthmán Kúh-gelú'i and made ʿQúbú'd-Dín Sulaymán-sháh b. Khwája Maḥmúd Grand Wazír. He also sent Mawláná Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Kíni to Mecca to build a rest-house for pilgrims and buy a plot of ground for a tomb for himself, giving him 200,000 dinárs for this purpose. Both the tomb and the rest-house are still in existence. Arabic verse composed by Sháh Shujá' 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. Abi Bakr al-'Abbásí 1). After he had established himself in Fárs, in A.H. 768 (= A.D. 1366—7) he (704) marched on ʿIsfahán. Sháh Maḥmúd sent messengers with conciliatory letters to him, peace was concluded, and he retired. Some while afterwards Sháh Maḥmúd’s wife, Khán Sultán, the daughter of Amir Kay-Khusraw b. Sháh Maḥmúd-i-Injú, wrote to Sháh Shujá' offering, if he passed through ʿIráq, to surrender ʿIsfahán 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 Sultán Uways. Sháh Shujá' thereupon again set out for ʿIsfahán 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-Sayújí’s Ta'rikhu'l-Khilafá (Cairo ed., pp. 202—3) the titular Caliph at this period was al-Mutawakkil ʿaḍilláh Abi ʿAbdi'lláh Muḥammad b. al-Mu'tadíd, who was chosen Caliph in A.H. 763 and deposed in favour of al-Wáhiq bi'lláh in A.H. 785 (= A.D. 1361—1384).
his commands. Sháh Shujá’c, 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 Qutbú’d-Dín Sulaymán-Sháh, and blinded his son Amír Ghiyáthu’d-Dín Maḥmúd, and sent him a prisoner to Kirmán. Qutbú’d-Dín Sulaymán-Sháh escaped from prison, went to Iṣfahán, and was made wasír by Sháh Maḥmúd. Sháh Shujá’c made Sháh Ḥasan the son of Sháh Maḥmúd Sayyid Mu’īnu’d-Dín Ashraf of Yazd his wasír. Sháh Maḥmúd’s wife, Khán Sulṭán, always filled with the desire of avenging the death of her uncle Amír Shaykh [Abú Isháq] and her other relatives, continued to plot for the destruction of the Muẓaffarís, and therefore kept urging Sháh Shujá’c to subjugate Irauç, 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 Sultán Uways came with a great army from Tabríz to Irauç to reinforce him. He then again advanced against Fárs, and Sháh Shujá’c collected an army and came out to meet him. (706) The two armies met at Chásht-khwár. Sháh Shujá’c entrusted the right wing to Sulṭán Aḥmad and the left to Sháh Maṇṣúr, himself taking the centre. A fierce battle ensued and lasted all day. Sháh Shujá’c withdrew to Shíráz, but Sháh Maṇṣúr 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’c 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' 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 Ḩasan was laid up with pain in the foot. Amír Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Ḩasan 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 Ḩasan by Khwájá Maḥmúd-i-Ḥájjí 'Umar Munshí. Sháh Ḩasan's wasír was thereupon seized, tortured and strangled, while Khwájá Jalálu'd-Dín Túránsháh was made wasír, 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 Isfahán.

