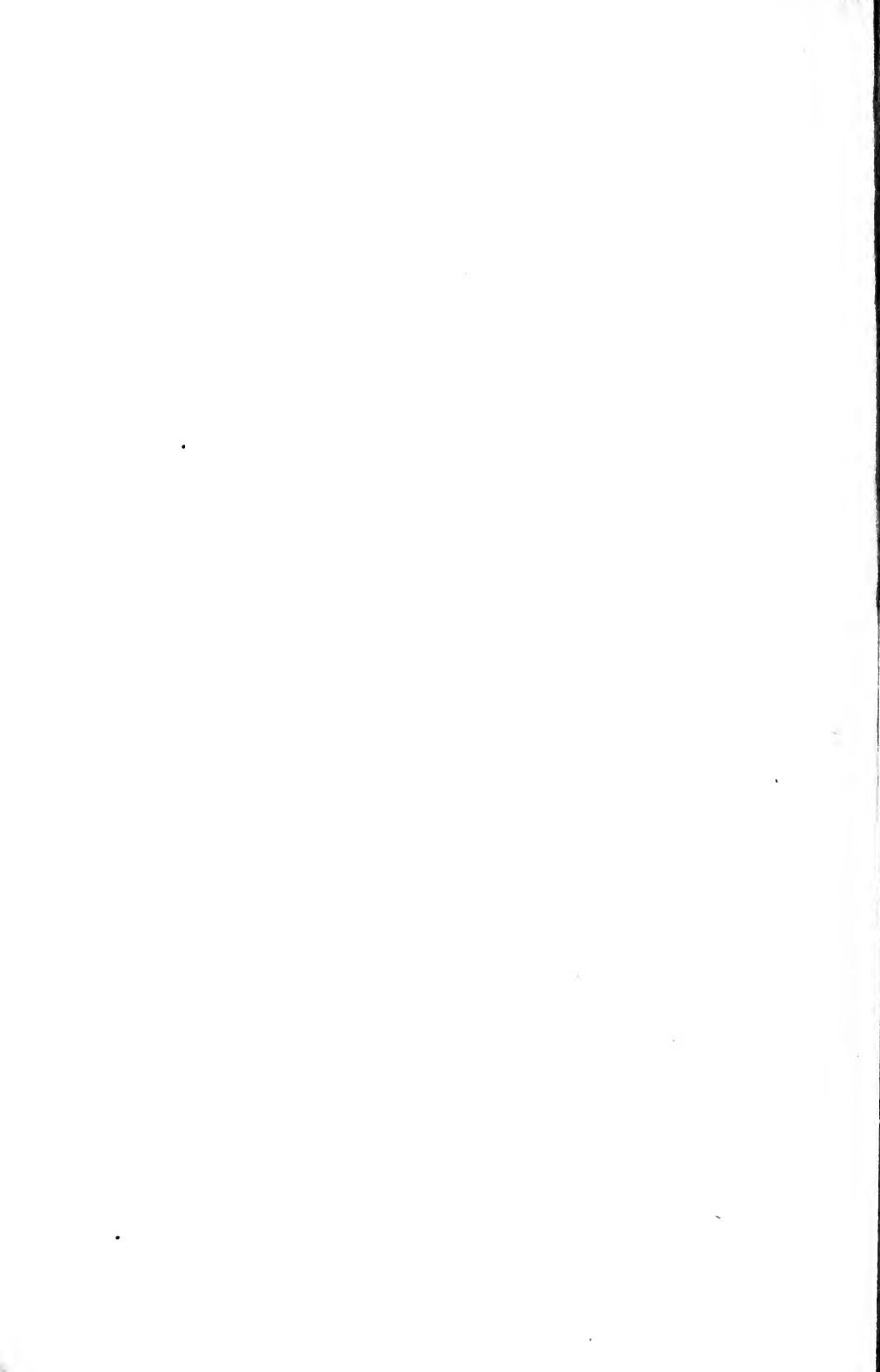


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(Translations of the three Inscriptions  
on the Cover.)

*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 aging suns  
Cast lengthy shadows, though their time be  
short.”

(*Kemál Páshá-zádé.*)

*3. Persian.*

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

(*Jalálu 'd-Dín Rúmí.*)

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*SERIES.*

*VOL. II.*

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AN  
ABRIDGED TRANSLATION  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF TABARISTÁN

COMPILED ABOUT A. H. 613 (A. D. 1216)

BY  
MUḤAMMAD B. AL-HASAN B. ISFANDIYĀR,

BASED ON THE INDIA OFFICE MS.

COMPARED WITH TWO MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

BY  
EDWARD G. BROWNE, M. A., M. B.,

SIR THOMAS ADAMS' PROFESSOR OF ARABIC AND FELLOW OF PEMBROKE  
COLLEGE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE; FELLOW  
OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY.

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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.*

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا \* فَأَنْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ،

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

*The following memorial verse is contributed by 'Abdül-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 یارانی وفاسیله ایدرکن تطیب  
کندی عمرنہ وفا گورمدی اول ذات ادیب  
گنج ایکن اولش ایدی اوج کماله واصل  
نه اولوردی یاشامش اولسه ایدی مستر گیب

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## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The aim of this book is a comparatively humble one, and even of this aim, now that it is completed, I fear that it may have fallen short. It was originally undertaken, not because I had made or intended to make any special study of Ṭabaristán, but in the search for fresh materials for the second volume of the *Literary History of Persia* on which I am still engaged. We are still far from having arrived at a point where, supplied with ample materials, and certain that no important ascertainable fact has eluded our knowledge, we can venture to dogmatise or generalise on the intellectual life and spiritual development of the Persians. Often the student of Persian must wait for months ere he can consult even the most important and indispensable histories, such as the *Jámī'u 't-Tawárikh* of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, or the *Tá'rikh-i-Jahángusháy* of 'Atá Malik-i-Juwayní; and, while thus waiting, he will take such opportunities as may happen to present themselves of acquainting himself with the contents of those little-read local and special histories of which some are to be found in every large collection of Muhammadan manuscripts, and which constantly supply details, wanting in the larger general histories, of considerable value for illustrative purposes.

Much has been done, especially by the Russians, towards supplying full materials for a history of the Caspian provinces of Persia, Gílán and Mázandarán. Between the years 1850 and 1858 Dorn published a whole series of works on this subject: first his *Geschichte Tabaristan's und der Serbedare*

nach Chondemir; then four volumes of texts, of which the first was Sayyid Dhahíru'd-Dín al-Mar'ashí's *History of Tabaristán, Rúyán and Mázandarán*, composed about A.D. 1476; the second, 'Alí b. Shamsu'd-Dín's *History of Gilán*, known as the *Ta'rikh-i-Khání*, which is a continuation of the last-mentioned work to A.D. 1514; then Ibnu'l-Fattáh al-Fúmani's *History of Gilán* (from A.D. 1517—1628); and lastly a volume of extracts from the writings of twenty-two Arabic and Persian authors who have incidentally treated of matters connected with these provinces. Another most valuable work which I have constantly consulted during the preparation of this volume is Melgunof's *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres, oder die Nordprovinzen Persiens* (Leipzig, 1868). Even for the dialect of Mázandarán more has probably been done than for any other local idiom of Persia, notably by the two Russian scholars mentioned above.

Separated from the rest of Persia by the lofty barrier of the Elburz Mountains, culminating in the great cone of Damáwand (Dunbáwand), the Caspian provinces have always possessed, to a certain extent, a history and character apart. Long after the Sásánian dynasty had fallen and the rést of Persia had been subdued by the Arabs, the Ispahbads continued to strike their Pahlawí coinage and maintain the religion of Zoroaster in the mountains and forests of Ṭabaristán; and their struggles against the Arabs were only ended about A.D. 838 by the capture and cruel execution of the gallant Mázyár, the son of Qárin, the son of Wandá-Hurmuz. Twenty-five years later was established the Shí'ite rule of the Zaydí Sayyids, which lasted till A.D. 928; and these were followed by the noble house of Ziyár, of whom Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús was especially conspicuous for his literary eminence. Even after the disastrous Mongol invasion, representatives of the ancient aristocracy of Ṭabaristán continued to wield a more or less considerable power.

Of this strange and interesting country the clearest and most ineffaceable recollection must remain in the mind of every traveller who has visited it. I merely traversed it in about a week on my homeward journey from Persia in the autumn of 1888, yet of no part of that journey do I preserve a more vivid impression; the first entry, from the great stony plain of 'Irâq-i-<sup>c</sup>Ajamî into the lower hills at Agh, with its rippling streams and almost English hedge-rows; the long winding climb to the eastern shoulder of the mighty Damâwand; the deep cañons of the Lár; the Alpine beauties of René; the gradual descent, through rock-walled valleys, into virgin forests, bright with the red blossoms of the wild pomegranate, and carpeted with ferns and mosses; the sluggish streams and stagnant pools of the coast-ward fenlands; ancient Âmul, with its long slender bridge; Bârfurúsh and the swampy rice-fields of Shaykh Ṭabarsî, memorable in the history of the Bábí religion; and the sandy downs towards the Caspian Sea.

Of this land the author of this book, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyár — generally known, for the sake of brevity, as Ibn Isfandiyár —, is the earliest systematic historian whose work has come down to us. Of his life we know practically nothing save what he himself tells us at the beginning of his work (pp. 3—4 *infra*), while the few written sources from which, as he informs us, he derived his material — notably the *Bâwand-nâma* and the <sup>c</sup>*Uqûd* of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Yazdádî — appear also to be lost. Dorn (*Sehir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan u. s. w.*, p. 6) gives A.D. 1216 as the date at which he composed his history, that is to say, 260 years before Dhahîrû'd-Dîn, who, as Dorn points out, made such free use of his materials. Were this use so free (which it is not) as to amount to complete plagiarism (a thing by no means unknown in Persian literature), it might render the publication of Ibn Isfandiyár's

book in the original a work of supererogation; but even then, I venture to think, an abridged English translation like the present might have its uses. If it does nothing else, it may save other students of Persian the trouble of reading the original, or the disappointment of seeking from the book more than it contains.

The best translation, however, cannot take the place of a good text, and the publication of a complete and carefully collated text can alone be regarded as a final and definitive piece of work; since even if the translator could be certain that he had in every case fully apprehended the author's meaning, this assurance could not be shared by others to whom the original was inaccessible. This objection applies with still greater force to an abridged or condensed translation like the present, since the process of condensation is sure to be unevenly applied, according to the personal bias and proclivities of the translator. To me, for instance, all that throws fresh light on the literary history or intimate life of Persia is of extreme value; while the wars of rival princes and governors, when arising, so far as can be judged, from mere personal ambition, and not from conflicting ideals of nationality or religion, are comparatively unimportant, because unconnected with any essential antithesis. All that concerns Mázyár, for example, is to me of supreme interest, because he stands for the old Persian national and religious ideal; while the internecine struggles which mark the decline of the Seljúq power, and in which I can discern no underlying principle, appear merely as wearisome enumerations of irrelevant details. Yet to another, who regarded Persian history from a different point of view, the military or the political, for instance, the very matters over which I have passed so lightly might seem all-important.

I need say little more in this Preface. Profiting by the liberality of the India Office Library, which stands in such

noble contrast to the retrograde and obscurantist policy of several of the most important libraries in this country, I have been able to read through a comparatively rare work which cannot be ignored by the student of Persian history. As I read, I endeavoured to abstract from it, primarily for my own use, all that seemed to me of interest or importance. This abstract I had at first no intention of publishing; but the foundation by the liberality of the late Mrs Jane Gibb of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial", intended not only to perpetuate the memory of her son's rare scholarship and single-hearted devotion to learning, but to carry on such work as he loved and promote such aims as he so steadily pursued, created, almost for the first time in this country, facilities for the publication of works dealing with the history of Western and Central Asia actually in excess, for the time being, of the supply of such works. Under these circumstances, with the approval of the other Trustees of the Memorial, I decided to revise for the Press this abstract originally prepared only for my own personal use. In the work of revision I have received the most generous and invaluable help from Mr A. G. Ellis of the British Museum, whose knowledge of Muhammadan literature and bibliography surpasses, so far as I can judge, that of any other living European scholar. Notwithstanding his onerous duties and scanty leisure, he has read almost every sheet of the book before it was printed off; and to him I am indebted not only for the numerous foot-notes followed by his initials, and the observations on pp. 271—280, but also for the correction of many errors which would otherwise have marred these pages. I desire to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for this and numerous other obligations under which he has laid me.

With the Index (the most important part of such a book as this) I have taken considerable pains; and with its help

it will, I think be easy for any Persian scholar to find any passage which he may wish to consult, not only in the India Office Codex which forms the basis of my work, but in any other manuscript which he may have at his disposal. Certain names occur so often that, without a more profound knowledge of the history of Ṭabaristán than I possess, it is often difficult to determine questions of identity. Hence, in all doubtful cases, I have placed in brackets after the name a Roman number indicating the century of the Christian era in which the person referred to appears to have flourished.

EDWARD G. BROWNE,

May 10, 1905.





*Bibliography.* Sir W. Ouseley's *Travels* (London 1821), vol. ii, p. 214; vol. iii, pp. 304, 308, 554 etc.; Idem, *Catalogue of several hundred manuscript works* etc. (London 1821), N<sup>o</sup>. 283, p. 450; Dorn's *Schir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan, Rujan und Masanderan* (St. Petersburg, 1850), pp. 3—6; Spiegel, in the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1850 (vol. iv), pp. 62—71; Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 202—204; Ethé's *Bodleian Persian Catalogue*, pp. 160—161; Ethé's *India Office Persian Catalogue*, pp. 222—223.

*Manuscripts.* N<sup>o</sup>. 1134 of the India Office (= N<sup>o</sup>. 568 in Ethé's *Catalogue*), dated A.H. 1032 (= A). Add. 7633 of the British Museum, dated A. H. 1067 (= B), and Or. 2778, dated A.H. 1273 (= C). N<sup>o</sup>. 307 (= Ouseley 214) of the Bodleian, dated A.H. 1068 (= D). Also a MS. in the Library of the St. Petersburg University; and a transcript of the same, collated by Dorn with the London MSS., in the Asiatic Museum of St. Petersburg. Another MS., dated A.H. 1295, which belonged to the late M. Ch. Schefer, is now in the Bibliothèqne Nationale at Paris, and bears the class-mark *Suppl. Pers.* 1436.

A portion of the text (corresponding with f. 6*b*, l. 4—f. 20*b*, l. 5 of A), containing the letter of Ardashír Bábakán's minister Tansar to Jasnaf, king of Ṭabaristán, cited by the author on the authority of the celebrated 'Abdu'lláh ibnu'l-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup>, was published with a French translation in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1894 (Series ix, Vol. 3, pp. 185—250 and 502—555) by the late M. James Darmesteter, who found the India Office MS. greatly superior in point of correctness to the British Museum Codex of which he made use.

The only other portion of the text (corresponding with f. 155*a*, l. 17—f. 157*b*, l. 12) which, so far as I know, has been published and translated is the account of Firdawsí cited from the *Chahár Maqála* of Niḡhámí-i-<sup>c</sup>Arúḡí of Samarqand, which Dr. Ethé transcribed for Professor Nöldeke's use, and afterwards published in the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1894, vol. XLVIII, pp. 89—94.



## AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

After the customary doxology, the author, Muḥammed b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyár, states that, on returning from Baghdad to 'Iráq in the year A. H. 606 (= A. D. 1209—1210), he was overwhelmed with grief at the news of the murder of Rustam b. Ardashír b. Ḥasan b. Rustam, the ruler of Ṭabaristán, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of Shawwál in that year (April 1, A. D. 1210), on which he exclaims:

سَلَامٌ عَلَى قَوْمٍ مَضَوْا لِسَبِيلِهِمْ      فَلَمْ يَبْقَ إِلَّا ذِكْرُهُمْ وَحَدِيثُهُمْ  
لَقَدْ جَمَعْتُهُمْ سَكْرَةَ الْمَوْتِ فَاسْتَوَى      قَدِيمُهُمْ فِي شَأْنِهِمْ وَحَدِيثُهُمْ

For two months (f. 3*a*) he remained in Ray, weighed down with sorrow, and finding his only consolation in the perusal of books. One day he found in the library of the College founded by the Sháhínsháh Rustam b. Shahriyár a few quires on the history of Gáwbára, and thereupon remembered that the late king Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír had repeatedly enquired of him whether he had ever come across any mention of a king of Ṭabaristán called Gáwbára in Arabic or Persian books (f. 3*b*), to which he was obliged to reply that he had not, and that he knew of no history of Ṭabaristán save the *Bárwand-náma*, a work filled with fables and popular legends compiled for the king Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin. On examining these quires, he found them to contain the *'Uqúdu sih'r wa qalá'idu durar* of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Yazdádí, a work wherein the author sought rather to display his mastery over the Arabic language than to impart information to the reader. This he translated into

Persian, adding to it some account of king Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír and his illustrious ancestors, and, encouraged by some of his literary friends, he was preparing to make a fair copy of his rough draft when he received a letter from his father warning him of his approaching end. Thereupon he at once started (f. 4*b*) with a single servant for his home, without saying good bye to any one, and by the morning of the following day reached the castle of Ustúnáwand<sup>1</sup>, where he was set upon and robbed by brigands. He ultimately, however, reached his father, and remained for a while at Āmul in Mázandarán, whence, after a short time, he journeyed to Khwárazm (f. 5*a*), at that time a most flourishing and populous city, where he remained for five years. One day he found in a bookseller's shop there a volume containing ten separate treatises, one of which was a translation from Hindí into Arabic (از هندوی بناری) made for a native of Sind named °Alá b. Sa'íd by a certain Dá'úd of Yazd in the year A. H. 197 (= A. D. 812—813), while another was a translation from Pahlawí into Arabic, made by the celebrated °Abdu'lláh ibnu'l-Muqaffa° († circ. A. D. 760), of the answer returned to Jasnafsháh, Prince of Ṭabaristán, by Tansar of Párs, the chief *herbad* (هربد هرابد) of Ardashír Bábakán, the founder of the Sásánian dynasty. These also the author used for the compilation of his work, which he constructed on the following plan (f. 5*b*):

*Section I.* On the first foundation of the kingdom of Ṭabaristán.

*Ch.* I. Translation of the above-mentioned tract of ibnu'l-Muqaffa°.

*Ch.* II. First settlement of Ṭabaristán and its cities.

*Ch.* III. Virtues and marvels of Ṭabaristán.

*Ch.* IV. Its princes, nobles, doctors, hermits, writers,

<sup>1</sup> See M. Barbier de Meynard's *Diet. de la Perse*, p. 33.

physicians, astronomers, philosophers, poets and notable men.

*Section II.* History of the rise and continuance of the dynasties of Washmgír and Buwayh in Ṭabaristán.

*Section III.* How Ṭabaristán passed from Núshírwán b. Minúchihr b. Qábús, the last prince of the House of Washmgír, to the kings of the Houses of Ghazna and Seljúq.

*Section IV.* From the beginning of the second ascendancy of the House of Báwand to their decline and fall.

*Section I, ch. I.*

This section opens with a short biography (ff. 5*b*—6*b*) of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup>. His proper name, says the author, was ʿAbdu'lláh, and his father Dádawayh (Dádú'ê) was a Magian by religion, and one of the fiscal agents of the Arab government in Fárs. Being accused of embezzlement, he was tortured so that his skin was shrivelled and contracted (*taqaffa<sup>c</sup>at*), for which reason he received the *sobriquet* of *al-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup>*, "the Shrivelled". His son ʿAbdu'lláh, better known as Ibnu'l-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup>, was converted to Islám by ʿAlí b. ʿIsá (f. 6*a*), the primary cause of his conversion being the impression produced on him by the seventh and following verses of Súra LXXVIII of the Qurʾán, which he heard a child reciting aloud. He was on terms of intimate friendship with Khalíl b. Aḥmad al-Furhúdí <sup>1</sup>. A certain man of learning was asked his opinion concerning them. He replied, "Khalíl's understanding exceeds his learning, while Ibnu'l-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup>'s learning exceeds his understanding". One day Ibnu'l-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup>, while passing by a fire-temple, recited this verse:

يَا بَيْتَ عَاتِكَةَ اَلَّتِي اَتَعَزَّلُ حَدَرَ اَعْدَى وَبِهِ اَلْفَوَادُ مَوْكَلُ

<sup>1</sup> See de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, Vol. I, p. 493—498, especially the last paragraph on p. 495.

When this was reported to the Caliph he said, "He is not yet a good Muslim," and ordered him to be cast alive into an oven. It is related by al-Jáhidh<sup>1</sup> in his *Kitábu 'l-Bayán wa't-Tabyín* that when Ibnu'l-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup> was handed over to the tormentor (صاحب مستخرج), he said to him, "Thou hast money and wealth; if thou wilt pay into the Exchequer the sum demanded from me, I will return you double or treble the amount, and will never divulge the matter, for thou knowest me faithful in the guarding of secrets." The tormentor, moved by covetousness, paid the money and saved him from death and torture. It is also related [apparently by al-Jáhidh] that a certain Háshim, gaoler to Yúsuf 'Umar [ath-Thaqafí], used to keep a register of all the prisoners who had died in prison, and submit it to Yúsuf. 'Abdu'lláh b. Abí Burda [b.] Abí Músá al-Ash'arí, being in prison, offered this man a thousand *dirhams* to include his name in this list (f. 66), and so effect his release. This was done, but the Amír, on receiving the report, said, "Bring his corpse before me." So the gaoler, being afraid, went back to the prison and smothered him with a cushion, so that his device cost him both his money and his life<sup>2</sup>.

[Here follows the translation of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup>'s version of Tansar's letter to Fasnaf, the king of Tabaristán. As this portion of the work has been published and translated, with excellent notes and comments, by the late Professor James Darmesteter (Journal Asiatique for 1894, series IX, vol. iii, pp. 185—250 and 502—555), it is omitted in this abstract. That this document rests on an authentic basis seems to be beyond doubt. See Darmesteter, *loc. cit.*, pp. 185—192.]

<sup>1</sup> Abú 'Uthmán 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jáhidh of Baḥra was a prolific and learned writer, and died in A. H. 255 = A. D. 869. For a list of his works, see Carl Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, Vol. I, pp. 152—153. For MSS. of the *Kitábu 'l-Bayán wa't-Tabyín* preserved in the Constantinople libraries, see the *J. R. A. S.* for Jan. 1901, p. 172. It was printed in Cairo in A. H. 1313.

<sup>2</sup> [Cf. Ibn Khallikán, de Slane's translation, Vol. IV, pp. 441—442. A. G. E.]

(F. 20*b*). The kingdom of Ṭabaristán remained in the hands of Jasnaf's descendants until the time of Pírúz († A. D. 484), but when the Turks invaded Khurásán and the confines of Ṭabaristán in the reign of his son Qubád (Kawádh, A. D. 488—531), it was decided in Council that Kayús (كايوس) <sup>1</sup>, the King's eldest son, should be appointed ruler of that province. So matters remained till the glorious reign of Núshírwán, concerning whom Jábir b. 'Abdilláh al-Ansarí questioned the Prophet of God, saying, "How hath God dealt with Kisrá and Caesar?" The Prophet answered, "I asked my brother Gabriel this same question, and he said, 'I was desirous to ask God concerning this matter, when behold, a voice came from God's Throne, saying, 'I would not torment in hell-fire kings who made my lands flourishing and my servants prosperous.''" The Umayyad Caliphs (f. 21*a*), on the other hand, though they professed Islám, are universally condemned for their tyranny and injustice.

One of the early Persian converts to Islám, in answer to the enquiries of the Prophet's companions as to which was the greatest and best of their kings, named Ardashír Bábakán, in proof of whose wisdom and clemency he related the following anecdote. Once, in a year of drought, the people petitioned him for help. Thereupon he issued this proclamation: "When rain is scarce, the rain-clouds of the King are generous; therefore distribute amongst them what they have lost." Núshírwán (A. D. 531—578) imitated him in maintaining good practices and suppressing evil innovations, and was especially opposed to the promotion of persons of mean origin to positions of trust, as is shewn by the following anecdote <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, pp. 147, n. 1, and 436*a*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 608 of Zotenberg's ed. and transl. of ath-Tha'álíbi's *Histoire des Rois des Perses* (Paris, 1900). Cf. also Darmesteter in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1894 (Series IX, Vol. iii), p. 519. An Arabic version of the story is given in Vol. ii of the *Maján<sup>2</sup>-l-Adab*, pp. 208—209.

*Anecdote.*

King Núshírwán, being once in need of money for a campaign, instructed his minister to raise the sum required by a loan from the merchants and capitalists. The minister accordingly consulted one of the chief merchants, who at once offered himself to pay the money into the Royal Treasury, asking in return that his only son, a man of remarkable intelligence, in whose education he had for thirty years spared no pains, might be admitted to the government service (f. 22*a*), and given a suitable rank and title. When this proposal was submitted to the king, he replied, "When the children of the base-born are educated, they seek high offices, obtaining which they seek to abase the noble and the well-born, and to humble the great and mighty; but I will protect the honour of the noble from being shared by base and evil men." The merchant, on hearing this answer, was deeply disappointed, but entreated the minister at least to accept the money, and to honour him by being his guest at a banquet. To this the minister consented, and on the morrow was entertained at an epoch-making banquet (که تا وآنما اللیل نهار). When evening approached (امروز تاریخ ماند (الادیب), wine was brought in, and they sat down to drink. A lamp-stand was set down before the minister, and, at a sign from the merchant, a trained cat ran in, lifted up this lamp-stand in its two paws, and placed it on its head, where it held it. The minister at once perceived that the merchant's object in this exhibition was to say by implication, "If I can so train and educate a cat, which has no rational soul (f. 22*b*), how can it be supposed that I should fail in the case of my own son, who is endowed with so many natural talents?" Thereupon the minister secretly ordered one of his companions to go and fetch a mouse and shew it to the cat. As soon as the cat saw it, it dropped the lamp

and rushed towards the mouse; the lamp-oil was upset, some of it on the clothes and hair of the guests. The merchant, overcome with shame, would have retired to his private apartments, but the minister summoned him and said, "I have no doubt as to your son's capacity or training, but at the first promotion which he gets, he will make such disturbance as did this cat at the sight of the mouse." It has been said:

لَوْلَا الْعُقُولُ لَكَانَ أَدْنَى صَبِغِمِ أَدْنَى إِلَى شَرَفٍ مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ

and again:

الْكَلْبُ كَلْبٌ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ قِلَادَتُهُ صَفْرَ الدَّنَائِرِ أَوْ حُمْرَ الْبِوَاقِيَتِ

Though Sámiri's Calf (f. 23a) was of gold, it was only a calf.

إِنَّ الْإِحْمَارَ وَلَوْ يُحَوَّلَ فِضَّةً أَوْ صَبِغٍ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ لَكَانَ حِمَارًا

Here follows a further dissertation on the impossibility of "making a silk purse out of a sow's ear", concluding with the verse:

از کوشش واز دویدن وخدمت کس  
افزون نشود بذره قسمت کس

#### *Anecdote.*

It is related that one day 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aşma'î, seeing the poet al-Attábî in the presence of Faḍl b. Rabîc, reproached him for wearing such shabby clothes; whereupon the other retorted that a delight in fine apparel was only for women, and that a man was exalted by greatness of heart and high resolve, a silent tongue and an unselfish spirit (f. 23b).

فَكَمُ مِنْ سَيُوفٍ جَفْنِيْنَ مَمْرُقٍ وَكَمُ مِنْ ثِيَابٍ تَكْتَحِنَنَّ نَيْسُ

Man is not ennobled by wealth:

مال اگر میلِ خزانِ نشدی حلقهٔ قرچِ استرآنِ نشدی

Here follow short and rather irrelevant anecdotes of sundry Şúfí saints, *vis.* Hátim "the deaf" (*al-Aşanm*), Báyazíd of Bisţám and Abú Sa'íd Khwár (f. 24*a*), followed by reflections on Divine Providence and human effort, and the depravity and rebelliousness natural to man when his affairs prosper.

بسرما وگرما چنان نا شکیبی که از خانه نائی همی تا ببرن  
زگرما بسوزی زسرما بعیری مگس گشتی ای روسپی خواهر وزن  
‘Amir b. ‘Abd Qays used to say (f. 24*b*) that though all worldly wealth should depart from him he would be fearful, because of three verses in the Qur‘án (xi, 8; xxxv, 2; and x, 107). More traditions on the Divine Providence follow; *e. g.*:

الرِّزْقُ يَطْلُبُ الْعَبْدَ كَمَا يَطْلُبُهُ أَجَلُهُ  
إِنِّي لَأَعْلَمُ وَالْأَقْدَارُ جَارِيَةٌ أَنْ أَلْدِي هُوَ رِزْقِي سَوْفَ يَأْتِينِي

Here follow anecdotes of Sufyán-i-Thawrí and Málik Dínár, two famous Şúfí saints (f. 25*a*), and of Abú ‘Abdi‘r-Raĥmán Ziyád b. An‘am al-Ifríqí. The latter was in earlier life a fellow-student of Abú Ja‘far al-Manşúr, afterwards second Caliph of the House of ‘Abbás. One day Manşúr invited him to a meal at his lodging. The meal was of the simplest: there was no meat, no sweets, not even dates. Manşúr, on learning from his maid-servant that even dates were lacking, sighed and recited Qur‘án vii, 126. Long afterwards, when he had become Caliph, Ziyád again stood before him. "O Abú ‘Abdi‘r-Raĥmán!" said the Caliph, "I have heard that thou hast advantaged the Umayyads." "Yes," replied Ziyád, "they reaped advantage from me." "And how was their rule?" enquired the Caliph, "and what thinkest thou of mine?" "Of their rule," replied Ziyád, "I saw this, that thou didst take me to thy house and give me to eat with

out meat, and recite the verse, *'It may be that your Lord will destroy your foe, and will make you succeed him in the earth.'* God hath destroyed thine enemy and made thee Caliph (f. 26b): see what thou wilt do, and be not of those referred to in the verse (Qur'án xcvi, 6) *'Verily man waxeth insolent, because he seeth himself abound in riches.'* Know that the Devil hath no more potent weapon than tempting man to sin to-day and to repent to-morrow."

*Anecdote.*

It is related on the authority of Abú Ḥamza ath-Thumálí<sup>1</sup> that the [fourth] Imám 'Alí b. al-Ḥusayn *Zaynu'l-Ábidín* said to him: "One day I came forth from al-Madína, and while I stood in thought, leaning against this wall, a man clad in two white garments, one over the other, accosted me, saying, 'O 'Alí son of al-Ḥusayn! I see thee sorrowful: if it be on account of this world's provision, God is guarantee therefor.' 'No,' I replied, 'my sorrow is not for this.' 'Then,' said he, 'dost thou grieve for the future life? For that is God's promise, which He is able to fulfil.' 'No,' I replied; 'it is not for this, for I know that what thou sayest is true.' 'Then,' said he, 'since thou grievest neither for this world nor the next, for what dost thou grieve?' 'I grieve,' said I, 'for the mischief wrought by fools, and the contempt I suffer at their hands.' Than the man laughed in my face and said, 'O 'Alí son of al-Ḥusayn! Didst thou ever see one who trusted in God and was disappointed?' 'No,' I replied. 'Didst thou ever,' he replied, 'see anyone who sought anything from God which He did not vouchsafe to him?' 'No,' I replied. And straightway the man vanished from my eyes."

<sup>1</sup> [i. e. Thábit b. Abí Šafíyya Dínár (d. A. H. 150). Cf. Najáshí (ed. Bombay, A. H. 1317), p. 83; Túsí's *Fihrist*, p. 71; Astarábádí's *Manhajul-maqál* (Persian ed. of A. H. 1307), p. 74; *Muntaha'l-maqál* Tíhrán, A. H. 1302), p. 343. The text has *al-Yamáni* by mistake for *ath-Thumálí*. A. G. E.]

*Anecdote.*

It is related by Ḥusayn b. Ḥamza, from Abú Ḥamza <sup>1</sup>, from Sa'd <sup>2</sup>, from Abú Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alí, generally known as [the fifth Imám, Muḥammad] Báqir (المعروف بباقر آل رسول الله), that 'Umar b. 'Abdi'l-'Azíz during the time of his Caliphate (A. D. 717—720) visited al-Madína, and caused proclamation to be made there that anyone who had suffered wrong at the hands of the Umayyads should present himself before him and receive compensation, so far as was possible. The Imám Báqir presented himself, and al-Muzáḥim (المزاحم), 'Umar's client, notified the fact to his master, who bade him enter, and forthwith fell to weeping. When the Imám entered he found 'Umar in tears (f. 26a), and enquired as to the cause of his sorrow. Being informed, he turned to 'Umar and said:

يا عمر أتما الدنيا سوقاً من الاسواق منها خرج قوم بما ينفعهم ومنها  
خرج [آخرون] بما يضرهم وكم من قوم قد ضرهم بمثل آلتى ادبنا  
فيه حتى اتاه الموت ،

*Anecdote.*

'Alí, seeing 'Ammár b. Yásir sad and sorrowful one day, consoled him in the following words:

عَلِمَ تَنْفُسَكَ يَا عَمَّارٌ إِنْ كَانَ عَلَى الْآخِرَةِ فَقَدْ أَخْبَرَكَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بِأَنَّكَ  
تَقْتُلُكَ الْفَتَنَةُ الْبَاغِيَّةُ وَإِنْ كَانَ عَلَى الدُّنْيَا فَمَا تَسْتَحْفِقُ أَنْ يُؤْمَى عَلَيْهَا

<sup>1</sup> [i. e. Ḥusayn b. Ḥamza al-Laythí, grandson, by a daughter, of Abú Ḥamza. Cf. Najáshí, p. 40; *Manhaj*, p. 112; *Muntahá*, p. 119. The text has Ḥasan b. Ḥamza, but the only Ḥasan b. Ḥamza recorded in the Shí'a books of "*Rijál*" died in A. H. 358. A. G. E.].

<sup>2</sup> [Either Sa'd b. Ṭaríf al-Ḥandḥalí (Najāshí, p. 127; *Fihrist*, p. 152; *Manhaj*, p. 159; *Muntahá*, p. 144), or Sa'd b. Sa'd b. al-Aḥwas al-Ash'arí (Najāshí, p. 127; *Fihrist*, p. 151; *Muntahá*, p. 144), both of whom received traditions from the Imám Abú Ja'far. A. G. E.].

فإن ملاذها في ستِّ المأكول والمشروب والملبوس والمشوم والمركوب  
 والمنكوح، فالأما المأكول فافضله العسل وأما هو قىء ذبابة وأما المشروب  
 فافضله الماء وهو مباح لا ثمن له وأما الملبوس فافضله الديباج وأما هو  
 من لعبادة دودة وأما المشوم فافضله المسك وأما هو بعض دم وأما  
 المنكوح فافضله النساء وأما هو مبال في مبال وأما المركوب فافضله الخيل  
 وعلى ظهورها يقتل الرجال، قال فوالله ما أسيت على شيء بعدها،

The following admonition is also ascribed to 'Alí:

إذا أردت الصاحبَ فإلله يكفيك وإذا أردت الرفيفَ فالكرام الكاتبون  
 يكفيك وإذا أردت المؤمنس فالقرآن يكفيك وإذا أردت الموعظة فالنوت  
 يكفيك فإن لم يكفك ما قُلتُ فإلنار يوم القيامة تكفيك

*Anecdote.*

One day Ḥasan of Baṣra was passing by a group of people who were speaking ill of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. He said to them:

إنَّ الحجاجَ عقوبةُ الله عليكم فلا تستقبلوه بالسبِّ واللعنِ والشتمِ ولكن  
 استقبلوه بالثناءِ والتضرُّعِ والابتهالِ إلى الله تعالى والبكاءِ حتَّى يكفِيه  
 عنكم قولوا اللهمَّ (fol. 266) حَوَّلْنَا مِنْ ذلِّ المعصيةِ إلى عزِّ النبوةِ وبدل  
 هذه العقوبةَ بالرحمةِ

"I heard," adds the author, "from a certain pious man in the city of Khwárazm, that the Children of Israel made complaint before one of their prophets, saying, 'Say unto God, "What have we done that Thou hast set over us one who knoweth Thee not, and hast afflicted us at the hands of a people who do not confess Thy Lordship, seeing that we confess Thee and magnify Thee?"'" But God revealed to the prophet the following message to them: 'Verily when those who know Me rebel against me, I set over them one who knoweth Me not.'"

## Section I, ch. II.

First settlement of the kingdom of Ṭabaristán and its cities.

Farshwádgar<sup>1</sup> is bounded by Ádharbayján, Áhár, Ṭabaristán, Gílán, Daylam, Ray, Qúmis, Dámghán and Gurgán, and was first so defined by Minúchihr Sháh. As regards its etymology, some say that it means "Live safe and sound" (باش خور ای عیش سالمأ صانحأ), but certain natives of Ṭabaristán assert that *farsh* means "plain" (*hámun*), *wád* "highlands" (*kúhistán*), and *gar* "sea", and that the name therefore signifies "land of mountain, plain and sea"; this interpretation, however, is modern. Older authorities say that *gar* (*jar*) means mountainous land susceptible of cultivation, where thickets and trees are found, *Far-sháh* (or *Gar-sháh*) being an ancient title of the descendants of Súkhrá, the meaning of which is "King of the mountains"<sup>1</sup>. The name Mázandarán is more recent. Its king was killed by Rustam the son of Zál. It was originally called "Múz-andarún", because Múz was the name of a mountain on the confines of Gílán extending as far as Lár, Qaşrán and Jájarm; and since this territory was "within [the mountains of] Múz", it received this name. But as for what belongs to Ṭabaristán, from Dínár-jári on the east to a village called Maláṭ, beyond Húsam on the west<sup>2</sup>, they say that in ancient days it was all jungle and forest, lagoon and fen, mountain and sea

<sup>1</sup> This, as pointed out by Darmesteter (*loc. cit.*, p. 507, n. 3 *ad calc.*) is a corruption of the ancient *Patashkhwár*, a name properly applied to the chain of mountains which separates Ṭabaristán from Íraq.

<sup>2</sup> So al-Bírúni says (*Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Sachau's transl., p. 107): "The Persians call the first man *Gayômarth*, with the surname *Girsháh*, i. e. 'King of the Mountain'..." See also Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 111, s. v. Garšáh.

Cf. Dorn's ed. of *Dhahíru'd-Dín*, p. 19 where the substance of this passage is reproduced.

(f. 27*a*), and that until the time of Jamshíd it was in the possession of the demons. He conquered them, and bade them level the mountains with the plains, fill up the lakes, drain the fens into the sea, open up the country, and distribute the rivers and streams. He also caused castles to be made and duly provisioned for the highlanders, and brought water from the mountains to the plains; and so they held Ṭabaristán for a hundred years or more. Thereafter he brought craftsmen and artificers into that province, assigning land to each, and giving the wise and prudent authority over the others. The oldest settlement is Láriján, where, in the village of Waraka (بده وركه)<sup>1</sup>, Ferídún was born; which happened in this wise. When Dahák the Arab (ضخاك تازی) hewed Jamshíd in pieces, the family and descendants of that unfortunate king fled away and hid themselves wherever they could, and the mother of Ferídún and her attendants took refuge in the above-mentioned village, which is at the foot of Mount Damáwand. On the birth of Ferídún, they migrated to the more fertile Jíláb (or Chaláb: *Dhahíru'd-Din*, p. 11, شلاب), where pasture is abundant and the people live by cattle-farming. When Ferídún was seven years old, he used to fix a guiding-rope in the noses of the cattle and ride them<sup>2</sup>, so that one would say that heaven was reflected on earth, and that a second "Sun" (i. e. Ferídún) was arising from "the Bull" (the Sign of Taurus). Later, the other youths had recourse to him for protection and guidance, and he, mounted on a cow (f. 27*b*), used to go forth with them to the chase. After a time they migrated towards Lafúr (لفور; *Dhahír*, p. 12, لپور) to the village of Máwjakúh (ماوچکو; *Dhahír*, ماوچکو), and were joined by the

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahíru'd-Din*, p. 11, where the name stands ورك or وركی.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

people of Ummídwár-kúh and Kúh-i-Qárin, who made for the young prince the famous cow-headed mace. As his fame waxed greater, the number of his followers increased, until he felt himself strong enough to invade 'Iráq. On reaching Işfahán he was joined by the blacksmith Káwa, and, acting in conjunction with him, took Dahák captive.

نه فریدون گاو پروردہ کرد شیر گرسندرا بردہ  
نه بیاری وسی یك دو کیا بستند از بیورسپ ملك نیا

Having brought the fallen tyrant to his native village for one night, he conveyed him on the following day to the summit of Mount Damáwand, where he left him, bound and helpless, in a cave or pit which is still pointed out. Then, having established his authority over the Seven Climes, he took up his abode in Tammísha, where the ruins of his Palace are still apparent at a place called Bá-naşrán (با نصران)<sup>1</sup>, also the domes and cupolas of his bath, and the remains of the moat which he caused to be dug from the mountain to the sea. These, the author remarks, he had often seen and examined. Firdawsí says:

فریدون فرخ همیشه بگرد نشست اندر آن نامور بیشه کرد

This forest is also called in the books *Bísha-i-Nárwan* ("the Forest of wild Pomegranates"), and the river Báwul (now Bábul) waters the country to this day. When Karshásf went to China, he sent the Emperor of that kingdom, bound with golden chains and accompanied by eighty other princes, in the custody of Naríman to Ferídún, who was then in Tammísha.

### The Foundation of Sári.

Sári was founded in ancient times by Tús the son of Nú-dhar, at a place called Túsán to this day. In the time of

<sup>1</sup> *Daháru'd-Dín*, p. 13.

Kay-Khusraw (f. 28a), Fariburz, fearing the king's wrath because of some fault which he had committed, fled thither and took refuge with the family of Núdhar, till Rustam came with a great army and carried him before Kay-Khusraw, who forgave him. The site of a castle built by him is still visible at a place called Lúman Dún (لُومَن دُون) <sup>1</sup>. Sári itself was ordered to be built in the time of the Great Farrukhán, king of Ṭabaristán, by Báv, one of his nobles, on the site of the village of Awhar (اَوْحَر), which was chosen because of its high position, abundant streams, and pleasant surroundings. The inhabitants, however, bribed Báv to leave them in peace and choose another site, where Sári actually stands. The king, on becoming aware of his disobedience, cast him into bondage, and caused him to be hanged at the place called in consequence of this *Báv-ávižán* (بَاوِ آوِيجَان), while with the money taken as a bribe he built a village called *Dínár-Kafshín* (دِينَار كَفَشِين). The Mosque of Sári was built in the reign of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd by the Amír Yaḥyá b. Yaḥyá, and completed by Mázyár b. Qárin. The four-doored dome (گنبد چهار در) which stands opposite to the Palace of Bávandán was included by the late king Ardashír in his private garden. It was originally built by Minuchihr Sháh, but fell into dilapidation in the time of the Ispahbad Khurshíd Gávbán. It was then repaired <sup>2</sup>, and is now so strong that it is impossible to detach a single brick from the fabric.

### The Foundation of Rúyán.

Its first foundation was in the time of Ferídún (f. 28b). When his sons Túr and Salm slew their brother Íraj, he left a daughter in the district of Lafúr at Mávjakúh. Feri-

<sup>1</sup> See Dorn's *Dhahíru 'd-Dín*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 30.

dún was then at a very advanced age, and his eyebrows drooped so that they had to be bound up. His earnest prayer was that he might live to see the death of his favourite son 'Iraj avenged, and he gave the daughter of 'Iraj in marriage to one of his nephews. When a child was born to her, it was shewn to the aged Ferídún, who said, "*Mánad chihr-ash bi-chihr-i-'Iraj*" ("His face resembles the face of 'Iraj")<sup>1</sup>, so he was called *Manuchihr*; and, as is set forth in the verse and prose *Sháhnámas* of Firdawsí and Mu'ayyidí, he avenged his grandfather 'Iraj ere Ferídún departed from this world. Here are cited the well-known verses of Firdawsí:

فریدون فرخ فرشته نبود زمشك و ز عنبر سرشته نبود  
 بداد ودهش یافت آن نیکوئی تو داد ودهش کن که فرخ توئی

Thereafter Pashang, the son of Afrásiyáb came with a great army to Dahistán to avenge the death of Salm. Minúchihr, king at Ištakhr in Fárs<sup>2</sup>, ordered Qárin [the son of] Gáwa, his brother Qubád, and 'Arish of Ray to oppose his advance. Afrásiyáb, having been worsted several times by the Persians, had recourse to a kind of treacherous stratagem of which, as Arab writers assert, he was the inventor. He wrote to Qárin saying, "I have received your letter and have taken note of your professions of loyalty<sup>3</sup> towards me. When I take the kingdom of Persia, I promise, as God is my witness, to hand it over to you." Afrásiyáb then arranged that the messenger who bore this letter should fall into the hands of a Persian noble who was in the confidence of Minúchihr and ill-disposed towards Qárin. This noble (f. 29a), having read the letter, at once reported the matter to Minúchihr, who, entirely deceived by Afrásiyáb's

<sup>1</sup> This is a fair sample of the etymologies which the Persians are so ready to invent.

<sup>2</sup> See Dorn's *Dhahír*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 15.

cunning ruse (for Qárin was perfectly loyal and meditated no treachery), ordered Qárin to be brought before him, and made over the command of the army to Ārīsh. As soon as Qárin was thus removed, Afrásiyáb attacked the Persians and drove them back on 'Iráq. Then at length Minúchihr perceived that he had been duped, and reinstated Qárin in his command. Qárin advanced to Ray' with his army. Afrásiyáb pitched his camp *طهرانست که دولاب و طهرانست*, and daily gained some advantage over Minúchihr, who ordered the Castle of Ṭabarak to be constructed, and there, a year later, after many serious defeats, he was obliged to take refuge. At that date the city stood over against the spot afterwards occupied by the Cupola of Fakhru'd-Dawla (گنبد شهنشاه فخرالدولة), which place they now call <sup>1</sup> in Ray *Diz-i-Rashkán*, and it remained thus till the time of the Daylamites of the House of Buwayh, „and,” adds the author, “in the house of the Šáhib Ibn 'Abbád I have seen a mound like a hill [which marks its site].” Minúchihr came from Ṭabarak to the city, fortified the walls, and abode there six months, when he was compelled to flee and escape by way of Láriján to Ṭabaristán, while Afrásiyáb made the wide world narrow to him] as the eye of a needle:

كان بلاد الله وقى عريضةً على الخائف أنطلب كفة حابل

Afrásiyáb pursued him into Ṭabaristán until he reached the limits of Rúyán, a village called Mánahar (مانهر). There, in one face of the mountain, is a great cavern, to the end of which no man hath ever penetrated, and in it Minúchihr concealed his treasures and stores. In the time of Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá al-'Alawí <sup>2</sup>, called *kúchak* (“the Little”), this cave was entered, and much wealth found there. Afrásiyáb alighted at a village called Khusraw-ábád near Āmul (f. 296), which

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 17.

village still existed in the time of Washmgír (A. D. 935—967) the son of Ziyár, the father of Qábús. Above this village was a tree called *Sháti-mázi-bun* (شاتی مازی بن), beneath which Afrásiyáb pitched his tent for twelve years, and during all this time Minúchihhr had need of nothing which is imported from foreign countries except pepper, in place of which they used to eat a herb<sup>1</sup> called *kalij* (کلیج), in order that their bodies might be able to resist the moisture of the climate. Finally Afrásiyáb concluded peace with Minúchihhr (since he could not capture him) on the understanding that he should surrender to him one bowshot's width of territory. Arish thereupon shot an arrow from there to Merv, a statement recorded in many Persian and Arabic books, both verse and prose<sup>2</sup>; which some say that he achieved by virtue of some talisman or charm. This is one of the two shots in which the Persians glory, the other being the shot wherewith, in the reign of Kisrá (Anúshírwán), Wahriz slew the king of the Abyssinians<sup>3</sup>. From the conclusion of this war dates the prosperity of Rúyán, and the depopulation of this region (? Tabarak), for King Minúchihhr thereafter established himself in Tabaristán.

#### Foundation of Amul<sup>4</sup>.

There were two brothers from the country of Daylam, one named Ashtád (f. 30a), the other Yazdán, who, because they had slain one of the nobles of Daylam with an arrow (بیتفننگ), were obliged, with their families, to flee from their country. They settled near Amul, where the one founded

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, my edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 60—61.

<sup>3</sup> This story is so well known that I omit the meagre version here given. See Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, p. 233 and *J. R. A. S.* for April, 1900, p. 229—230.

<sup>4</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 22.

the village of Yazdánábád and the other the hamlet of Ashtád, both of which exist to this day. Ashtád had a very beautiful daughter. The great king of that time was named Fírúz, and had his capital at Balkh. One night he dreamed of this maiden, and on awaking cried <sup>1</sup>:

صَبِحَ أَمَدٌ وَخَوْرَشِيدٌ مِنْ أَرْضِ بَرَبُودٍ  
خَيْالِكَ فِي الْكَرَى وَهَنَا أَتَانَا وَمِنْ سِلْسَالِ رِيْقِكَ قَدْ سَقَانَا  
وَبَاتَ مُعَانِقِي لَيْلًا تَمَامًا فَلَمَّا بَانَ وَجْهُ الصُّبْحِ بَانَا

In vain did the king strive to expel her image from his mind:

قَضَى اللَّهُ مَا لَا اسْتِطَاعَ دَفْعَهُ فَمَا كَانَ لِي مِمَّا قَضَى اللَّهُ عَاصِمٌ

Love so wasted his frame that:

لَوْ أَنَّ الْأَشْعَرِيَّ رَأَى يَوْمًا لَسَمِي بَعْدَهُ الْمَعْدُومَ شَيْبًا

He then reflected within himself that the concealment of this secret was injuring his health (f. 30b):

شَفَقَاتِي لِي أَنْ أَفَشَيْتُ سِرَّكَ فِي الْهَوَى  
كَذَلِكَ أَسْرَرْتُ الْهَوَى لِي فَشَتَّ شَفَقْتُ

and finally submits a very rhetorical statement of his condition to the chief Múbad (f. 31a) <sup>2</sup>, who is greatly vexed and perturbed, declaring the king to be the victim of demoniacal possession, reproaching him for his unreasonable passion, and advising him to have recourse to a physician (f. 31b). The king endeavoured for a few days longer to get the better of his passion, and then, in accordance with the proverb, "Man eagerly desires that which is forbidden him," and the verses:

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahir*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> This is much simplified and abbreviated in *Dhahir*, p. 23.

مرا عشق است وجز من مردمان را ازین انواع بسیار او فتادست  
 ملامت چون کنم خود را نه زاول زمن آئین این کار او فتادست  
 he summoned his ministers and issued orders to all the  
 Wardens of his Marches (*marzubáns*) to seek for the original  
 of that vision. For some time their efforts met with no  
 success, and the king's melancholy increased, until at length  
 he entreated one of his relatives named Mihr Fírúz to un-  
 dertake the quest, promising him a rich reward <sup>1</sup> if he should  
 be successful (f. 32a). Mihr Fírúz declared that he would  
 leave no stone unturned in his endeavour to find the king's  
 desire :

فَأَشْرَبَ مَاءَ الْجَفْنِ إِنْ مَسَّنِيَ الصَّدَا  
 وَأَكَلَ لَحْمَ الْكَفِّ إِنْ كُنْتُ أَغْرْتُ

He then questioned the soldiers as to what regions they  
 had left unexplored, and they replied that they had tra-  
 versed the East and the West, all Persia and Arabia, save  
 only Ṭabaristán. So on that very day Mihr Fírúz set out  
 from Balkh for Ṭabaristán, followed by a caravan of provi-  
 sions for the journey and costly presents, until he came to  
 Ṭúsán (شهرستان طوسان), whence, aided by the governor, he  
 pursued his search, grudging no expenditure, for rather  
 more than a year, but met with no success. At length, ac-  
 companied by a few followers, he set off to explore the  
 country lying towards the sea-coast. One day, near Ahlam  
 (احلم), his horse was drowned while he was fording a stream,  
 and he himself with difficulty reached the further shore.  
 Unable to return, he plunged into the forest, when at length  
 he came upon a clear and beautiful stream, which he followed  
 up till he reached the fountain which was its source. <sup>2</sup> There,  
 to his amazement, he saw a girl whose appearance exactly

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 25.

corresponded with her whom the king had seen in his vision. He said to himself, "If she be a *jinniyya*, I will kill her (f. 32*b*), but if she be a human being, it is she whom I seek." So he drew his sword and advanced towards the fountain. The girl looked up at him and said, "O youth, who art thou, and what is thy name, and what dost thou here? For I wonder to see such an one as thyself in this place." Mihr Fírúz replied, "I am a human being. Tell me, now, of thy condition and family." "I too," replied the girl, "am of the human race; my home is in this place; and I have two fathers, to wit my father and his brother, and likewise a mother and many brothers." The girl, on Mihr Fírúz's request, consented to take him to her home, and, on reaching it, informed her mother of his arrival. Her mother received him with the utmost respect and courtesy, and sent her youngest son to summon her husband and his brothers, who came with all speed, and, after the fashion of Daylam, entertained him for three days without questioning him as to his business or condition. When, after this period, they enquired as to who he was and what had brought him to the country, he informed them that he was one of the nobles of the King, and had come thither for solitude and the chase, and described his separation from his companions, the loss of his horse, and his meeting with the girl. "Know," he concluded, "that I am not one of whom you need be ashamed, or who has need of your wealth or possessions. If you see fit, then give me this girl in marriage." "Thine appearance," said the father and mother, "sufficiently indicates thy nobility<sup>1</sup>, and thy courtesy thy virtue (f. 33*a*); how then should we not desire thee as a son-in-law?" Then they related to him their history, and how they had been compelled to flee from

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahir*, p. 26.

their country, and added that they could promise nothing till they had consulted their elder brother. To him, accordingly, they went in company, and he received them with every honour, saying:

بی هیچ بهانهء وئی هیچ دلیل ناگاہ بخوان عنکبوت آمد بیل

On hearing the propose of Mihr-Fírúz he readily agreed to it, and Mihr Fírúz at once sent off a messenger for the presents and supplies which he had left at Ṭúsán, informing the governor that he had fulfilled his quest, and bidding him notify the fact to the King. While one of the girl's brothers took this message, another sought out Mihr Fírúz's missing retainers. The King rejoiced greatly at the news, despatched valuable gifts, and ordered general illuminations and festivities (f. 33*b*). When the actual greatness of Mihr-Fírúz became apparent to Ashtád and Yazdán, they were overwhelmed with confusion, especially when he related to them the dream, and declared to them that it was not to himself, but to his master the king, that the girl was to be given in marriage. Then they sent off the girl in all haste to the Court, and when the king saw her, he at once recognized in her the original of his vision, and his love for her increased day by day. One day he asked her<sup>1</sup>, "Why is it that the women of your country have such beautiful eyes, such fragrant mouths, and such soft skins?" She replied in her own language [of Ṭabaristán]<sup>2</sup>:

جاوید فرخ خسرو خدای انوشه ور جاوید آج بامدادان سفر دین  
چشم افروخ، آج تاوستان کنان وزمستان پرنیان پوشین تن افروخ،  
آج سیر و انکسم خوردن دمش افروخ،

The King applauded her answer and bade her crave a boon. She asked that a city might be built at Páy-i-Dasht,

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahir*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> For variants, cf. *Dhahir*, loc. cit., ll. 3—5.

her native place, situated above the river Hirhiz (حِرْحِرِيز), and called after her name. Engineers and surveyors were at once sent thither to prosecute the work, and that same year a son was born to her named Khusraw. She desired the king to send her thither for change of air, because the climate of Balkh did not agree with her. They told her that the engineers had been unable to bring the water of the river Hirhiz to the spot which she had indicated as the site of the city, so she ordered that its name should still remain Páy-i-Dasht<sup>1</sup>; and there the signs of these buildings are apparent to this day (f. 34a). They called the place which the girl had chosen *Sharistána-marz*. The projected city was then transferred to the present site, called *Ástána-saráy*, but at first named *Máta* (مانده), now the site of the Great Mosque [of Ámul], wherein was formerly a fountain which drew its water from the Mountain of *Wandá-ummid*, and which was still running in the time of al-Yazdádí (see p. 3 *supra*). And when they had brought the water thither, they built the city-wall of baked bricks, so thick that three horseman could ride abreast along the top of it, and dug round about it a moat 33 cubits (ارش) in depth, and a bow-shot across; and in the wall they made four Gates, called respectively “of Jurján”, “of Gílán”, “of the Mountain”, and “of the Sea”. The area of the city was 400 *jaribs* of land. The Palace of the king’s wife, Ámula, stood where the “Street of the Washermen” (كويچيء گارزن) now is, and behind the “Cloth-sellers’ Market”; and her Tomb (دخمه) was in the same place. In the reign of Ardashír excavations were made here to a depth of two spears’ lengths, and the sepulchre and surrounding buildings were disclosed. When the King’s son Khusraw succeeded to the throne, he greatly enlarged Ámul, and made it his capital and residence, sur-

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahir*, p. 28.

rounding the original wall with another of clay. The space between the two walls they called رِصص, and what lay beyond the outer wall رَعْف, "which terms," says the author, "occur frequently in old title-deeds". The meaning of the name Amul in their tongue is آموش, both of these words meaning (f. 34*b*) "death", the sense here being "May death never touch thee!" (ترا هرگز مرگ مباد). It is related that when the Ispahbad Mázyár b. Qárin destroyed the walls of Amul<sup>1</sup>, they found on the top of the Gate of Gurgán a green casket (بسنوقهء; *Dhahir*, p. 28, بسنوقهء, explained by Vüllers as a cervical vertebra) sealed with tin (قلعي). The superintendent ordered it to be broken open, whereupon a small copper tablet bearing an inscription in the *kustaj* character<sup>2</sup> fell out. One who had skill in this character was summoned to read it, which, having mastered its contents, he could scarcely be induced to do. On it was written, "The good construct and the wicked destroy; whosoever destroys this shall not survive the year." And it was even so; for ere the end of the year Mázyár was taken captive and executed at Surra-man-ra'a (A. H. 224 = A. D. 839). The Great Mosque of Amul was built in the time of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, in A. H. 177 (= A. D. 793—4), by Ibráhím b. 'Uthmán [b.] Nahík<sup>3</sup>. He could not at first buy the whole site required, until the grandfather of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Hárún *al-Faqih*, who was named Anbárak, was converted to Islám and changed his name to Mubárak, whereupon he sold his house for this purpose, and others who possessed land in this quarter followed his example. When the Mosque was finished, they desired to ascertain the direction of the *qibla*, but it rained unceasingly for forty nights and days, and they were obliged

<sup>1</sup> See Ṭabarí (ed. de Goeje), Ser. iii, Vol. ii, p. 1275.

<sup>2</sup> See *Fihrist*, p. 13 of text and p. 8 of the notes. Cf. Mas'údí's *Kitábu 'l-Tanbih wa'l-Ishráf* (ed. de Goeje), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> See Ṭabarí, Ser. iii, pp. 651—706.

to have recourse to conjecture. The cost of the land occupied by the Mosque was 8032 *dinárs*, its length was 93 yards (ارش), its dome or roof (سماك), ten yards in length, contained 300,640 tiles (فترسب), and the cost of construction was 47,340 *dinárs*. In the time of Fírúz-Sháh, the original founder of the city, a ditch or moat was made from the frontier of Gurgán and Múqán, on the seashore, and traces of this moat, called "Fírúz-kanda" ("the Moat of Fírúz") are still visible in many places in Ṭabaristán, a fact on which al-Yazdádí has greatly insisted in his book. At the time of the foundation of Āmul (f. 35*a*), a certain man possessed one *jarīb* of land, which he refused to sell, lest his sons should forfeit the position of land-owners and sink to that of serfs. He appealed to the King, who admitted that he was right, and ordered him to receive an abundant payment for his little property.

*Turicha* (تريجة). The name of the place was originally Túrán-char (توران چر). In the time of Farrukhán the Great a treaty was concluded with the Turks whereby it was agreed that, in consideration of the payment of a tribute, they should abstain from invading Ṭabaristán. Two years later, having fortified the passes, the Persians refused to pay the tribute, and King Farrukhán retired to Fírúz-ábád, near Lafúr, and there entrenched himself. The Turks invaded Ṭabaristán, but Farrukhán fell upon them suddenly at night and slew them all. Túrán-char marks the site of this massacre.

*Mámṭir* (مامطير). This place was visited by the Imám Ḥasan b. ʿAlí in the Caliphate of ʿUmar, he being accompanied by an army of Arabs under Málík Ashtar an-Nakhaʿí<sup>1</sup>, and because of the excellence of the site and its natural advantages, especially its good water and sweet-voiced birds,

<sup>1</sup> See Baládhurí's *Futúh*, ed. de Goeje, pp. 164 and 228.

he said: بِقَعَّةٌ طَيِّبَةٌ مَاءٌ وَطَيْرٌ, and the last words of this sentence, *Má wa tîr*, became corrupted into *Mamţîr* <sup>1</sup>. When Muḥammad b. Khálid was governor of the province (f. 35<sup>b</sup>) he constructed there a market and other buildings, to which, in A. H. 160 (= A. D. 776—7) Mázyár b. Qárin added a Mosque.

Other important cities of Ṭabaristán  
beyond Tammísha.

*Gurgán* was founded by Gurgín son of Mílád <sup>2</sup>. It was always the capital of the *marzubáns* of Ṭabaristán, and has a circuit of about four parasangs. Gurgín's ass-herds (*khar-bandagán*) used to graze their beasts about Astarábád, which town sprung up to meet their needs and took its name from their mules (*astar*). The whole land, from Dínár-jáy <sup>3</sup> to Malát (which is the extreme limit of Ṭabaristán in that direction), and from Ray and Qúmis to the seashore, was well cultivated and thickly populated, and there were 28 cities within the district of Tammísha, each with its mosques, oratories, markets, judges, and men of learning, as follows:

- In the Plain.* (1) Āmul, (2) Sárí, (3) Mámţîr, (4) Rúbast, (5) Ārazm (B. Ārarm), (6) Turícha, (7) Muthla (مٲٲلا), (8) Mihrawán, (9) Machúrí (B. *Bijúrí*), (10) Ahlam, (11) Jálús (B. *Sálús*), (12) ملسرآنك (B. بلسرأتك), (13) Ṭís (or Quhsibah, or B. Mahastiya), (14) Tammísha, (15) Gurgán.
- In the Mountains.* (16) Kalár <sup>4</sup>, (17) Rúyán <sup>4</sup>, (18) Namár, (19) Kajúya <sup>4</sup>, (20) Wíma (ویمه), (21) Shalanba, (22) Wabád (B. *Wamad*), (23) Abkhama (أخمه), (24) Sármám, (25)

<sup>1</sup> The modern Bárfurúsh. Cf. *Dhahír*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Dhahír*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhahír*, p. 21, has "Dínár-járí, which is the eastern limit of all Ṭabaristán."

<sup>4</sup> B. enumerates these three places in the preceding class.

Farím, (26) Hazár-garí<sup>1</sup>, (27) Damáwand, (28) Láríján.

The revenues of Ṭabaristán in the time of the Ṭáhirids (بعید ایام طاهریه), i. e. A. D. 820—872) amounted to 6,003,000 *dirhams*, according to the following detail:

<i>Sári</i> as far as Tammísha:	1,300,000 <i>dir.</i>
<i>Mámṭir</i> and Turícha:	370,000 "
<i>Ámul</i> :	1,400,000 "
<i>Fálús</i> (B. Sálús)- <i>Rúyán</i> : 300,000 + 900,000 =	1,200,000 "
<i>Rán-Hál</i> (f. 36a):	360,000 "
<i>Damáwand</i> (B. Dunbáwand):	1,200,000 "
TOTAL:	5,830,000 » <sup>2</sup>

The farms (ضیاع) of Ṭabaristán were divided into three classes, and they produced in the time of the Ṭáhirids 7,000,900 *dirhams*, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

تفصیل المعروف	
300,000 <i>dir.</i> المعروف بماموند که خلیفه از اصفید جمشید خرید،	
1,000,300 " المعروف بحور و خلاص [ایام مازیار B.] هفتاد [هشتاد B.]	
و دو پاره ده بود،	
1,300,000 " غلات فضایل مرغ و مای دریا و آدویه،	
1,500,000 " سفجیه امبارة کوه و امورمدود [نور و مدو و مازیار B.]	
1,000,000 " ضیاع که محمد بن عبد الله طاهر را باقطاع دادند،	
1,000,000 " ضیاع غلات مسلمیات بن طاهر،	
TOTAL:	6,100,300 "

<sup>1</sup> Over this and under (23), which stands immediately above it in the MS., the name *Umyár-kúh* (امبار کوه) is written in red.

<sup>2</sup> As this falls short of the total given above by 173,000 *dirhams*, it would appear that something has been omitted from the details.

<sup>3</sup> The text of what follows I print in the original, as I do not altogether understand it, leaving the sums mentioned (which are plainly written out in full, not in numbers or in the difficult *siyáq* generally used in financial statements) in our numerals, as before. Here again it will be observed that some error has crept in, for these sums fall short of the total of mentioned by 900,600 *dirhams*.

<sup>4</sup> B. has only "500,000".

The total income from all the farms, land-taxes and imposts of Ṭabaristán beyond Tammísha in the time of the Ṭáhirids amounted to 13,300,000<sup>1</sup> *dirhams*.

جمله ضیاع طبرستان و خوارج و تمامت دخل از رسومات شاعریه  
سبزه هزار بار هزار و سیصد و سی هزار درم بود خلاف محصول  
بیرون همیشه،

*Section I, ch. III.*

On the virtues and wonders of Ṭabaristán (f. 36a).

In ancient times Ṭabaristán was always the refuge and stronghold of the old kings and nobles, because of its natural strength, its independence of other countries for the necessities of life (f. 36b), and its fertility. Its only disadvantage, in short, is the moisture of its climate and the excessive rainfall, which result from its proximity to the sea.

*Anecdote.*

It was related by the Qáđi Abú ‘Abdi’r-Raḥmán Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamíd al-Lamrásakí (اللمراسكى) to Abu’l-Ḥasan ‘Alí b. Muḥammad al-Yazdádí, on the authority of his father, who had it from men of ancient time, that there lived in the neighbourhood of Lamrásak a man named Shahr-Khwástán the son of Zardastán (شهر خواستان) possessed of great wealth in personal and landed property and cattle, aged, experienced, and surrounded by numerous sons, cousins and kinsmen, all loyally attached to him. When Farrukhán, the great Ispahbad, had completed the construction of Sári and the great Dyke, all the people, save Shahr-Khwástán, offered him their congratulations and eulogies. The Ispahbad was vexed at this omission (f. 37a), and despatched two horsemen to bring Shahr-Khwástán be-

<sup>1</sup> B. has "13,000 and 330,000."

fore him. When they arrived, he was holding a great banquet, at which all the local nobles and gentry were present. Ordering the two messengers to be hospitably entertained, he packed in sacks samples of all the products of Ṭabaristán, garments of wool, silk, linen and cotton, bread-stuffs of all sorts, sweetmeats, apples, cereals, water-cresses, fresh and salted game, birds, fruits, wines, fragrant herbs, flowers, and the like, and, furnished with these, set off for Sári, where he arrived at day-break. By chance the Ispahbad was giving a great banquet, at which he was presiding, seated on a high throne, whence, after pronouncing a *khutba* after the fashion of kings, he addressed the people as follows. "O men of Ṭabaristán, know that ye were a people dwelling apart in a corner of the world, of whom no fame was spread abroad, and to whose country none were attracted. Ye dwelt in jungles with the wild beasts and beasts of prey, ignorant of the enjoyments of life, the ways of men, soft raiment, good horses and agreeable perfumes. It was I who introduced you to nobler aims and a richer and more desirable life; who built for you fine cities which attracted travellers and merchants from afar, so that rare and precious merchandises flowed into your country, and ye became notable and famous in the world, and your cities celebrated for their wealth and splendour. For all this I deserve your thanks." Then all those present, except Shahr-Khwástán, rose up and applauded. The Ispahbad, observing with displeasure Shahr-Khwástán's silence (f. 37<sup>b</sup>), cried to him, "What ails thee that thou art tongueless as a fish and soulless as a serpent?" Said the other, "If permission be accorded me, I will speak;" and, on receiving permission, he produced and opened the ten sacks which he had brought with him, and displayed their contents. Then he spoke as follows: "May the Ispahbad-Ispahbadán live long! O assembly, we were in this land men indepen-

dent of imports from other countries, contented with what sufficed for our needs, and enjoying ample ease and luxury. None hindered us, nor envied us, nor contended with us, nor coveted our country, nor was cognizant of its secrets. We had need of no one; we had houses, corn-lands and hunting-grounds within the Great Dyke, and every two parasangs was stationed a head-man, captain or squire, whom all men readily obeyed. Now this Prince hath made all strangers and foreigners to know us and our land, and hath caused them to flock hither and settle here, and ere long they will pick a quarrel with us, strive to take our land, and drive forth our children as wanderers and exiles." Then the Ispahbad and the people perceived that he spoke truly, and asked what should now be done, to which he replied, "The thing is done, and there is now no averting it. Had you consulted with me sooner, I would have shewn you a way. Please God that by the Prince's good fortune no harm may result."

The virtue, beauty, health and excellence of the women of Ṭabaristán have been already mentioned (f. 38a) in connection with the narrative of the building of Amul by Fírúz-sháh. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Khúrzád<sup>1</sup> says in his *Book of Routes and Provinces* (كتاب المسالك والممالك) that physicians and sages have agreed that the two healthiest and most charming countries are Ṭabaristán and Samarqand. Of the latter, Ḥuṣayn (حصين) b. Mundhir ar-Raqqáshí said:

كأنها السماء في الخضرة و نهرا المجرة للاعتناق وسورها الشمس للطباق،

while of the former Buzurjmíhr said, in reply to a question from Núshírwán, "Its name is *Ṭarab* ('joy') and *Bustán* ('garden')." 'Abdu'lláh b. Qutayba (A. has قتنه in error for قننیه) said that it ought to be called *Tabaristán* (with ت for

<sup>1</sup> [Probably Ibn Khurdádhbih. See de Goeje's ed. of his *Kitábü'l-masálik*, pp. 171—172, where ar-Raqqáshí's remark above cited is given in substance. A. G. E.]

ط as the first letter), for it was as though it had been pruned with axes (*tabar*). "As for its plains, its mountains, its seas and its swamps," runs another saying, "its mountains are a stronghold and refuge for its kings, its swamps are a treasury for its people, its seas are a hunting ground for them, and its plains are a paradise." (Here follows an Arabic poem of seven couplets in its praise). In it are no noxious reptiles or hurtful beasts, like the snakes of Sístán and India, the scorpions of Nişíbín, Káshán, Jáshk and Múqán, the locusts of ʿAskar, the tarantulas and fleas of Ardabíl, the beasts of prey of Arabia, or the crocodiles of Egypt; nor plagues like the alopecia of Başra, or the drought of Syria, or the excessive heat of ʿUmán, Shíráz and Ahwáz. In short, all men agree that there is no country so delectable as a residence; there are abundant fruits, fire-wood, spices, mountains, plains, sulphur-mines (f. 386), sulphate of iron (زاج), antimony (سرمه), gold and silver-mines<sup>1</sup>, and all sorts of fabrics for clothing. Of its products in his time al-Yazdádí thus speaks:

و بزدادی آورد است که در عهد اول اطلس و نسج و عنابی پیش  
 بها و انواع دیباء بهائی و سفلاطون مرتفع و سرب گران قیمت  
 و کافوری که درای آن صورت نهندد بنیکوئی و خوبی و پردهای  
 ایشیمین و پشمین و میزهای باریک و اتماد بهتر از جیموی و قالیهای  
 محفوری و آبگینه‌های بغدادی و حصیرهای عبادانی بطبرستان  
 آمدندی و از آنجا باقصی بلاد عالم جلب کردند که در همه اذق  
 مثل آنکه آنجا یافتند نبود و بازار متاع سقسین و بلغار تا بعهد ما  
 آمل بود و مردم از عراق و شام و خراسان و حدود هندوستان  
 بطلب متاع بآمل آمدندی و بازرگانی مردم طبرستان ببلغار و  
 سقسین بود بحکم آنکه سقسین از آن لب دریا در مقابل آمل نهاد

<sup>1</sup> Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, p. 24.

است و چنین گویند که چون بسقسین کشتی رود سه ماه برسد و چون از آنجا آید هفته آدینه آنجا نماز گذارند و آدینه دیگر باهلم باشد از آنکه چون میروی بفرازست و چون می آئی در نشیب و زنان باشند در طبرستان که بروزی پنجاه درم کسب کنند بحسن صنعت دست خود و هرگز درویشی مرقع چنانکه در سایر بلاد باشند یافته نشود،

In illustration of this last statement, that poverty is unknown amongst the natives of Ṭabaristán, the author relates how a certain man of that province, settled at Mecca, boasted of this fact. The people of Mecca, anxious to disprove his assertion, hunted high and low till at length they found a beggar who said he was from the parish of Ḥázima-Kúy in Amul in Ṭabaristán. Him they confronted with the man who had uttered this boast (f. 39b). "What," said the latter, "do they call a skirt (*dáman*) in your town?" "*Dáman*," replied the other. "And a pocket (*jayb*)?" continued he. "*Jayb*," answered the beggar. "You are a liar," said the other, "and no true-born Ṭabarí, for in Amul they call a skirt *lunbur* (لنبر) and a pocket *gurívun* (or *girýun*, گریون)." The man then admitted that he had been born at Ray and only taken to Amul in childhood by his father and mother.

The taxes and imposts of Ṭabaristán are light, and especially was this the case under the rule of the House of Báwand, while the water is abundant, good, and freely accessible to all. The satraps, governors and Ispahbads of Ṭabaristán have always enjoyed a great influence, and Kistrás and Calíphs alike have sought their advice and counsel. Their doctors, scribes, physicians, astronomers and poets also include many famous names, and, from the time of Ferídún and Minuchihr, who have been already mentioned, many great and notable men have sought refuge there.

Thus when Rustam-i-Zál was hurled into the sea of Qulzum (the Caspian) by Akwán Dív, he came ashore in Ṭabaristán, and was hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. His son Suhráb sought him through Túrán, Trán, India and Rúm, and at length found him in Rúyán, at a place called Líkash (لیكش), where the fatal fight took place between them, in which Suhráb was slain. Rustam intended to carry his coffin back to Zábulistán, but, owing to the heat, he deposited it at Sári, at the place called Qaşr-i-Tús, where, it is said, it was eventually buried (f. 39b). So too Dárá, fleeing before Alexander, took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and sent a message to the invader, saying, "I grant that you have conquered the Seven Climes, but what will you do with Farshwádjár?" The author adds that in A. H. 611 (= A. D. 1214—1215) the Castle known as *Diz-i-Dárá* („The Fortress of Darius") was still standing near the sea (بکوه تاجی و دارم بویشه نزدیک دریا). Again in the time of Khusraw Parwíz (A. D. 590—627) his uncle Gustahm (Bisám), because the King had cut off his brother Bindú'è's hands and feet, fled from his Government of Khurásán and took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and was only slain at length by treachery on the part of Bahrám Chúbína's sister Gurdiya, who was instigated thereunto by the King. Again in Sásánian times a king named Salyán (سلیان) took refuge in Ṭabaristán, and built himself a residence at the place called *Kiya-Salyán* (کیسلیان), the meaning of *kiya* (کیه) in the Ṭabarí dialect being "house". This building was still standing in the author's time, A. H. 613 (= A. D. 1216—1217).

### The Wonders of Ṭabaristán.

*Mount Damáwand.* 'Alí b. Zayn al-Kátib, in his work entitled *Firdawsu 'l-Hikmat*<sup>1</sup>, says that the ascent is made

<sup>1</sup> Probably the work of this title by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alí of Ray, mentioned by Ḥájí Khalífa, N<sup>o</sup>. 9015.

from the village of Ask in two days. It is a conical peak, and is covered with snow, save for a space of thirty *jaribs* at the summit, which is free from snow both in summer and winter, and is covered with sand (? ashes) into which the feet sink. At and about the summit are thirty craters and fissures, whence issue forth smoke, sulphurous fumes, and strange rumbling noises, whereby men know that there is fire within the mountain. No animal can live on it, because of the violent winds which blow about it, and it is said that the Philosopher's stone of the Alchemists (كبريت الاحباب كيميا) is to be found there (f. 40a). Al-Yazdádí relates that in the time of Qábús Shamsu'l-Ma'álí (A. D. 976—1012) there was a youth called the son of Amír Ká (يسر امير كا) who found this "Red Sulphur" (كبريت احمر) there, and with it made gold, until this matter became known to the King. In Mount Damáwand, it is said, Solomon imprisoned Şakhr, the *jinní* who stole his ring, praying God to torment him there till the Resurrection; and this tradition is vouched for on the authority of 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib. But the stories told concerning Bívarasp (*i. e.* Azhidaháka, or Dahák), which were enquired into by the Caliph 'Abdu'lláh al-Má'mún, and [what happened] in the reigns of Hurmuzd and Khusraw Parwíz, the Sásánian kings, and the story of Músá b. 'Isá as-Sarwí, which are related in the *Book of Pírúz-Mihrján*, and other similar legends<sup>1</sup>) are here omitted as incredible and unauthenticated. In the books of the *Herbeds* and Magians it is related that Núshírwán the Just sent a trusty messenger to Şakhr the *jinní*, who, when the messenger came and saluted him, enquired who had sent him. On learning that it was Núshírwán, he rose to his feet, prayed, and gave three things to the messenger in a sealed packet,

<sup>1</sup> The text here, which I do not understand, has: وحوالت كنيزك و حرة السعبيه،

bidding him deliver them to the King, and entreat him in return to effect the release of the giver. These three things were three drugs, one to keep off old age, one to quicken digestion, and one an aphrodisiac. When these confections were brought to Núshírwán, he said, "I have no need of them, for old age is the ornament of man, and a source of dignity and honour: would that I were already old! Sexual desire, again, is only necessary for the continuance of the human race: whatever exceeds this is evil, not good. And artificial aids to digestion are only needful to him who eats too much; to the temperate man, who only eats to maintain his strength, they are useless and even pernicious (f. 40b). Over and above all this, these drugs may not possess the properties alleged, and may have been given me for my destruction." Then he ordered the drug which was supposed to be a cure for old age to be given to a dog, and its head swelled up till it was as large as a cow's, until it died in great agony, and was secretly buried by Núshírwán's order.

*Anecdote.*

There was once a king called Máhiya-sar, whose head was abnormally small, and devoid of hair. He therefore always wore a turban, summer and winter, night and day, so that no one could see his head. Some say that he was a Jew named Sham<sup>c</sup>ún (Simon) b. Khudádád, others that he was a Magian named Bálí the son of Farrukh-Ádín. His mother, Rúz the daughter of Khurshíd, was a cunning witch and sorceress, incomparable in her time in the arts of Magic. They dwelt in a place four parasangs from Amul, called now *Ást-Visha* and his palace was in a village which still exists and is called Vílír (ویلیر). Between the villages of Kílankúr (کیلنکور) and Shír-ábád is a great forest, thick and high, which is

still called *Máhiya-sarí Diz*, and near it is a deep moat or dyke filled with water covered with duck-weed (آب مطحلب), into which anything which falls disappears for ever, while no boat can cross it, and any animal falling into it does but drown the quicker the more it struggles. On that side where the north wind blows there is an open space, where grow daffodils the like of which in fragrance can be nowhere found; while in the village of Vílír is a certain species of fig (انجیر خسرمانی), superior to those of Hūlwán. Now this king Máhiya-sar was a wicked and unprincipled tyrant, of whom his subjects stood in terror, and he had accumulated vast wealth which he had buried under various buildings. When ʿAbduʿlláh b. Maḥmúd b. Núḥ Abuʿl-ʿAbbás was governor of Ṭabaristán, an old man a hundred years of age came before him from that district, and gave him certain indications as to the site of these buried treasures. Abuʿl-ʿAbbás accordingly sent skilled and trusted man to excavate (f. 41a), and in these excavations they expended much money, but whenever they came on traces of treasure a landslip always occurred, killing several and nullifying their labours, so that at last they were forced to abandon their attempts.

#### *Anecdote.*

One of the Kisrá's sent a confidential messenger to Máhiya-sar ordering him to present himself at his court, under pain of incurring the Royal displeasure, Máhiya-sar had prepared a talisman which kept all the frogs and other reptiles (بنات الماء) quiet during the day, but at night they made so much noise that the whole heaven and earth seemed to be in commotion. When at night-time Kisrá's ambassador heard this fearful riot (عول و سناخیز), he was dazed with wonder and fear, and asked what was the matter. They replied,

“The king’s watchmen by night.” “And where,” enquired he, “are they by day?” “By day,” they answered, “they rest.” When the ambassador returned and related this to Kistrá, they told him that he must have been dreaming.

In the *History of the Barmecides* (تاریخ برامکه) it is said that this Máhiya-sar originally owned the “Barmecide Ring” (انگشتری برمک) which afterwards belonged to the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abdu’l-Malik b. Marwán (A. D. 685—705); but this story, as well as many others referring to Máhiya-sar which are given by al-Yazdádi, is discredited by the author on chronological grounds.

#### *Anecdote.*

Near Ummídwár Kúh is a well called *Cháh-i-Vijan* (? “Bízhán’s Well”) which no one has been able to fathom, though loads of rope have been brought thither, knotted together, and let down into it (f. 41b). When a stone is thrown into it, the noise of its falling is heard for a long time until at last it ceases. During summer a cool breeze continually blows from this well, and round about it are trees, and thence they carry logs and planks to Amul<sup>1</sup>, because of the fragrant scent of this wood. And one who sits on this wood in summer feels a coolness, and on these trees always sit birds of the kind called *sagqá* (سقا).

Near Rúyán is a well-known village called Sa‘íd-ábád, where every child born in the summer dies in infancy, so that it has become customary for women who are with child and expect to be delivered during the summer months to quit the place and go elsewhere.