Rebellion of Pahlawán Asad b. Tughánsháh 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'. 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 Kirmánis and Pahlawán Asad that of the Khurásánis. Recriminations and complaints ensued, and Khán Qutlugh retired to Sírján. Thereupon Pahlawán Asad, relieved of her presence, began to strengthen the fortifications. Sháh Shujá' 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' to his sons to avoid intestinal quarrels, his
eldest son Sulṭân Uways joined himself to a tribe of Afghāns and forged a letter in his father's name bidding Pahlawān Asad surrender Kirmān to him, and even began to advance with the tribe on Kirmān. Perceiving, however, that his enterprise was doomed to failure, he left his army and made his way to Iṣfahān to his uncle Shāh Maḥmūd. This increased Pahlawān Asad's boldness, and he proceeded to besiege Lakan, the Warden of Qalʿa-i-Kūh, until he surrendered that fortress. He then arrested the agents of Wālidatu's-Salāṭin, forced them by torture to reveal to him the places where her treasures were concealed, and put Khwāja Muḥammad ʿUlyā-ābādī in chains (710), taking from him all that he possessed, and finally killing him. He also poisoned Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, called Zāhid ("the Ascetic") and took his property, and in short greatly oppressed the people, so that Kirmān never again regained its former prosperity. Shāh Shujā', on learning of these events, sent Farrāsh Ḥājjī Bahā'u'd-Dīn to Iṣfahān to effect a reconciliation with his brothers. Being assured in this quarter, he marched on Kirmān through the Garmsīr by Jīraft and Bām, where he learned from the Warden, Amīr Ḫusayn, details of the rebellion and tyranny of Pahlawān Asad. Shāh Shujā' then advanced hastily to Māhān and alighted at a place called Shāh-ābād, only one parasang from Kirmān. Here a fierce battle took place. (711) Shāh Mašūr and his uncle Shāh Sulṭān Abū Yazīd alighted from their horses and valourously endeavoured to fight their way across the bridge by the Darwāza-i-Saʿādat ("Gate of Happiness") and enter the city, but Shāh Shujā', fearing lest they should be slain, ordered them to retire, and, leaving his brother Sulṭān ʿImādu 'd-Dīn Aḥmad to reduce the city by siege, himself returned to Shīrāz. Sulṭān Aḥmad tarried some days at Zarand, where many deserters from the army of Kirmān joined him. Shāh Yaḥyā asked for reinforcements from Khwāja ʿAlī Muʿayyad
Sabzawārī, who sent him a hundred horsemen commanded by the Sarbadār Pahlawān (712) Ghiyāth-i-Tūnī. Being short of money wherewith to pay them, Shāh Yaḥyā sent them on to Pahlawān Asad, who, fearing further desertions from his force, would not set foot outside the city. Sultān Aḥmad encamped to the south of Māhān, where he was joined by Amīr Muḥammad Jurmāḵī and his fellow-Amīrs, 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, Sultān Aḥmad was summoned to Shīrāz, and the conduct of the siege was entrusted to Pahlawān Khurram, who induced Pahlawān Asad to submit. (713) A meeting between the two took place in the city in the Qaṣr-i-Humāyūn, and it was agreed that Pahlawān Asad should send his brother Pahlawān Muḥammad b. Ṭughānshāh and one of his sons to Shīrāz as hostages, and should surrender the citadel to the retainers of Shāh Shujā’, namely to Pahlawān ʿAlī-Shāh Marniyānī and a hundred of his men. This siege of Kirmān began on Ramaḍān 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 Pahlawān ʿAlī- Shāh, having corrupted some of Pahlawān Asad’s retainers, took advantage of it to send a party of determined men into the Palace to assassinate Pahlawān Asad. This was done on Friday in the middle of Ramaḍān, A. H. 776 (= Feb. 16, 1375), and Pahlawān Asad’s head was sent to Shīrāz. Shāh Shujā’ appointed Amīr Ikhtiyārū’d-Dīn Ḥasan Qūrchī governor of Kirmān. (714) He, by his justice and clemency, restored the prosperity of Kirmān, and, by his generosity, made it a rallying-point for learned and pious men.
Death of Sháh Maḥmúd and march of Sháh Shújá
on Tabríz.

In the month of Shawwál of this year (March, 1375) news was brought to Sháh Shújá from Tabríz that Sultán 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 Isfahán known as Du-dángà and Chahár-Dángà were fighting, the former wanting Sultán Uways b. Sháh Shújá to be qā'ím-maqām 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 Iráq for 17 years, and for two years of this period over Fárs also. On hearing this news, Sháh Shújá prepared to set out, and several messengers from Tabárak (715) and elsewhere urged him to make all possible haste to Isfahán. On approaching that city he was met by Sultán Uways and many of the Amírs and nobles of Sháh Maḥmúd, and took possession of Isfahán without opposition. Sultán Uways shortly afterwards had a fall from his horse and broke his leg. Sháh Shújá 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 Sultán Ḥusayn the son of Sultán Uways opposed his advance with 24,000 horsemen. Sháh Shújá defeated the opposing army, and (716) took captive two of their leaders, ʿAbduʾl-Ḡáhir and Pahlawán Ḥájjí Khar-banda, whom he sent in bonds with an announcement of his victory to Fárs and Iráq. He then occupied Tabríz without further difficulty, and sent
Sháh Mansúr with 2000 horsemen to Qará-bágh, Amír Faraj to Nakhjuwán, Amír Išfahán-sháh b. Sulţán Sháh Jándár to Awján, and other Amírs to other parts of Adharbáyján.