Near Kalár (كلار) there is a village called Dilam (دلر), and

<sup>1</sup> The text has: که فرسب و پلور بآمل از آجا برند، I conjecture the meaning of these two words, with which I have never met elsewhere.

no one who is born there survives his twentieth year.

Near Nátíl (ناتل) is a village called Mandúr (مندور), where over an area of 60 *jaribs* when rice is sown so much water wells up from the ground that it suffices for all that rice-field without need of further irrigation, and at the time of reaping it all disappears. In the same district is another village called Nigáristán, on the summit of a hill, and in it is a rock, surrounded for five parasangs by plain and jungle, as far as Ámul; and from this rock five streams of clear water issue forth, which are more abundant in proportion as the summer is hotter, while in winter they cease altogether.

Near Amul grows a herb called *Gunduya Zúma* (گندیه زومه), the properties of which are thus described:

اگر اورا بدست بمالند و در قضیب مرد مانند انعاظ گیرد و درم کند و دو چندان شود که بوده باشد و بعد یک ساعت با قرار آید و آن گیاه را برگهای خورده بود،

A peculiarity of the town of Jálús (Shálús) is that it makes people's skins white, so that if an Indian or Kábulí girl remains there for one year, she becomes fair as a Greek or Slav.

In Wandád-Hurmuzd Kúh there is a place (f. 42a) into which, when there is a year of drought, the people throw triturated onions, whereupon rain at once falls, but the person who has pounded the onions dies within the year.

In Ummid-wár Kúh grows a herb called *Gúr-tir* (گور or کوبیر تیر), and if anyone picks it smiling, or weeping, or speaking well, or playing, and gives it to another to eat, that other, so long as the herb is in his stomach, behaves in the same way as did the gatherer while he was picking it.

Near Ṭabaristán is a place called Páníra-Kúh (پانیره کوه), where, in the time of al-Yazdádí, there was a dyke called Fírúz-Kúh, and adjoining this was another mountain whereon grew a poisonous herb.

Near Rúdbár hyacinths grow, and on Wandád-Hurmuзд-Kúh grow sweet rushes (اذخر), as at Mecca, which they call *Mushkwásh* (مشكواش) <sup>1</sup>.

In Siyáh-rúd, near Jamanú, in the village of Danakí, there is a whirlpool or eddy called *Kanzgirdáb*, where Alexander the Great buried the vast treasures which he had amassed. Many later kings and rulers have sought to recover them, but have always failed. Mákán the son of Kákí was the last to try, and he spent vast sums of money in removing the water, till at length he reached a point where signs of treasure, bricks and traces of buildings, were visible. "Tomorrow," said they, "we shall finish our task;" but that night the water again broke in and concealed all, while Mákán dreamed that a voice cried to him, "Weary not thyself in vain, for it was not laid up for thee." And thereafter no further attempt was made. Every twenty-five years there is a year of scarcity, and the price of corn goes up.

*Anecdote of the Dragon and Sám-i-Narimán.*

The poet of Ṭabaristán <sup>2</sup> says:

تنه هشتتر تر بوم بدلیری ای سوم،

There once appeared in Shahriyár-Kúh a dragon fifty thousand cubits (*gaz*) in length, and in that region, as far as the sea-coast, no animal dared pass through plain or mountain for fear of it (f. 42b), so that they abandoned that district, whereupon it advanced as far as Sári. Then the inhabitants besought Sám to help them, and he came forth, saw it from afar, and said, "With these weapons I

<sup>1</sup> I do not understand the following words: و اشنان دست از آن می سازند.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Abu'l-Amr, mentioned by the same title or f. 45a (p. 47 *infra*).

can do nothing." By the time he had prepared suitable weapons, the dragon had advanced to Alárash near the sea-shore, and he came upon it at a place called Gáw-Kaláda (گاو کلاده). The dragon, on seeing Sám, rushed upon him. Sám smote it on the head with his mace, so that it fell asunder, and the dragon uttered so fearful a cry that all Sám's companions fell to the ground in terror. It then strove to encircle Sám with its tail, but he sprang back forty paces. It continued to move for three days and then died, and to this day no grass will grow on this spot, as is well known.

*Section I, ch. iv.*

Account of the kings, nobles, doctors, saintly and famous men, scribes, physicians, philosophers and poets of Ṭabaristán.

1. *Mázyár*. — He was one of the most capable princes who ever reigned. One day his trainer (رأیص) was riding one of his favourite horses. "Do you detect any fault in this horse?" enquired Mázyár. "It is one of the finest to be found in all the world," answered the trainer; "what is wrong with it?" "There is no marrow in its shoulder-blades;" answered Mázyár. He then ordered the horse to be killed, and they found it was even as he had said.

On another occasion he was informed that a certain horse-breeder in Tukháristán had in his stud a horse valued at 100,000 *dirhams*. He at once despatched several experts in horseflesh to buy it for him. When they reached their destination, the owner would only allow them to look at the horse and not to ride it. It appeared to be a beautiful animal, well-proportioned, graceful and strong. They wrote to Mázyár for instructions. He replied (f. 43a): "Assuredly the owner would not impose such a condition unless he

was aware of some blemish in the animal. Before buying it, you must make it a condition that you shall be allowed to lasso it. If, when the lasso falls round its neck, it pricks up its ears, looks sharply down between its fore-feet, and draws its tail inwards, then buy it; but if it strains its neck against the noose, throws out its sides, and lays back its ears, then refuse to buy it." When they tried the experiment, it happened even as he had said, and they rejected it accordingly.

After his death the Caliph put 'Alí b. Zayn in his place in the Foreign Office (ديوان انشا), but the despatches written by him were less rich in meaning than those penned by Mázyár. They asked him why this was so. He replied: "He wrote in his own language; I translate into Arabic." Mázyár's cunning and generosity, as well as his capture and execution at Surra-man-ra'a, will be mentioned in their proper place.

2. *Alandáy*<sup>1</sup> the son of *Sukhrá*, King of Ṭabaristán. In strength and courage he was reckoned the equal of Rustam. One night he rode forty parasangs after a stag, and at the end swam a river in flood, and slew the quarry.

اورا گفتند مویست بوج<sup>2</sup>،

3. *Wandád Hurmuzd* the son of *Alandáy*, also celebrated for his courage. His doughty deeds, and how he slew *Farásha* and "the Devil of *Far'án*" (*Sálím* of *Far'án* or *Farghán*)<sup>3</sup>, will be told in its proper place. When *Hárunú'r-Rashíd* reached Ray, he sent [his son] *al-Ma'mún* to be laid in his lap, and he bestowed on *al-Ma'mún* villages whereof the revenues amounted to 1,600,000 *dirhams*. When he slew *Farásha*, he gave to the *Ispahbad Sharwín*, "King

<sup>1</sup> See Melgunof's *Südlüche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> See Melgunof, p. 50 *ad calc.*

<sup>3</sup> *Dhahír*, pp. 156, 158—159.

of the Mountains”<sup>1</sup>, who came to help him, one third (دو دانگه) of the spoils; and when, after the death of Farásha, Hárúnu’r-Rashíd came to Ray, Wandád Hurmuzd went out to meet him (f. 43*b*). When the Caliph’s eyes lighted upon him, he began to upbraid, reproach and fiercely threaten him, whereupon Wandád said, “I do not understand Arabic, but I perceive that the Commander of the Faithful is incensed against me, and is upbraiding me in unkind words. Why did he not speak thus when I was in my own highlands? Now that, unconstrained and of my own free will, I come before him loyally and obediently, it ill befits his greatness to address in such terms his guest and his faithful servant.” Hárún, when this was interpreted to him, admitted that he was in the right, increased his rank, and ordered a cushion to be brought that he might be seated. When the cushion was brought, Wandád, instead of sitting down on it, placed it on his head, saying, “A cushion from the Commander of the Faithful is an honour; it is better placed on the head.” When he rose up to depart, Hárún ordered the cushion to be sent with him.

Another day, while he was sitting with Hárún, the uncle of the latter entered the room. All those present rose up, except Wandád. This displeased the Caliph and those with him. Immediately afterwards Yazíd b. Murthad arrived and did obeisance. Wandád immediately rose up and paid homage to him. Everyone smiled, and Hárún said, “My uncle is my own flesh and blood, while this man is the least of my servants. Whence that uncalled for rudeness, and this unnecessary politeness?” Wandád Hurmuzd answered, “I did not recognize your uncle, and why should I rise up for one whom I do not know? But this is a brave and capable man, therefore I paid him a tribute of respect.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this title, see Melgunof, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

When thou didst send him to my kingdom, he was encamped against me for a whole year, and every morning he set his army in battle-array in a different fashion. And I had there (f. 44a) a knight who was his equal in courage and valour, whom I sent out against him on the day of battle; but in less time than it takes one to draw a sword from its scabbard, I saw my champion's head fall before him. Next day I myself went out to meet him. He struck me such a blow with his sword as I had never before experienced. Before such a man, though he be my enemy, I willingly rise up." The Caliph was pleased at his speech, and thereafter promoted Yázid b. Murthad to high rank.

In the palace of Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, in the house of Umm Ja'far, there was a tame monkey, which was treated with the utmost respect. It used to be girt with a sword and girdle, and had assigned to its service thirty men, who rode with it when it went forth. Everyone who came to pay his respect at the court was required to kiss its hand and pay homage to it; and it was of such evil nature that, in the words of the author:

چنین شنیدم که آن بوزنه چند دختر بکررا بکارت بر داشته بود و  
اباحت و الحادی از حیا و دیانت و حرمت شریعت می ورزید،

One day Yazid b. Murthad went, after taking leave of the Caliph, to the house of Umm Ja'far to bid farewell to her. They brought the ape before him and bade him kiss its hand. He drew his sword and cut it in two, and turned back in anger. Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, being informed, summoned him and asked him what had impelled him to this action. He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful! Shall I serve apes after having served Caliphs? No, by God, never!" So the Caliph forgave him. Muslim b. al-Walíd says in a threnody which he composed on him:

قَبْرِ بَارَانَ اسْتَنْبِرَ صَرِيحُهُ حَطْرًا تَقَاصِرُ دُونَهُ الْاِخْطَارُ

4. *Khurshid the son of Dázamih*<sup>1</sup>. A prince of Khurásán once came to pay his respects to him with many gifts and offerings, and a lodging was assigned to him near the Ispahbad. He asked for dishes and trays whereon to arrange the presents (f. 44*b*). They brought from the Ispahbad's plate-room five hundred silver trays. The Khurásání demanded more. They sent to Farrukhán's daughter, the chief wife of the Ispahbad, and obtained from her five hundred more. The Ispahbad then received the presents from Khurásán on these thousand trays, and in return sent to the prince two thousand trays filled with presents of the produce of Ṭabaristán, together with 100,000 *dirhams*.

On another occasion a man brought to him as a present a cup set with jewels and shaped like a cock, the two eyes of which were formed by two large red rubies of great value. The Ispahbad accepted it, and rewarded the donor. Some time afterwards it was reported to him that the donor was boasting that he had rendered to the Ispahbad an unparalleled service. Thereupon the latter invited five hundred guests, including the donor of the cup, to a wine-party, and before each of them was set a cup shaped like it, but far better. The donor of the original cup apprehended the rebuke, apologized, and received back his gift together with twice its value in money.

5. *The Ispahbad Pádhúsbán*<sup>2</sup>. He used daily to feed six hundred man in three detachments, 200 in the morning, 200 at noon, and 200 at evening. 'Abdu'lláh Faḍlawayh as-Sarwí had fled from Muḥammed Yazíd and sought refuge with him. He made him an allowance of 200,000 *dirhams* for "bread-money", and continued it to his sons after he died.

<sup>1</sup> Melgunof, p. 50, *ad calc.* Coins of both these kings are extant. See, besides the references given by Melgunof, Vol. v of the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Melgunof, pp. 50—51; Nöldeke's *Sasaniden*, p. 151, n. 2 *ad calc.*

SAYYIDS OF THE HOUSE OF THE PROPHET WHO RULED  
IN ṬABARISTÁN.

1. Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ismaʿīl (called *Ḥalībū'l-ḥijāra*, "the Stone-lifter", because of his strength) b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. He was born and grew up at al-Madīna, and was peerless in his time for courage, cunning and determination, as is strongly emphasized by [Ibn] Ṭabāṭabā al-ʿAlawī in his book called *Ansābu Ashrāfi'l-Amṣār* ("Pedigrees of the Nobles of the Lands"). The cause of his insurrection and occupation of Ṭabaristán (f. 45a) will be mentioned in due course. One day when he had been bled Abu'l-ʿAmr the poet of Ṭabaristán (شاعر طبرى) came before him and recited this verse:

إِذَا كُتِبَتْ يَدُ أَنْكَجَامٍ سَطْرًا    أَتَاكَ بِهَا الْأَمَانُ مِنَ السَّقَامِ  
فَكَسَمَكَ دَاءٌ جَسِيمٌ بِأَحْدَجَامٍ    كَسَمَكَ دَاءٌ مُلْكِكَ بِأَنْكَسَامِ

For those two couplets the poet received ten thousand *dirhams*<sup>2</sup>.

2. Muḥammad b. Zayd ad-Dāʿi ila ʿl-Ḥaqq, brother of the above. Volumes might be filled with his praises. Sayyid Imām-i-Mufīd Abū Ṭālib relates that he had a learned secretary called Abu'l-Qāsim al-Kātib al-Balkhī, noted for his eloquence and excellence, who used to say that this Prince so far excelled all others for whom he had acted as secretary that, to use his own expression, "I could have imagined that it was Muḥammad the Prophet of God dictating one of his revelations." ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzīz al-ʿIjlī<sup>3</sup>) composed in his honour a *qaṣīda* in which occurs the following verse:

<sup>1</sup> *Dhahīr*, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> See *Dhahīr*, p. 282, where, at the beginning of the second *bayt*, لَجْسِيمِك stands for كَسَمِكَ.

<sup>3</sup> *Dhahīr*, p. 296.

وَإِذَا تَبَسَّمَ سَیْفُهُ بَكَتِ النَّسَاءُ مِنَ الْفَبَائِلِ  
وَإِذَا تَخَضَّبَ بِالذِّمَاءِ خَرَجْنَ فِي سُودِ الْغَلَائِلِ

and received a gift of 30,000 *dirhams*. When Bakr b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz al-ʿIjlí, one of the great captains of that time, came before him at Āmul, he alighted from his horse to do him honour, and Muḥammad b. Zayd presented him with a million *dirhams* contained in a hundred bags, besides weapons and other presents. Every year he used to send a thousand<sup>1</sup> gold *dinárs* to the shrines of ʿAlí, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and other illustrious members of his family; and when the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (A. D. 847—861) destroyed the tombs of the Imáms, he was the first who repaired them.

#### *Anecdote.*

One day he was sitting at the Pension Office (*Diwán-i-ʿAtá*) and distributing pay to the troops. They brought before him a certain man, of whom he enquired to what tribe he belonged. “ʿAbduʿsh-Shams,” replied the man. “To what family?” asked Muḥammad b. Zayd. The man was silent. “Art thou then of the children of Muʿáwiya?” he continued (f. 45*b*). The man answered in the affirmative. “By which son?” he further demanded. Again the man was silent. “Art thou then a son of Yazíd?” he asked. “Yes,” answered the other. “O lad,” said the Dáʿí, “didst thou not perceive that thou should’st not be with the descendants of Abú Ṭálib?” Instantly the Sayyids there present drew their swords to slay him; but the Dáʿí cried out at them, saying: “Muṣʿab b. az-Zubayr was one day sitting distributing money when the herald announced a son of ʿUmar b. Jurmúz. ‘O Amír,’ they exclaimed, ‘this son of Jurmúz is fearful and afraid because his father slew Zubayr.’ ‘He is

<sup>1</sup> B. has “thirty thousand”.

a man of great courage,' replied Muṣ'ab, 'since he has risked being slain in retaliation for my father's death. Bid him approach, and take his gift, and depart in peace.' Then he gave him his journey-money and a horse, and sent trusty attendants with him to 'Irāq, lest he should be slain on the way by the descendants of Abú Ṭálib, and dismissed him."

3. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Amr b. 'Alī as-Sajjād b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭálib, with the title of *an-Náṣiru'l-Kabir*, and the *kunya* of *Abú Muḥammad*. His virtue, learning, asceticism, and piety, and the results of his generosity, are still apparent in Gílán and Daylam, where also his way and doctrine command acceptance. His tomb, the College and Library which he founded, and the endowments bestowed by him, are still flourishing in Āmul, while his grave is accounted holy, and visited by many pilgrims.

إِذَا ذُكِرَتْ أَوْصَافُ أَشْرَافِ هَاشِمٍ      فَمَا ذُكِرْهُمْ إِلَّا عَلَى صَدْرِ دَقْتَرِ  
لَكُمْ يَا بَنِي الرَّهْرَاءِ زَهْرَ خَصَائِصٍ      تَحْكِيْرُ فِيهَا فِكْرَةُ الْمُتَفَكِّرِ  
أَلَمْتُمْ دِينَ آلِهِ أَنْتُمْ وَقَدْ عَدَا      لَكُمْ صَدْرٌ مَحْرَابٍ وَ ذُرْوَةٌ مَنَبْرِ

He had four sons, *Muḥammad* (from whom he derived his *kunya* of Abú Muḥammad) who died young, 'Alī ash-Shá'ir ("the Poet"), *Aḥmad Abú'l-Husayn*, and *Ja'far Abú'l-Qásim*. Three of these left issue, and their descendants reigned for a long while in Gílán and Daylam. The genealogy of each will be set forth in the (f. 46a) *Kitáb-i-Ansáb*. Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir was of the Imámi sect, and of his sons Abú Ja'far Muḥammad, called *Ṣáhibu'l-Qalansuwa* ("the Wearer of the Persian hat") dwelt in Daylamán, and Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, called *an-Naqib*, in Baghdad. Of the sons of 'Alī as-Shá'ir were Abú 'Abdilláh Muḥammad al-Uṭrúsh (الاطروش), and Abú 'Alī Muḥammad b. Alí ash-Shá'ir, who held a distinguished position at Baghdad. The following verses are by him:

فَإِنْ كُنْتَ لَا تَدْرِي مَتَى أَنْتَ مَيِّتٌ وَ قَبْرَكَ لَا تَدْرِي بِأَيِّ مَكَانٍ  
فَكَسْبِكَ قَوْلِ النَّاسِ فِيهَا مَلَكَتَهُ لَقَدْ كَانَ هَذَا مَرَّةً لِفُلَانٍ

He was a man of many accomplishments, and has written much poetry, and he was for a long while in the companionship of the Imám al-Ḥasan b. Alí al-<sup>ع</sup>Askarí (the Eleventh Imám of the "Sect of the Twelve", who died A. H. 260), from whom he received instruction. Amongst his disciples were Ibnu'l-Mahdí al-Mámťiri and Abu'l-<sup>ع</sup>Alá as-Sarwí, of whose accomplishments ath-Tha<sup>ع</sup>alibí has spoken in the *Yatimatul-d-Dahr* <sup>1</sup>. The following is a specimen of his powers of repartee :

يَكِي از مستفیدان بحسین این دو بیت با دیگری کلمه میگفت از  
آنکه سید اطروش بود، ندانست چه میگوید، گفت یا هَذَا أَرْفَعُ  
مِنْ صَوْتِكَ فَإِنَّ بَأْذَنِي بَعْضَ مَا بِرُوحِكَ،

4. *Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad Bi'lláh 'Aḍudul-d-Dawla* and *Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Yahyá an-Nátiq bi'l-Ḥaqq*, the sons of al-Ḥusayn b. Hárún b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. al-Imám as-Sibť al-Ḥasan b. <sup>ع</sup>Alí b. Abí Ṭálib. It is said that not one of the Prophet's descendants who endeavoured by arms to claim his rights was more richly endowed with all the qualities requisite in an Imám than these two brothers. Sayyid Abu <sup>ع</sup>l-Ḥusayn carried on his propaganda in Daylamán, and all Gil and Daylam responded to it. His treatise on the Excellence of <sup>ع</sup>Alí b. Abí Ṭálib is so eloquent and so well-reasoned that it might almost be described as a miracle. Of his other writings the best known are the *Kitábu't-Tajrid*, the *Kitábu'sh-Sharḥ*, the *Kitábu'l-Bulgha*, the *Kitábu't-Tabšira* and the *Kitábu'l-Ifáda*, all of which are still

<sup>1</sup> See the Damascus ed. of that work, Vol. iii, p. 278—282, where some account is given both of al-Uṭrúsh, and of Abu'l-<sup>ع</sup>Alá as-Sarwí.

in the hands of the Imáms (f. 466) and are eagerly studied by their disciples. The titles of his other less known works are omitted. His poems form a bulky volume. The following verses are his:

وَ قَدْ سَبَّكَتْ عَقِيَانَهُ نَارُ مَحْنَةٍ وَ بِالسَّبِكِ عَقِيَانُ الرَّجَالِ يُهْدَبُ  
وَ قَدْ شَدَّبَتْهُ النَّائِبَاتُ وَ إِنَّمَا تَفَرَّعَ غُصْنُ الدَّوْحِ حِينَ يُشَدَّبُ

His early studies were pursued in Baghdad, first with Sayyid Abu'l-Abbás, and then with the Qáđi'l-quđát 'Abdu'l-Jabbár al-Hamadání. One night, when every one was asleep, he came to the house of the latter and awakened him to ask him a question on theology. "Did you come only for this?" enquired the Qáđi. "Yes," he answered, "I thought that I might perchance die to-night, being in doubt as to a matter of religious doctrine." In his time Ibn Sukkara<sup>1</sup> wrote the following *qaşıda* against the descendants of 'Alí:

لِإِنَّ الْاِخْلَافَةَ مُدَّ كَانَتْ وَ مُدَّ بَدَأَتْ  
مَوْسُومَةً بِفَتَى مِنْ آلِ عَبَّاسِ  
إِذَا أَنْقَضَى عُمُرُ هَذَا قَامَ ذَا خَلْفَا  
فَلَا حَتَّ الشَّمْسُ وَ ائْتَدَّتْ عَلَى النَّاسِ  
فَقُلْ لِمَنْ يَرْتَجِيهَا غَيْرُهُمْ سَفَهَا  
لَوْ شِئْتَ رَوَّحْتَ كَرَبَ الظَّنِّ بِأَلِيَّاسِ

Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn answered in the following verses:

قُلْ لِأَبْنِ سُكَّرَةَ يَا بَعْدَ عَبَّاسِ  
أَضَاعَتْ خِلَافَتُكُمْ مَنكُوسَةَ الرَّاسِ

<sup>1</sup> Called al-Háshimí, a descendant of 'Alí b. al-Mahdí b. Abí Ja'far al-Manşúr al-Abbásí. See de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, Vol. iii, pp. 115—118.

أَمَّا الْمُطِيعُ فَلَا تُخَشَى دَوَائِرُهُ  
 يَعْيشُ مَا عَاشَ فِي ذُلِّ وَ إِنْ عَاسَ  
 فَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ حَمْدًا لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ  
 خَصَّ ابْنَ دَاعِي بِنَاجٍ أَلْعَزَّ فِي النَّاسِ

Ibnu'l-Khayr the Násibí<sup>2</sup> answered this in a long *qaṣida* containing this verse:

أَبَى إِلَهُ إِلَّا مَا تَرَوْنَ فَمَا لَكُمْ غَضَابًا عَلَى الْأَقْدَارِ يَا آلَ طَالِبِ

The Qáđi Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí b. Muḥammad at-Tanúkhí, author of the *Kitábu'l-Faraj ba'da 'sh-Shiddat* (f. 47a) replied to this in the following poem:

مِنَ ابْنِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ وَ ابْنِ وَصِيِّهِ  
 إِلَى مَدْعَلٍ فِي عُقْدَةِ الدِّينِ نَاصِبِ  
 نَشَأَ بَيْنَ طُنْبُورٍ وَ رِقِّ وَ مَزْهَرِ  
 وَ فِي حَجَرٍ شَادٍ أَوْ عَلَى صَدْرِ ضَارِبِ  
 وَ مِنْ ظَهْرِ سَكْرَانٍ إِلَى بَطْنِ قَسْبِيَّةِ  
 عَلَى شُبْهَةٍ فِي مَلِكِهَا وَ شَوَائِبِ  
 يَعْيبُ عَلِيًّا خَيْرَ مَنْ وَصَى الْأَحْصَا  
 وَ أَكْرَمَ سَارٍ فِي الْأَنْسَامِ وَ سَارِبِ  
 وَ يُزْرِي عَلَى السَّبْطَيْنِ سِبْطِي مُحَمَّدِ  
 فَقَدْ فِي حَضِيضِ رَامٍ تَبَدَّلَ الْكَوَاكِبِ  
 نَشَأُوا بَيْنَ جَبْرِيلَ وَ بَيْنَ مُحَمَّدِ  
 وَ بَيْنَ عَلِيٍّ خَيْرِ مَاشٍ وَ رَاكِبِ  
 وَ وَصَى النَّبِيُّ الْمُصْطَفَى وَ صَفِيَّهُ  
 وَ مُشَبِّهَهُ فِي شِيْمَةٍ وَ ضَرَائِبِ

<sup>2</sup> *Násibí* is a term of reproach applied by the Shí'ites (or *Ráfiḍis*) to their opponents.

فَكَمْ مِثْلَ زَيْدٍ قَدْ أَبَادَتْ سَيُوفُكُمْ  
 بَلَا سَبَبٍ غَيْرِ الظُّنُونِ الْكَوَادِبِ  
 أَمَا حَمَلَ الْمَنْصُورِ مِنْ أَرْضِ يَثْرِبِ  
 بُدُورَ هُدًى يَجْلُو ظِلَامَ الْغِيَاهِبِ  
 وَ قَطَّعْتُمْ بِالْبَغْيِ قَوْمَ مُحَمَّدٍ  
 قَرَائِنَ أَرْحَامِ لَهُ وَ قَرَائِبِ  
 وَ فِي أَرْضِ بَاحِمًا مَصَابِيحُ قَدْ تَوَتْ  
 مُتَرَبِّتَةَ الْهَامَاتِ حُمَرَ التَّرَائِبِ  
 وَ غَادَرَ هَادِيكُمْ بِفَجْحِ طَوَائِفِهَا  
 يُعَادِلُهُمْ بِالْقَلْعِ نَفْعُ النَّوَاعِبِ  
 وَ هَارُونَكُمْ أَوْحَى بِغَيْرِ جَرِيرَةٍ  
 نُجُومَ تَنْقَى مِثْلَ الدُّجُومِ التُّوَائِبِ  
 وَ مَأْمُونَكُمْ سَمَّ الرِّضَا بَعْدَ بَيْعَةِ  
 يَوْثُ ذُرَى شَمِّ الْجَبَالِ الرَّوَاسِبِ  
 فَهَذَا جَوَابٌ لَلَّذِي قَالَ مَا لَكُمْ  
 غَضَابًا عَلَى الْأَقْدَارِ يَا آلَ طَالِبِ

When Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn had occupied Daylamán and established himself therein, men of learning came from all parts of the world to profit by his conversation, so that he even sent a message to the *Qádir*<sup>2</sup>-*qudát* 'Abdu'l-Jabbár bidding him swear allegiance to him. The Hákim al-Jaysham<sup>1</sup> in his book entitled *Filá'u'l-Abşár* relates that he died on Sunday, the day of 'Arafa [*i. e.* the 9<sup>th</sup> of Dhu'l-Hijja], A. H. 421 (= Dec. 8, A. D. 1030), aged seventy years and

<sup>1</sup> Or *Jathim*, *Juthaym*, *Jaytham*, etc. See *H. Kh.*, N<sup>o</sup>. 4133, where a book named *Filá'u'l-Abşár* is mentioned by Abú Sa'íd al-Hasan b. Muḥammad *al-Chashmí* (or "*Joshemi*"), who is perhaps identical with the author here mentioned.

odd, and that he was buried on the Monday, the *ʿIduʿl-Adha* (10<sup>th</sup> of Dhuʿl-Hijja) in his home at Lanká, where his tomb is still visible. His doctrine is still (f. 47b) followed by the people of that region, and the Ustundár Kay Káʿús and his descendants, and the people of Daylam generally.

5. *Sayyid an-Nátiq-biʿl-Ḥaqq Abú Ṭálib Yahyá b. al-Ḥusayn at-Ṭáʿir bi-taʿyidiʿlláh* was ten years older than his brother Sayyid Muʿayyad biʿlláh, and was famous alike for his wisdom and his virtues. The father of these two brothers was of the Imámí sect, as were they also originally. This Sayyid received instruction first from Sayyid Abuʿl-ʿAbbás, then from the great Imámí teacher Shaykh Abú ʿAbdiʿlláh; and imparted it to ʿAbduʿl-Jabbár *Qádiʿl-quḍát*; and amongst the Zaydís there was no more learned seeker after truth. He taught for several years in the College in Gurgán, where his lectures were much frequented by the learned. Later he went to Daylamán, and when his brother died, allegiance was sworn to him. When he became Imám, Abuʿl-Faraj ʿAlí b. al-Ḥusayn wrote to him:

سَرَّ النَّبُوَّةَ وَالنَّبِيَّاءَ وَزَهَّاءَ الْوَصِيَّةِ وَالْوَصِيَّاءَ  
 أَنَّ الدَّيْلَمَ بَايَعَتْ بِحَيِّ بْنِ هَارُونَ الرَّضِيَّاءَ

On his son, who died young, the Sayyid composed the following threnody:

عَلَيْكَ سَلَامُ اللَّهِ سَاكِنَ بَلْقَعِ  
 فَلَيْسَ إِلَيَّ دَفْعُ الْتَحَمَامِ سَبِيلُ  
 وَ لَيْسَ إِلَيَّ غَيْرِ التَّصَبُّرِ مَفْرَعُ  
 وَإِنْ عَنَّ خَطْبُ فِي الْمَصَابِ جَلِيلُ  
 وَإِنْ كَانَ حُزْنُ النَّاسِ عِنْدَ إِيَابِهِمْ  
 قَصِيرًا فَهِيَ حُزْنِي عَلَيْكَ طَوِيلُ

وَإِنْ كُنْتَ تَحْتَ التُّرْبِ فِي الرِّمْسِ نَازِلًا  
فَذَكَرْكَ فِي حَشْوِ الْفُؤَادِ تَزِيلًا  
وَ لَوْلَا مَقَالُ النَّاسِ قَارِقَ حِلْمِهِ  
لَشَفَعَ تَسْكَابَ الدُّمُوعِ عَوِيلًا

Sayyid Abú Ṭálib Yaḥyá was born in A. H. 340 (= A. D. 951—2), and died in A. H. 422 (= A. D. 1031), aged 82, less than a year after his brother. Of his philosophical works the best known are the *Kitábu 't-Tahrir*, the *Commentary* on the *Kitábu'l-Mujzi*, and the *Kitábu'd-Dimá'a* (f. 48a).

6. *As-Sayyidu'l-Imámu'l-Faqihu'l-Álimu'l-Mutakallimu'sh-Shá'ir al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Álawi*. His tomb is opposite the College of Zaynu' sh-Sharaf. King Ardashír was induced to repair and renovate it by Sayyid Imám Bahá'u'd-Dín al-Ḥasan b. Mahdí al-Mámṭírí. He was for many years in religious retirement at the shrine of the Imám 'Alí b. Músá ar-Riḍá at Mash-had, in praise of which town he composed the following *qaṣida*:

أَبْدُرُ تَمَّ زَاهِرٌ	أَمْ نُورٌ شَمْسٌ بَاعِرٌ
أَمْ غُصْنٌ بَانَ نَاضِرٌ	بَعَارٌ فِيهِ النَّاطِرُ
أَخْيِرْزَانَ حَضْرَعَا	أَمْ أَفْعَوَانَ تَغْرَعَا
أَمْ جُنْحٌ كَيْلٌ شَعْرَعَا	أَمْ هِيَ نَوْرٌ زَاهِرٌ
فَالصُّبْحُ مِنْ غُرْتِهَا	وَ اللَّيْلُ مِنْ طُرْتِهَا
وَ الْمَسْكُ مِنْ نَكْهَتِهَا	لَهَا تَسِيمٌ طَاعِرٌ
إِذَا مَشَتْ يَفْلُقُهَا	لِنَعْمَةٍ فُرْطَفُهَا
يَفْتَنُنِي مَنْطَفُهَا	وَ حَلَّشٌ (?) فَوَاتِرٌ
كَأَبْدُرٍ فِي تِمْتَالِهِ	وَ الْغُصْنِ فِي أَعْنَدَالِهِ
فَالْقَلْبُ مِنْ حَبَالِهِ	لِدَائِهِ مُخَامِرٌ

لَا وَالَّذِي يَعْلَمُ مَا  
 مَا نَلْتُ مِنْهَا مَجْرَمًا  
 غَيْرَ حَدِيثٍ وَنَظْرٍ  
 وَاللَّهُ خَيْرٌ مَنْ عَقَرَ  
 فَعَدَّ عَنْ تَذْكَارِهَا  
 إِذْ أَنْتَ بَعَدَ دَارِهَا  
 وَرَبِّ قَفْرِ قَدَفَدِ  
 كَصَارِمٍ مُجَبَّرٍ  
 قَطَعْتَهَا بِنَاقَةٍ  
 مِفْهَاقَةٍ لِقَاقَةٍ  
 تَسْتَنُّ فِي إِرْقَالِهَا  
 تَطْرُبُ فِي تَرْحَالِهَا  
 بِهَا حَدَوْتُ رَاجِلًا  
 مَنَازِلًا عَوَاطِلًا  
 فَمَا طَيْرُ قَصْدِهَا  
 يَرُوعُ قَلْبِي وَخَدَهَا  
 يَا صَاحِ حُتِّ النَّاجِيَةِ  
 حَتَّى تُؤَافِي سَارِيَةِ  
 ثُمَّ أَعْدُ مِنْهَا بَاكِرًا  
 مُقْطِعًا هَوَاجِرًا  
 حَتَّى تُؤَافِي نَامِنَهُ  
 يَخَافُ مِنْهَا مَأْمَنَهُ  
 وَفِي تَمِيْشٍ لَا تَقْفُ  
 ثُمَّ أَعْدُ مِنْهَا وَانْصَرِفْ  
 يَا صَاحِبِي وَدَعَا  
 فِي الْأَرْضِ طُرًا وَاسْمًا  
 كُنْتُ لَهَا أَحَادِرُ  
 مِنْ غَيْرِ فُحْشٍ وَوَزْرِ  
 إِذْ هُوَ رَبُّ غَائِرُ  
 وَخَلَّ عَنِ سَمَارِهَا  
 لِلْأَرْضِ طُوسٍ زَائِرُ  
 تَيْهَاءِ ذَاتِ فَرْقَدِ  
 يَنْبِيهِ فِيهِ الْمَاعِرُ  
 زَيْفَةَ خَفَاقَةِ  
 فِي سَيْرِهَا تُخَاطِرُ  
 فِي غَيْرِ مَا كَالِهَا  
 إِذَا حَادَا أَلْزَاجِرُ  
 مِنْ أَمَلٍ وَنَازِلًا  
 يَقْطَعُهَا الْمَسَافِرُ  
 حِينَ إِلَيْهَا حَدَا  
 إِذَا أَلْسَرَابُ مَائِرُ  
 أَظُنُّ حَتَّى نَاعِيَهُ  
 يَوْمًا وَأَنْتَ بَاكِرُ  
 لِمَهْرَوَانَ ذَاكِرًا  
 مِنْ بَعْدِهَا هَوَاجِرُ  
 بِرَامِكِ مِنْ عَائِنِهِ  
 يَدْعُرُ مِنْهُ أَلْدَاعِرُ  
 إِلَّا وَتُوقَ الْمُنَاحِرُ  
 وَالْقَلْبُ مِنْكَ طَائِرُ  
 مِنْ أَسْتَرَابَادِ مَعَا

وَ لِلرِّبَاطِ فَاقْطَعَا      وَ أَلرَّبْعِ مِنْهُ دَائِرُ  
 وَ قَفَّ بِبَجْرَجَانَ فَفِي      مَرْبَعَهَا مَا يَشْتَفِي  
 بِحِظِّهِ وَ يَكْتَفِي      وَ أَرْدَهَا وَ أَلصَّادِرُ  
 قَدْ أَعْتَدْتُ أَشْجَارَهَا      تُرْضِعُهَا أَنهَارَهَا  
 وَ أَسْتَوْبِقْتُ ثَمَارَهَا      وَ أَخْضَرْتُ أَلدَّسَاكِرُ  
 أَطْيَارَهَا دَرَجُهَا      يَطْرِبُنِي تَهْيَاجُهَا  
 تَدْرَجُهَا هَرَاجُهَا      فَأَكُلُ مِنْهَا صَاغِرُ  
 دَعَا وَ عَدَّ قَاصِدَا      دِينَارُ زَارِي رَائِدَا  
 لِقَمْدَهَا مُجَاهِدَا      أَوْسِرُ وَ أَنْتَ شَاكِرُ  
 قَطَعْتَهَا مُجَاوِزَا      لَشِيرَاسِفِ (P) جَاوِزَا  
 أَخْطَرُ مِنْهَا جَامِزَا      فَأَلْوَحْشُ مِنْهَا نَافِرُ  
 حَتَّى أَتَيْتُ مَعْلَمَا      لِأَسْفَرَاتَيْنِ مَعَا  
 فَصَّرْتُ فِي أَلسَّيْرِ كَمَا      فَصَّرَ فِيهِ عَابِرُ  
 ثُمَّ وَرَدْتُ أَلْمَعْقَلِي      وَ مَأْوَهُ كَأَلْحَنْظَلِ  
 يَنَالُهُ مِنْ هَرَلِ      تَعَاْفَهُ أَلْحَاذِرُ

He was commonly called Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim; and it is related that "the Great Násir" (ناصر كبير), that most accomplished and eloquent scholar, used to say, "Were it lawful to repeat the verses of anyone in one's prayers, it would assuredly be the verses of Abu'l-Qásim!"

7. *As-Sayyid Shamsu 'Alí Rasúli'Ulláh*. He was a dervish, skilled in the traditions, and of ascetic and devout life. His tomb still stands outside the Gate, in the 'Awámma-kúy quarter (بدر دروازه بمحلهء عوامه كوی). Other learned Sayyids (? descendants of the above) contemporary with the author were: Sayyid Dhahíru'd-Dín Nassába of Gurgán, whose skill in scholastic theology and jurisprudence are recognized by all; Sayyid Ruknu'd-Dín of Sári; and his learned and vir-

tuous brother Sayyid Sharafu<sup>3</sup>d-Dín, whose tomb is in the College of Sayyid Imám Khaṭīb, opposite Mashhad-i-Sar, and who did much to check the Zaydí and propagate the Imámí doctrines in those districts.

8. *As-Sayyidu<sup>3</sup>l-Imám Abú Ṭálib ath-Thā'ir*. He was one of five brothers, whose grandfather was called "Ḥusayn the Poet" (حسين الشاعر). His brother was "the Great Násir", and his father was known as Muḥammad al-Fáris. *Násir-i-Kabir*'s daughter had a servant named 'Umayr, and after the men of Gíl and Daylam had taken Ṭabaristán from the Sayyids, this servant also revolted, went to Gílán, and gave over all his master's property to be plundered. The men of Gílán rallied round him and forsook the Sayyid, who expressed his feelings in the following verses:

يَا آلَ يَسِّ أَمْرُكُمْ عَجَبٌ بَيْنَ آلَوْرَى قَدْ جَرَتْ مَقَادِيرُهُ  
 لَمْ يَكْفِكُمْ فِي حِجَازِكُمْ عَمْرٌ حَتَّى بِحَبِيلَانَ جَاءَ تَصْغِيرُهُ

#### RULERS OF THE HOUSE OF BÁWAND.

This section opens with a glowing panegyric on this noble family, whose court is described, in very florid language, as an ever-open refuge to the distressed and the unfortunate.

1. *The Ispahbad 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Alí b. Shahriyár b. Qárin*. His virtues, his doughty deeds, and how he secured the kingdom to himself in spite of jealous brothers and kinsmen will be mentioned subsequently. Amongst those who took refuge at his court were the following. *Shírzád*<sup>1</sup>, son of Sulṭán Mas'úd (III) of Ghazna, who for a while shared the throne of Ghazna with Bahrámsáh (his brother). When he expressed a desire to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca,

<sup>1</sup> See Lane-Poole's *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, pp. 289 and 290. He reigned A. H. 508—509 (= A. D. 1114—1115).

the *Ispahbad* arranged his journey and supplied all that he needed day by day at every stage. After his return he was enabled to proceed once more to Ghazna.

*Sultán Mas'úd b. Muḥammad the Seljúq*, nephew of Sinjar, twice took refuge with the *Ispahbad*; first, when the Caliph [al-Mustarshid] was assassinated [A. H. 529 = A. D. 1135] he came thither with his son; secondly, when he quarrelled with Ṭughril, he brought his women-folk thither, and placed them in the hamlet of Áram (آرم) in the palace of the *Ispahbad's* son Sháh-i-Ghází Rustam, while he himself received help to enable him to return to 'Iráq.

When Muḥammad b. Maliksháh died, all his sons took the oath of allegiance to Maḥmúd, and when he died they fell to fighting with one another, and Ṭughril, being defeated, fled to his [the *Ispahbad's*] house. At the Pass (*Darband*) of Kilís he was stopped by 'Alí b. Zarrín-Kamar, and his two brothers Muḥammad and Abú Shujá'. He told then that he was flying from pursuing foes, but they told him that without the King's permission he could not advance. When news of this was sent to Sháh-i-Ghází Rustam, he at once rode out as far as the village of Maqşúra, brought in Ṭughril, and sent him to Sári to his father the *Ispahbad*.

Khwárazmsháh-i-Sa'íd Muḥammad had four sons, who, on his death, fell to quarrelling, and two of them fled to the *Ispahbad*, who heaped such favours upon them that men still talk of his bounty.

The *Amír 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Ṭugha-Turk* (طغترك) the *Atábek* came to his court from Ardabíl with a number of his retainers, and was hospitably entertained and then sent back along the coast to his kingdom. 'Imádi the poet, who was the panegyrist of this *Atábek*, speaks of him as follows:

عبد الرحمن كه گر خواهد<sup>1</sup> از هفت سپهر شش بكاهد

<sup>1</sup> MS. نخواهد, which must, I think, be wrong.

The *Amir of Hilla*, the son of Şadaqa "King of the Arabs", one of the most puissant, noble, generous and high-minded princes of the world, accompanied by 200 of his mounted retainers, took refuge with the *Ispahbad*, who on the first day of his arrival sent him a present consisting of 200 caparisoned horses, 300 coats and caps (قبا وكلا), 100 girdles, swords, coats of mail, helmets, and suits of horse-armour, and 10,000 gold *dinars*. On another occasion Baraka (برك), the brother of the above-mentioned *Amir*, came to beg the *Ispahbad* to intercede for him with the Caliph, whom he had offended. The *Ispahbad* did so, obtained for him a written pardon and assurance of safety, and supplied him with money and other necessaries to take him back to his kingdom.

When Qatírmish (قتيرميش) rebelled against the Sultán, he confided his brothers, children and women-folk to the *Ispahbad's* care; they received from him the utmost kindness and attention, and, when it was safe, were sent back to their home.

2. *The Ispahbad Nuşratu'd-Din Rustam*, son of the above. He was, according to the author, the greatest ruler of Ṭabaristán since the time of Ferídún and Minúchihr, and the greatest possessor of treasures since Khusraw Parwíz. His power extended from Jájarm, Gurgán, Bistám and Dámghán to Múqán. He was the first of this House to sit on a throne at his receptions. Even in the author's time there remained forty castles filled with the gold and jewels and other precious things which he had amassed. When Kay-ká'ús Ustundár, with the approval of his chief judge, revolted against him, he marched to Rúyán to meet him, devastating and setting fire to the whole country. On this the *Ispahbad* Khurshíd b. Abu'l-Qásim Mámṭírí composed the following verses in the dialect of Ṭabaristán<sup>1</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> Variants: B. لاس before تدبير; C. بسوجن for بوجن; B. اونی کی;

تدبیر کرده کاری کمی کوشک بسوجن  
 اون که شیء کوشک بر بدو تا بلوجن  
 نون کشور بوین سوجن کهون اروجن  
 تدبیر کرده کاری دیر هار موجن

After the death of Sinjar, his nephew Sulaymán Sháh fled from Maḥmúd Khán, the successor of Sinjar and his sister's son, and took refuge with the Ispahbad Rustam while he made preparations for attempting to recover 'Iráq. During the two months that he spent there, he and his followers were entertained daily at tables set in the Maydán-i-Tápán, till he had collected 20,000 man of Gílán, Daylamán and other parts of Ṭabaristán. The *Ispahbad* further supplied him with the necessary arms, stores and munitions of war, brought him to Ray, and set him on the throne. The *amirs* of 'Iráq and Ādharbayján gathered round him, and Ray and Sáwa were surrendered to the *Ispahbad*. When Sulṭán Maḥmúd Khán learned his absence from Ṭabaristán, he marched thither with all Sinjar's *amirs*. In two days the *Ispahbad* hastened thither from Ray, and encamped at the hamlet of Kúsán at the foot of the Castle of Āb-Dara; and one night gave permission to king Qárin (پادشاه تارن) to attack the Turks with 400 *ghuláms* and 500 men of Báwand. These penetrated to Sulṭán Maḥmúd's quarters, inflicting considerable losses on the Seljúq troops. Next day Maḥmúd sent his kinsman Mu'ayyid Āyi Āba to attack and plunder Sári. The *Ispahbad* sent his son Ḥasan Sharafu'l-Mulúk by way of Lákash-i-Mihrawán to lie in ambush for the raiders, who fell into the ambush. A thousand Turks, including a kinsman of Sulṭán Maḥmúd, were taken captive, while Mu'ayyid, with a few followers, succeeded in effecting

A. om. [كوشك]; C. بربدد; B. اوروجن; A. om. [كرده], B. substitutes ۶; C. هار for مار.

his escape. The *Ispahbad* treated the prisoners kindly, bestowed on them robes of honour, and sent them to Maḥmúd Khán with the following message: "Our people are independent house-holders, and what they do is done without our sanction." Maḥmúd than sent one of his chief nobles, °Azíz-i-Ṭuḡhrá'í, to the Ispahbad, and it was agreed that in consideration of the sum of 20,000 *dínárs* the Sulṭán should withdraw to Gurgán, and that the Ispahbad should pay over this sum to the tithe-collectors (*muḥaṣṣilán*). When Maḥmúd had retired to Gurgán, the Ispahbad drove away the collectors, bidding them say to their master, "We gave up the money for [fear of] their maces"

برويد و اورا بگوئيد ما زر بزيبين داديم،

The trouble which at this juncture broke out in Khurásán prevented Sulṭán Maḥmúd from taking any further steps; and he was nick-named in Ṭabaristán "Maḥmúd the Wheat-crusher" (*gandum-kúb*), because his soldiers, finding no bread, used to cut and crush the ears of wheat which they found, and eat them.

Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát, the Court-poet and secretary of Atsiz Khwárazm-sháh, composed many *qaṣidas* in praise of the Ispahbad, who in return used each year to send him 500 *dínárs*, a turban and coat (*jubba*), and a fully caparisoned horse. He composed the following *qaṣida* on the occasion when the Ispahbad went to Ray and seated Sulaymán Sháh on the throne:

جَلَّالِكَ بَادِ فِي حُرَّاسَانَ بَاهِرٌ      وَ ذَكَرَكَ سَارٍ فِي الْعِرَاقَيْنِ سَائِرٌ  
 وَأَنْتَ حُسَامُ الدِّينِ فِي نُصْرَةِ الْهَدَى      حُسَامٌ إِذَا كَدَّ الْبَوَاتِرُ بَاتِرٌ  
 غَدَا أَلْبَى وَ الْأَكْبَادُ فِيهَا جَرِيحَةٌ      لَفَقْدَكَ وَ الْأَجْفَانُ فِيهَا سَوَاعِرٌ  
 تَقَرَّفَ مِنْ بَعْدِ التَّجَمُّعِ شَمْلُهَا      وَ دَارَتْ عَلَيْهَا بِالْبَلَايَا الدَّوَائِرُ  
 فَمَا قَائِلٌ إِلَّا لِتَقْوَاكَ ذَاكِرٌ      وَ لَا سَائِلٌ إِلَّا لِجَدْوَاكَ شَاكِرٌ

أَبَا مَلِكًا رَحْبَ الْفُصُورِ عُرَاعِرًا  
 جَلَّالَكَ فِي أَعْلَى السَّمَوَاتِ صَاعِدًا  
 أَبَا مَالِكًا لِلْأَمْرِ وَالنَّهْيِ فِي الْهَدَى  
 مُكْحِيَاكَ بَدْرٌ فِي الْغِيَابِ زَاهِرٌ  
 وَأَنْتَ إِلَيَّ دَفَعِ الْمَلَمَاتِ مَائِلٌ  
 فَمَا لِبِلَادِ اللَّهِ غَيْرَكَ حَافِظٌ  
 أَمَا لَهُمْ مَنْ مَشَرَعَ الْغَيْبِ حَاجِرٌ  
 أَمَا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَكْسَبِ الْأَنْسِ وَأَزَعٌ  
 تَمَنَعَ بِمَدْحِي فَهُوَ أَكْرَمُ مَفْخَرٌ  
 إِلَّا إِنِّي فِي مَدْحِ غَيْرِكَ شَاعِرٌ  
 فَعِشْ سَالِمًا مَا حَرَّرَ النَّثْرَ كَاتِبٌ  
 لِسَانَ الْبَيْلَى عَنْ مَسَاعِيكَ قَاصِرٌ  
 وَصِيْنَكَ فِي أَفْصَى الْأَقَالِيمِ سَائِرٌ  
 فَمَا مِثْلُهُ فِي النَّاسِ نَاهٍ وَآمِرٌ  
 وَيَمْنَاكَ بَحْرٌ فِي الْمَوَاهِبِ زَاخِرٌ  
 وَأَنْتَ إِلَيَّ رَفَعَ الْأُمُهِمَاتِ قَادِرٌ  
 وَلَا لِعِبَادِ اللَّهِ غَيْرَكَ نَاصِرٌ  
 أَمَا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَضْرَعِ الْبُغْيِ حَاجِرٌ  
 أَمَا لَهُمْ عَنْ مَوْكِبِ الظُّلْمِ زَاخِرٌ  
 إِذَا عُدِدَتْ لِلْأَكْرَمِينَ الْمَفَاخِرُ  
 وَلكِنِّي فِي مَدْحِ صَدْرِكَ سَاحِرٌ  
 وَدُمُ غَانِمًا مَا حَرَّرَ النَّظْمَ شَاعِرٌ

On another occasion, when the Ispahbad went to Ray, set his own governor over it, and held it for a year and a half, Rashid-i-Waṭwāt composed and sent to him the following poem :

جَبِينَكَ كَالْبَدْرِ الْمُضِيِّ يَلُوحُ  
 وَنَائِلَكَ الْفَيْضُ تَعْدُو غِيَوْمَهُ  
 لَكَ الرَّايَةُ الزَّهْرَاءُ فِي كُلِّ وَتْعَةٍ  
 لَهَا أَلْسُنٌ فِي الْجَوِّ مِنْ عَدْبَاتِهَا  
 فَفَلَكَ حَدُّ الظُّلْمِ وَهُوَ مُدْرَبٌ  
 فَكَمْ لِلْعَلَى يَا آلَ قَارَنَ سُورَةٌ  
 فَأَعَالِكُمْ لِلْمُعْضَلَاتِ دَوَافِعُ  
 بِأَيْمَانِكُمْ يَوْمَ الصَّبَاحِ صَوَارِمُ  
 لِحْنِدِكَ فِي أَرْضِ الْعُرَافِ وَقَائِعُ  
 فَكَمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ بِالْعَرَاءِ طَرِيحَةٌ  
 وَخُلْفَكَ كَالْمَسْكِ الْدَكِيِّ يَفُوحُ  
 يَنْقَعُ غَلِيلِ الْمُعْتَفَى وَتَرُوحُ  
 بِهَا لَجِيُوشِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فُتُوحُ  
 صَفَاحَ بِأَسْرَارِ الْكِفَاحِ تَبُوحُ  
 وَذَلِكَ صَعْبُ الْكُفْرِ وَهُوَ جَمُوحُ  
 بِنَاهَا عَلَى رَعْمِ الْمَعَاطِسِ نُوحُ  
 وَأَقْوَالِكُمْ لِلْمُشْكَلاتِ سُورُوحُ  
 لَهَا مِنْ دِمَاءِ الدَّارِعِينَ صَبُوحُ  
 بِهِنَّ شَيَاطِينُ الْقِرَاعِ تَطُوحُ  
 عَلَيْهِنَّ رَبَاتُ الْحِجَالِ تَنُوحُ

فَلَا بَلَدٌ إِلَّا وَفِيهِ زَلَّازِلٌ      وَ لَا خَلَدٌ إِلَّا وَفِيهِ فُرُوجٌ  
بَقِيَّتْ مَدَى الْأَيَّامِ فِي عِزِّ أَنْعَمٍ      عَلَيْهِنَّ أَنْوَارُ الدَّوَامِ تَلُوحُ

The following verses are from a *qaṣīda* which the same poet composed in honour of the Ispahbad when he took the Castles of Mihrīn and Man'ūr-kūh (منعور کوه) from the Assassins:

أَيَّا مَنْ إِلَى نَادِيهِ تَأْوَى الْأَمَاجِدُ      لِأَرَاثِهِ شَيْبُ الدِّيَابِجِي سَوَاجِدُ  
وَ يَا مَنْ يَلُودُ الْأَكْرَمُونَ بِظِلِّهِ      إِذَا أَشْعَلَتْ نِيرَانَهُنَّ الشَّدَائِدُ  
أَلَّا إِنَّهُ فِي الْعِلْمِ إِنْ حُدَّ عَالَمٌ      وَ لَكِنَّهُ بِالْجِسْمِ إِنْ عُدَّ وَاحِدُ  
أَيَّا نُصْرَةَ الدِّينِ الَّذِي عَقَوَانُهُ      بِهَا نُصِبَتْ لِلنَّازِلِينَ الْمَوَائِدُ  
فَاطْرَافُهَا لِلرَّاهِبِينَ مَعَاقِدُ      وَ أَكْثَافُهَا لِلرَّاعِبِينَ مَعَاوِدُ  
لِسَانَكَ لَا يُجْرِي عَلَى عَدْبَانِهِ      سِوَى كَلِمَاتِ كُفَّيْنِ فَوَائِدُ  
فَهِنَّ لِأَفَاقِ الْمَعَالِي كَوَاكِبُ      وَ هُنَّ لِأَعْنَاقِ الْمَعَانِي فَلَائِدُ  
بَلَّغْتَ مِنَ الْعَلِيَاءِ مَنَزِلَةَ لَهَا      زَوَاهِرُ أَجْرَامِ السَّمَاءِ حَوَاسِدُ  
حَوْبَتِ عَلَى رَعْمِ الْأَنْوْفِ مِنَ الْعَدَا      مُحَمَّدٍ تَفْنَى الدَّعْرُ وَ هِيَ خَوَالِدُ  
فَتَجَهَّدُ وَ الْأَبْدَانُ مِنْهُمْ فَوَارِعُ      وَ تَسْهَرُ وَ الْأَجْفَانُ مِنْهُمْ رَوَائِدُ  
وَ كَيْفَ يُسَاوِيكَ الْعَدَى نَدَى عَرْشِهِمْ      وَ هَلْ يَنْسَاوِي قَاعِدُ وَ مَجَاعِدُ  
بِعَهْدِكُمْ يَا آلَ قَارَنٍ أَصْبَحَتْ      مُمَهَّدَةً لِلْمَكْرُمَاتِ الْقَوَاعِدُ  
فَمَنْهَلِكُمْ عَذْبٌ لِمَنْ هُوَ وَارِدُ      وَ مَنَزَلِكُمْ رَحْبٌ لِمَنْ هُوَ وَائِدُ  
فَمِنْكُمْ جِبَالُ الْبَقَائِيَاتِ رَوَاسِحُ      وَ مِنْكُمْ رِيَّاحُ الْقَانِيَاتِ رَوَاكِدُ  
وَ هَمْنِكُمْ جَرْدَاءُ نَهْدٌ لَدَى الْوُغَى      وَ هَمَّةٌ أَهْلُ الْعَصْرِ غَيْدَاءُ نَاعِدُ  
فَأَنْتَ لَهَا فِي نُصْرَةِ الشَّرْحِ شَاهِرُ      وَأَنْتَ لَهَا فِي هَامَةِ الشَّرْحِ غَامِدُ  
سَيُوفِكَ زِيدَتْ حِدَّةً صَرَبَانُهَا      مُوَكَّدَةً لِلدِّينِ مِنْهَا الْمَعَاوِدُ  
بَقِيَّتْ رِضَى الْحَالِ مَا لَاحَ بَارِقُ      وَ دُمْتُ رِخَى الْبَالِ مَا صَاحَ رَاعِدُ

The author says that, through many Arabic-writing poets

have praised the House of Báwand, he has only cited Ra-shíd-i-Waṭwát because he was the greatest and most famous of their panegyrists, and because his own eulogies would be discounted by reason of his connection with the Dynasty, and the country over which it ruled.

One of the customs of the Ispahbad Rustam was that at the close of a wine-bout he would give permission to his boon-companions to take what they liked from his treasury. On one such occasion his kinsman the Amír Sábiqu'd-Dawla 'Alí Gilkhwárán, 'Alí Riḍá the chamberlain (وكيل درى) and his sons, As'adu'd-Dín Ḥusayn "the madman" (*dirwana*), the Nidhám Muḥammad and the Qiwám Farámarz went together, when they rose up from drinking, to the treasury, but found that all the money and jewels and most precious things had been already taken, and that only some bundles (رزمه) of silk were left. So each of them took three bundles of silk on their backs and twisted the contents of another round their feet. Being thus heavily laden, certain wits likened them to asses carrying bales of merchandise, and Bárbad-i-Jarídí, the Ṭabarí poet, extemporized the following couplet over them in the dialect of Ṭabaristán:

این دو خر که دارنه پادشاه ایرون یکی خر بزین نیکه یکی بیانون

Another of the Ispahbad's customs was that he would not suffer poets to recite his praises in his presence, saying, "They falsely ascribe to me deeds which I never performed, and thereby I am put to shame." At length a poet named Mudhaffarí came from Khurásán and said, "I will praise you for deeds that you have done," and he than recited a poem beginning:

جنت عدنست گوئی کشور مازندران  
در حریم حرمت اصفید اصفیدان

For each couplet he was rewarded with ten gold *dinárs*, and he also received a horse, a coat (قبا) and a hat (كلاه).

3. *The Ispahbad Tájut-Mulúk ʿAlí b. Mardáwíj.*

He was sent by his father to Merv in the reign of Sinjar, who gave him his sister in marriage, and held him so dear that he would not go forth from his palace until he had first seen him. On his father's death, he was made ruler of the Castle of Jahína and the country round about Tammísha (تیمیشه بیرون). On the death of Sinjar, Sulaymán Sháh, who succeeded to the Seljúq throne, first took refuge with him.

Mardáwíj was one of the hardest and most expert riders ever seen. He would sometimes, on mounting, put a gold coin between each foot and the stirrup and gallop till mid-day without letting either slip out. One day when he and Sulaymán Sháh were encamped together at Gulpáyagán, there was a wager between them, the former betting a certain Arab horse, 4000 royal *dínars*, and 100 silken garments, etc., against a favourite slave belonging to the latter. Mardáwíj won the wager, but at once sent back the slave-boy mounted on the Arab horse fully caparisoned, and accompanied by two other slaves. The great poet Anwarí composed in his praise, besides other poems, the *qaşıda* beginning:

ای در نبرد حیدر کرار روزگار تلج الملوك صفر صفر روزگار

In the service of Sulţán Masʿúd the Seljúq was a certain champion called Sábíq of Qazwín, whose fame had spread throughout ʿIráq, Arabia and Khurásán. Him the Ispahbad induced to enter his service, giving him Bistám, Dámghán and Jájarm in order that he might combat the Assassins. This Sábíq was very prodigal, and on one occasion he wrote to the Ispahbad complaining that he lacked money to pay his troops. The Ispahbad turned to his nobles and said, "He is an ocean (in munifence): what adequate gift can one confer on the ocean? Let 20,000 *dínars* be now

sent to him, and let an order be written that henceforth all that he can conquer in those regions shall be his, together with the fief-holds there."

4. *The Ispahbad 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Hasan b. Rustam b. 'Alí.*

He also was a man whose generosity and statesmanship "had transcended perfection by several parasangs." His only fault was that he was too impetuous and self-confident, which qualities brought disaster both on him and his subjects. Yet:

كَفَى الْمَرْءَ فِتْنًا أَنْ تُعَدَّ مَعَائِبُهُ

When 'Il-Arslán Khwárazmsháh died (A. H. 568 = A. D. 1172), and his son Tukush wrested the throne of Khwárazm from his brother Sulţán Sháh Maḥmúd, the latter with his mother took refuge with the Ispahbad, who came to Tamísha to meet them, and sent forward his governors and officers from Gílán and the districts of Ray with presents, while in the plain of Ganjína, as far as Ispíd Dáristán, for a distance of a parasang, he caused such a feast to be spread as no man ever saw before or since.

5. *The Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín Ardashír b. Husayn*<sup>1</sup>. He reigned for 35 years over Ṭabaristán. — Eulogy of his virtues and talents.

After the death of the Atábek Muḥammad b. Ilduguz, Sulţán Ṭughril (II) b. Arslán, in consequence of a dispute which arose between him and his brother Qizil Arslán, wrote from 'Iráq:

إِذَا غُلِقَتْ أَبْوَابُ قَسَمِ أَرَاذِلِ فَبَابِكَ مَفْتُوحٌ وَ كَيْسَ بُرْتَجِ  
وَ هَمَّكَ مَقْصُورٌ عَلَى طَلَبِ الْعَلِيِّ وَ سَبِيكَ (?) مَوْقُوفٌ عَلَى كُلِّ مُرْتَجِ

The Ispahbad, in response to this appeal, being encamped at Dih-i-Fulúl in Láriján, sent out his *amírs* and nobles to

<sup>1</sup> Lower, "*Hasan*", which seems to be correct.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. مرفوع.

Ray to meet the Seljúq king, and himself went forward to Lár, where, on meeting him, he alighted from his horse, brought his royal guest to Fulúl, and there enthroned and entertained him royally. Qizil Arslán, hearing of this, sent 'Izzu'd-Dín Yaḥyá to Ardashír to persuade him, by reminding him of the favours which he had formerly received from his father and brother, to arrest and bind Ṭughril and surrender him to his antagonist, promising the Ispahbad in return for this service the rule of Ray, Sáwa, Qum, Káshán and Qazwín, and full authority over 'Iráq and Adharbayján. The Ispahbad indignantly rejected the proposal that he should betray his guest, and after a while sent Ṭughril to Dámghán and Bisṭám, bidding his officers there supply all his needs day by day until he reached his capital.

In A. H. 579 (= A. D. 1183—4) an ambassador named Khujand (?), with two companions, came from the Maharája of India to the Ispahbad, stating that an 'Alawí of the Imámi (Shí'ite) sect had come to that country to endeavour to persuade men to his views, and had prevailed in argument against their doctors; whereupon the Maharája had despatched a letter to "the just and upright king in Ṭabaristán, who is descended from the Kistrás (House of Sásán), and who holds this doctrine" with an embassy of 40 persons, of whom 38 had perished on the way. At the command of the Ispahbad, the answer to this letter was written at great length by Sayyid Bahá'u'd-Dín al-Ḥasan b. al-Mahdí al-Mámṭírí, who was living at this time. A long extract from this letter, written in very florid Arabic, and celebrating the praises of Ṭabaristán and its ruler Ardashír, here follows. Indeed it seems to have been not so much a letter as a tract, bearing the formal title *Risálatu'l-Hunúd fi ijábatí da'wa dhawi 'l-'Aniúd* ("the Epistle to the Indians in reply to the pretensions of the obdurate").

On one occasion Núru'd-Dín Şabbágh came to the Ispah-

bad as an ambassador from Tukush b. Il-Arslán at Dawlat-ábád near Sári, (f. 56b) and there he caused a pulpit to be erected and preached a sermon, concluding with the following verse:

دیدم هممرا وعست بالله جز بر تو حرام نام شای

Indeed, says the author, there was never a more law-abiding (بآئین‌تر) king than he. His capital was at Sári, where dwelt his ministers, and where was situated their *dirwán*, called the *Dirwán-i-Waşl*. Every year he used to disburse in pensions more than 100,000 gold *dinárs*, and every Friday, wherever he might be, he used to give 100 *dinárs* out of the palace treasury to the Minister of Justice (امیر العدل), who used then to go to the public square (*maydán*) and distribute the money amongst the most deserving persons whom he found waiting there. Sayyids, men of learning, poets and literary men used to flock to his court with books, poems and prayers which they desired to lay before him; and amongst the most distinguished men who were his pensioners were Sayyid 'Izzu'd-Dín Yahyá, the judges (قضاة) of Ray, and the Shaykhu'l-Islám Ruknu'd-Dín عجمانی (?), each of whom used to receive 700 *dinárs*, a fully caparisoned horse, a turban and a cloak (*jubba*), Khwája Imám Faqíh-i-Ál-i-Muḥammad Abu'l-Faḍl Ráwandí, Sayyid Murtaḍá Káshání, Afḍalu'd-Dín Máhabadí, the judges of Işfahán, the family of the poet Shafarwuh, and all the Sayyids of Qazwín, Abhar and the districts round Kharaqán. From Egypt, Syria and Arabia also two or three thousand 'Alawís used to come yearly to pass the winter in Ṭabaristán, where they received free entertainment, clothes and money for their expenses. When the Ispahbad rode out, these 'Alawís marched beside him in ranks, and whatever boon any one of them craved was granted to him, the Ispahbad saying, "In all the world these have no other door than this court;

give them therefore what they need." On one occasion he gave a sum of 29,000 *dinárs* of Amul from his treasury to enable poor 'Alawís of both sexes to marry. Every year at the season of the Pilgrimage, also, he used to disburse the following sums:

For "water-money" (آب سبیل), 4000 *dinárs*; and his standard was carried side by side with that of the Caliph, while the standards of all the other kings and rulers of the time followed behind.

For the *Amíru'l-Hajj*, or Leader of the Pilgrimage, 2000 *dinárs* and a fully caparisoned horse, in substitution for the tax which they used to levy on the pilgrims; and a herald used to proclaim. "All the pilgrims are the freed men of the King of Mázandarán."

For the Shrine (*mashhad*) of Sámarra, or *Surra man ra'a*, 500 *dinárs*.

For the Shrine of 'Abdu'l-'Adhim in Ray, 200 *dinárs*.

For the Graves of Quraysh, 300 *dinárs*.

For the Shrines of the sons of the Imám Hasan at Madá'in, 200 *dinárs*<sup>1</sup>.

For the Shrine of 'Alí b. Abí Tálíb, 2000 *dinárs*.

For the Shrine of Salmán the Persian at al-Madá'in, 150 *dinárs*.

For the Shrine of Imám Husayn at Kerbelá, 6000 *dinárs*.

For the Shrine of Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí b. Músa al-Báqir (*sic*), 1000 *dinárs*<sup>2</sup>.

For the Amírs of Mecca, 200 *dinárs* for turbans and cloaks.

For the Shrine of the Ka'ba and the water-carriers (سدنة كعبة و سقا), 1000 *dinárs*.

For the pigeons of Mecca, the produce of a village, mill and hot bath.

<sup>1</sup> Inserted in B.

<sup>2</sup> Omitted in B.

(کبوتران مکه ده و گمابه و آسیبا وقف بود محصول میفرستاد)

For the poor of Mecca, 5 bales (رزمه) of silk.

For al-Madína, 3000 *dinárs*.

For the Shrines of the Imáms buried at al-Baqí<sup>c</sup>, 1000 *dinárs*.

For the poor of al-Madína, the value of 5 bales (رزمه) of silk. These bales were sold in Baghdad, and the money thus obtained was spent on linen (كرباس), which was divided amongst the poor.

The most eminent of contemporary poets, Dhahíru'd-Dín Fáyábí, has many *qaşidas* in praise of this Ispahbad, amongst them the following:

سپیده دم که هوا مزده بهار دهد  
 دم هوا مدد نافه تتر دهد  
 دل مرا که فراموش کرد عهد وصال  
 نسیم باد صبا بوی زلف یار دهد  
 زآب دیده بوجی فناه ام که بجهد  
 خیالرا سوی بالین من گذار دهد  
 زدست نا خوشی آنکس رهنادم کآندم  
 بدست من می صافی خوشگوار دهد  
 حسام دولت و دین آنکه در مقام نبرد  
 قرار ملک بشمشیر بیقرار دهد  
 ستوده خسرو عالم که خاک درگه او  
 سپهر سر زده را تلج افتخار دهد  
 سپهر خرقة در اندازن از طرب چو بحرب  
 زبان خنجر او شرح کارزار دهد  
 ایا شهی که بیمنت بگاہ بخشش و جود  
 بکان و دریا سرماییه یسار دهد

حمایت تو شب تیر در اگر خواعد  
 ز زخم خنجر خورشید زینهار دعد  
 بخت بخت حسودت چنانکه پنداری  
 زمانه روز و شبش کوه و کوکنار دعد  
 سریر ملک عطا داد کردگار ترا  
 بجای خویش بود هرچه کردگار دعد  
 در آن زمان که بد اندیش روز کورت را  
 قضا بمیل سنان اغبر غبار دعد  
 سپاه بی عدتت بیم آن بود آنروز  
 که هفت قلعه افلاک را حصار دعد  
 عروس ملک کسی در کنار گیرد تنگ  
 که بوسه بر لب شمشیر آبدار دعد  
 ز صد دلیر یکی باشد آنکه توفیقش  
 حسام قاطع و بازوی کامکار دعد  
 اگر پناه امل منهدم شود یزدان  
 ز حفظ خویش ترا حصن استوار دعد  
 عدوت مثل تو آنکه شود که خنجر بید  
 بروز معرکه آثار ذو الفقار دعد  
 همیشه تکه مرین چرخ بد معامله را  
 برای دار فنا مهلت مدار دعد  
 تو پایدار بمان ز آنکه جای آن داری  
 که کردگار ترا عمر پایدار دعد

After the poet had been for some time at the Ispahbad's court, and had received at his hands many favours, he asked and received permission to visit the Atábek Qizil Arslán, son of the Atábek 'Ilduguz, who was at that time

in possession of 'Irâq and Ādharbayján. There he composed a *qaṣīda* in which occurred the following verse:

شاید که بعد خدمت ده ساله در عراق  
نام هنوز خسرو مازندران دهد

(f. 58a) Some of the servants of the Ispahbad Ardashír were present when this poem was recited before Qizil Arslán, and they sent a copy of it to their master, who thereupon sent the poet 100 *dínárs*, a fully caparisoned horse, a necklace, a cap and a coat.

#### NOBLES AND NOTABLES OF ṬABARISTÁN.

1. 'Abdu'lláh al-Husayn b. Sahl, known as *Táji Duwayr* (المعروف بتاجی دویر). His yearly income was 200,000 *dínárs*. One night at Āmul some of the courtiers and boon-companions of the Ispahbad came to visit him, and he bestowed on them 500 silken garments, and wrote them a cheque for 20,000 *dínárs*:

بیست هزار دینار بر املاک چك نوشت

One day his master the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán went out hunting, and was beset by a number of petitioners (منتظمان), of whom he asked, "whom do ye seek?" Being answered that they sought the Ispahbad in order to lay their needs before him, he said: "If ye seek the Ispahbad who is king and ruler, and who has wealth, servants, retinue, pomp, glory and a merry life (عیش خوش), then it is Táji Duwayr at Āmul; but if you seek that one who night and day is with his falcons, his cheetahs and his dogs, then it is I."

2. *Abú Isháq Ibráhím b. al-Marzubán* constructed, out of his own income, most of the roads and bridges of Ṭabaristán and Rúyán.

3. *Muḥammad b. Músá b. Hafṣ*. The daily expenditure of his kitchen at Āmul was 1000 *dínárs*, and at his own charges he sent 1000 pilgrims to Mecca, whom he fed so

delicately during the journey thither that in the middle of the desert they had fresh fish and cress from Ṭabaristán to eat.

4. *Abū Ṣādiq Ḥarūn b. ʿAlī al-ʿAmulī* visited Mecca in this same fashion.

5. *ʿAlī b. Hishām al-ʿAmulī* visited Mecca in this same way in the days of ʿAbduʿllāh al-Maʿmūn, and every day in the desert heralds proclaimed, "Come to the banquet of the Amīr!" And at his table men of note and persons of no consequence alike sat down as his guests. Al-Maʿmūn ordered that no one in Baghdad should sell him fire-wood or cress, but he brought paper to burn instead of fire-wood, and in place of cress he garnished his table with green silk torn up into shreds.

6. *Sahl b. al-Marzubān* possessed Lārijān. He constructed a road through country which before his time was impracticable both in summer and winter, by cutting and tunnelling the mountains, making bridges, and building rest-houses; and made this road the best and safest.

#### LEARNED MAN OF ṬABARISTĀN.

1. *Muḥammad b. Farīr at-Ṭabari*, the celebrated author of the great History, the great Commentary, the *Dhaylūʾl-Mudhayyal*<sup>1</sup>, and other works. All men of learning agree that no nation has produced so great a scholar as him. It is said that 400 riding-camels might daily be seen waiting at the gate of his house in Baghdad, belonging to sons of the caliphs, kings, ministers and *amīrs*, besides some 30 mules, each watched by an Abyssinian groom, the owners of all these having come thither to glean what they could from Ṭabari's incomparable learning.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Introduction* to de Goeje's monumental edition of Ṭabari's *Annals*, pp. xiii—xv. It is called here in our MS. كتاب الذيل والمذيل .

2. *Imám-i-shahid* ("the Martyr") *Fakhrul-Islám 'Abdul-Wáhid b. Isma'íl Abu'l-Mahásin*, who is called "the second Sháfi'i", and for whom the Nidhámu'l-Mulk built a college at Ámul which still flourished in the author's time. Of him Abu'l-Ma'áli of Juwayn said: ابو نوح الحسن كنه محاسن. He was the author of many works on Jurisprudence, the Ascetic Life, and other religious subjects, of which more than 40 volumes are in general circulation. His acuteness and discernment are illustrated by the following story, which also explains how it happened that he incurred the resentment of the Assassins (ملاحده ملاعين) and perished by the daggers of their *fidá'is*:

کیاست او تا بغایتی بود که بعهد او ملاحده ملاعین فتوی طلبیدند و بر کاغذ نوشته که چگویند ائمه دین در آنکه مدعی و مدعی علیه بر حقیق و راستی راضی شوند گواهی بیاید و بخلاف دعوی مدعی و اقرار مدعی علیه گواهی دهد، چنین شهادت بشرع مسموع باشد یا نه، و این کاغذ پاره بحرّمین فرستادند، امان حرّمین محمد جوینی و محمد غزالی و ائمه بغداد و شام جمله جواب نوشتند که چنین گواهی مسموع نیست تا پیش او آوردند، در کاغذ نگرید و روی ببرد کرده گفت ای بد بخت چندین سعی نا مشکور بر تو وبال باشد و بفرمود که او را باز دارند- و قضاة و ائمه جمع آمدند، گفت این فتوی ملاحده نوشتند و این مدعی و مدعی علیه جهود و ترسا اند و این گواہ رسول ما صلعم را میجوایند که قرآن مجید شاهدست وَمَا قَتَلُوهُ وَمَا صَلَبُوهُ وَلَٰكِنْ شُبِّهَ لَهُمْ<sup>1</sup>، ملاحدر را باز پرسیدند اقرار کرد که يك سالست تا مرا بجهان بطلب جواب این استفتا می دوانند، عوام آمل او را سنگسار کردند و فخر الاسلام فتوی فرمود بسببی ذراری ایشان تا ملاحده بفرستادند و

<sup>1</sup> Qur'án, iv, 156.

بغدر بر در مقصورة جامع آمل بدین حد که مناره است بزخم کرد  
آن امام را شهید گردانیدند و هنوز آن کرد بمدرسه خانه ایشان  
نهاده من بنویتها دیدم،

3. *The Qādī'l-quḍāt Abū'l-Abbās ar-Rūyānī*. He was Chief Judge in the time of Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs (A. H. 366—403 = A. D. 976—1012), and his descendants still exercise judicial functions in Ṭabaristān. Many anecdotes are told of him, of which the one here outlined is included amongst the stories printed at the end of Forbes' *Persian Grammar* (London, 1869, pp. ۲۸—۳۹, Story Lxxi).

#### RELIGIOUS LEADERS (IMÁMS) OF ṬABARISTÁN.

1. *Ibn Mahdī Mámṭīri*. His grave at Mámṭīr had been visited by the author.

2. *Muḥammad al-Yazdādī*. His writings are so well known as to need no mention.

3. *Ibn Fúrak*, the preacher of the *Masjid-i-sálár* at Ámul. The pulpit which still stands there by the *mihrab* was erected for him. "I have heard," says the author, "from my master Ibráhīm b. Muḥammad Nāṣihī, that the Şáhib [Isma'íl b.] 'Abbád, prompted by fanaticism, arrested and imprisoned him in a darkened house at Ray. Abú Isháq of Isfará' in the scholastic philosopher (*mutakallim*) used at this time to go to the Şáhib and hold discussions with him every day. One day while they were thus engaged in a garden, the discussion turned on the 'creation of actions' (خلق الافعال). The Şáhib stretched out his hand, picked an apple from a tree, and said, 'Is not this my act?' (f. 59b) 'If it be thine act,' replied Abú Isháq, 'restore it to the same place.' The Şáhib, unable to reply to this, said, 'Ask thy boon.' 'My boon,' said the other, 'is [Ibn] Fúrak.' The Şáhib immediately ordered his release; whereupon he came to Ámul." There

he remained till the end of his life, and then the Sálár built for him the Mosque still known as the Sálár's Mosque. While in prison Ibn Fúrak composed two books on Scholastic Philosophy (علم كلام). He is buried in the quarter of 'Alí Kaláwa (سراپه گنبد چهار راه) above the Dome of the Cross-roads (سر بلاء گنبد چهار راه).

4. *The Qádir-qudát Abu'l-Qásim al-Bayyá'í*. He was remarkable for his knowledge in Jurisprudence, Scholastic Philosophy, Poetry, Epistolary style and Philosophy. He wrote, both in prose and verse, in Arabic, Persian and the dialect of Ṭabaristán.

5. The Great Master *Abu'l-Faraj 'Alí b. al-Husayn b. Hindú*<sup>1</sup>. Though his ancestors came from Qum, he himself was born and brought up in Ṭabaristán. His grave is at Astarábád, in a house which was his property. Of him al-Bákhrazí says:

كأنّ الفضل لم يُخَلَّفْ إلاّ له،

The following are the best-known and most widely read of his works:

كتاب البلغ، كتاب نزهة، كتاب المذكر و الموندت، كتاب امثال المولده، كتاب مفتاح الطب، كتاب المساحة، كتاب كلمة الروحانية في حكم اليونانية، كتاب الوساطة بين الزنا و اللواط،

Besides these he has written much on Philosophy, Medicine and Philology, and his collected poems amount to 15,000 couplets, or even more, "pure as limpid water and like unto lawful magic." His Arabic treatises form five volumes in his writing.

و یکی منشور فضای آمل بخانه جمال بازرغه بمحله جوله کوی نهاده که بعهد شرف امعالی برای اسلاف بازرغه نوشته بود مثل آن خط

<sup>1</sup> He died, according to *H. Kh.*, in A. H. 410 or 420 (A. D. 1019 or 1029).

درین عهد و سالها کسی ننوشت و یکی از کبار علما در حق او میگوید

سَمَا فِي الشَّعْرِ أَعْلَامٌ كِبَارٌ فَصَارَ لِحَلِيمٍ شَرَفٌ وَ مَجْدٌ  
فَأَوْلَهُمْ إِذَا ذُكِرَ ابْنُ حُجْرٍ وَ آخِرُهُمْ أَبُو الْفَرْجِ ابْنُ عِنْدُو

6. *The Imám 'Abdu'l-Qádir al-Furjání*, concerning whom al-Bákhharzí says:

اتَّفَقَتْ عَلَى أَمَانَةِ الْأَسْنَةِ وَ تَجَمَّلَتْ بِمَكَانِهِ وَ زَمَانِهِ الْأَمَكْنَةُ وَ الْأَزْمَنَةُ  
وَ اثْنَى عَلَيْهِ طَيْبُ الْعُنَاصِرِ وَ تُنَبِّتُ بِهِ عَقُودَ الْخُنَاصِرِ فَيُؤْفِرُ فِي  
عِلْمِهِ الْعَرَبِيَّ لَا بَلْ هُوَ الْعِلْمُ الْفَرْدُ فِي الْأَيَّامِ الْمَشَاهِيرِ،

His grammatical works include the *Fumal* and its commentary, the commentary on the *Idáh-i-<sup>c</sup>Aduđi*, and the *Talkhış*. Some of his poems are cited in the *Dumya* [*tu<sup>l</sup>-Qasr* of al-Bákhharzí].