Return of Sháh Shujá to Tabríz.

When Sháh Shujá had been at Tabríz for two or three months, two nomad chiefs named Shíbí Dá'íd and Ómar Júbdástí agreed to attack Awján with their followers and overthrow Amír Išfahán-sháh, proclaiming that Sulţán Husayn was at hand with 10,000 horsemen. In this plan they were successful, capturing Išfahán-sháh and scattering or slaying his soldiers, of whom the survivors fled to Tabríz. Sháh Shujá, 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 Kashán, where he was joined in a few days by Sháh Mansúr and many of the Amírs who had been dispersed in different directions, and who contradicted the rumours of Sulţán Husayn's arrival. It was only two months later that he arrived from Baghdad at Tabríz, and, in exchange for the nobles of Tabríz taken captive and afterwards released by Sháh Shujá, sent Amír Išfahán-sháh to 'Iráq. Sháh Shujá gave the daughter of Sulţán Uways 1) in marriage to his son Sulţán Zaynu'lláh-Abidín, appointed him governor of Išfahán, and himself set out for Fárs, accompanied by many of the captains and nobles of 'Iráq. 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. Sulţán Uways 'Ilkání of Tabríz, who had recently died, not the homonymous son of Sháh Shujá.
no action against him until he should have time to communicate with Shíráz 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 Shujá’ then resolved to go in person, to take revenge on Sháh Yaḥyá, but Sháh Maṃsúr 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 Maṃsúr and his immediate followers at Yazd. (719) Sháh Yaḥyá now strove to persuade Sháh Maṃsúr to go to Mázandarán and raise an army there to enable them to carry out their joint projects, nor would he allow Sháh Maṃsúr to enter the city. Finally the latter set out for Mázandarán, and Sháh Shujá’ 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 Shujá’ and his youngest son Súltán 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 Ḫusayn b. Sháh Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar, the younger brother of Sháh Yaḥyá, came to Shíráz, and was well received by his uncle Sháh Shujá’ who appointed him deputy (qā’im-magám) of his brother Sháh Maṃsúr. In A. H. 781 (= A. D. 1379–1380) Sháh Shujá’ set out for Súltáníyya, where a certain Sáriq ʿAdil 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, ʿIráq and Lurístán, was scattered, and he himself was thrown from his horse. Surrounded by a few faithful retainers he continued to fight on foot, until Malik Bāwarchí, one of
his officers, gave him his own horse. Another officer, Akhi Kúchuk, “the Rustam of the Age”, came up and stayed the panic, and presently 10,000 or 15,000 gathered round Sháh Shujá. One of Sháh Ísá’s standards and a set of his kettle-drums were recovered by them, and Sháh Shujá, 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 ‘Adil’s men were panic-stricken and fled to the city, which was soon afterwards occupied by Sháh Shujá. Sáriq ‘Adil and his captains took refuge in the citadel, and began to sue for peace. Sháh Shujá received their overtures favourably, and a treaty was concluded. (721) Rich presents were given to Sháh Shujá, who then received Sáriq ‘Adil with honour, left him in possession of the city, and returned with his army to Shiráz.

About this time several other events took place deserving of mention.

First, Sultán Zaynu’d-Abidín, 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 Sultán Zaynu’l-‘Abidín, after suffering a brief imprisonment, was restored.

Secondly, Sultán Aḥmad, the son of Sultán Uways 1), rebelled in Tabríz, killed his brother Sultán Ísá and others of his kinsmen, and usurped control over the province of Adharbáýján.

Thirdly, Pír ‘Alí Bádak, one of the chief nobles of Hamadán, fled to Shiráz, where he was well received by Sháh Shujá and sent to Shúshtar, which he subdued, appointing a servant named Íslám as its governor, and himself proceeding to Baghdad, where he struck coins in the name of

1) Here again Sultán Uways ‘Ilkání of Tabríz is intended.