7. *Abú Sa'id Mudhaffar b. Ibráhim*. He was a learned juriconsult, and was for some time attached to the Şahib [*'Isma'il*] b. 'Abbád, after whose death he sought the patronage of Abú Ṭálib Hárún ath-Thá'ir al-<sup>c</sup>Alawí, who bestowed on him ample favours, and dismissed him to his home, but he was unfortunately drowned in the Caspian Sea while crossing to Ábasgún. These verses are his:

أَسْحَرَ بِأَجْفَانِهِ أَمْ خُمَارٌ وَ مَسَكَ بِعَارِضِهِ أَمْ غَدَارٌ  
عَزَّالٌ بِخَدَّيْهِ وَرَدَ الْكَحْيَاءَ وَ طَلَّ الْجَمَالَ عَلَيْهِ نَبَارٌ  
فَمِنْ رِيْقِهِ يُنْعَاطَى الرَّحِيفُ وَ مِنْ خَدِّهِ يُجَنَّبُنِي الْجَلْتَنَارُ

Al-Bákhharzí gives an account of him in the *Dumyatu'l-Qasr*, and cites these verses which occur in a *qaşıda* composed by him in praise of Qábús:

أَشِيمُ عَفْوِكَ وَ الْأَمَلُ تَبَسُّطُهُ وَ مَوْقِفِي مَنْكَ مِثْلُ الْأَخْذِ بِالْكُفْمِ  
إِذَا رَقَدْتَ فَإِنَّ الرُّوحَ فِي حِلْمِي وَ إِنْ أَفْقَتَ فَطَعْمُ الْمَوْتِ مِلٌّ فَمِ  
لَا يَأْمَنَنَّ أَحٌ طَالَتْ سَلَامَتُهُ وَ الدَّعْرُ مَغْرِبُهُ إِنْ نَامَ لَمْ يَتَمِ

Mention is also made of his son Abu'l-Majd and his brother Abu'l-Faraj al-Mudhaffar b. Isma'íl, the jurisconsult, traditionist, anchorite and man of letters.

8. *°Adí b. °Abdu'lláh*; 9. *Abú Sa°d aş-Şaydalání*; 10. *Abú Hanífa Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Astarábáđi Bári°-i-Furjání*:

نصحتُ أخى وَهَوَلا يعلم  
 تعلم اذا كنتَ ذا ثروةٍ فبالمالِ يحسن ما تعلم  
 وفي العلم زينٌ لذى درهمٍ  
 1. . . . .

11. *Abu'l-°Alá al-Mihrawání*, lawyer, mathematician, poet, jurisconsult, etc.

12. *Muḥammad b. Farír b. Rustam as-Sarwí*, jurisconsult, philosopher, traditionist, etc. He was a fervent Shi'ite, and was for a long while in attendance on the Eighth Imám, °Alí b. Músá ar-Riđá. His most famous works are the *Ki-tábu'l-Mustarshid* and the *Kitábu °Khudhu'n-na°l* ("Book of 'Pluck off thy shoes'").

13. *Khawája Imám °Imád Kujaj*<sup>2</sup>, called *Faqih-i-°Al-i-Muḥammad*, a learned, pious and ascetic man. The Amír Ibn Darrám<sup>3</sup> detained him for a couple of years at Hilla. The people of Baghdad and Kúfa and the Shi'ites of Arabia sought him out to profit by his learning, and subscribed yearly a sum of 1000 *dínárs* for his maintenance. Ibn Darrám<sup>3</sup> married his daughter, and one of their descendants was living at Hilla in the time of the author (who had visited him), and enjoyed the favour of the reigning Caliph an-Náşir li-díni'lláh (A. H. 575—622 = A. D. 1180—1225), by reason of his learning, virtue and nobility.

<sup>1</sup> The last hemistich is wanting in all the manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> This name occurs as كچچ in A, كجيج in B, and كجيج in C. It also occurs in Dawlatsháh, pp. 310—316 of my edition.

<sup>3</sup> Or *Warrám*.

## WRITERS AND SCRIBES OF ṬABARISTÁN.

1. *‘Alī b. Zayn* was noted for his originality and eloquence. Amongst his works are the *Firdawsu’l-Ḥikmat* and the *Baḥru’l-Fawá'id*. He was originally secretary to Mázyár (put to death A. H. 226 = A. D. 840—1), and afterwards of the Caliph al-Mu‘tašim (d. A. H. 227 = A. D. 842).

2. *‘Abdu’lláh*, known as *Ibnu’l-Ṭabarí*, came to Sámarra in great poverty in the Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (A. H. 232—247 = A. D. 847—861), and, when in such dire straits that he had to sell most of his clothing for food, was fortunate enough to attract the notice of the Caliph’s son al-Mu‘ayyad bi’lláh, and so attained to affluence and wealth.

## (f. 61a) SAINTS AND ANCHORITES.

1. *Shaykh Abū’l-‘Abbás Qaṣṣáb* ("the Butcher"), whose fame still endures, and whose tomb is still frequented.

2. *Shaykh Abū Fa‘far al-Ḥanáfi*. In his shrine is preserved a Qur‘án said to have been written by ‘Alí’s son Muḥammad called *Ibnu’l-Ḥanaḥfiyya*, which has such virtue that any person daring to swear falsely on it dies miserably within the year.

3. *Shaykh-i-Záhid*. His tomb is in the quarter called ‘Alí-ábád, by the Gate of Zindána-kúy. Anyone who drinks wine in this quarter and passes by his shrine inevitably becomes an outcast from that quarter. (لا محاله از آن محاله). (آواره شود).

4. *Shaykh Abū Turáb*. His tomb is still visible by the Gate of the Mosque in the quarter of Darlabash (محاله در لبش).

5. *Shaykh Abū Na‘im*.

6. *Qutb-i-Chálúsi*. Sulṭan Sinjar wore his mantle (*khirqá*) and visited his retreat, which still exists. Sinjar’s minister Našru’d-Dín Muḥammad Bú Tawba hated and persecuted

him, and was always trying to persuade his master that he was a hypocrite and impostor. One day at Bisṭām they brought the saint a melon. He laid his finger on it, saying, "We have killed Muḥammad-i-bi-Tarwa (‘the Unrepentant’);" and it so happened that at that very moment the minister was put to death by Sinjar at Merv.

7. *Qāḍī Hishām*. His tomb is close to that of Shams-i-Āli-Muḥammad in the quarter of ‘Awāmma-kúy. The following extraordinary *qaṣīda*<sup>1</sup>, written in a mixture of Arabic and Persian, satirizing one of his contemporaries, is by him:

ای بفرهنگک و علم دریائو	لیس مارا بجز تو همتاؤ
منم و تو که لا حياء لنا	هزلرا کرده ایم احیاؤ
هر يك از ما شده مشار الیه	در جهان همچو ید بیضاؤ
من بشعر و نجوم و حلق و جنون	تو بآرایش و بفتناؤ
لی و لك از دو چیز تقصیرست	گرچه هستیم هر دو داناؤ
لیس لی عقل و لا حياء ترا	هر دورا غالبست سوداؤ
هست فی الپشم جای خندیدن	نیست فی العچشم قطره ماؤ
آید و نآید از من شیدا	خواه امروز و خواه فرداؤ
آید از من که اضرب الماخراؤ	ناید از من بهی و عقلاؤ
جعبه شاعران قرین منست	همچو آتش قرین منجاؤ <sup>2</sup>
قُلْ فبئس القرین وياك مدار	لست تدری که ایش معناؤ
مصحكات آید از خواطر ما	همچو دُرّ از میان دریاؤ
می ندانند قَدْر ما جُهال	که چه بلیره ایم و رعناؤ
هر دورا تن دو است و جان واحد	هر دو دل کرده ایم یکتاؤ

<sup>1</sup> This *qaṣīda* affords an excellent specimen of Persian macaronic verse, of which the most ancient European specimen is, I believe, the *Opus Merlini Cocaii poetae Macaronicorum*, first printed at Venice about 1521.

<sup>2</sup> Variants in this line are: A. B. جعسه; C. جعبه شاعران چکرده بویین; A. سنجاو.

خانه خویش دان تو خانه من  
 مهره مهر مهر من شکنی  
 بر زمین همچو مهر بر فلکی  
 مهر بر مهر تو نهادستم  
 مهره بازی همی و سغبه کنی  
 گه ستانی عمامهای دراز  
 گه شبیخون بری بآمل و ری  
 گه سوی رود بست حمله بری  
 آمل و ری کلاهها کردی  
 چونکه با خود مرا همی نبری  
 دوستان زمانه چنین اند  
 یادم آید ز دوستان چنین  
 ان آبائی الذین مضوا  
 وثبوا عن قبورهم از ننگ  
 زوجتی هر شبی تخاصمنی<sup>5</sup>  
 مرا گوید او که ای احمق  
 ماند این شعر تو باسفل تو  
 لیت عاقل بدی ازین دو یکی  
 بس فما بالنا لسایلکم<sup>6</sup>  
 چون شبانگه بسوی خیمه<sup>7</sup> شوم  
 حمله آرند و سوی من تازند  
 هرچه در خانه من کردند مرا

3 C. بتالیز. A. بیالیزر. C. بیالیز و B. 2 تنها for شبها. C. 1  
 اوست سلیطه و معربد من. B. adds: 5 از اخلاؤ. C. 4 عنبرأؤ.  
 که نه. C. 8 خانه for جونه. A. 7 نساتلکم. A. B. 6 پس for من. C. 6

انا تنهها و هم قد اجتمعوا لا جرم ینتفون تاتأو  
 گر نصیحت کنید و پند دهید جمع کردید پیر و برنأو<sup>1</sup>  
 تا مگر رحمتی فرود آید بر حوالی نه بر علیناو  
 پند کس نشنوند و مغذورند هست دلشان چو صخر صماو  
 ما استجابوا لكم و لو سمعوا قد شقوا فی بطون ماماو<sup>2</sup>  
 شلم و لکه کون شمارا پاک ان شلمتم فقد کرزناو<sup>3</sup>  
 یا امام زمانه لو سئلنت هل دماغك فقل که لا لاو  
 خاطر تیز من بدان سبب است<sup>4</sup> نیک پرورده ام ز مبدأو  
 مر مرا هر زمان بجای لبین مامکم داد هار کالباو<sup>5</sup>  
 هر که بشنید این فصاحت من گفت لبین اللسان الیناو<sup>6</sup>  
 اوندجنون فتنه فصاحت من<sup>7</sup> که دباغی و کون و سیلاو<sup>8</sup>  
 شاعر آن بود که وی من آسا بو<sup>9</sup> دادمی کیری تیز بشعراو<sup>10</sup>  
 جعبه شاعرون چه کرده بوین<sup>11</sup> همهرا چون بداء تیلاو<sup>12</sup>  
 هر که می دوسته ای من این برسی<sup>13</sup> بو من آسا بشر و جیناو<sup>14</sup>  
 هر که می دشمنه آمل بهلی واری واره کوی لنکاو<sup>15</sup>  
 فی شکم ای فضول جعبه پره<sup>16</sup> آینه که واره بمی لاو<sup>17</sup>  
 اونکه آورده می بیرون اشعار برده و اشیرولا اشیرلاو

1 A. omits. 2 C. شقونی و ما استجالوا. 3 B. C. omit. 4 C. سلبست. 5 A. مانکم. 6 C. والشأو and لست. 7 B. النساء. 8 B. ملاو و. 9 B. C. بو for بو. 10 A. داومی. 11 See above, line 10 of this poem. 12 C. بداء بتلاو. 13 C. بری. 14 C. و for و. 15 C. را for و. 16 B. مشکم. 17 B. آینه.

من و توهر دوئی سخن مونی  
 هر دوی نامه وا اییدی کبرن<sup>1</sup>  
 چون بییچ بودمون و المنون<sup>2</sup>  
 همه این شعرون و نو موزون<sup>4</sup>  
 تو چه ها ساحنا و وامن وا<sup>6</sup>  
 من چه ها واردم ارم مردم<sup>7</sup>  
 ساکر انکوم هر دوون بوزیم<sup>9</sup>  
 وا بشو یضحکون فی ریشی<sup>11</sup>  
 خر بخندی که می سهون شنوی<sup>13</sup>  
 می سهون بشنون بعیشه درون  
 دی بجادست نواله ینفعی<sup>16</sup>  
 بتقل تر شه سیو پیرارین<sup>18</sup>  
 کشمش اونچنمون که مش دنبو<sup>20</sup>  
 ما سفرجل جل جل جلن<sup>22</sup>

ایسن بنارنج و آن بخرمآو  
 هر دو هستیمه ها برآزو  
 ببریم رسکت و کلیناؤ<sup>3</sup>  
 کتن از دست من بفرماؤ<sup>5</sup>  
 دا مرا کس بنوبنتی جاؤ  
 تو چه هارومه بمی لاؤ<sup>8</sup>  
 چون وزی وشتتر ای کلیناؤ<sup>10</sup>  
 من یرانی چرا نخذناؤ<sup>12</sup>  
 هر یسنه یضحک من آساؤ<sup>14</sup>  
 وا بساری و استراباؤ<sup>15</sup>  
 پارعتت چندکا بیزراؤ<sup>17</sup>  
 هار معجون شده بضرطاؤ<sup>19</sup>  
 با اوی حی و لام حلواؤ<sup>21</sup>  
 یا کمتری و رراء رازاؤ<sup>23</sup>

کلناؤ. C. 3. بییچ المنون. C. 2. نامهرا ایبری. C. هر دویینی. B. 1.  
 C. 6. کتن ای ... بفریاؤ. B. 5. شیعرون نو هودون. B. 4.  
 تو چه ها ساجیبا و امن وا B. توچه ها خبا د... وامن دا  
 لردم. C. چه ملو. A. 7.  
 B. adds another verse nearly identical with the last: 8.

من چه وا وارومه تو دونی جا بو چه وارومه بمی تاؤ  
 چواؤ. C. 12. فی رئی. C. 11. وشتتر کلناؤ. C. 10. هر دون بورم. C. 9.  
 B. omits this 15. هر بنه. C. 14. بشنوی. C. 13. خنداؤ  
 and بجأوست B. دی for ای C. 16. نقبه دودن. C.  
 تر شد. C. 18. پارعتت چند کازراؤ. C. باربیت چندکا بیزراؤ. B. 17.  
 ادی. C. یا B. 21. دمو. C. 20. بضرطاؤ and هار for ماز. C. 19.  
 رراؤ [و] and A. B. om. 23. یا سفرجل جل جلین. C. 22.

ای وره شیر مست لجا بای تو<sup>1</sup> ای برره نـبـود داداؤ<sup>2</sup>  
 اون بزونی بزم بلبل و نهار بو یارون کنی چرا راؤ<sup>3</sup>  
 پیر و پیرار ما فعلت دوا<sup>4</sup> لا خرم هالکسته ای جاؤ<sup>5</sup>  
 دو نهونی سمته کاجلا<sup>6</sup> هرچه تونست بکر دو سناؤ<sup>7</sup>  
 انا کالمردی میون حدث مـرـدـهـرا سو بنواطباؤ  
 ای اطبا خوجی ینای مرا<sup>8</sup> عو علم تا یجی مسیحاؤ  
 این مجابات شعر خواجه امام کس ندیدست مرغ عنقاؤ  
 عرکه واعا نمای وعا مردم<sup>9</sup> دونی که وا بیای ای داؤ<sup>10</sup>  
 این باون وزنه دقیقی کت<sup>11</sup> تی تلی لی تنا تناؤ<sup>12</sup>

#### SAGES AND PHILOSOPHERS OF ṬABARISTĀN.

1. *Buzurjmīhr*, the celebrated Prime Minister of Nūshīr-wān "the Just", concerning whom Firdawsī relates many anecdotes, as how he read the writing after he had become blind. On the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, and the fall of the Sāsānian dynasty, he fled to Ṭabaristān. When asked, "Why did the kingdom of the House of Sāsān fall when it contained such a man as thee?" he replied:

لأنهم استعانوا بالصغار الرجال إلى الكبر الاعمال فآل الامر إلى ما آل

"Because they sought the help of small men in great matters, and so affairs came to what they did." One day they said to him "Come, let us discuss Fate and Predestination."

1 B. دره, C. مت. 2 B. واواؤ. 3 B. بیاون; C. چراواؤ. 4 C. کچکاؤ. B. سمته and دو for که. 5 C. ها نکست. 6 B. پیراؤ.  
 7 B. بکر دوسناؤ. 8 B. C. خوجی for جی. 9 C. داما; B. وعای. 10 B. داؤ. C. وای بیای ای واؤ. 11 C. باون; B. یاون.  
 12 A. B. تی تلی; C. تنامواؤ. 12 C. ذونه.

He answered, "What have I to do with such a discussion? I behold an external appearance whence I deduce the underlying reality: I see fools prosperous and wise men in want, and I know that the ordering of results is not in man's hands." A number of similar wise sayings of his are reported, including the following: "Man is troubled at the waning of his wealth, but not at the waning of his life."

2. The *Ispahbad Marzubán b. Rustam b. Shirwín Parím* (پیریم), who wrote the book called *Marzubán-náma*, which our author prefers to that of *Kalíla and Dimna*<sup>1</sup>, and also a *Díwán* of poetry in the Ṭabarí dialect, known as the *Niki-náma*. In the same dialect Ibráhím Mu'íní says:

چنین<sup>2</sup> کته دونای زرین کناره به نیکیه نومه که شرجاد یاره  
این پی بیاجه اندوهن کاره<sup>3</sup>

#### PHYSICIANS AND POETS OF ṬABARISTÁN.

1. *Abu'l-Faraj Rashíd b. 'Abdu'lláh*, the physician of Astarábád, flourished in the time of Qábús Shamsu'l-Ma'álí (A. H. 366—403 = A. D. 976—1012), and was peerless in his time, not only in medical science, but in eloquence and skill both in prose and verse. He is mentioned in the *Dumyatul-Qaṣr* of al-Bákharzí.

2. *Sayyid Abu'l-Faḍl Isma'íl b. Muḥammad al-Músawí* of Jurján, the author of the well-known medical Encyclopædia entitled *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhi*, the *Kitáb-i-Yádigár*, the *Kitábul-Aghrád*, the *Kitáb-i-Ṭibb-i-'Alá'i* and the translation of Avicenna's *Qánún*.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Notice sur le Merzban Namèh* in Vol. ii of Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane* (Paris, 1885), pp. 194—211, and pp. 171—178 of the texts in the same volume.

<sup>2</sup> A. چنين.

<sup>3</sup> B. omits this line, which in C. is preceded by a blank space. C. ساچه اندوهن.

[ASTRONOMERS OF ṬABARISTÁN.]<sup>1</sup>

1. *Gúshyár b. Lisán al-Fili*.
2. *Awḥadu'd-Dahr ad-Dánishi*, who compiled a complete set of astronomical tables (زیج کامل).
3. *Bizíst b. Firúzán*, whose name al-Ma'mún arabicized into Yaḥya b. Maṣṣúr, and who compiled the *Zij-i-Ma'múni*<sup>2</sup>.
4. *Ustád 'Alí Pírúza*, the panegyrist of 'Aḏudu'd Dawla Sháhinsháh Fanákhusráw. Hamadán is said to have been given to him in fief. The following verse in the Ṭabarí dialect is by him:

پیر و جه که خورد همیون شو دارو ای وی بسهون کمتر با نیرون<sup>3</sup>

One day both he and Mutanabbí were visiting 'Aḏudu'd-Dawla. He was bidden to sit down, while Mutanabbí was left standing. Mutanabbí, vexed at this, spoke scornfully of this "speechless (i. e. barbarous) poet", but when the meaning of some of his verses was explained to him by 'Aḏudu'd-Dawla, he admitted their excellence, saying, "Honour is due to the meaning, which is, as it were, the spirit of speech, not to the language [in which it is expressed], which is but as its material body."

5. *Diwárwaz Mastamard* (دیواروز و مسته مرد). The following account is given of the manner in which this poet obtained these titles. He came from Ṭabaristán to Baghdad to visit the Shahinsháh 'Aḏudu'd-Dawla, and (according to the proverb<sup>4</sup> الفقیه یلنفت الی الفقیه) sought the assistance of his compatriot 'Alí Pírúza, who, however, fearful lest his

<sup>1</sup> As some poets are included in this section also, it would appear that no separate heading is required here, but that we should add "Astronomers" after "Physicians" in the last heading.

<sup>2</sup> B. here inserts the heading "Poets of Ṭabaristán".

<sup>3</sup> C. نیرون for نیرون, دارو وی, and وی for ای.

<sup>4</sup> Equivalent to "Birds of a feather flock together".

eloquence and wit might make him a dangerous rival in that prince's favour, made excuses for delay, hoping that the new-comer would weary of waiting and return home. After a while, however, Dîwârwarz formed some idea of the truth; and, when 'Aḏudu'd-Dawla was one day drinking in a garden with some of his friends, he climbed over the wall and approached him. Some of the attendants, thinking him to be a robber or assassin, rushed upon him with blows and cuffs. 'Aḏudu'd-Dawla, hearing his cries, caused him to be brought before him and questioned him, whereupon he told his story, and how 'Alî Pîrúza had treated him, after which he recited a *qaṣída* which he had composed. 'Aḏudu'd-Dawla, charmed with its grace and sweetness, expressed a doubt as to whether he was really its author, and, to prove him, bade him extemporize some verses on a singing-girl clad in blue silk who happened to be near. Thereupon he recited the following verses in the Ṭabarí dialect:

كو و سدرهٔ تيله بداروا آين  
 وا ديم كتي ديم اى مردمون و شايين<sup>1</sup>  
 خيري بنهون گر دو نرگيس نماين  
 اى خيري خوي داستي و راين<sup>2</sup>  
 كوي خوره شي با بن بو مداين  
 اى دريا و نيمي و نيومه آين<sup>3</sup>

'Aḏudu'd-Dawla was delighted, and gave him gifts, and caused his name to be inscribed in the register of his poets, and he received the title of *Dîwârwarz*.

[و] and om. به نهون كرد B. <sup>2</sup> مردمون. B. and نيله C. <sup>1</sup>  
 باين بويد and نبي or بنى C. ; كو خوره B. <sup>3</sup> در آين C. ; داستي  
 و نيومه B. ; اين

After the death of 'Aḡḡudu'd-Dawla he came to Āmul, while Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qábús was still reigning over Ṭabaristán. One day he had been drinking with his friends, and, while returning home, passed the gate of the Shrine of Násir-i-Kabír, whence the clergy and custodians, seeing his state, came forth, seized him, beat him, and cast him into prison. Thence he made his escape, came to Gurgán, and described his adventures in the following Ṭabarí verses, which he laid before Qábús, who honoured and rewarded him, and gave him the title of *Masta-mard*:

دا گیهون ای خور خورمی وندا  
 مسست آو و مستو آتشی بیانا<sup>1</sup>  
 دا شاه بگیهون سایه سری دلشا  
 بریه و کت اونرا که خورها<sup>2</sup>  
 آوی داد از ابنی آ ایننا  
 شرای واك وارسته گیهون و جا  
 مردم خورم ای خور ایرو نه بومی  
 زنش بمن چون کنه کیون شومی<sup>3</sup>  
 آین پم یسکی شومست موبی مولس<sup>4</sup>  
 بدای شمینی دل دنهراسن ای کس<sup>5</sup>  
 ناگاه بمن اوکتن یکی دونا دون<sup>6</sup>  
 ها کتن مرا برون زنی بزندان<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. and وا<sup>2</sup> and خورمی; B. مسست; C. ends the verse: ساما منستوس ساما.  
<sup>2</sup> C. and وا<sup>3</sup> and کت. <sup>3</sup> کنه کیون. <sup>4</sup> B. مسست; C. هوئی.  
 موس. <sup>5</sup> C. ای; B. شمینی; C. دنهراسن. <sup>6</sup> B. ناگا; C. om.  
 [دو] before نادن. <sup>7</sup> B. C. بردن; B. ازو for زنی; B. زنیدون; C. نرنیدون.

## Section II (f. 64b).

## The Houses of Washmgír and Buwayh.

Abú Ishāq Ibráhím b. Hilál aş-Şábí's great history of the Buwayhid Dynasty entitled *Kitábu't-Táj* is praised. He and the Şáhib Isma'íl b. 'Abbád are intended in the saying "More eloquent than the two *Şáds*" (أَبْلَغُ مِنَ الصَّادِقَيْنِ). How Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla, the brother and viceroy of 'Ađudu'd-Dawla Fanáhusraw b. Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Buwayh came with the Şáhib to Ṭabaristán, conquered its fortresses, and drove out its ruler Qábús, who for eighteen years after lived in exile at Níshápúr, will be described in another volume. Praise of 'Ađudu'd-Dawla, and of his noble encouragement of all branches of learning and letters, which were better represented in his time than in any other. The author states that he had heard his father say that, being curious to know the reason of this, he enquired of Khusraw Sháh, the Magian astrologer of Sháh Ghází Rustam b. 'Alí, who said that it was because his reign fell in the beginning of the cycle of Mercury. Amongst the most notable of these man of learning were Abu 'Alí Fáris, the Grammarian and lexicographer, who wrote the *Ídāh-i-'Ađudi* and the medical work entitled *Kámilu's-Şand'at*; Abu'l-Fađl (f. 65a) b. al-'Amíd and his son Abu'l-Faṭḥ; the Şáhib himself; Abu'l-Qásim 'Abdu'l-'Azíz b. Yúsuf; aş-Şábí Abú Ishāq Ibráhím; the poets Ibn Nubáta as-Sa'dí, Abu 'ṭ-Tayyib al-Mutanabbí, Abú Bakr al-Khwárazmí, and Ustád 'Alí aṭ-Ṭabarí. Of these it is related by the last but one that his patron was in the habit of asking his poets to extemporize verses on any object which happened to be placed before him. On one occasion this happened to be rice-pudding (پرنج بشیر): he invited the poets to extemporize on it, but,

before they could do so, himself described it in the following verses:

بِهَيْطَةٍ تَعَجَّزُ عَنْ وَصْفِهَا يَا مَدَّعَى الْأَوْصَافِ بِالزُّورِ  
كَأَنَّهَا وَهَى عَلَى جَامِهَا لَأَتَى فِي مَاءِ كَافُورِ

For 42 years ‘Aḍudu’-Dawla resided at Baghdad, whence he practically exercised sovereign sway over the Ḥijáz, Yaman, Egypt, Syria, the two ‘Iráqs, Ṭabaristán and all the districts of Farshwádgār. Verses addressed to ‘Aḍudu’-Dawla by Bakhtiyár Mu‘izzu’-Dawla:

أَفْ حِينَ وَطِيتَ صَبِيفَ حَنَافِهِ يَبْغَى الْأَمَانَ وَكَانَ يَبْغَى صَارِمًا  
فَلَا رَكْبَانَ عَزِيمَةً عَضْدِيَّةً نَاجِيَةً تَدْعُ الْأَنْوْفَ رَاغِمًا

Anecdotes of ‘Aḍudu’-Dawla related in the *Siyarū’-l-Mulūk* (i. e. *Siyásat-náma*) of the Nidhámū’-l-Mulūk al-Ḥasan b. Ishaq, including that of the money entrusted by a poor man to a fraudulent judge. — Verses on him by the Ṣáhib:

فَوَاللَّهِ لَوْلَا اللَّهُ قَالَ لَكَ الْوَرَى مَقَالُ النَّصَارَى فِي الْمَسِيحِ بْنِ مَرْيَمَ  
وَلَوْ قُلْتَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمْ يَخْلُقِ الْوَرَى لَغَيْرِكَ لَمْ يَخْرُجْ وَ لَمْ أَتَأْتَمَّ

Núḥ b. Maṣṣūr “the king of Bukhárá” (the Sámánid) sent presents to him by al-‘Utbí when the latter went on the Pilgrimage, amongst which were included 500 robes embroidered with Núḥ’s name. ‘Aḍudu’-Dawla was incensed at this, and, turning to ‘Utbí, said:

سَنَجْعَلُ قَبْلَ عَوْدِكَ مِنْ وَجْهِكَ سَوَاحِلَ جَبِيعُونَ مَرَابِطَ لِلْجَحَاظِلِ وَ  
مَرَائِرَ الْقَتَالِ وَ الْقَبَائِلِ

Account of the House of Washmgír b. Ziyár,  
the kings of Gílán.

The title of Ispahbads is property applied to two different dynasties of Ṭabaristán, the House of Báwand of the author’s own time, and the Qárinwands, or House of Washm-

gír, who governed Ṭabaristán for nearly 80 years after the Ṭálíbí Sayyids. Anyone, says the author, who wishes to appreciate the greatness and splendour of Qábús b. Washm-gír, called Abu'l-Ḥasan, should read what is said of him by Abú Maṣṣúr ath-Tha'álíbí and al-ʿUtbí in their works.<sup>1</sup> Abu'l-Ḥasan ʿAlí b. Muḥammad al-Yazdádí made a compilation of his sayings, which he entitled *Qarʿínu Shamsi'l-Ma'áli wa Kamálu'l-Balágha*, from which the author here cites some 33 lines, praising especially the remarkable eloquence of Qábús in the Arabic language, his courage and skill in manly exercises, and his knowledge of Philosophy, Astronomy and Astrology. An Arabic letter which he wrote to his maternal uncle the Ispahbad Rustam b. Sharwín Báwand on the occasion of a quarrel which arose between them is next cited. (This fills rather more than a page, and brings us to f. 67*a*, l. 18). Qábús also composed in Arabic a treatise on the Astrolabe, and submitted it to Abú Isháq aṣ-Ṣáíbí, whose laudatory criticism is cited in full (ff. 67*b*, l. 7—68*a*, l. 4). Qábús also maintained a regular correspondence with the Ṣáhib, of which the intermediary was one of his chamberlains named ʿAbdu's-Salám. — Anecdote to illustrate the virtue of Qábús. — His servant Aḥmad Sa'adí, and his minister Abu'l-ʿAbbás Ghánimí, who was never known to take a bribe, and who was in friendly correspondence with Abú Naṣr al-ʿUtbí. — Specimens of this correspondence.

Account of Kayús (f. 69*a*: كايوس).

In the time of Qubád the son of Pírúz (A. D. 488—531) the sovereignty of Ṭabaristán was in the family of Gushnasp-sháh (جسنفشاه), and Kayús, "the man of the House of

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* the *Yatimatu'd-Dahr* (Damascus ed., vol. iii, pp. 288—290) and the *Ta'rikhu'l-Yamini* (Cairo ed., vol. i, pp. 389—412, and vol. ii, pp. 1—26).

Báwand", was sent thither by the king to help the representative of this family to expel the Turks from Khurásán, which was successfully accomplished. At that juncture appeared the false prophet Mazdak the son of Námárdán (*sic*, for Bámdádán), whose history is fully related in the Nidhámú'l-Mulk's *Siyarú'l-Mulúk* (i. e. *Siyásat-náma*); by whose influence Qubád was ruined and deposed in favour of his younger son Nushírwán, who extirpated the heresiarch and his followers. The Kháqán of the Turks, hearing of these internal disturbances in Persia, advanced with his hosts to the Oxus. Thereupon Núshírwán wrote to his brother Kayús to inform him that he was collecting Persian and Arab levies to oppose the Turks, and that Kayús must be ready to join him in Khurásán to punish the Kháqán's insolence (f. 69b). Kayús at once collected his troops in Ṭabaristán, marched on Khurásán, routed the Kháqán, crossed the Oxus, took much spoil from the Turks, and established his kinsman Húshang as governor of Khwárazm. Thence he proceeded to Ghaznín, appointing governors over the towns as far as Nahrawála (نهر و آله), and levying tribute on Turkistán and India, after which he returned to Ṭabaristán and despatched one of his nobles to Núshírwán with the spoils of victory, and a letter in which he wrote: "Thou art several years younger than me, and knowest how without thy help or aid I have defeated the Kháqán and exacted tribute from the Turks and Indians. It is not fitting that thou shouldst wear the crown while I am a mere retainer: yield up to me the throne and crown and treasures of our father, that I, according to thy wish, may create a more ample kingdom." This request was promptly refused by Núshírwán in a letter of which the text is given (f. 70a). Kayús thereupon collected his army and marched from Ṭabaristán on Madá'in (Ctesiphon), but was defeated and imprisoned by his brother, who, on his refusal to repent of his action and

promise amendment, caused him to be put to death, and detained his son Shápúr a prisoner at Madá'in until the Kháqán of the Turks again invaded Khurásán and Ṭabaristán (f. 70b). Núshírwán again marched against him, and in the battle which ensued the tide of victory was turned in favour of the Persians by a mysterious troop of two or three thousand horsemen clad in green and with green standards, who only on Núshírwán's most urgent entreaty consented to disclose their identity. It then appeared that, in the reign of Qubád's father Pírúz the son of Yazdigird the son of Bahrám Gúr the son of Yazdigird "the Wicked", the lands beyond the Oxus and Balkh river were by treaty committed to the care of Khushnuwáz (here اجسنوار, for خشنوار) the king of the Hayátila (or Huns), afterwards called Şighániyán (f. 71a), who however, violated his pact and ravaged the country until, when Pírúz marched against them, they treacherously attacked him, defeated his army, took him and many of his nobles captive, and cut off his head. Now he had left at Madá'in Súkhrá the son of Qárin the son of Súkhrá, one of the descendants of Káwa (the blacksmith who headed the revolt against Dahák in favour of Ferídún) as his viceroy. This Súkhrá, on hearing of the disaster, gathered an army and marched against Khushnuwáz, who, knowing that he could not resist him, restored the captives and spoils he had taken and apologised for his conduct, so that Súkhrá, without striking a blow, returned victorious, and received from the *múbads* the title of *Ispahbad*. Now Pírúz left three sons, Qubád, Balásh and Já-másp, of whom the first fled to Khurásán and implored the Kháqán's help to recover the kingdom, which had been given to the second, with the last-named to assist and advise him. When Qubád, assisted by the Kháqán, had advanced against his brothers as far as Ray, Balásh died, and Súkhrá proclaimed Qubád king, and sent him a message

asking him to send back his Turkish allies from Ray, and to hasten himself to Madá'in, which he did. So Qubád became king of Persia, and Súkhrá grew in honour and favour until envious slanderers traduced him to the king, and he, being informed of this, fled with his nine sons to Ṭabaristán (f. 71*b*). Súkhrá was treacherously slain, but his sons fled to Badakhshán, where they acquired territory and established themselves. These and their retainers it was who, hearing of Núshírwán's accession and favourable disposition towards them, had afforded him such opportune assistance against the Kháqán's troops. He, in gratitude for their services, bade them choose such lands as they liked for a possession to them and their children. Thereupon the eldest of them, Zarmihr, chose Zábulistán; and the youngest, Qárin, Wandá-ummíd Kúh, Amul, Lufúr and Farím, which is called Kúh-i-Qárin ("Mount Qárin"). The latter returned with Núshírwán on his homeward march as far as Ṭabaristán, and was there installed (f. 72*a*) as Ispahbad. To the author's time the nobles of Lufúr and Astarábád, and the people called Qárinwands, represent the descendants of this Qárin; and the author promises to give at the end of his book genealogical tables shewing the descent of the Bawands, Qárinwands, Surhánwands, Láriján, Marzubán, Ustundár, Dábuwán, Kúlá'ij, Walásán, Sa'ídúhá, Úlán-mihán, Amír Ká, and Kabúd-jáma, and the reasons of their being thus named. Thus was Ṭabaristán divided up between Qárin and the chiefs established in Tammísha in the time of Núshírwán, till he died, and was succeeded by his son Hurmuzd, who reigned twelve years.

#### Successors of Kayús (f. 72*a*).

In the reign of Hurmuzd, Shápúr the son of Kayús died, leaving a son named Báw, who accompanied Khusraw Parwíz in his campaign against the Greeks, and distinguished

himself in the war with Bahrám Chúbína, receiving in reward for these services Iṣṭakhr, Adharcábýján, 'Iráq and Ṭabaristán as his government. He extended his territories to the north-east so as to include Khurásán, Khwárazm and all Turkistán as far as the Desert of the Tátárs. Shírúya the parricide on his accession destroyed Báw's house at Ctesiphon (Madá'in), plundered his possessions, degraded him, and interned him at Iṣṭakhr. But Shírúya's ill-gained power soon ceased with his early death, and he was succeeded by Queen Azarmí Dukht, of whom the Prophet said "Woe to that people over which women reign!" (وَيْلٌ لِّأُمَّةٍ مَّلَكْتَنَهَا النِّسَاءُ). At this epoch the Prophet was at al-Madína. The nobles of Persia (f. 72b) counselled Azarmí Dukht to summon Báw to the Court and place him in command of the army, but he declined to debase himself, as he considered, by serving a woman, and retired to worship in the Fire-temple. Then followed the disastrous reign of Yazdigird the son of Shahriyár, the last Sásánian king, when the Caliph 'Umar sent Sa'ḍ b. Abí Waqqáṣ (whose skill with the bow is still proverbial amongst the Arabs, in the phrase *أُرْمِيَ مِنَ سَعْدٍ*) against the Persians, till he inflicted on them and their general Rustam-i-Farrukhzád the crushing defeat of Qádisiyya, as is described in full in the *Sháhnáma* and other histories. Then Yazdigird summoned Báw from Iṣṭakhr, restored to him his fiefs, estates and possessions, and retained him in his service, while Ṭabaristán, neglected by its lawful lord, fell into the hands of Gáw-bára.

The Descendants of Jámásp and the Story  
of Gáw-bára (f. 72b).

When, on the death of Balásh, Qubád, the father of Núshírwan, succeeded to the throne, Jámásp, the youngest of

the three brothers, fled to Armenia, whence, from Darband, he attacked and subdued the countries of the Khazars and Sclavs (سقلاب). In these lands he married and settled. Of the sons whom he begat, one was Narsí, the lord of Darband, who on his death left behind him a son named Fírúz, beautiful as Joseph and brave as Rustam, who enlarged his father's dominions as far as Gílán, from one of the noble families of which country he chose a wife, who bore him a son named Gílánsháh. To him in turn was born a son named Gíl, who, as the astrologers predicted (f. 73*a*), became a mighty king, and brought under his rule all Gílán and Daylam. He then turned his attention to Ṭabaristán, whither he proceeded on foot, driving before him two Gílání cows. At this time the Sásánian governor of Ṭabaristán was Ādhar-valásh, and into his service Gíl insinuated himself. About this time the Turks, taking advantage of the difficulties which the Arabs were causing to the Persian Empire, attacked Ṭabaristán, and Gíl, or "Gáwbára" as he was now called, greatly distinguished himself in repelling them. After this Gíl obtained from Ādhar-valásh permission to return home to see his family; but when he returned it was at the head of an army of several thousand men of Gílán and Daylam. Ādhar-valásh, greatly alarmed, despatched tidings of this to Yazdigird the king of Persia, who, advised by the Múbads, ordered him to relinquish his government to this descendant of Jámásp and scion of the Royal House. Thereupon Gíl sent to Yazdigird suitable presents and offerings (f. 73*b*), and received in return the title of Gíl-gílán Farshwádgar-sháh. Some time afterwards Ādhar-valásh was killed by a fall from his horse at polo, and all his possessions passed to Gíl: and this happened in the 35<sup>th</sup> year of the New Era which the Persians had lately inaugurated. Gíl made his capital in Gílán, but from thence to Gurgán filled the land with lofty castles and other

buildings. Fifteen years after his accession to power he died, and was buried in Gílán. He left two sons, Dábúya and Pádhúspán, of whom the former, a severe and cruel ruler, succeeded his father on the throne of Gílán, while the latter reigned over Rúyán.

Account of the reign of Báu in Ṭabaristán  
(f. 73*b*).

When Yazdigird, routed by the armies of Islám, fled to Ray, Báu, who was with him, sought and obtained permission to go by way of Ṭabaristán to Kúsán, there to visit a Fire-temple which his grandfather Kayús has founded, promising to rejoin his sovereign in Gurgán. His absence, however, was somewhat prolonged, and he was still in these lands when he received news of Yazdigird's death at the hands of the traitor Máhú<sup>3</sup>i-i-Súrí. (Here 5 couplets of the *Sháhnáma* are cited). Báu thereupon shaved his head and retired into religious seclusion in the Fire-temple of Kúsán, while the Turks (f. 74*a*) ravaged all Khurásán and Ṭabaristán, and the Arabs, led by the Imám Ḥasan b. <sup>ʿ</sup>Alí, <sup>ʿ</sup>Abdu<sup>3</sup>lláh b. <sup>ʿ</sup>Umar b. al-Khaṭṭáb, Hudhayfa of Yaman, Qutham b. al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Abbás, and Málík b. Ashtar an-Nakha<sup>ʿ</sup>i advanced to Āmul, where the traces of their encampment are still visible in the place called Málíka-dasht. The people of Ṭabaristán, driven to despair by these calamities, agreed to elect and obey one ruler in whom they should all feel confidence, and unanimously chose Báu, who was ultimately induced to accept this responsibility, on condition that they gave him absolute power, even to life and death, over them. So he expelled the invaders from the country and reigned for fifteen years, till one day Bashár, the mother of [Ādhar-] valásh, struck him on the back with a brick and slew him, and herself reigned for eight years. Báu left a little son named Suhráb, whose aged mother carried him off

safely and hid him in the house of a gardener near Sári, where he remained unmolested during these eight years. At the end of this period some of the servants of Kúlá Khurzád Khusraw Ispáhí (كولا خورزاد خسرو اسپانی) saw the lad, questioned the gardener as to his origin, and finally extracted the truth. They then carried off the lad to Kúlá, when the people gathered round him, and, joined by the men of Mount Qárin, made a sudden raid on Panjá-hazár (پنج‌هزار), captured and slew Valásh, massacred as many of his partisans as they could, and crowned Suhráb king at Parim. Then they built for him a palace, hot bath and *maydán* above the village of Tálpúr, which lies at the foot of the castle of Kúz, and these buildings were afterwards enlarged by the Ispahbad Sharwín (f. 74*b*), and were still visible when the author (who had himself seen them) wrote, no one of the various rulers (ʿAlawí Sayyids, descendants of Gáw-bára, Daylamites of the House of Buwayh, and sons of Washmgír) who had successively held possession of this district having thought fit to destroy them, though the ʿAbbásid troops wrought great devastation.

#### History of the House of Dábúya after the death of Báw (f. 74*b*).

When Dábúya died, he left a son, who, under the style and title of Dhu'l-Manáqib Farrukhán-i-Buzurg, subjugated Ṭabaristán even as far as Níshápúr (in Khurásán), reduced the people to his allegiance, and, by building and cultivation, raised the country to a condition of prosperity which it had never before enjoyed, and repeatedly repelled the covetous Turkish raiders. Then the Daylamites revolted against him, and compelled him to flee to Āmul, where, in a castle then called Fírúz-Khusra, but now Fírúz-ábád, distant two parasangs from that city (f. 75*a*), he fortified himself. The Daylamites besieged him, and hoped to starve

out him and his garrison, but he ordered his people to knead clay into the shape of loaves of bread and set these loaves on the walls in sight of the besiegers, who, thinking them to be bread, and despairing of being able to reduce so well provisioned a place, withdrew to Daylam, whereupon Farrukhán emerged from his fortress and followed them, constructing in the way which led to their country dykes, ditches and canals which rendered the road impassable to horsemen.

Invasion of Ṭabaristán by Maşqala b. Hubayra ash-Shaybání (f. 75a).

It was now the Caliphate of ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálib. A tribe called the Banú Nájiya reverted to Christianity. ʿAlí attacked and crushed them, and sold their women and children by auction as slaves to the Musulmán̄s. Maşqala b. Hubayra ash-Shaybání bought them for 100,000 *dirhams* and set them free; but being unable to pay more than 30,000 *dirhams* he fled to Muʿáwiya. ʿAlí thereupon destroyed his house at Başra (the first time such a thing had been done in Islám) and said of him:

قَبَّحَ اللهُ مَصْفَلَةَ فَعَلَّ فَعَلَّ السَّادَةَ وَفَرَّ فِرَارَ الْعَبِيدِ

Maşqala's descendants are still settled at Kúfa. Concerning ʿAlí he said (f. 75b):

قَضَى وَطَرًا فِيهَا عَلِيٌّ فَصَبَحَتْ أَمَارَتُهُ فِيهَا أَحَادِيثَ رَاكِبٍ

After ʿAlí's death he promised Muʿáwiya that with 4000 man he could effect the conquest of Ṭabaristán, but, after waging war with Farrukhán for two years, he was killed on the road between Kajú and Kandasán, where his tomb still stands, and is ignorantly visited by the common people, who imagine its occupant to have been one of the Prophet's Companions <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See al-Baládhurí's *Futúh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 335.

Further History of Farrukhán (f. 75*b*).

At this time the Mas-mughán Valásh was *marzubán* (warden of the marches) by the Ṭayzana Rúd (or Mayándarúd, as it is now called), and whenever the Ispahbad went on a hunting expedition in this direction, he used to stay a few days there to drink and make merry at Tanparast under Tardawíní, where the ruins of the palaces of the Ispahbads Farrukhán and Khurshíd are still visible. He presently asked and obtained in marriage the Mas-mughán's daughter, for whom he built a residence in this place, which he connected by a canal with the sea; but later he was offended with his father-in-law, beheaded him, and annexed all his domains as far as Dárán, but respected the descendants of Báw, on whom he inflicted no injury.

The Ispahbad Farrukhán and Qaṭarí the Khárijite.

Qaṭarí b. al-Fujáʿat al-Mázíní (f. 76*a*), the chief of the Khárijites or 'Seceders', one of the bravest and most eloquent of the Arabs, took refuge with the Ispahbad, in the time of the tyrant Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf, together with ʿUmar Fannáq <sup>1</sup>, Ṣáliḥ Mikhráq and other Khárijite chiefs, all of whom were hospitably entertained by their host during the winter. But when they and their horses were rested and strengthened, they threatened the Ispahbad that they would seize his country unless he accepted their creed.

The author here gives a brief account of the origin of the Khárijites after the Battle of Ṣiffín and the arbitration of Dawmatu'l-Jandal. Their first leaders were ʿAbdu'lláh b. al-Kawwá and Maʿdán al-Ayádí, who, at the head of a thousand men, first raised the Khárijite war-cry, "Arbitration belongs to God alone!" (لا حكم إلا لله), to which ʿAlí replied:

<sup>1</sup> Some of the MSS. have *فتانين* for *فتيات*. Cf. p. 104 *infra*.

أَسْكُتَ قَبَّحَكَ اللَّهُ يَا اثْرَمَ فَوَاللَّهِ لَقَدْ ظَهَرَ الْحَقُّ وَ كُنْتَ فِيهِ ضَبِيلًا  
شَخْصَكَ خَفِيًّا صَوْتِكَ حَتَّى إِذَا نَعَرَ الْبَاطِلَ نَجَمْتَ نَجْمَ الْوَامِغِرِ

And on that day 'Alī's soldiers kept reciting this verse:

سَلَامٌ عَلَى مَنْ بَايَعَ اللَّهَ شَارِبًا وَ لَيْسَ عَلَى الْحَرْبِ الْقَعُودِ سَلَامٌ

The first person to whom the Khárijites swore allegiance as "Commander of the Faithful" (*Amīr al-Mūminīn*) was 'Abdu'lláh b. Wahb ar-Rásibí, and the first who drew his sword in support of this heresy was 'Urwa b. Udayya, who, turning to Ash'ath b. Qays, said:

مَا هَذِهِ الدِّينَةُ وَ مَا هَذَا التَّحْكِيمُ أَيُّ شَرْطٍ أَوْقَفَ مِنْ شَرْطِ اللَّهِ

Ash'ath turned from him, and 'Urwa struck with his sword the hind-quarters of the mule he was riding. At the battle of Nahruwán, 'Urwa (f. 76b) fled from before 'Alī's sword, but later he was taken prisoner and brought before Ziyád ibnu Abí-hi, who asked him what he thought of 'Alī and 'Uthmán. He declared them both infidels, whereupon Ziyád caused his head to be struck off.

The Khárijites are known by four names, to wit:

(1) *Ḥarúriyya*, because of Ḥarúrá, a place where they encamped. This name was given to them by 'Alī, who exclaimed, on hearing a verse read from the Qur'án (xviii, 103—104) concerning "those whose effort miscarries in the life of this world while they suppose that they do well," "By God, these are they of Ḥarúrá!"

(2) *Máriqiyya* ("disobedient", "rebels", "heretics"), in allusion to the saying of the Prophet: "They shall slip from the Faith as the arrow slips from the bow" —

يَمْرُقُونَ مِنَ الدِّينِ كَمَا يَمْرُقُ السَّهْمُ مِنَ الْقَوْسِ

and another of his sayings to 'Alī: "Verily thou shalt fight the covenant-breakers, the doers of injustice, the rebels:"

أَنَّكَ تَقَاتِلُ النَّاكِثِينَ وَ الْقَاسِطِينَ وَ الْمَارِقِينَ

(3) *Shurát* ("sellers" of their lives to win Paradise), alluding to Qur'án, ii, 203, and ix, 112, which verses they were accustomed to apply to themselves.

(4) *Khárijites* (*Khawárij*, "rebels", "dissidents" or "seceders"), because they came out in revolt against 'Alí.

Whenever one of their chiefs was slain, they at once swore allegiance to another, until it came to the above-mentioned Qaṭari b. al-Fujá'at al-Mázini, who was one of the bravest and most famous of them, and whose poems are preserved in the *Ghurarū'd-Durar* of Sayyid Murtaḍá, the *Ḥamása* of Abú Tamám, and the *Kámil* of al-Mubarrad. Thus, when the Khárijites elected him their chief and swore allegiance to him, he wrote to Abú Khálid:

أَبَا خَالِدٍ أَيُّقِنُ فَلَسْتُ بِخَالِدٍ وَ مَا جَعَلَ الرَّحْمَنُ عُدْرًا لِقَاعِدِ  
أَتَزْعَمُ أَنَّ الْخَارِجِيَّ عَلَى الْهَدْيِ وَ أَنْتَ مُقِيمٌ بَيْنَ لَصٍّ وَ جَا حِدٍ<sup>1</sup>

To which Abú Khálid (whom the author curses) replied:

لَقَدْ زَادَ الْكَيْوَةَ إِلَيَّ حُبًّا بِنَاتِي إِنَّهُنَّ مِنَ الضَّعَافِ (f. 77a)  
مَخَافَةَ أَنْ يَرَيْنَ الْفَقْرَ بَعْدِي وَ أَنْ يَشْرَبْنَ رَيْقًا بَعْدَ صَافِ  
وَ لَوْلَا ذَلِكَ مَا سَوَّمْتُ مَهْرِي وَ فِي الرَّحْمَنِ لِلضَّعْفَاءِ كَافٍ<sup>1</sup>

'Imrán al-Ḥiṭṭán, one of the most eloquent and learned jurisconsults of the Khárijites, wrote the following verses in reply to Abú Khálid:

لَقَدْ زَادَ الْكَيْوَةَ إِلَيَّ بَغْضًا وَ حُبًّا لِلْخُرُوجِ أَبُو بِلَالِ  
أَحَازِرُ أَنْ أَمُوتَ عَلَى فِرَاشِي وَ أَرْجُو أَلْمُوتَ تَحْتَ ذُرَى الْعَوَالِ  
وَ مِنْ يَكُ هَمَّهُ الدُّنْيَا فَاتِي لَهَا وَاللَّهِ رَبِّ الْبَيْتِ قَالَ

This 'Imrán it was who, when at war with 'Alí, said:

<sup>1</sup> *Aghání*, xvi, 155.

إِنِّي أَدِينُ بِمَا دَانَ الشُّرَاةُ<sup>1</sup> بِهِ يَوْمَ النَّحْبِيلَةِ مِنْ قَتْلِ الْمُحَلِّيَنَا  
 وَبِأَلَدِي دَانَ يَوْمَ التَّهْرِ دَنْتُ بِهِ وَ شَارَكْنَهُ مَعًا كَفَى بِحَقِينَا  
 تِلْكَ أَلْدِمَاءُ مَعًا يَا رَبِّ فِي عُنُقِي وَ مِثْلَهَا فَاسْقِنِي آمِينَ آمِينَ

The following verses are also by him :

أَنْكَرْتُ بَعْدَكَ مَنْ قَدْ كُنْتُ أَعْرِفُهُ مَا النَّاسُ بَعْدَكَ يَا مِرْدَاسُ بِالنَّاسِ  
 أَمَا تَكُنْ ذُقْتَ كَأْسًا دَارَ أَوْلَهَا عَلَى الْقُرُونِ فَذَاقُوا نَبْلَةَ الْكَلَسِ  
 قَدْ كُنْتُ أَبْكِيكَ حَيًّا ثُمَّ قَدْ بَيَّسْتُ نَفْسِي فَمَا رَدْنِي مِنْ عَبْرَتِي يَاسِي

Hajjáj b. Yúsf slew many of the "blue-clad" Khárijite heretics (ازارتة) by the hands of his general Muhallab b. Abí Şufra, and sent Sufyán b. Abi'l-Abrad al-Kalbí with an army drawn from Syria and the two 'Iráqs to attack the Khárijites in Ṭabaristán, bidding them not rest till they could bring him Qaṭarí alive or dead. When Sufyán reached Ray, the Ispahbad Farrukhán, who was encamped with his army at Damáwand, sent an ambassador offering his help, provided that he should be recompensed in some way for his services. Sufyán promised to give him whatever he desired, and his request was that the Arabs should not molest or interfere with his kingdom, on which understanding the pact was concluded. Qaṭarí, being informed of this, marched from Damáwand to Samnán, pursued by the Ispahbad, who overtook him at the spot last named, where a battle took place between them. The two leaders, singling one another out, engaged in a duel. Qaṭarí missed his stroke, fell from his horse and broke his leg, and was decapitated by the Ispahbad. 'Umar Fannáq, Şálih Mikhráq and the other Khárijite leaders were also slain, while others were brought captive to Mázandarán, where the traces of their encampment are still visible in the place called Qaṭarí Kaláda. The Ispahbad spared the lives of the captives and common

<sup>1</sup> B. has الوصية (i. e. 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib) for الشُّرَاة.

soldiers (ضَعَفًا), and sent the heads of the slain and a portion of the spoils to Sufyán, who forwarded them on with an account of the victory to Ḥajjáj b. Yúsof. Ḥajjáj thereupon sent a messenger to Sufyán with an ass's load of gold and an ass's load of dust, bidding him, in case Sufyán should prove to have gained the victory himself, to bestow on him the gold; but if otherwise, to cast the dust on his head at the chief cross-roads in the bázár, which disgrace Sufyán had to suffer when the true state of the case was made known.

Soon afterwards 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán died and was succeeded by his son Walíd, while Ḥajjáj b. Yúsof also fell from power, and Qutayba was made governor of Khurásán and Transoxiana, in which capacity he shewed much friendship towards the Ispahbad. Yazíd b. al-Muhallab (f. 78a) was in the service of Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'l-Malik (who succeeded his brother Walíd in A. D. 715), and whenever Qutayba wrote despatches describing a fresh victory in Turkistán, he would write back belittling them and saying, "All the accounts of thy victories are from a place where the Commander of the Faithful cannot test their reality: why dost thou not conquer Ṭabaristán, which is a garden in the midst of the domains of Islám?" But Qutayba knew that Yazíd b. al-Muhallab was his enemy, while the Ispahbad, on the other hand, was his friend, so that he naturally refrained from attacking him.

Sulaymán, on his accession, gave the government of Khurásán to Yazíd, and ordered Qutayba to be slain. And when Yazíd sent him accounts of his victories over the heathen in Transoxiana, the Caliph used to reply. "Why does he not effect that which he blamed Qutayba for not doing?" So Yazíd, hearing this, collected an army of Arabs and men of Khurásán and Transoxiana, and came to Gurgán. When the Ispahbad heard this, he sent all his people with

their families and cattle into the mountains, leaving the plains empty of their population. Meanwhile Yazíd reached and occupied Tammísha, and continued his advance in the level country towards Sárí, while the Ispahbad Farrukhán marched parallel with him in the hills. On reaching Sárí, Yazíd alighted in the Ispahbad's palace, and the people were afraid, and the Ispahbad himself was inclined to flee into Daylamán and there seek help against the invaders, but his son dissuaded him from an act which would be regarded as tantamount to abdication (f. 78b), and counselled him rather to send messengers into Gílán and Daylamán asking for re-inforcements, which finally arrived to the number of some ten thousand men. Yazíd, hearing this, sent Khidásh b. al-Mughíra b. al-Muhallab b. Abí Şufra and Abu'l-Jahm al-Kalbí with twenty thousand horseman against the Ispahbad. When they drew near, Salmán the Daylamite came out to meet them, and was attacked by the van-guard of the Muslims under Muḥammad b. Abú Surra al-Ju'fí, who defeated Salmán's troops, slew him, and pursued the fugitives into the hills, where, however, the Ispahbad's army put them to rout with a storm of stones and arrows. Then, withdrawing by another road from this position, they prepared an ambush into which the Muslims fell, so that fifteen thousand of them, including some of Yazíd's own kinsmen, perished. Continuing their advance, they plundered and burned Yazíd's camp, after which the Ispahbad despatched a courier to Gurgán, bidding the Nahapets of Şúl<sup>1</sup> rise against Đarís and the Arab soldiers who occupied their country, slay them all, and seize for themselves their cattle and possessions. This was done, and amongst the slain

<sup>1</sup> نهپاید صولیه. The first word seems to be a broken plural of the word occurring in Armenian as *nahapet*, "patrician"; the latter is also a foreign word, and is explained by de Slane (*Ibn K'hallikán*, iv, 172) as meaning "a king of Jurján".

were fifty of Yazíd's cousins (f. 79a). Then the Ispahbad sent men to destroy the high road from Sári to Tammísha and render it impassable (دارانجی کنند) to horsemen, after all of which deeds he ceased to fear Yazíd.

So Yazíd, unable to prevail by force, had recourse to strategem, and summoned before him Ḥayyán an-Nabaṭí ("the Nabathean"), a Daylamite client of Maşqala b. Hubayra, who had been nick-named "the Nabathean" because he was dumb, and said to him: "O Abú Ya'amar! I entreated thee cvilly in Khurásán, confiscated thy goods, and put thee in bonds. I have now a favour to ask of thee: think no more of the past, and meditate no treachery or guile." "O Amír," replied Ḥayyán, "since thou hast shewn me so much honour and favour, I bear no malice; and God forbid that I should neglect the claims of Islám or protect the Magian faith!" Then Yazíd told him the news from Gurgán, the strait in which he found himself, and the discouragement of his troops, begging him to devise some plan whereby the Muslims might save themselves in the present and take their revenge in the future. Ḥayyán answered: "This *gabr* (i. e. the Ispahbad) hath now waxed bold: if he should not hearken to my words, but should say, 'For two years he has ravaged my country and raided my cattle and property,' what answer shall I make?" Yazíd answered, "I will give as much as 300,000 *dirhams* in compensation, if he will accept it, and let us depart in peace."

Then Ḥayyán came to the Ispahbad and said, "Yazíd b. al-Muhallab (f. 79b) hath sent me to say that if you will serve him in this matter, he will quit your country, but if not he will summon re-inforcements from Syria, 'Iráq, Khurásán and Turkistán and destroy you and your kingdom." So the Ispahbad was prevailed upon to accept the 300,000 *dinárs*, of which he gave 5000 to Ḥayyán, and to let Yazíd go: and he encamped in Tammísha by the moat to give

time for the captives and fugitives of his army to join him. Then Yazid passed onwards to Gurgán, where he swore to shed enough blood to turn a mill; but after killing many of the *marzubáns* and principal men of the country, he was glad to escape from his oath by a device suggested to him by the Nahapets of Şúl, who bade him mix blood with a mill-stream and eat of bread baked from the flour which it ground. Then he returned to Syria to the court of the Caliph Sulaymán.

*Anecdote (f. 79b).*

Ibn 'A'isha relates that this Caliph, Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, one day mounted the pulpit, having anointed his beard with perfumed unguent (غالية) so that it utmost dripped from him, and said, "I am the youthful King who is confident in his kingdom and his youth": and ere another Friday had come he was dead<sup>1</sup>. He was succeeded by 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz (reigned A. H. 99—101; A. D. 717—720), whose piety, justice, learning and clemency are become proverbial. He abolished the hateful practice of publicly cursing 'Alí, Fátima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (f. 80a), which, introduced by the Umayyads, had become pretty general throughout the Muḥammadan world, and substituted the reading of the verse (Qur'án, xvi, 92): "Verily God enjoins on you justice, well-doing, and charity towards kinsmen, and forbids you evil speech, unseemly acts and disobedience; He exhorteth you that perchance ye may be admonished."

He also restored to the descendants of Fátima the property of Fadak, of which she had been wrongfully deprived, and it remained in their possession until the time of the 'Abbásid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (reigned A. H. 232—247; A. D. 847—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Al-Fakhrí*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 153.

861)<sup>1</sup>. Concerning this reparation [the Sharif] ar-Raḍī says :

يَا بَنَ عَبْدِ الْعَزِيزِ لَوْ بَكَتِ الْعَيْنُ فَتَى مِنْ بَنِي أُمَيَّةَ لَبَكَيْتُكَ  
غَيْرَ أَنِّي أَفْوَلُ [إِنَّكَ قَدْ] طُبَّتْ وَ إِنْ لَمْ يَطْبُ وَ لَمْ يَزُكْ بَيْنَكَ<sup>2</sup>

“In Khwárazm,” says the author, “I heard Nidhám [u<sup>3</sup>d-Dín] Sam‘ání say in the pulpit: ‘I saw in a dream one of the Substitutes (*Abdál*) of the Prophet seated in the chief seat of apostolic honour, and beside him ‘Umar b. ‘Abdu-‘Azíz, and somewhat lower ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭáb. “How,” I enquired, “hath ‘Umar b. ‘Abdu-‘Azíz attained to such proximity?” “Because of his justice,” was the answer. “But,” said I, “was not ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭáb more just than he?” “He,” came the answer, “was just in an epoch of justice; but the other in an epoch of tyranny and injustice.””

Yazíd had written to Sulaymán that so great were the spoils of his campaign in Ṭabaristán that the string of camels bearing them would reach continuously even to Syria. ‘Umar, into whose hands this letter passed on his accession, demanded of him these boasted spoils, and, as he made excuses, declaring that he had found himself unable to effect their transport, he was cast into prison. Meanwhile the Ispahbad Farrukhán restored in great measure the prosperity of his raided domains, but died in the course of the next year or two, after a reign of seventeen years. And it was he who was the grandfather of Maṣṣúr al-Mahdí.

Reign of the Ispahbad Dázmihr the son of  
Farrukhán (f. 80a).

Dázmihr, the eldest son of Farrukhán, succeeded his father, and reigned for twelve years, during which no one

<sup>1</sup> This Caliph was conspicuous for his insane hatred of the House of ‘Alí and their followers (the Shí‘a).

<sup>2</sup> These verses, with another which stands between them, are cited in *al-Fakhrí*, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 155.

attempted to molest him. He repaired and restored the Palace of the Ispahbads; and in his days Abú Muslim began his propaganda in favour of the House of ʿAbbás at Merv. The Umayyad Marwán II, nick-named "the Ass" (*al-Ḥimár*) was then (A. H. 127—132: A. D. 744—750) Caliph, and he was so called because the Arabs name the year which ends a century "the Year of the Ass", in allusion to the Ass of Ezra; and from the foundation of the Umayyad Caliphate until Marwán was slain exactly one hundred years had elapsed<sup>1</sup>. Al-Jáhidh relates in the *Kitábu'l-Bayán wa't-Tabyín* that when Marwán was hard pressed by Abú Muslim's troops, he ordered one of his trusted servants to bury in the sand the staff and cloak of the Prophet, and to cut off the head of one of his daughters, lest she should reveal the hiding-place of these secret relics. But later this servant, being taken captive, said, "If you slay me, the inheritance of the Prophet will be lost for ever." So they spared him, and he shewed them where he had hidden these relics, which were sent to two villages in Tammísha where the councils of the propagandists were at that time held.

Abu'l-Faraj ʿAlí b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hindú relates in his *Kitáb-i-amthál-i-Muwallada*, on the authority of Ibn Durayd, the author of the *Kitáb-i-Ḥumayra*, that Kaʿb b. Zuhayr received this mantle from the Prophet in reward for a *qaṣída* which he had composed in his praise, and sold it to Muʿáwiya for 20,000 *dirhams*. It is now in the possession of the ʿAbbásid Caliphs.

There was never a more wonderful story than that of Abú Muslim. To a villager of humble origin and lowly position God gave so much power that he took in hand and successfully carried out one of the greatest enterprises ever planned. It is related that when he conquered the

<sup>1</sup> This statement is incorrect, even if we reckon from the death of ʿUthmán (A. H. 656) till the death of Marwán (A. H. 750).

Umayyads, and Marwán (f. 81a) took account of his deeds, he caused his secretary, ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamíd, who was a master in epistolary composition, to write him a long letter, full of threats and promises, ending with the words:

أَنْ نَجْمَعَ فِدَاكَ وَالْأُفْهَالِكَ

When this long and wordy letter was read to Abú Muslim, he laid it before him, broke in pieces one of his arrows, and wrote in reply these two couplets:

مَحَا السِّيفِ اسْطَارَ الْبَلَاغَةِ وَانْتَحَى عَلَيْكَ لِيُوثِ الْغَابَ مِنْ كُلِّ جَانِبٍ  
فَإِنْ تَقْدَمُوا نَعْلَ سَبُوءًا شَكِيدَةً يَهْوُونَ عَلَيْهَا الْعَنْبَ مِنْ كُلِّ عَاتِبٍ

Then they said to ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamíd the secretary, “Write to Abú Muslim again in words briefer, weightier and more concise, so that he may not answer thee in this fashion.” So ‘Abdu’l-Ḥamíd wrote:

يَا أَبَا مَجْرَمٍ لَوْ أَرَادَ اللَّهُ بِالْتَّمَلَةِ صَلَاحًا لَمَا أَنْبَتَ لَهَا جَنَاحًا، وَ عَلَى  
قَدْرِ الْمُصْعَدِ يَكُونُ السَّقْطَةُ

But Abú Muslim’s plans prospered, until he brought Abu’l-‘Abbás ‘Abdu’lláh as-Saffáh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. ‘Abbás from al-Madína and proclaimed him Caliph, who, on his death, was succeeded by his brother Abú Ja‘far al-Manšur ‘Abdu’lláh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. ‘Abbás.

It is related that once ‘Abdu’llah [b.] ‘Abbás was travelling in company with ‘Alí, who always showed the greatest consideration for this family (f. 81b), and bestowed on them the governments of Bašra, Yaman and Ṭā‘if, while Qutham, the foster-brother of Ḥusayn b. ‘Alí was the governor of the two sacred cities (Mecca and al-Madína). Concerning this the Amír Abú Firás says:

أَمَا عَلَيَّ فَقَدْ أَدْنَى قُرَابَتِكُمْ عِنْدَ الْوِلَايَةِ أَنْ لَمْ يَكْفِرِ النِّعَمَ  
هَلْ جَاهِدَ يَا بَنِي الْعَبَّاسِ نَعْمَتَهُ أَبُوكُمْ أَمْ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ أَمْ قَتْمُ

When ‘Abdu’lláh’s son was born to him in Qaṭífa, he asked ‘Alí to name the child with a noble name:

يا امير المؤمنين رزقني الله المبارحة ولدًا نفسه مشرفًا و كنه متوخًا،  
فأخذ منه امير المؤمنين ولال ثم قال حاك انه ابو الملوك الاربعين سمه  
عليًا و كنه ابا الحسين

When al-Manṣúr had been enthroned as Caliph, he gave Abú Muslim permission to return to Khurásán. When he reached Ḥulwán, however, he was overtaken by a messenger from the Caliph bidding him return, since his advice was needed on an affair of importance which had arisen.

Abú Muslim suspected treachery, and consulted with one of his friends, saying, “How dost thou think that I stand with Abu’l-‘Abbás?” The other replied, “Like the lion whose foot was pierced by a reed, so that it was unable to move; and a simple-minded, well-meaning man, seeing its weakness and hearing its moaning, took pity on it, approached it, and (f. 82a) drew forth the thorn from its foot. Thereupon the lion slew the man, in spite of his cries and protests; ‘for,’ it said, ‘thou art a meddling fellow, and perhaps thou may’st assist some other lion as thou hast assisted me, and it may drive me from this my hunting-ground, and make me an exile and a wanderer.’ Abú Muslim replied, “If I do not tend, nurse and care for that tender sapling which I have planted, but abandon it to its fate, passers-by will pluck it up by the roots, and my labour of many years will be rendered null and void.” So he left his treasure and baggage in the charge of his vicerent Sindbád at Ray, and himself returned to Manṣúr, where that fate overtook him which is well known, and to which he alluded in the punning epigram:

تركتُ الرأى بالرى

When al-Manṣúr had killed Abú Muslim, he gave the

post of *Wazir* to Abú Ayyúb al-Múriyání; and all men were filled with fear of him because of what he had done to Abú Muslim. Abú Ayyúb's intimates once remarked to him that however often he entered the Caliph's presence his countenance always shewed signs of fear. He repeated to them the parable of the hawk and the cock, when the former reproached the latter with ingratitude for fleeing, screaming and terrified, from men when they called him, notwithstanding the food he had eaten at their hands, and the benefits he had received from them.

Khurshíd was called Farshwád Marzubán, and the Nahapets were his maternal uncles and kinsmen. His paternal uncle actually ruled the country until Khurshíd reached the age of manhood. This uncle had a hand-maiden named Ramja and called Harúya (حروديه) who was skilled in all sorts of tricks and conjuring, and who used to exhibit her skill to Khurshíd whenever he came to see his uncle. To her from his childhood he was deeply attached, so that they used to send letters and messengers to one another. His uncle, who was aware of this state of things, used to say to him: "This hand-maiden I hold in trust for thee, and when thou comest to man's estate, I will bestow her on thee."

#### The Ispahbad Khurshíd.

When Khurshíd was grown to man's estate, his uncle summoned his sons before him and said, "My nephew is grown up, and hath sent me a message, saying, 'The kingdom is my father's, who set thee on the throne under covenant with me; therefore surrender unto me the trust.'" His sons said, "Thou art king, and the kingdom ought to pass from thee to us. We will never consent (f. 83a) to thy surrender of the kingdom to him." The father replied, "Talk not like children, neither hammer cold iron, for I

will be faithful to my covenant. Should I contravene the agreement, no blessing would it bring either to me or to you." Then said they, "Since it is so, send and bid him come hither, that thou may'st make it over to him." So he, knowing not their secret intentions, sent for Khurshíd, who, fully confiding in his uncle's integrity, came with a few followers from Tammísha, and was received by his uncle with paternal kindness. On an auspicious day a great banquet was held; but Khurshíd's cousins had conspired to kill him with a blow from a mace as soon as he should rise from the banquet and sit down to drink wine. The girl Ramja Harúya, however, was aware of their intended treachery, and informed Khurshíd of it. He thereupon summoned a foster-brother of his named Jalwánán, and bade him have two horses ready at the gate. Then, on some pretext, Khurshíd slipped out from the banquet, mounted his horse, drew his sword, and, with Jalwánán, rode away, with cries of defiance, back to Tammísha. His uncle reproached his sons bitterly for their meditated treachery, and wrote humble apologies to Khurshíd, declaring that he had no part nor lot in the conspiracy. For a year Khurshíd did not see his uncle, and was busy, assisted by the Nahapets of Sári, in preparing for battle. Finally (f. 83*b*) he met his cousins in battle at Qaşr-i-Dádaqán, a place midway between Tammísha and Sári built by his father. He was victorious, slew or captured all of them, and pursued their army as far as Sári. He then came before his uncle, exonerated him from all participation in the crime, and bade him choose for himself whatever residence and companions he pleased. His surviving cousins he banished to a mountain called Farrukhán Fírúz, where they remained till the end of their lives; and he married Ramja Harúya, and possessed himself of all the treasures of his father and his uncle, of whom the latter had reigned eight years. Khurshíd's kinsmen gathered

round him, amongst them Wandarand, Fahrán and Farrukhán, the sons of Jusnas (Gushnasf) b. Sárúya b. Farrukhán the Great, who were his cousins on his mother's side. Of these he made the first *marzubán* of Āmul, the second *marzubán* of the highlands (*kuhistán*), and the last he kept with himself. The command of his army he gave to Shahr-Khwástán b. Yazdán-Kard. He repaired the Palace of the Isfahbadán, enclosed 400 acres (? گری) of land (now called Kísa), used in the author's time by king Ardashír as a breeding-ground for Arab horses, and constructed a strong fortress called Si-dila (سیدله)<sup>1</sup>, and a market where he settled skilled artisans chosen from all parts of Ṭabaristán. Outside the fortress he built a great caravansaray, and he gave the city five gates, to wit the Highland Gate (دروازه كوستانان), the Sea Gate, and the Gílán, Gurgán and Hunting Gates (دروازه صید). He also had a channel cut from the mountain to the sea to bring water to the town: and this he called Gílána-júy (f. 84a). Further he made fish-ponds (مصاید مای), and, outside the Hunting Gate, a great *maydán* and a deep ditch, of which the traces still remain. Near this were covers well preserved and stocked with all sorts of game, such as deer, wild pigs, hares, wolves and leopards; and during his absence none dared to interfere with his preserves. He never remained for more than a month in any one place, and at each of his hunting-lodges he caused a month's provisions to be kept. In the highlands he had ninety-three wives, each of whom had her own special palace and servants and plate and furniture. For his first and favourite wife, Ramja Harúya, he built a lofty palace on the sea-shore at the village of Yazdán-ábád, on which he spent much money, furnishing it in the most sumptuous fashion; and he used to visit her

<sup>1</sup> C. Shihdila , سیدله.

always once a month, while to her care were entrusted his most precious possessions. If by any chance he was prevented from paying her this monthly visit, he used to send her an apology, and a gift of a thousand *dinárs*. She bore him a son named Hurmuz, whom he nominated as his successor. Amongst his other wives was *Āzarmí Dukht*, the daughter of the Ispahbad Farrukhán, called *Girán Gúshwár* ("She of the Heavy Ear-rings"), and his cousin Yákand ("Jacinth" or "Hyacinth", ὕακινθος), the daughter of Farrukhán the Lesser. The Ispahbad was particularly attached to the former, and often used to make his hunting expeditions a pretext for visiting her. Yákand was a quarrelsome and masterful woman, and, having discovered her husband's clandestine visits to Girán Gúshwár, instructed her servants and the villagers to go with spades, pick-axes and other implements, and destroy and obliterate the road to Ispahbadán, where Girán Gúshwár dwelt, and to clear and improve the road to her own palace. So at midnight the Ispahbad, who had drunk freely, mounted his horse to go to Ispahbadán, but was directed by Yákand's coadjutors to the abode of their mistress. On arriving there, he knew that a trick had been played on him, and he sent in a message, saying, "I have four hundred men with me: can'st thou provide food for such a multitude?" Yákand ordered 400 cows to be sent out to them, and with each cow 400 sheep and 400 ass-loads [of provisions], and entertained them all for three days, at the end of which time she gave to each horseman a foal and a calf, and to each footman three suits of clothes and an embroidered blanket (گلیبی معلم).

The Ispahbad Khurshíd had a general named Qárin, after whom was named the village of Qárin-ábád in Panjáh-hazár and Mayándarúd, wherein he stored his treasures. It is now in ruins. His body-guard comprised 4000 men, and he always wore brocade, and sat on a golden throne, and

exercised the fullest authority over the Ispahbad's people, both men and women. And when the Ispahbad had reigned a long while (f. 85*a*), he became filled with pride and self-assurance, and took no heed of anyone, and paid no attention to the nobles, so that the hearts of his people were alienated by his tyranny and arrogance, and they sought a pretext to rebel against him.

### How the Ispahbad Khurshíd revolted against the Caliph Manşúr.

When the Caliph al-Manşúr slew Abú Muslim, and news of this came to his friend and ally Sindbád in Ray, he sent all the treasures and cattle which Abú Muslim had confided to him to the Ispahbad, as a trust, together with a present of six million *dirhams*, and at the same time cast off his allegiance to al-Manşúr, and revolted against him. The Caliph thereupon sent Jumhúr b. Marár from Baghdad to fight against him; and he came to Ray and defeated Sindbád at Jurjunbání (? Jurkhiyání). Sindbád fled to Ṭabaristán and sought protection with the Ispahbad, who sent his cousin Ṭús out to meet him, with provisions, presents, horses and arms. When Ṭús met Sindbád, he alighted from his horse and saluted him, while Sindbád answered him from his saddle, and did not alight to do him honour. Thereat Ṭús was angered and said, "I am one of the Ispahbad's cousins, and he sent me out to do thee honour. It was not contemplated that thou should'st treat me with disrespect." To this speech Sindbád returned a harsh answer, and Ṭús, remounting his horse, soon found an opportunity to smite Sindbád with his sword and cut off his head, after which he brought all his retainers and stores to the Ispahbad, who was greatly vexed, reviled Ṭús, and took possession of all Abú Muslim's and Sindbád's property. News of this

was sent by Jumnúr to the Caliph, who instructed his general to demand the surrender of this property from the Ispahbad. At this time ‘Abdu’l-Jabbár b. ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmán was in Khurásán. The Ispahbad sent one of his chamberlains named Fírúz with Sindbád’s head to the Caliph, who received him with great honour. On learning this, the Ispahbad sent Fírúz once more to the Caliph with a gift of precious stones and rare products of Ṭabaristán. The Caliph then requested him to hand over the treasures of Abú Muslim and Sindbád, but the Ispahbad persisted in declaring that they were not in his possession, and finally broke out into open revolt against the Caliph, who thereupon sent his son al-Mahdí to Ray, bidding him seize the Ispahbad’s son Hurmuz as a hostage for the father’s loyalty. The Ispahbad, on receiving this demand, replied that his son was too young to bear the fatigues of the journey, and al-Mahdí wrote to his father the Caliph, advising him not to press this demand, lest the Ispahbad should break into more open revolt. So al-Manşúr sent him a royal crown and robe of honour, and the Ispahbad, being pleased thereat, consented to send to the Court of Baghdad the same tribute which Ṭabaristán had formerly paid to the Sásánian kings, to wit: a poll-tax of one *dirham* of gold for each inhabitant; 300,000 *dirhams*, each containing four *dángs* (i. e.  $\frac{4}{6} = \frac{2}{3}$ ) of “white” silver; 300 bales of green silk carpets and quilts; (f. 86a) the same amount of good coloured cotton; the same amount of gold-embroidered garments of the kinds called Rúyání and Lafúraj; the same amount of saffron, which is of a kind unequalled in all the world; and a certain amount of sea-fish. All this tribute was laden on forty mules, on each of which was mounted a Turkish slave or hand-maiden.

Now the sight of this tribute of Ṭabaristán did but inflame the Caliph al-Manşúr’s desire to possess so rich a

province; and he sent a verbal message to the Ispahbad bidding him help his troops in repelling the attacks of 'Abdu'l-Jabbár. He also wrote to his son al-Mahdí, who was at Ray, bidding him write to the Ispahbad that, owing to the drought and consequent scarcity of food, it was impossible for all his army to follow the same route, and that he desired the Ispahbad's permission for one division of them to pass through Ṭabaristán.

Account of the Caliph's treachery towards  
the Ispahbad.

At the command of his father the Caliph, al-Mahdí sent as ambassador to the Ispahbad a certain Persian (مردی را از اولاد اعاجم) with the request suggested by al-Manşúr. The Ispahbad was at Isfahbadán, and when the ambassador had conveyed to him the message with which he was charged, he shewed him all honour, and answered that his country was the property of the Commander of the Faithful, who could do whatever seemed good in his eyes. When the ambassador had left the audience-chamber, his Persian proclivities (حیبت عجمیت) impelled him to declare to the Ispahbad the treachery meditated by the Caliph. So he called the Ispahbad's chamberlain, and said, "I have an important communication for the Ispahbad's private ear." When this request was communicated to the Ispahbad, he said, "It is but this moment that he left me (f. 866); what matter of importance can have arisen so soon?" "Perhaps," said the chamberlain, "he cherishes some vain hope, and desires to crave some boon of you." "Tell him," said the Ispahbad, "that the ladies of the Royal Household are with me in the Palace, and that consequently you could not convey my message." When the ambassador heard this message, he knew that Fate could not be averted, and said to him-

self, "Alas for all this pomp and circumstance and sovereignty which is to be cast to the winds! When Decline sets its face towards a house, no scheme or plan of its chiefs goes right. This man, for all his talents, can send me so flimsy an excuse! Fate and Destiny have, for the Caliph's satisfaction, let down the veil of ignorance before the face of the Ispahbad's discernment, so that he cannot see a fact which is as plain as daylight!"

وَ كُلُّ أَمْرٍ جَفَّتْ يَتَابِيعُ عَقْلِهِ فَلَا ذَنْبَ ذَنْبٍ وَ لَا عُذْرَ عُذْرٍ

So the ambassador came back to al-Mahdí at Ray, and conveyed to him the Ispahbad's answer; and al-Mahdí despatched Abu'l-Khuḍayb Marzúq as-Sa'dí, the client of al-Muthanná b. al-Hajjáj, by way of Zárím and Sháh-kúh, while he sent Abú 'Awn b. 'Abdu'lláh by way of Gurgán to effect a junction with him. And the Ispahbad had transferred the dwellers in the plain to the highlands, lest any collision should take place between them and the Caliph's troops: not knowing that the intention of the latter was to destroy and dispossess him.

#### Account of 'Amr b. 'Alá in Āmul.

Abu'l-Khuḍayb chose as his guide a certain 'Amr (? 'Umar) b. 'Alá, who had, on account of a murder which he had committed in Gurgán, taken refuge with the Ispahbad, under whose protection he had lived for a long while, during which time he had obtained full knowledge of the country, and of all its roads, fords and passes. But now he had joined himself to the Caliph's troops, and was sent with 2000 horsemen to attack Āmul (f. 87a). The Marzubán of this city, who held his office from the Ispahbad, came out to meet him in battle; but he was slain, and Āmul was occupied by 'Umar b. 'Alá, who proclaimed a just administration to all the inhabitants, and invited them to embrace

Islám. And the people, being, as already said, disgusted with the Ispahbad's arrogance, came in in crowds, embraced Islám, and surrendered up their arms and possessions. Shortly after this, news of the death of 'Abdu'l-Jabbár arrived, and the invaders, being no longer anxious about Khurásán, settled down in Tabaristán.

Now on the top of Darband-i-Kúla near the road to Aram there is a palace (طاق), now known as 'A'isha Kargilí Dizh, where ten years' supply of water was stored up in reservoirs, with corn, bread, and other provisions, and which could be approached only by one gate of solid stone which it required 500 men to open and 500 men to shut; and when it was shut, no one could detect its position. There the Ispahbad Khurshíd placed his wives, children, nobles, and other dependents, while he himself, with his retainers and a few loads of gold, sent out for Daylam by way of Láriján to obtain reinforcements.

The Muslim army, on learning his movements, set out in pursuit, but he reached Rúyán with the loss of only a few men and animals, and thence pushed on to Daylam, where he remained for two years and seven months, while the Muslims besieged his stronghold, until he had gathered together 50,000 men of Gíl and Daylam. But the plague attacked his stronghold, and in one day 400 persons died, and such was the stench of their bodies that the garrison were obliged to capitulate to the Muslims, who spent seven days in bringing the stores and treasures out of the Castle. Then they prepared to send the women, with all respect and honour, to the Caliph. The Muslim general desired Azarmí-Dukht and Ramja Harúya to surrender themselves to him, but they both refused. Of Khurshíd's daughters, who were as beautiful as the moon, he gave one to 'Abbás b. Muḥammad al-Háshimí, who named her Amatu'r-Raḥmán ("the Hand-maiden of the All-Merciful"), while another the Ca-

liph himself took. All of them urged the Caliph to give the kingdom of Ṭabaristán to their father, and to this the Caliph consented, and despatched a messenger with orders to this effect, but he got no further than Ḥulwán, for the Ispahbad Khurshíd, filled with despair at the disaster which had befallen him, and unable to bear the disgrace, took poison and died. With him ended the line of Jílánsháh, which had reigned in Ṭabaristán for 119 years.

Account of the governors and rulers who  
were sent from Baghdad to rule over  
Ṭabaristán after the extirpation  
of the Line of Jílánsháh.

The first ʿAbbásid governor of Ṭabaristán was the already-mentioned Abu'l-Khuḍayb, and the first building erected there by the Muslims was the Great Mosque of Sári, which he caused to be built on a Monday in the month of Abán in the year A. H. 140 (A. D. 757—8), on which date Amul was occupied and Ṭabaristán practically conquered by the Muslims. Abu'l-Khuḍayb was governor for two years, and was succeeded by Abú Khuzayma, who settled armed garrisons throughout the country as follows: in Tammísha 1000 Arabs under Fakhr b. ʿAbdu'lláh al-Khuzáʿí; in Rúdbár, two parasangs from Tammísha, 500 men under Rabíʿ b. ʿUrwán; in Kúsán 300 men under Abu'l-ʿAmmár al-ʿAtíqí; in Asrámil 500 men under Ibráhím b. Isháq ash-Shámí; in Sámta 500 men under Kirmán al-Bukhárí; in Kúsán 500 men of Khurásán under Núḥ (بن الساسف); in Dizwán in the district of Panjá-hazár 1000 men under Jílí b. Saʿd al-Marwazí; in Dú-Ab 500 men under ʿUmar b. Saʿíd; in Mihrawán 1000 men under Khalaf b. ʿAbdu'lláh; in Ašram 500<sup>1</sup> men; in Azdara 300 men under Ziyád b. Ḥázim<sup>2</sup>; in

<sup>1</sup> B. "300".

<sup>2</sup> B. "Jázim".

Awsarzín 1000<sup>1</sup> men under Khalífa b. Ḥalīb; in Awrárábád above Parícha 500<sup>2</sup> men; in Rawá 300 men under Walíd b. Maysara; in the city of Sári 1000 men; in Artá 500 men of Ṭabaristán; in Kaskarúd<sup>3</sup> 500 men under Muḥammad b. Ná'ib; in Khurramábád 1000 men under 'Abdu'lláh b. Sayf; in Chamanú<sup>4</sup> 1000 men under Miskín b. Ghazál ash-Shámí; in Firím 500 men under Khalífa b. Bahrám; in Yazdánábád 500 men under 'Umar b. 'Alá; in Kúlá 300 men under Nasrín b. as-Sunqur; in Mámṭír 1000 men under Salám b. Qudáma (f. 88a); in Sáliyán near Lufúr 1000 men; in Nishápúriyya 300 men under Ibn Salma al-Qá'id of Nishápúr; in Ṭábarán 500 men under Muḥammad b. 'Abbás as-Salmí; in Isfandiyár 3000 men; in Tarícha 1500 men under Muslim b. Khálid; in Fath... (فتح فصلب)<sup>5</sup> 500 men from Nisá and Báward; in Jábarán 300 men under Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh; in Masla Zarrín Kúl, 1000 men; in Amul 3000 men under the officers, allies and magistrates of the Caliph; in Jílánábád above Rán-Kúh 1000 men under Naṣr b. 'Imrán of Khurásán; in Pá-yi-Dasht 500 men under 'Amir b. Adam; in Haláwán 500 men, first under al-Muthanná b. al-Ḥajjáj, and then under Muḥammad b. 'Afál; in Nátil 500 men under Sa'd b. Maymún; in Bahrám Dih 500 men under 'Umar b. Bahrám 'Isá; in Qará-Ṭughán of Bálá-ráh, 500 men under Yúsuf b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán; in Wáláshjird 800 men under 'Alí b. Jastán; in Kajwúhí Qaṣabatu'r-Rúyán 6000 men under 'Umar b. al-'Alá; in Júrishjird-Sa'id-ábád 500 men under Sa'id b. 'Umar b. al-'Alá; in Kalár, the beginning of Daylam, 1000 men; in the Highlands (*Kúhístán*) of Júparm (حوبرم) 1000 Arabs; and in as-Sa'idí 500 men.

After a year [? Abu'l-Khuzayma] was dismissed, and re-

<sup>1</sup> B. "500".

<sup>2</sup> B. "1000".

<sup>3</sup> A. "Jangrúd".

<sup>4</sup> B. "Khambú".

<sup>5</sup> So A. and C. B. فتح فصلب.

placed by Rūḥ b. Ḥátim b. Qaysar b. al-Muhallab, who was made governor in A. H. 144 (= A. D. 761—2), but a year later, being convicted of tyranny and injustice, he was replaced by Khálid b. Barmak, who took up his abode at a place called after him Khálida-Saráy. He also built for himself a palace at Amul, and ruled for four years, building many public buildings and developing the resources of the country, until at the end of this period he was replaced by ‘Amr b. al-‘Alá, during whose governorship the Caliph al-Manṣúr died, and was succeeded by (f. 886) his son al-Mahdí. He, being informed that ‘Amr b. al-‘Alá had sought the hand of the daughter of Mihrúya in marriage, was angered against him and dismissed him. Sa‘íd b. Da‘laj succeeded him as governor, and held this position for three years. At this period a Sayyid of the House of Abú Ṭálib named Ḥusayn b. ‘Alí, commonly called صاحب فتح, revolted in the Hijáz, and was joined by many other Sayyids. The Caliph sent Músá b. ‘Isá and Sirrí b. ‘Abdu’lláh al-‘Abbásí, with other *Amirs* and officers, to fight him. The Battle took place at Fakhkh, and the Sayyid was slain, together with many of his companions. Some few, however, escaped, and made their way to al-Madína, where Músá b. ‘Isá was holding his court and audience, at which, to avert suspicion of disaffection, most of the chief men of al-Madína were present. Presently Músá b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abí Ṭálib, who had escaped from the battle, came in, clad in a coarse woollen cuirass (مدر), slashed with sword-cuts, and sandals of camel’s skin, and sat down in the lowest place. Immediately afterwards the Imám Músá b. Jáfar al-Kádhim entered. Músá b. ‘Isá rose to meet him, and caused him to sit in an honourable place. Sirrí b. ‘Abdu’lláh al-‘Abbásí turned to Músá b. ‘Abdu’lláh b. al-Ḥasan and said, “What dost thou think of the stricken field of rebellion and treachery? Why dost thou not withhold thy

hand from such deeds, that thy cousins (meaning the 'Ab-básids) might enrich thee and treat thee with honour?" Músá replied, "Our relation towards you is like what has been said in this verse:"

بَنِي عَمِّنَا رُدُّوا فَضُولَ دِمَائِنَا يَنْمُ لَيْلِكُمْ أَوْلَا يَلْمُنَ الْوَلَوَائِمُ

"Good!" exclaimed Sirrí; "it is even so: naught accrues to you save abasement and humiliation. If you would only be quiet as is your cousin here, Músá b. Ja'far, notwithstanding all his learning, piety, nobility and ascetic life (f. 89a), would it not be better?" Thereupon Músá b. 'Abdu'lláh extemporised the following verses:

قَانَ الْأَلَى تُنْتَنِي عَلَيْهِمْ بِقِيَّتِي أَوْلَاكَ بَنُو عَمِّي وَ عَمَّهُمْ أَبِي  
وَأِنَّكَ إِنْ تَمَدَّحَهُمْ بِمَدِيحَةٍ تَصَدَّقَ وَإِنْ تَمَدَّحَ أَبَاكَ نَكَدَبَ

Now since the Caliph al-Mahdí was preoccupied with these matters, Sa'íd b. Da'íaj remained two years and three months as Governor of Ṭabaristán ere he was recalled, and 'Amr b. al-'Alá was again sent to replace him. He it was who built the village of 'Amr (? 'Umar) Kaláda, situated near Wana-bun, as well as another town called 'Umar (? Amr)-ábád. In this year there was a great earthquake; and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal declared at Baghdad that heavier taxes should be imposed on the people of Ṭabaristán, as well as a 10<sup>0</sup>/<sub>10</sub> tithe on cereals, because the country had not surrendered willingly, but had been taken by force. A year later 'Amr b. al-'Alá was replaced by Yaḥyá b. Mikhnáq (B. *أحمتاق*), who dealt gently with the people, till he was in turn replaced by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd Maḍrúb, who vexed the people with new and oppressive taxes.

#### Rule of the sons of Súkhrá and revolt of Wandád Hurmuzd.

Then arose Wandád Hurmuzd, the son of Alandá, the

son of Qárin, the son of Súkhrá, who has been already mentioned in speaking of the *Garsháhs* (*Farsháhs*) or kings of the Mountains; for the word *Far* (or *Gar*) is applied to mountain-land susceptible of cultivation, and Gáw-bára had given this land to this family, who had held it for a hundred years. Now the inhabitants of Ummídwár-Kúh came to Wandád Hurmuzd to complain of the tyranny and exactions of the Caliph's governors, promising him their support if he would rebel against them, whereby they might escape from the tyranny which was crushing them down, and he might recover the authority enjoyed by his ancestors. He answered them that he must first consult with (f. 89b) the Ispahbad Sharwín, the king of the Mountains, and seek for the support of the Mas-mughán Walásh; and that if these consented to help him, he would revolt against the Caliph. So he sent messengers to Sharwín at Shahriyár-kúh in Farím, and to the Mas-mughán at Mayándarúd, both of whom agreed to help him, and encouraged him in his enterprise. A day was then fixed on which the people of Ṭabaristán should make a general massacre of all the Arabs and servants of the Caliph. This was done; and so thoroughly were the Ṭabaristánís in accord that women who were married to followers of the Caliph dragged them out of their houses by their beards, and delivered them over to the executioners, so that in all Ṭabaristán not an Arab was left. When Ḥammál b. 'Umar ad-Duhálí and Khálid b. Barmak, whom the Caliph had sent to Ray, received news of this, they despatched tidings to Baghdad, and al-Mahdí sent Sálím of Farghána, one of his most trusted officers, whom he had nick-named "the Devil of Farghána" to enquire into and report on the matter. On learning the truth, the Caliph exclaimed, "Is there no one who will go to Ṭabaristán and bring me the head of Wandád Hurmuzd?" Sálím offered himself, and the Caliph despatched him with a fol-

lowing of brave and hardy soldiers. On arriving in Ṭabaristán, he encamped in the plain of Aşram, where Wandád Hurmuzd came to meet him, accompanied by a great host. Sálím was mounted on a favourite piebald horse, well known throughout ʿIráq-i-ʿArab. He at once rode at Wandád Hurmuzd and smote at him with his great mace, which weighed twenty maunds, splitting the shield with which he sought to parry the blow (f. 90a), but nor succeeding in inflicting on him any further injury. At dusk they ceased from battle, and Wandád Hurmuzd and his men encamped at Hurmuzdábád. Next day they fell to banqueting and drinking. Wandád Hurmuzd had a black horse, which had on its neck a curious mole, and which was of incomparable excellence. This he had saddled with a golden saddle and caparisoned with jewelled trappings, and when it was brought before him he said, "O people, know that this is our antagonist whom ye have seen, and whose pomp and power ye have witnessed. And ye are all of you the bravest men of Ṭabaristán. Which of you will take this caparisoned horse and do battle with him?" Thrice he made this appeal, and no one responded to it, until at last one of his sons, a lad named Wandá-ummíd, and called Khudáwand-i-Kalálak, advanced, kissed the ground, and said, "By thy good fortune I am he who shall bring thee thine enemy's head; and for this I desire nothing but the horse." "When," said Wandád Hurmuzd, "hast thou contended with warriors and taken part in such contests?" The lad, however, persisted in his resolve, in spite of the attempts to dissuade him made by his father and his maternal uncle Qúhyár, who was finally bidden to accompany his nephew, notwithstanding his weakness and old age. The bravest men were chosen to accompany them, and a cow-herd named Ardashírak Báblúraj (f. 90b), who knew all the intricacies of the thickets and forests, was sent to lead them by secret paths against

Sálim, who, being taken by surprise, was slain by Wandá-ummíd in single combat, at Harsa-mál, three parasangs from Āmul, or, as some say, at Aşram, at the place now called Hí-Hí-Kayán. So the lad Wandá-ummíd came back in triumph to his father, Wandád-Hurmuzd, and was received by him with great honour and rejoicing, and ever afterwards permitted to sit beside him on his golden throne. And Sálim was esteemed by the Caliph as equivalent in value to a thousand horsemen<sup>1</sup>.

#### Account of the war with Firáša.

When the news of the death of Sálim reached the Caliph, he was greatly vexed, and despatched another army of 10,000 men under an Amír named Firáša against Ṭabaristán, at the same time sending messages to Khálid-i-Barmakí, Ward-i-Aşfar ("Yellow Rose") and Ḥammád at Ray, bidding them afford him any help of which he might stand in need. So Firáša, re-inforced by further levies, advanced to Āram, meeting with no resistance, for Wandád Hurmuzd had ordered that none should oppose them or contest their advance, so that they might wax bold and careless (f. 91a). He himself retired to Kúlá, near which, at Gawázúnú, he constructed two great dykes (*dar-band*); one above and one below. Then he sent to the Ispahbad Sharwín, who was at Parím and Kamímnám, bidding him come and help him; but Sharwín delayed and procrastinated so that Firáša was convinced of his weakness and helplessness. Wandád Hurmuzd had prepared 400 trumpets and 400 drums, and he assembled at Gawázúnú all his kinsmen and trusted warriors, whom he drew up in two ranks, with 4000 of his people, both men and women, to each of whom

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* he held the rank and title of Hazár-mard.

he gave an axe. He then explained to them his plan, which was that he himself should advance a little way towards the enemy with a hundred men, but that as soon as he had been seen by Firášha and his troops, he should fall back, followed by the enemy, whom he would thus lure within the two silent lines of his followers. Then, when they were all within the ambush, he would beat a drum; and at this sign all his followers were to begin to blow the 400 trumpets, beat the 400 drums, and fell trees with the 4000 axes. All this was duly carried out; and when the troops of Firášha heard this turmoil and uproar, they were filled with consternation, and were easily routed. Firášha himself was taken captive, and brought before the Ispahbad, who ordered his head to be struck off, and himself put on his cloak, cap, belt and sword; but quarter was accorded to the remaining prisoners. At this juncture the Ispahbad Sharwín arrived, and was given one third of the spoils (f. 91b). Wandád Hurmuzd related to his son Qárin that he had dreamed that he slew a wolf; that after this another wolf came and was also slain by him; that thereafter a leopard came, and he slew it, cut off its head, and clothed himself in its skin; and that last of all a lion came and grappled with him, and wounded him with its claws, until at last with a great effort he freed himself from it. The first wolf was Taym b. Sinán; the second, Khalífa b. Mihrán; the leopard, in whom skin Wandád clothed himself, was Firášha; and the lion was Yazíd b. Marthad.

When the news of Firášha's death reached the Caliph al-Mahdí, he sent to Ṭabaristán Rúḥ b. Ḥátim, a tyrant of evil life, concerning whose dismissal from office Abú Jaysh al-Hilálí said:

رَأَى رُوحٌ مِنْ أَمَلٍ فَاسْتَرَاحُوا<sup>1</sup> وَ أَتَاهَا بَعْدَ الْفَسَادِ الصَّلَاحُ

<sup>1</sup> MS. فاستراح.

لَمْ يَزَلْ سَبِيَهُ الْكِرَائِرَ حَتَّى شَاعَ فِي النَّاسِ وَاسْتَحْدَّ السِّقَاحُ

He was succeeded by Khálid b. Barmak, who maintained friendly relations with Wandád Hurmuzd, and allowed him to possess the highlands in peace. When he was dismissed and was leaving Ámul, a tradesman who was standing near at hand said, "Praise be to God that we are delivered from thy tyranny." This was reported to Khálid, who caused the tradesman to be brought before him, and reproached him and struck off his head. Thence he proceeded to Sári, where the people came out to meet him with presents; and he abode there for a time, bestowing many gifts on the people.

He was succeeded by ʿAmr b. ʿAlá, who fought with Wandád Hurmuzd, took from him his highland domains (f. 92a), and pressed him so hard that he was unable to dwell any longer in the cultivated lands, but was driven into the forests. So his affairs continued to grow worse, until one day one of his followers was taken captive and brought before ʿAmr b. ʿAlá, who ordered him to be beheaded; but the man prayed for mercy, promising in return to bring the Amír the head of Wandád Hurmuzd. The Amír asked what surety he proposed to give for the due performance of his promise. "This blanket," replied the man, "which I wear on my back." The Amír laughed and said, "If he is faithful to his promise, it will be like the bow of Hájib b. Zurára at-Tamímí and Kisrá." Concerning this story, which is well known and need not be repeated here, a poet says:

وَ كُلُّ وَفَاءٍ كَانَ فِي قَوْسِ حَاجِبٍ  
وَ أَنْتَ جَمَعْتَ الْعَدْرَ فِي قَوْسِ حَاجِبٍ

"And I," added the Amír, "will deal with him as Kisrá dealt with Hájib b. Zurára." So they kept him a prisoner as they advanced, until he said, "Do you remain here that

I may go and get news and return." So he went away, and Wandád Hurmuzd prepared an ambush for the Muslims and slew most of them. ʿAmr b. ʿAlá escaped with a few followers, and the Caliph al-Mahdí, angered at his defeat, sent Taym b. Sinán, who made peace with Wandád Hurmuzd.

Then the Caliph sent Yazíd b. Marthad, who fought against Wandád Hurmuzd, conquered him, slew many of his followers, and occupied the whole country; till finally, meeting him in single combat, he wounded him severely, and Wandád Hurmuzd, accompanied only by a few followers, became a fugitive in the forests.

After this the Caliph al-Mahdí sent his son Músá al-Hádí to Gurgán, and to him Wandád Hurmuzd surrendered on promise of pardon; whereupon Músá wrote to Yazíd b. Marthad bidding him give up the highlands to him. Thence, taking Wandád Hurmuzd with him, he marched back through ʿIráq to Baghdad. On the way thither he received news of the death of his father al-Mahdí; so he hastened on to Baghdad and was formally invested with the title of Caliph. Soon afterwards the younger brother of Wandád Hurmuzd (f. 92b) Wandásafán beheaded Bahrám b. Fírúz, who, at the Caliph's persuasion, had embraced Islám. The Caliph thereupon summoned Wandád Hurmuzd before him and ordered him to be beheaded at once; but he craved mercy, declaring that his brother's sole object in killing the Caliph's servant was to rid himself of him, since he reckoned on the Caliph avenging himself on Wandád-Hurmuzd, and hoped thereby to inherit the highlands of Ṭabaristán. "Therefore," he concluded, "if the Caliph desires that he should attain his object, let him kill me; but if not, let him send me to bring him or his head to the Caliph." Both ʿIsá b. Máhán and Murád b. Muslim were present, and both exclaimed: "Why should the Commander of the

Faithful forbid this? This is the best plan." So the Caliph despatched Wandád Hurmuzd with a robe of honour and the necessary equipment. On reaching Ṭabaristán, he prostrated himself on the earth in thankfulness, and sent a message to Wandásafán bidding him keep in hiding and avoid him at all hazards; and he continued to pretend to pursue him till, on one night, Músá al-Hádí died, Hárúnu'r-Rashíd became Caliph, and al-Ma'mún was born.

Harúnu'r-Rashíd was an obstinate, warlike, masterful and self-willed Caliph, and he despatched Sulaymán b. Músá to Ṭabaristán, where he was governor for eight months, when he was replaced by Hádí b. Hání, a mild and just governor, who maintained friendly relations with Wandád Hurmuzd, and kept the country tranquil and quiet. He was succeeded by 'Abdu'lláh b. Qaḥṭaba, and he in turn by 'Uthmán b. Nahík, who built the Great Mosque of Āmul. Next came Sa'íd b. Salma b. Qutayba b. Muslim, who was replaced after six months by Ḥammál and 'Abdu'lláh, the sons of 'Abdu'l-'Azíz. Ten months later, in A. H. 179 (= A. D. 795—6) these were superseded by Muthanná b. al-Ḥajjáj (f. 93*a*), who remained one year, and repaired the walls of Āmul and Sári, which were afterwards destroyed by Máz-yár. And after him came 'Abdu'lláh b. Ḥázim.

#### The Rebellion of the people of Rustamdár.

The deputy of this last governor, who was named Salám and nicknamed *Siyáh Mard* ("the Black Man"), was expelled from his province, and entered into a league with the Daylamites. There was at Kalár a very beautiful woman, whom they seized, in order to create trouble; but she cast herself into a stream and drowned herself. The deputy-governor of 'Abdu'lláh was at Kajú, and, on hearing of this, he at once hastened to Jálús, when there was a judge named

Şudám who was accused of being the cause of the mischief, and who fled into hiding. The deputy-governor caused proclamation to be made throughout the country that whoever should find this judge and give him quarter would be no longer accounted a Muslim, but would be reckoned an outlaw. At length the judge was captured by the people and bound to a tree for three days and nights; and Salám ordered that all the people of that district should come in, so that he might fulfil their desires and grant their wishes. So they came in, hopeful and jubilant; but he shut them all up in houses, and set sentries over them. It was then the month of Ramađán, and in the evening, before he had performed the evening prayer, he mounted his horse, broke his fast in the saddle with some bread and a few bunches of grapes plucked from a neighbouring garden, and had his prisoners brought out one by one from their confinement and decapitated. This work of slaughter went on all night by candle-light, and when morning dawned not one of the prisoners was left alive. Then he said, "I am like this candle; as it burns itself to give light to you, so have I cast myself into torment to make the country safe for you." Thence he went to Sa'íd-ábád, drove the people out of their fortifications by assault, slew them all, and destroyed the village, till at length Hárúnu'r-Rashíd dismissed him from his government, and appointed Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Khálid al-Barmakí and his brother Músá to succeed him, while their brothers Faḍl b. Yaḥyá and Ja'far were the Caliph's ministers at Baghdad (f. 93*b*). The two former ruled oppressively over Ṭabaristán, confiscating every estate and seizing every beautiful woman just as they pleased; and none dared make complaint against them to the Caliph for fear of the influence wielded by their brothers at the court. At length Hárún's anger was aroused against Ja'far, and he ordered the family of the Barmecides to be

destroyed. Concerning the cause of his anger, two separate traditions are recorded in history.

### Cause of the Extirpation of the Barmecides.

When Hárúnu<sup>2</sup>r-Rashíd, wishing to be able to enjoy the society of his sister ‘Abbása and Ja‘far the Barmecide at the same time, married them to one another on the condition that this marriage was to be a marriage in name only, ‘Abbása was unable to control her love for Ja‘far, and wrote to him:

عَزَمْتُ عَلَى قَلْبِي بَأْنَ يَكُنَّكُمْ الْهَوَى فَصَجَّ وَ نَادَى أَنِّي غَيْرُ فَاعِلٍ  
قَرَّرْنِي وَ إِلَّا جَحْتُ بِالْحَبِّ عَنَوَةً وَ إِنِّ عَنَّفْتَنِي فِي هَوَاكَ عَوَاذِنِي  
وَ إِنِّ حَانَ مَوْنِي لَمْ أَدْعَكَ بِغَضَنِي وَ أَفْرَرْتُ قَبْلَ الْمَوْتِ أَنْكَ قَاتِلِي

So Ja‘far, fearing to offend ‘Abbása, gave her the love she sought, and the result of this union was a child whom they called Haml ‘A<sup>2</sup>isha. It is related on the authority of Nawfalí that in A. H. 180 (= A. H. 796—7) Hárúnu<sup>2</sup>r-Rashíd went on the pilgrimage, and received tidings of this event on the journey, but made no sign of pleasure or displeasure, until he returned and reached Buḥayra, where he embarked in a skiff with Ja‘far to go fishing. On his return from this expedition he proceeded to Ambár, where he said to Ja‘far, “Today I shall be with my *ḥaram*, and I give you permission to go to your family and amuse yourself as you will.” All day Hárún kept sending him presents, until, when the time of evening prayer was at hand, the blind minstrel Abú Rakáz sang these verses:

فَلَا تَبْعُدْ فَكُلُّ قَتْنِي سَيَّائِي عَلَيْهِ الْمَوْتُ يَصْرُقُ أَوْ يَغَادِي  
وَ كُلُّ ذَخِيرَةٍ لَا بَدَّ يَوْمًا وَ إِنِّ بَقِيَّتْ تَصِيرُ إِلَيَّ نِقَادِ  
فَلَوْ فُودِيَتْ مِنْ حَدَثِ الْأَمْنَايَا فَدَيْتَكَ بِالتَّمْلِيدِ ١ وَ بِالتَّلَانِ

١ C. بِالتَّطْرِيفِ.

Ja'far said to Abú Rakáz, "What song is this to sing before men?" He replied, "O my master, however much I strive, I can think of no other verses." While they were thus conversing, suddenly Masrúr the executioner entered without seeking permission, for the Caliph had sent him to cut off Ja'far's head and bring it to him. When Ja'far saw him, he sprang to his feet and cried, "O Abú Háshim, I rejoice that thou art come to me, but am sorry that thou didst enter without seeking permission." "I am come," said Masrúr, "on a weighty errand: submit thyself to the command of the Prince of Believers." Ja'far fell at his feet, saying, "Suffer me to go into the house and perform my ablutions." "It is out of the question," replied Masrúr, "that you should go to the house, but make such testamentary dispositions as you please." So Ja'far set free his slaves and made his will and performed his ablutions; and then Masrúr mounted him on a horse and brought him to the prison. Ja'far then conjured him to go and tell the Caliph that he had brought him thither, that perhaps he might repent. To this Masrúr consented; but no sooner did Hárunu'r-Rashíd hear his advancing footsteps than he called out to him, "Stop there! For if thou comest hither without the head of Ja'far, thine own head shall be forfeit!" So Masrúr turned back and cut off Ja'far's head, and brought it on a shield to the Caliph, who at once ordered Yahyá b. Khálid and Faḍl to be cast into prison, and the body of Ja'far to be hanged on the bridge at Anbár. But afterwards Hárun was sorry for what he had done, and wandered through the palace reciting these verses:

يَا مَنْ تَبَاشَرْتَ الْقُبُورَ بِمَوْتِهِ      قَصَدَ الزَّمَانَ بِسَهْمِهِ فَرَمَاكَ  
 حَلَّ الْبِكَاءِ فَطَالَ بَعْدَكَ حُزْنُهُ      لَوْ يَسْتَطِيعُ بِمَلَكِهِ لَفَدَاكَ  
 أَبْغَى الْأَنْبَسَ فَلَا أَرَى لِي مَوْئِسًا      إِلَّا أَنْتَ رَدَدْتَ حَيْثُ كُنْتُ أَرَاكَ

The other account, given by al-Aṣmaʿī in his *Kitābu ʿn-Narwādir*, on the authority of Abú ʿAbdīʾllāh (f. 94b) al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Hishām, is as follows. "When al-Maʾmūn succeeded to the Caliphate," says the narrator, "I enquired of Faḍl b. Rabīʿ, who was Hárúnuʾr-Rashíd's chief chamberlain, 'Was this matter of ʿAbbása the only cause of the slaughter of the Barmecides, or had they committed any other fault?' Faḍl b. Rabīʿ smiled and said: *على الخبير بها سقطت*: ('Thou hast fallen on him who is best acquainted with it'). This Faḍl was unequalled in understanding, and from him Hárúnuʾr-Rashíd had no secrets. It is related that when al-Maʾmūn obtained possession of Baghdad, Faḍl was brought before him as a prisoner, with his hands bound behind him. Al-Maʾmūn looked at him to see whether he would say anything, or apologize, or crave forgiveness; but he did not raise his eyes from the ground and maintained complete silence. "Was it in such wise," at length exclaimed al-Maʾmūn, "that thou didst order the affairs of two Caliphs?" "O Prince of Believers," replied Faḍl, "my tongue spoke to grant requests, not to crave them." So al-Maʾmūn, being pleased with his answer, forgave him, and ordered him to be escorted to his house with candles and lanterns. But he said, "O Prince of Believers, suffer me rather to go lighted by the light of thine approval!" Later, when he was sick, al-Maʾmūn sent a messenger to enquire after his health, and to say, "I am well pleased with thee, therefore ask me what thou wilt." He replied, "I stand more in need of God's good pleasure than of thine, and more in need of health than of thy abundant possessions."

Now according to this Faḍl, the cause of Hárún's anger against the Barmecides was that he had entrusted to Jaʿfar a son of Yaḥyá b. Zayd to keep him in safe custody. One day while drinking wine he said to Jaʿfar, "Go, and bring the lad hither." "Why dost thou want him at such a time?"

enquired Ja'far. Then Hárún cried out at him in anger, and he arose and brought in the Sayyid. Hárún caused him to be seated, and then said to him, "O cousin, knowest thou wherefore I have sent for thee?" "The Prince of Believers knoweth best," replied the other. "You pretend," said Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, "that you are more worthy than we of this office, being more closely (f. 95*a*) and particularly related to the Prophet. Now you must have some proof for this pretention, and this you must make known to me." "God forbid!" replied the son of Yaḥyá: "we have never said and will never say such a thing as this!" "Thou liest!" answered Hárún: "you have advanced such claims, and to-night you must needs substantiate them." So the Sayyid continued to deny and the Caliph, with drunken insistence, to assert, until the latter had finally work himself up into a rage. Then Ja'far intervened and said to the son of Yaḥyá, "The Prince of Believers is holding a scientific discussion with you, and questions you with such courtesy and kindness; why then do you decline to discuss the matter, or to answer him?" "If I should answer," replied the Sayyid, "who will guarantee my safety?" Then the Caliph wrote him an assurance of safety in his own hand, swearing that he would neither slay, not hang, not poison him; and placed this document in his hands. "Now," said the Sayyid, "what dost thou ask of me?" "The proof," said Hárúnu'r-Rashíd, "that you are worthier than we are." "We are more worthy," replied the Sayyid, "as being nearer of kin." "Nay," said the Caliph, "we are in this respect equal." "Not so," answered the Sayyid. "By what proof?" demanded the Caliph. "If Muḥammad the Apostle of God were alive," said the Sayyid, "and should seek alliance with thee through a sister or a daughter, would'st thou consent or not?" "Yes," answered Hárún, "why should I not accept so worthy an alliance?" "I would not," re-

joined the Sayyid, "and it would be improper for me to do so." Hárún was silent for a while, and then made a sign to Ja'far to remove the Sayyid, which he did. Some while afterwards the Caliph summoned Ja'far and said, "I am going to entrust you with a commission in which you must by no means fail me." "It is for the Prince of Believers to command," replied Ja'far. "Place thy hand on my head," said the Caliph, "and swear to accomplish my behest." When Ja'far had done this, Hárún said, "I gave the son of Yaḥyá an assurance of safety against steel and poison and strangling, but not against burial. You must therefore dig a deep pit, exceeding fifty yards in depth, and must cast him into that pit alive." So Ja'far went, dismissed the guardians [of the Sayyid] and caused a deep pit to be dug (f. 95b), into which he cast not the Sayyid but a sheep. Then he explained to the Sayyid the state of the case, and bade him flee beyond the Caliph's realms. So he fled in disguise to Khurásán, but was recognized in the market of Balkh by a certain officer of the postal service named al-Mas'údí, who performed the journey thence to Baghdad in thirty days, and informed the Caliph of what he had seen. So the Caliph wrote to 'Alí b. 'Isá, who was governor of Balkh, bidding him seek out the Sayyid, who, however, had meanwhile made his escape into Turkistán. Then the Caliph sent an ambassador to the Kháqán of Turkistán, bidding him surrender up the Sayyid. The Kháqán answered, "We know not this man: send some one who can recognize him, and we will hand him over to you." So Hárún sent another messenger who knew the Sayyid, and all the Sayyids who were in that country were assembled in his presence; and when his eye lighted on the son of Yaḥyá, he said, "This is the man." But when he brought him to the Kháqán, the latter bade the Sayyid sit down beside him, and said to the messenger, "I also was seeking

for him, my object being to protect him from all the world. Arise, and depart in peace." So the ambassador returned in despair, and told the Caliph what had passed. Then the Caliph determined to avenge himself on Ja'far. Now it was his custom to visit his sister 'Abbása every Tuesday, and on these occasions he would neither see anyone nor receive any letter or petition. "One Tuesday," says the narrator, "when I was alone with him, he bade me be seated, and said, 'I am going to tell you a secret which you must on no account divulge.' On my promising secrecy, he continued, 'I am going to destroy Ja'far.' At this juncture Ja'far himself entered. I arose and went to meet him. The Caliph caused him to sit down beside him, till, when they had discussed various topics, he arose (f. 96a) and went to the house of 'Abbása, while I remained with Ja'far. 'What were you and the Caliph talking about when I came in?' said he. 'He was instructing me,' I replied, 'how to deal with a certain rebel in Khurásán. 'O Faḍl,' he answered, "by God, thou liest; you were talking about me, and no good either, for when thine eyes fell on me the colour left thy face.' 'God forbid!' said I, 'how should the Caliph speak to me of thee, seeing the position that thou holdest before him?' But Ja'far persisted in his surmise, and I was afraid lest the Caliph should think I had given him a hint of what had been confided to me. When he went to his house, I arose and went to the house of 'Abbása, where I demanded an audience. I was bidden to put in writing what I had to say, but, having declared that it could only be imparted by word of moath, was at length admitted and brought before the Caliph. I bowed my head to the ground and said, 'O Prince of Believers, mercy, mercy! Thou hast cast me into destruction!' 'Why, what ails thee?' he enquired: 'tell me quickly.' Then I told him what had passed, and he said, 'Have no anxiety on

this score, for I have long known Ja<sup>c</sup>far's acumen and discernment. Yesterday I was with him in the garden, and there was no one with us; and I was looking at the roses, when I saw one which pleased me more than all the others. At once Ja<sup>c</sup>far stretched out his hand and gave it to me. Then he fell on his face before me, and when he raised his head from the ground I was smiling. "Wherefore," he enquired, "does the Prince of Believers smile?" I answered, "At your being able to tell which rose out of all these pleased me most." "By God," he replied, "that was not the reason, for you have often before proved my discernment. It was rather because, when I prostrated myself before you, your glance fall on my neck." 'And by God,' added the Caliph, he spoke truly; for, as I looked at his neck, I said to myself, "How shall I order it to be cut with the sword?" and as I thought thus, I smiled.' Three days later the affair of the Barmecides was finished."

After this Jahdam b. Khabáb was sent (f. 96b) as governor to Ṭabaristán, and after him Khalífa b. Sa<sup>c</sup>d b. Hárún al-Jawharí, who, on reaching Āmul, appointed as his deputy Míhrúya of Ray, who took up his abode at Gurgán.

Account of the King of the Mountains  
the Ispahbad Sharwín Báwand  
and Wandád Hurmuzd.

These were in alliance with one another, so that from Tammísha to Rúyán without their permission no one dared enter the highlands from the plains, and all the highlands were under their control. And when a Muslim died, they would not suffer him to be buried in their country. So matters continued until Khalífa b. Sa<sup>c</sup>íd came to Sárí, and wished to make his cousin Náfi<sup>c</sup> his deputy; and the Ispahbad Sharwín's men came down by night out of the hills and slew him. Khalífa remained at Sárí and wrote to Mih-

rúya at Āmul bidding him be on his guard, as the people of Ṭabaristán were ripe for revolt. This letter Mihrúya read in public to the people, adding reproaches to the soldiers, who attacked his palace that night, slew him, cut off his head, and cast his mutilated corpse, with circumstances of atrocious dishonour, into the cross-roads of the market-place as a warning to all. So news was brought to the Caliph that the people of Ṭabaristán had revolted, but had not robbed the treasury; and he said, "It is not a revolt against us; this was an unjust governor, and it is quite right to suppress injustice." Then he sent ʿAbduʿlláh b. Saʿíd al-Jarishí, and all the people went out to meet him, and brought him in with honour. He governed the country for four months, and succeeded in arresting four persons who were chiefly responsible for Mihrúya's death and the disturbance which accompanied it, and sent them to the Caliph, who inflicted punishment upon them.

In A. H. 187 (= A. D. 803) Jaʿfar b. Hárún (f. 97*a*) was sent to reorganize the land-tax and to survey the country in the territory occupied by Wandásafán, who slew him with a blow from his mace while he was thus employed. Forty men who were with him fled to ʿAbduʿlláh and informed him of what had happened, and he communicated the matter to the Caliph. Immediately after this it was rumoured that the Caliph had advanced into ʿIráq; and three days later ʿAbduʿlláh went to Sárí, whence he proceeded to Ray, where the Caliph was. The Caliph thereupon despatched the Qáđí Abu'l-Buhturí, ʿAbbás b. Zafr, Muḥammad b. al-Fađl, and Şáliḥ b. Shaykh ʿUmayra, with 300 horsemen and servants, to the Isfahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd to ascertain whether or no their loyalty could be relied on. They received this embassy with every mark of respect and friendship, and the ambassadors on their returned reported that what Wandásafán had done, he had done enti-

rely on his own responsibility, without their knowledge or approval; and that he was, in fact, the enemy and opponent of Wandád Hurmuzd. Thereupon the Caliph left Ray, and encamped one day's march therefrom, at the village of Arbanú, whence he wrote to the Ispahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd, bidding them come to him. They answered that they were his obedient and loyal vassals, but that before coming they must have hostages for his good faith. The Caliph was angered at this and said, "How shall I send Muslim hostages to *Gabrs*?" So he sent the Qáđí Abu'l Buhturí and Harthama b. A<sup>ç</sup>yan and Abu'l-Wađđáđ the post-master to them, bidding them either come before the Caliph or prepare for war. These advanced to Wíma, whence they sent messages to the Ispahbad Sharwín, who was at the Castle of Kúzá, and Wandád Hurmuzd, who was at Lafúr, bidding them come to them. Wandád Hurmuzd came, but the Ispahbad Sharwín sent excuses, saying that he was too ill to come. When the bearer of this message arrived, Wandád Hurmuzd said to the Caliph's ambassadors, "Whatever order you may issue in respect to the Ispahbad Sharwín, I am ready to obey it (f. 97b). Harthama b. A<sup>ç</sup>yan agreed with Na<sup>ç</sup>ím b. Házim that they should smite Wandád Hurmuzd unawares while they were marching together, and slay him, since the Caliph would certainly be pleased at his death. But Wandád Hurmuzd, seeing Na<sup>ç</sup>ím edging towards him, divined his intention, reined in his horse, and said, "You must hold to your agreement." His companions apologized, and made Na<sup>ç</sup>ím swear that Wandád Hurmuzd should be conducted in safety before the Caliph. He remained with the Caliph for some time, till Hárúnu'r-Rashíd desired to buy some lands from him, which he refused to sell. They explained that his nobility of nature made him unwilling to sell lands which he might be willing to give as a present, so Hárún sent his little son al-Ma'mún to

him; and when they had seated the child on his knee, Wandád Hurmuzd gave him all those lands which he had previously refused to sell; and Hárún presented him with a million *dirhams*, and a jewelled cup of priceless value, and a ring, with which last Wandád Hurmuzd was especially delighted. Then the Caliph bade him crave a boon, and he asked for the dismissal of ‘Abdu’lláh b. Sa‘íd; and Hárún dismissed him with a robe of honour, and sent Harthama with him to bring back his son Qárin and the Ispahbad Sharwín’s son Shahriyár as hostages. The former was entrusted to Harthama, but the Ispahbad Sharwín refused to give up his son Shahriyár, and sent another instead of him. But Harthama insisted that Shahriyár should be given up, and this decision was endorsed by the Caliph, so that the Ispahbad was compelled to surrender Shahriyár, whom Hárúnu<sup>r</sup>-Rashíd took back with him to Baghdad.

Then the Caliph sent ‘Abdu’lláh b. Málík as governor to Ṭabaristán, and ordered that all the country except the highlands should be taken from the control of the Ispahbad Sharwín (f. 98a) and Wandád Hurmuzd. A year later the Caliph again visited Ray on his way to Khurásán. There he fell sick, and sent Shahriyár and Qárin to their respective fathers, while he marched on to Ṭús, and there died and was buried.

On this war arose between Hárún’s two sons Muḥammad b. Zubayda, called *al-Makhlú‘* (“the Deposed”) and ‘Abdu’lláh al-Ma’mún; and Ṭáhir b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Ma’mún’s general, marched on Baghdad, took it, and slew the rival Caliph, and sent his head to his brother al-Ma’mún, who looked on it and said:

شفتت النفس من حمل بن بدر،

So ‘Abdu’lláh al-Ma’mún became Caliph, and he was the greatest and most illustrious of all the ‘Abbásid Caliphs, and openly shewed his attachment to the Shi‘ite cause. It is related

that Sindí b. Sháhak, whose tomb is at Sári in the place now called Bá Naşrí Mashhad, and other Shí'ite leaders and partisans of the Imám Riḍá reproached al-Ma'mún for his conduct towards the Imám. Al-Ma'mún said, "I learned the Shí'ite faith from my father Hárúnu'r Rashíd." They replied, "He used to kill the members of this house." "Yes," replied al-Ma'mún, "he killed them for political reasons, 'for the state is a barren mother'" (لأنّ الملك عقيم). And in like manner did al-Ma'mún himself act in compassing the death of the Imám 'Alí Riḍá for state reasons, preferring the transitory glory of this world to everlasting blessedness and felicity (f. 98b). And through the deed he did was done 400 years ago, men still reproach it in these verses:

بَاءُوا بِقَتْلِ الرَّضَا مِنْ بَعْدِ بَيْعَتِهِ      وَ أَبْصَرُوا بَعْضَ يَوْمِ رُشْدِخَمَ وَ عَمُوا  
 لَا يُطْفِئَنَّ بَنِي الْعَبَّاسِ مَلِكُهُمْ      بَنُوا عَلِيَّ مَوَالِيهِمْ وَ انْ زَعَمُوا  
 لَا بَيْعَةَ رَتَعْتَهُمْ عَنْ دِمَائِهِمْ      وَ لَا يَمِينٌ وَ لَا قُرْبَى وَ لَا ذِمَمَ  
 كَمَ غَدْرَةٍ لَكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَاضِحَةٌ      وَ كَمَ دِمٍ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ عِنْدَكُمْ

Of such as these God says: "*Those who violate the Covenant of God after its confirmation, and sever what God hath commanded to be joined, and do evil in the earth: these are the losers.*"

After having thus rid himself of the Imám 'Alí Riḍá, al-Ma'mún sent for his son, whom the Shí'ites call Muḥammad Taqí, and the Arabs Muḥammad al-Jawád, and gave him his daughter Ummu'l-Faḍl in marriage, and made such a marriage-feast as the world hath never seen, for there were displayed as his gift to the bridegroom 400 plates filled with balls of ambergris in each of which was a pearl. And he then sent Muḥammad Taqí and his bride to al-Madína. And in the reign of al-Ma'mún died both the Ispahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd.

Account of the deaths of Sharwín and Wandád  
Hurmuzd, and the reigns of their sons  
Shahriyár and Qárin.

Sharwín left two sons, of whom Shahriyár, the ancestor of the Báwand princes, succeeded him, while Wandád Hurmuzd was succeeded by his son Qárin. When news of this reached al-Ma'mún, he sent to them (f. 99a) an ambassador with robes of honour, and wrote to inform them that he contemplated a campaign against the Byzantines, and needed the help of them and their captains. On one pretext and another they detained the ambassador for many days, until the Caliph had started on his campaign, when they dismissed him with many presents, saying, "The Ispahbad Shahriyár can in no wise come, but Qárin will follow you immediately." So Qárin made preparations for the expedition, aided therein by Shahriyár, and on reaching Byzantine territory pitched his camp beside that of the Caliph. It happened that on that very day there had been a battle, wherein the champions of either side had contended with one another on the field. Qárin at once caused his horse's armour to be put on, armed himself with a Gílání shield inlaid with gold, and with his followers attacked the Byzantine army, and utterly routed them. Al-Ma'mún was watching them, and kept enquiring of those who stood round who these valiant warriors might be, and who was their leader with the golden shield. None could tell him, but they continued to send re-inforcements to their strange allies, until Qárin ordered a general attack on the centre of the Byzantine army, broke down their standard with his mace, and entirely routed the foe. Summoned before the Caliph, he advanced clad in his breastplate and quilted armour (*qazz-ágand*), alighted from his horse, and kissed the Caliph's stirrup. Then the Caliph recognized him, and be-

stowed on him a horse, and praised him greatly, conferring on him robes of honour and other tokens of his esteem. He kept him for some while in his service, and repeatedly urged him to embrace Islám so that they might confer on him the title of *Mawlá Amirî'l-Múminin* ("Client of the Prince of Believers") and make him governor of Ṭabaristán, but he refused, and was at length suffered to return to his country. But the Ispahbad Shahriyár was jealous of him and hated him, and, being the stronger, annexed many of his lands, to which acts of aggression he submitted. One night he dreamed that he made water on the summit of a lofty mountain, and from this water a fire came forth, and spread itself in every direction, and burned up the highlands, until it reached the plain, burning every tree on which it alighted. When he awoke, he summoned those skilled in the interpretation of dreams, and asked them its meaning. They answered, "From thy loins a son shall arise who will be king over both the mountains and the plains of Ṭabaristán, and who will be cruel and fierce and reckless." This dream and its interpretation became known through Ṭabaristán, and that very year was born his son Mázyár, and when he reached maturity his father Qárin died.

Then the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín coveted Mázyár's territory, and seized every occasion to vex and harrass him, until at length a battle was fought between them, Mázyár was defeated, and Shahriyár annexed his territories. Mázyár sought refuge with Wandá-ummíd the son of Wandásafán, but Shahriyár demanded his surrender, and Wandá-ummíd, not daring to resist his command, put Mázyár in chains, and sent a message to Shahriyár, bidding him send his men to take him into custody, since he feared that his own people might set him free. Meanwhile Mázyár succeeded in ingratiating himself with the wives of his gaolers, and by their means obtained his freedom, and fled to the forests, where

he lay in hiding until he was able to go to 'Iráq (f. 100a). There he fell in with 'Abdu'lláh b. Sa'id al-Jurayshí, one of the Caliph's *Amirs*, who received him with kindness, and brought him with him to Baghdad. Now al-Ma'mún had an astrologer named Bizist the son of Fírúzán, whose name the Caliph had arabicized into Yaḥyá b. [Abí] Maṣṣúr, and who has been already mentioned in the Preface of this book. One day Mázyár, carrying the table of his nativity in his sleeve, came to this astrologer, who at first paid no heed to him, until he heard him addressed as Prince of Ṭabaristán, Mázyár son of Qárin son of Wandád-Hurmuzd. When the astrologer heard this, he arose and offered his apologies for his neglect, and took the table of his nativity from him, and kissed it, and then began to examine it attentively. Then he turned all save Mázyár out of the room and said to Mázyár, "If I instruct thee, wilt thou shew thy gratitude for my help?" So Mázyár promised, confirming his promise with oaths. After some time the astrologer made known what he had discovered from the horoscope to al-Ma'mún, who summoned him into his presence and said: "The signal services rendered to me in the war with the Byzantines by thy father Qárin impel me to befriend thee, but this must depend on thine acceptance of Islám and utterance of the Muḥammadan profession of faith." So Mázyár accepted Islám, and al-Ma'mún gave him the title of *Mawlá Amír-i'l-Múminín* and the *kunya* of Abu'l-Ḥasan.

Some months after this the Ispahbad Shahriyár died in Ṭabaristán, leaving many sons, amongst whom were Qárin b. Shahriyár b. Sharwín, called Abu'l-Mulúk ("the Father of kings"), and his elder brother Shápúr, who succeeded to the throne. But his vehemence and tyranny (f. 100b) disgusted his subjects, so that they deserted him, and complained of him to al-Ma'mún, who ordered Muḥammad b. Khálid to deprive him of his highland possessions. But this Muḥam-

mad b. Khálid was not strong enough to do, and al-Ma'mún sought for some one else who would be able to crush Shápúr. The astrologer Bizíst happened to be present, and suggested Mázyár, remarking that his horoscope indicated him as likely to be successful in this enterprise. So al-Ma'mún sent him to subdue the highlands, and Músá b. Hafs to over-run the plains. The latter had been disgraced and dismissed by al-Ma'mún, but, by promising his support and co-operation to Mázyár, he induced him to ask the Caliph to make this appointment.

As soon as Mázyár reached Ṭabaristán, many of the people rallied to his standard, so that he soon found himself at the head of a large army, and marched on Farím to seek out Shápúr, whom he utterly routed, took captive, and put in chains, and then sent word to Músá announcing his victory. Now Shápúr, knowing that Mázyár intended to kill him, sent a secret message to Músá, offering him 100,000 *dirhams* if he would claim him as his own captive. Músá replied that he could best save himself by declaring himself a Muslim, and the client of the Caliph. But, being afraid lest Mázyár should discover his relations with Shápúr, he asked him what he would do if Shápúr should embrace Islám and offer for the Caliph's acceptance a sum of 100,000 *dirhams*. To this question Mázyár vouchsafed no answer, but that night he caused Shápúr to be beheaded, and next morning sent his head to Músá, who (f. 101a) was greatly enraged against him. So Mázyár, fearing lest the Caliph might send someone else instead of Músá to fight against him and subdue him, apologized for his conduct; and matters continued as they were in Ṭabaristán, until, at the end of four years, Músá died, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, to whom Mázyár paid no heed whatever, ruling undisturbed over highlands and plains alike. Shápúr's brother Qárin the son of Shahriyár, with all

the House of Báwand and the Marzubáns and Farshwád the Marzubán of Tammísha, were filled with anger against him and complained of him to al-Ma'mún, who sent a summons to Mázyár to appear before him. He replied that he was engaged in a religious war against the Daylamites, and thereupon marched at the head of his army to Jálús and took hostages from the nobles of that country, so that they were compelled to submit to him. Al-Ma'mún then endeavoured to persuade him to come to Baghdad, and sent the astrologer Bizíst to him to bring him thither. Mázyár, being informed of this, collected all the armed men he could find round him, and sent Yaḥyá b. Rúzbihán and Ibráhím b. Ablá to Ray to meet him, bidding them bring him before him by way of Sawát-kúh, Kálbadraja and Kandí-áb, along roads so bad that it was impossible to ride. So when at length, after several days' hard travelling over the worst of roads, they came to where Mázyár was awaiting them at Hurmuzd-ábád, and saw him surrounded by a host of armed men of all conditions, they were filled with astonishment at his power and at the inaccessible character of his kingdom. So he entertained them royally for some time, but persisted in his refusal to accompany them to Baghdad, alleging that he was busy in fighting the Daylamites, but would follow them presently before the Caliph. So he sent them back, accompanied by the Qáđís of Āmul and Rúyán, and when they reached Baghdad, and were questioned by the Caliph concerning the loyalty (f. 101*b*) and intentions of Mázyár, they answered contrary to the truth. But when they came out from the audience, and the Qáđí of Rúyán had gone to his lodging, the Qáđí of Āmul lingered outside the audience-hall till he could get speech with Yaḥyá b. Aktham, to whom he said, "The Prince of Believers enquired concerning Mázyár publicly, and inasmuch as most of his courtiers and attendants are friends of Mázyár, and are in communication

with him, we were unable to declare the truth. Yet did I not deem it right to depart from the court without making known to the Caliph the true state of the case, which is that Mázyár has cast off his allegiance, put on once more the Zoroastrian girdle, treats the Muslims with cruelty and contempt, and will never again of his own free will come to Baghdad." Yaḥyá b. Aktham replied, "How long wilt thou, who art the administrator of the Holy Law and the Judge of a province, tell lies to the Prince of Believers? When he knows that thou hast lied to him, will he not needs dismiss thee from thy post?" Then he turned back and told the whole matter to al-Ma'mún, and came out again, and brought the Qáđí of Āmul secretly before the Caliph that he might tell his story. Al-Ma'mún was just preparing to start on a journey, and he said to the Qáđí of Āmul, "You must put up with it till I return, for this matter is the more urgent." "If we can thwart him," replied the Judge, "have we permission to do so?" "You may do so," answered the Caliph.

So the Qáđí returned to Āmul, and Mázyár, hearing that the Caliph had marched against the Byzantines, began to devour Āmul and Sári like a ravenous wolf, and to drive the people of Rúyán to desperation, so that they conspired together to kill all his representatives. At Safúḥ near Āmul they persuaded one Khalíl b. Wandásafán to help them. This news (f. 102a) was brought to Mázyár at Sári, and he at once collected his troops and laid siege to Āmul, the inhabitants of which closed the gates, gathered in the country-folk from the surrounding district, and went before Muḥammad b. Músá and informed him that the Qáđí of Āmul had returned from Baghdad asserting that Mázyár had cast off his allegiance to the Caliph, and that he had received permission to kill him. Then Muḥammad b. Músá summoned the Qáđí, and, learning that the statement made

to him by the people was true, joined himself to them.

Meanwhile Mázyár sent off a courier to the Caliph, announcing that the people of Rúyán and the passes of Jálús had cast of their allegiance to him and had won over Muḥammad b. Músá to their side, and set up an 'Alid claimant as anti-caliph, adopting white garments as their distinctive mark. "But I," concluded Mázyár, "have sent an army to subdue them, and, please God, the news of my victory will shortly follow this." At this time the city of Āmul was guarded by a double moat and double fortifications, and it held out for eight months against Mázyár, though all the surrounding country was laid waste, and devastated by slaughter and pillage, by Mázyár's brother Qúhyár the son of Qárin; while Mázyár sent constant despatches to the Caliph concerning the progress of the war, till at length the Caliph began to think that Mázyár was after all loyal and true. For Muḥammad b. Músá used to send all his despatches to an old servant of his father's who lived at Ray, and who was supposed to forward them; but he had been tampered with by one of Mázyár's acute agents, to whom he gave them instead, so that they never reached their destination, but were all read by Mázyár.

After an eight month's siege, Āmul capitulated, and Khalíl b. Wandásafán and Abú Aḥmad the Qádí were put to death by Mázyár, who wrote a despatch announcing his victory to the Caliph. Al-Ma'mún thereupon despatched Muḥammad b. Sa'íd (f. 102*b*) to Ṭabaristán to investigate the true state of the case, and to find out who this 'Alid claimant might be. This man reported that there was no 'Alid claimant, and that the whole story was a lie invented by Mázyár. The Caliph, however, when he had read this report, was filled with anger against Muḥammad b. Músá, and handed over both the highlands and plains of Ṭabaristán to Mázyár. When Mázyár was informed of this, he made

a proclamation in Āmul, collected all the chiefs, nobles and men of mark, including Muḥammad b. Músá, drove them before him to Rúd-bast, and placed each in his own house under the custody of guards.

In this same year tidings came to Ṭabaristán that al-Maʿmún had died on his campaign against the Byzantines at Qaydúm<sup>1</sup>. Thereupon Mázyár sent his Magian followers to bring the prisoners from Rúd-bast to Hurmuzd-ábád, where he put them into fetters and reduced their allowance of food, depriving them altogether of salt, and not permitting them to go to the bath. Most of them died of privation, and Muḥammad b. Músá and his brother had nothing in their cells but a piece of matting each, and bricks for their pillows. Then Mázyár repaired the fortifications of Āmul and Sárí, constructed castles in the mountains, and compelled all the peasantry to work for him (f. 103a) in constructing fortresses and digging moats. He also established barriers and guard-houses on all the roads to prevent anyone bearing tidings of his doings to the outside world, and he hanged all who attempted to pass out of the country without his permission. In short his tyranny reached a pitch never equalled before or since his time.

Al-Maʿmún was succeeded by his brother Ibráhím al-Muʿtaṣim, to whom ʿAbduʿlláh b. Ṭáhir, governor of Khurásán, communicated something of Mázyár's misdeeds, tyranny, and apostacy. The new Caliph sent an ambassador to Mázyár to intercede for Muḥammad b. Músá and his brother; but Mázyár would not listen to the representation of this ambassador, Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʿlláh, but answered him harshly that he would exact from them two years' revenues before he let them go. So Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʿlláh the ambassador returned in despair, and wrote an

<sup>1</sup> [Ṭabarí (III, p. 1134) has "at al-Badhandún", which Yáqút (I, p. 503) describes as a town two days journey from Ṭarasús in Cilicia. A. G. E.]

account of his mission to Yaḥyá b. Ibráhím b. Muṣ'ab, who was at the Court of the Caliph, and who submitted it to al-Mu'taṣim. Mázyár meanwhile conferred various offices and distinctions on Bábak, Mazdak and other Magians, who ordered the Muḥammadan mosques to be destroyed and all traces of Islám to be removed. The people of Ámul persuaded Abu'l-Qásim Hárún b. Muḥammad to write a statement of their grievances to al-Mu'taṣim, and hence this *qaṣida* was composed:

وَقَائِلَةٌ جُرْتُمْ غَدَاةٌ يَسُوفُكُمْ لَعْرَكٌ نُوشْتُنَا أَمْتَنَعْنَا وَ أَصْبَحَتْ وَ لَكِنْ وَجَدْنَا اللَّهَ أَكْدَ بَيْعَةٍ فَقَالَ أَطِيعُوا رَبَّكُمْ وَ رَسُولَهُ وَ لَا تَنْقُصُوا الْإِيمَانَ مِنْ بَعْدِ عَهْدِهَا وَ أَوْفُوا بِعَهْدِي أَوْفَ بِالْعَهْدِ إِنِّي وَ أَنَا نَطَقْنَا بِالْإِمَامِ رَجَاءَنَا أَبْرَضَى أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِمَا نَرَى أَبْجَعَلْنَا نَهَبَ الْمَجُوسِ وَ مَا نَرَى بِبَدْرِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ خَالِعٍ فَأَنْ يَنْجُ مِثْلَ الْمَازِيَارِ وَ لَمْ يَدْفُ فَلَاخْلَفَ جَبَلِي أَنْ تَنْدَ جَنِيئِهَا وَ مَا هُوَ فِي كَفَيْكَ إِلَّا كَبْصَفَةٍ وَ إِنِّي الْأَقْبَى مَازِيَارَ كَانَنِي إِذَا دَلِقَتْ رَايَاتِهِ نَحْوَ بَلْدَةٍ	أُسَارَى إِلَيَّ الْفُجُورُ قُلُفُ الْأَسَاوِرِ بَنُو قَارِنٍ فِينَا طَاحِينَ الدَّوَائِرِ لَمُعْتَصِمٍ بِاللَّهِ لِلدِّينِ نَاصِرِ نَعَمْ وَ أَوْلَى الْأَمْرِ الْكِرَامِ أَعْنَاصِرِ فَمَنْ يَنْقُصُ الْإِيمَانَ أَحْسَرُ خَاسِرِ أَنَا اللَّهُ جَبَّارُ أَمْلُوكِ الْجَبَابِرِ (f. 103b) وَ آمَالَ أَمْرٍ مِنْ نَسَاءِ حَرَائِرِ وَ لَيْسَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ بِجَائِرِ الْيَوْمِ سَوَى دِينِ الْهَدَى مِنْ جَرَائِرِ كَفُورٍ لِنَعْمَاءِ الْخَلِيفَةِ كَافِرِ سَلَاةٍ مَوْتٍ مِنْ كُوسِ الْبِوَاتِرِ وَ أَخْلَفَ بَرْعِدَ أَنْ يُعَبَّ بِمِاطِرِ بَرَقَتْ بِهَا فِي مُفْعِمِ الْبَحْرِ زَاخِرِ أَرَى رَأْسَهُ تَلَجًا لِرُمُحِ ابْنِ طَاعِرِ أَتَتْهُ بِمَا يَهُوَى صُرُوفُ الْمَقَادِرِ
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In reply to this poem, an answer, also in verse, was sent from Baghdad, from which the following verses are taken:

أَجِيبُوا إِلَى الْمَوْتِ الَّتِي سَأَفْتِكُمْ لَهَا      عَدُوٌّ شَدِيدٌ أَبْغَى أَجْرَ جَتْرِ  
 فَإِنَّ إِلَهَ النَّاسِ عَوْنٌ يُعِينُنَا      وَ يَنْصُرُنَا رَبُّ لَنَا خَيْرٌ نَاصِرٍ  
 وَإِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَقَائِدٌ      رَمَاكُمْ بِجَنْدٍ قَوَتْ خَيْلَ صَوَامِرٍ  
 كَانَتْهُمْ أَسَدٌ مُعَارٌ خِيُولِهِمْ      مِنَ الطَّيْرِ سَرَبٌ كُدُّ طَرْفِ نِطَائِرٍ  
 فَلَيْبَنَكُمْ يَا صَفْوَتِي مِنْ رَعِيَّتِي      عَلَى الدِّينِ قَدْ يُرِيدُكُمْ لَوْلَا كَثِيرٌ  
 وَإِنَّ يَنْجُ مَنِّي الْمَازِيَارُ فَسَوْءٌ      وَأَصْحَابُهُ أَهْلُ الدُّنُوبِ الْكَبِيرِ  
 وَالْأَيْسَهُ مِنْ كُسْرَةِ الْقَتْلِ جَبَّةٌ      صَبَاغَتْهَا حَمْرًا مِنْ دَمِ فَاجِرٍ

When al-Muṭaṣim was informed of Mázyár's doings, he ordered 'Abdu'lláh [b. Ṭáhir] to proceed to Ṭabaristán and take him captive. 'Abdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir sent his paternal uncle Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn to the Caliph begging him to send Muḥammad b. Ibráhím with an army from 'Iráq to help him. When the army of Khurásán reached Tammísha (f. 104a), the army of 'Iráq had already occupied all the highlands, and the people of Ṭabaristán left Mázyár and joined 'Abdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir and his uncle. These pursued Mázyár without rest or pause, till at length he was taken captive. 'Abdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir confined him in a box entirely closed save for two eye-holes through which he could look upon the outer world, and carried him thus confined on a mule to 'Iráq.

One day on the journey Mázyár said to the muleteer, "My heart craves for a melon. Can you get me one?" His guards reported this request to 'Abdu'lláh, who took pity upon him and said, "He is a king and a king's son." Then he ordered him to be released from the chest and brought before him, and placed loads of melons before him, and cut them up and gave them to him with his own hands, saying, "Grieve not, for the Commander of the Faithful is a merciful prince, and I wil intercede for thee, that he may overlook thy fault, and restore thee to thy country." Mázyár replied, "Please God, thy excuses will be accepted." 'Abdu-

ʿlláh was astonished, saying to himself, "The Caliph will not be content with anything short of his death: how then can he ask for my intercession?" Then ʿAbduʿlláh ordered a table to be spread, and gave him bread and wine, and caused the minstrels to make melody, and entertained him sumptuously, and greatly encouraged him to hope, plying him with strong wines until he was overcome with drink, but himself passing the wine-cup. Then, when Mázyár was overcome with wine, ʿAbduʿlláh asked him the meaning of what he had said. Mázyár replied, "In a few more days you will know." ʿAbduʿlláh pressed him, with threats and promises, to speak, and at length Mázyár agreed to do so if he would bind himself by an oath [not to betray him]. On receiving this pledge, Mázyár said (f. 104b), "Know that I, and Afshín, and Ḥaydar b. Káʿús and Bábak, all four of us, have for a long while covenanted and agreed to take the empire from the Arabs and restore it to the Kisrás of Persia. Yesterday, at such-and-such a place, Afshín's messenger came to me and whispered something in my ear which filled me with joy." "What was that?" enquired ʿAbduʿlláh. Mázyár at first refused to speak, but finally, induced by promises and flattery, he continued: "He brought me a message from Afshín to the effect that on a certain day, at a certain hour, he would destroy al-Muʿtaṣim, and his sons Hárún al-Wáthiq and Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil." Then ʿAbduʿlláh gave him more wine, till he was entirely overcome with it, and then caused him to be taken back to his place of confinement; and at once wrote to the Caliph what he had heard, and despatched the letter by carrier-pigeon. When the Caliph received the letter it was the very day on which Afshín had invited him and his sons Hárún and Jaʿfar to a great entertainment. So al-Muʿtaṣim sent word saying, "They are ill, but I will come," and forthwith proceeded thither with fifty horsemen. Afshín had

decked his house with bejewelled brocades, and had drawn up a hundred negroes, who, when the Caliph had sat down, were to rush upon him from all sides and slay him with their swords. When al-Muṭaṣim reached the entrance, Afshín said, "Enter, o my lord!" but he paused and said, "Where are so-and-so and so-and-so?" Then he called his trusty retainers and bade them enter, while he stood outside. Then one of the Indians sneezed, and the Caliph rushed in, seized Afshín by the beard, and cried, "Plunder, plunder!" (التَّيْبُ التَّيْبُ). When the Indians heard this, they were filled with consternation, and took to flight; and al-Muṭaṣim summoned his kinsmen and retainers, and bade them set fire to Afshín's palace. Then his servants took Afshín's beard from the Caliph's hand, and bound him with chains and fetters, and brought him to the Caliph's Palace, where they detained him till Mázyár's arrival. And they questioned him (f. 105*a*), saying, "Why didst thou see fit to cast off thine allegiance?" Mázyár replied, "You gave me the government of Ṭabaristán. The people rebelled against me. I reported this to the Court, and received orders to fight them." "Who wrote this answer to you?" enquired the Caliph. "Afshín," replied Mázyár. Then the Caliph summoned the lawyers and judges of Baghdad, and by their sentence Mázyár was first scourged to death, and then his body was crucified at the Khaṭíra of Bábil, opposite Náṭis the Byzantine, the lord of ʿAmúriya. And Afshín was burned alive. And Mázyár had ruled over Ṭabaristán for seven years, and at his death the highlands passed into the control of Bundár the son of Múní.

#### Account of the kings of Ṭabaristán after Mázyár.

After Mázyár's death, Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn, the paternal uncle of ʿAbduʿlláh b. Ṭáhir, was made governor of Ṭabaristán, and ruled it well and justly for three years, four

months and ten days, and entrusted to Muḥammad b. Ibráhim the task of discovering Mázyár's treasures. In Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 228 (= September, A. D. 843) Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn died, and was succeeded by Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'lláh b. Ṭáhir, who governed the country for one year and three months, until news came from Khurásán of the death of his father ʿAbdu'lláh there, whereupon he went to Khurásán, leaving his brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lláh to govern Ṭabaristán, which he did for seven years, assisted by ʿAttáb b. Warqá ash-Shaybání. In Ṣafár, A. H. 237 (= August, A. D. 851) Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lláh went to Baghdad, and Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'lláh became governor of Ṭabaristán. He governed with wisdom and discretion for three years, but in A. H. 240 (= A. D. 854—5) he made a secretary from Merv named Maṣṣúr b. Yaḥyá his minister, and this man introduced evil innovations and practised extortions, till he was dismissed by Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'lláh, and Muḥammad b. Músá b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán (f. 105*b*) was made *wazír* in his place.

Qárin the son of Shahriyár embraces Islám.

In the year A. H. 240 (A. D. 854—5) the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim sent one of his nobles to the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, king of the mountains, to bid him break his Magian girdle and embrace Islám, which he did, and thereupon received a robe of honour from the Caliph. At this time Muḥammad b. ʿIsa was governing Ṭabaristán, as deputy for the Ṭáhirids, and his government was just and mild. Then Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'lláh was sent to replace him, and he nominated first Quraysh and then Asad b. Jandán as his deputies, and later Muḥammad b. Aws, who united Rúyán and Jálús, placing his son Aḥmad in the latter place, as governor over it and Kalár; but his tyranny and harshness were such that all who were able sold or abandoned their houses and migrated elsewhere. And every year the taxes

were levied three times; once for Muḥammad b. Aws, once for his son, and once for a Magian who acted as their agent.

Account of the rule of the Ṭálibite Sayyids  
in Ṭabaristán.

The Caliphate had now passed to Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil, the son of al-Muʿtaṣim, whose minister, ʿAbduʿlláh b. Yaḥyá b. Kháqán, was a fanatical Sunní (*Náṣibi*), who was continually inciting him to kill the descendants of the Prophet, and even prevailed upon him to destroy the tombs of the Martyrs of Kerbelá, dam up the water, grow crops on the site of their graves, and set Jewish watchmen and keepers there to arrest and slay any Muslim who visited these holy places. Thus in the time of ad-Dáʿi Muḥammad [b.] Zayd the tombs of ʿAlí and his son al-Ḥusayn and other descendants of Abú Ṭálib were in ruins. But in the Caliphate of al-Muntaṣir (A. H. 247—8: A. D. 861—2) Muḥammad b. Zayd made himself ruler of Ṭabaristán, and thereupon began to preach the Shíʿite doctrine, and to inculcate the deepest veneration for the House of ʿAlí, and to repair (f. 106*a*) their shrines, and to build fresh ones where he supposed their graves to be. In all this he was aided by ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla Fanákhusráw b. Ruknuʿd-Dawla Ḥasan [b.] Buwayh, who surrounded these holy places with houses and *bázárs*, and instituted the observances of Muḥarram and the *Yawmuʿl-Ghadir* and other Shíʿite practices, and was himself buried when he died at Mashhad ʿAlí.

It is related that when al-Mutawakkil was made Caliph, he had the same love of hunting down and slaying the descendants of ʿAlí as an eager sportsman has for the chase. The Imám ʿAlí b. Muḥammad al-Hádí al-ʿAskarí, who was recognized by the Shíʿites as their pontiff, was his contemporary. One day the Caliph summoned this Imám

before him, caused him to be seated, and then, turning to ʿAlí b. Muḥammad an-Nadím, enquired, "Who is the greatest poet of our day?" "Abú ʿUbáda al-Buḥturí," replied the courtier, "And after him?" asked the Caliph:

گفت عبیدك ولد مروان بن ابى حفصه، بعد از آن روى بامام  
 على بن محمد كرد و گفت من اشعر الناس يا ابن عمّ، فقال على  
 ابن محمد الكوفي، قال المتنوكّل و لمّ قال لقوله (شعر)  
 لقد فَاخَرْتَنَا مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ عَصَابَةٌ بِمِطِّ خَدُودٍ وَ أَمْتَدَادِ اصَابِعِ  
 فَلَمَّا تَنَازَعْنَا أَلْفَحَا رَ قَضَى لَنَا عَلِيَّكُمْ بِمَا نَهَوَى نَدَاءُ الصَّوَامِعِ  
 متنوكّل گفت ما نداء الصوامع يابن عمّ، قال اشهد ان لا اله الا الله  
 و اشهد ان محمدا رسول الله،

For this reason amongst others al-Mutawakkil slew ʿAlí b. Muḥammad al-Hádí, and occupied himself day and night with drinking, debauchery and all sorts of folly and madness.

Al-Ašmaʿí relates in his *Kitábu'n-Nawádir*, on the authority of Aḥmad b. Šálih ad-Dimashqí, on the authority of Yúsuf b. ʿAbdu'lláh, that al-Buḥturí said: "I had composed for al-Mutawakkil the well-known *qaṣída* beginning:

عن ابى ثغر تبتمسم،

and I remained for a long while at the Court waiting for an opportunity to present it (because he cared but little for poets, and would not give them audience) but could find none. One day I was sitting in an ante-chamber when Baḥrir, one of the Caliph's servants, came out, took me by the hand, and led me from ante-chamber to apartment and from apartment to ante-chamber till I reckoned that I had passed through three hundred apartments (f. 106b). At length he brought me to a room where I saw al-Mutawakkil sitting on a golden throne, round which stools were

set in order of their rank for his courtiers and attendants, who were clad in black. As soon as al-Mutawakkil's eyes fell on me, he cried to me, 'Recite, O Buhturí, recite!' Though I had not yet saluted him, I said to myself, 'Though it is a breach of etiquette, yet it is best for me to obey his commands;' so I gathered up my skirts and began:

عَنْ أَيِّ ثَغْرِ تَبْتَسِمُ وَ بَيِّ صَرَفٍ تَحْتَكِمُ،

At once one of the courtiers sprang to his feet, looked at me, and said:

عَنْ أَيِّ سَلَجٍ تَرْتَضِمُ وَ بَيِّ كَفِّ تَلْتَضِمُ،

I was dumb with astonishment, saying to myself, 'It is a year since I composed this poem, and I have shewn it to no one: how could this wretched fellow spoil it thus by his extemporization?' Then I reflected that it must be an accidental coincidence, and continued, fixing my eyes on the Caliph:

أَعْمَلْتُ فِيكَ مَدَائِحِي يَا جَعْفَرَ بْنَ الْمُعْتَصِمِ،

Instantly that same man rose up again, turned towards me, and said:

أَدْخَلْتُ رَأْسَكَ فِي حَرَمِ فَسَوْفَ مَنَى تَنْهِيئِمُ،

Thereat al-Mutawakkil was seized with such violent laughter that he fell back and his crown rolled from his head; and he gave the courtier who had parodied my verses ten thousand *dirhams*, while me they drove out with cuffs and blows. When I reached the ante-chamber, he passed me, with a servant carrying the money. I enquired of Baḥrír who he was. He replied, "Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Anbas aḍ-Ḍamírí, who, had you composed two thousand verses, would have produced a parody of each."

In short, during al-Mutawakkil's reign the Sayyids of the House of 'Alí were in hiding in ruins and solitudes, till at length he died, dividing his realms between his three sons, of whom al-Muntaṣir, who became Caliph, was the eldest. He was opposed by the other 'Abbásids, and the Turkish guard, getting the upper hand, plundered the treasures of Sámarra, and besieged Baghdad, enraged at the support given by its inhabitants to al-Musta'ín. Matters being in this confusion, Yaḥyá b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alí b. al-Ḥusayn b. (f. 107*a*) 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib rebelled at Kúfa. He was a brave, accomplished and ascetic man. The people of Kúfa, supposing him to be actuated by need of money, offered to pay him a substantial sum if he would be quiet, but he swore that he would never have revolted had not his zeal been stirred by seeing God's religion contemned and the ordinances of the Law contravened and neglected.

آن مرد نیم کز عدمم بیم آید      کن بیم مرا بهتر از آن بیم آید

Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhir sent one of his officers named Ḥasan b. Isma'íl with another named Turkí-takín to suppress this rising, and they captured the Sayyid, and cut off his head, which was sent to Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhir. The people of Baghdad came to offer their congratulations, and amongst them the old Sayyid Abú Háshim Dá'úd b. al-Qásim al-Ja'farí, who said, "O Amír, I am come to congratulate thee on an event for which condolence would have been offered to the Apostle of God had he still been alive!"

أيتها الامير جئتك مهنئاً بما لو كان رسول الله حياً لعزى،

The Rise to power of Ḥasan b. Zayd.

Such of the Sayyids as escaped from this battle fled to the highlands of 'Iráq and Farshwádgar and there concealed

themselves till such time as the people of Wárfú and Latrá were driven to desperation by the tyranny and barbarity of Muḥammad b. Aws. These, constantly seeing the learning, piety, and ascetic life of the fugitive Sayyids who had taken refuge amongst them, were strongly impressed in their favour, and said, "It is they who possess the characteristics of true religion." So they gathered deputations from the surrounding villages and went to the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmán b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí b. Abi Ṭálib, who was in Rúyán, and begged him to receive their oaths of allegiance, so that perhaps, by his blessing, God might free them from the tyranny under which they groaned. He replied, "I am not worthy to take up arms, but I have a brother-in-law, who is married to my sister, who is brave and competent, being skilled in war and tried in battle (f. 107*b*). If you will carry a letter from me to him at Ray, he will accept your offer and accomplish your desire." So the chief man of the deputations, ʿAbduʿlláh b. Wandá-ummíd, at once despatched a courier with the letter.

Rule of the Sayyids of Ṭabaristán, of whom  
the first was Ḥasan b. Zayd.

When this courier reached Ray he saw Ḥasan b. Zayd and Ismaʿíl called *Jálibuʿl-Ḥijára* ("the Stone-dragger") whose genealogy has been already mentioned in the preface, and communicated to them the letters of the notables of Ṭabaristán, urging them to revolt. To these he replied, and dismissed the messenger with a robe of honour. When he reached Rúyán, the news became known, and was communicated to ʿAlí b. Aws. He at once wrote to ʿAbduʿlláh b. Saʿíd and Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʿl-Karím bidding them come to him to investigate the matter. The former was

afraid, left his house, and retired to the village of Ashtád. At this juncture the courier arrived with the letter of Ḥasan b. Zayd al-ʿAlawí, announcing that he had alighted at the village of Saʿíd-ábád, where he was expecting ʿAbduʿlláh b. Saʿíd and his confederates to take the oath of allegiance. ʿAbduʿlláh thereupon went to [Muḥammad b.] ʿAbduʿl-Karím with all the chief men of Kalár on Tuesday, Ramaḍán 25, A. H. 250 (= November 1, A. D. 864), and they swore allegiance, undertaking to observe the ordinances of God's scripture, and the practice of His Apostle, and to do good and forbid evil. And they wrote letters to the people of Jálús and Nírús, and sent missionaries to them, and remained that night with ʿAbduʿlláh b. Saʿíd, and proceeded next day to Gúrishbard, where people joined them from all sides. News of this came to ʿAlí b. Aws, who did not rest until he had communicated with Muḥammad b. Aws. And the Sayyids of that district, with Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbduʿr-Raḥmán, went out to meet Ḥasan b. Zayd, who reached Kajúr on Thursday, Ramaḍán 27 (A. H. 250 = November 3, A. D. 864), and performed the service of the festival which marks the conclusion of Ramaḍán, and preached a most eloquent sermon. Then he sent Muḥammad b. ʿAbbás (f. 108*a*) and ʿAlí b. Naṣr and ʿAqíl b. Mabráw to Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafí, who was then at Jálús, to invite him to ally himself with them; and then they proceeded to the Great Mosque and received the oaths of allegiance of all the people of that district, save the few dependants of Muḥammad b. Aws, who fled without horses or arms, some to Jaʿfar b. Shahriyár b. Qárin and some to others.

Ḥasan b. Zayd next marched from Kajúr to Nátil, and received the allegiance of its inhabitants, and thence he passed on to Pá-yi-Dasht. At the head of his vanguard were Muḥammad al-ʿAlawí and Muḥammad b. Rustam b. Wandá-

ummíd of Kalár, whom they called Khiyán; while the vanguard of the army of Muḥammad b. Aws was Muḥammad b. Ikhshíd, his *sipahsálár*. The two armies met at Pá-yi-Dasht, and Muḥammad al-<sup>c</sup>Alawí at once attacked the enemy, put them to rout, and took captive Muḥammad b. Ikhshíd, whom he sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd. He then pushed forward with all speed to Balíkání near Āmul, whither Sulaymán b. <sup>c</sup>Abd<sup>u</sup>lláh b. Ṭáhir had sent an army, which they defeated, taking captive Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn.

Muḥammad b. Ḥamza was ordered to proceed in person to Daylamán and seek for reinforcements. The Daylamites responded to the appeal, and Ummídwár the son of Lashkar-sitán, Wihán the son of Sahl, Fálzbán, and Faḍl-i-Rafiqí came with six hundred men to Pá-yi-Dasht to reinforce Ḥasan b. Zayd, who on the same day received letters from the nobles and Ispahbads of Ṭabaristán promising him their support, and urging him to continue the war. Amongst these were Pádhúbán the son of Kurdzád, the Ispahbad of Lafúr, the Maṣ-mughán, son of Wandá-ummíd, Wíjan the son of Rustam, Khurshíd the son of Gushnasf the son of Nidrand, and Khiyán, the son of Rustam. Encouraged by these letters and promises, Ḥasan b. Zayd formed a body-guard of 20 horsemen and 200 footmen under the command of his kinsmen the Sayyids Muḥammad b. Ḥamza and Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (f. 1086). When Muḥammad b. Aws heard this, he set his army in battle array and ordered Ibráhím b. Khalíl to attack them; they, however, not only repelled the attack, but pursued their assailants, routed Muḥammad b. Aws, and captured much of his baggage and many of his horses.

On Monday, Shawwal 23 (A. H. 250 = November 29, A. D. 864) Ḥasan b. Zayd reached Āmul, and slew a number of his opponents, including Daylamí the son of Farrukhán, Muqátíl the Daylamite (و مقاتل ديلمى), and Alí b. Ibráhím

al-Jílí; but Ibráhim b. Khalíl craved and obtained quarter. On the morning of the following day, Tuesday, Ḥasan b. Zayd proceeded to the Oratory (مصلی) of Āmul, summoned all the people of the city, gentle and simple, and persuaded all save a very few to take the oath of allegiance to him. He abode in Āmul for the remaining seven days of the month, during which period Fana the son of Wandá-ummíd, Wandásafán the son of Máhyár, and Surkháb the son of Rustam sought and obtained quarter. Then he appointed Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz governor of Rúyán, Jaʿfar b. Rustam governor of Kalár, and Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbás governor of Jálús, while he invited the people of Āmul to choose a governor for themselves, whereupon they chose Muḥammad b. Ibráhim b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán, who was then acting as Ḥasan b. Zayd's deputy-governor at Rúyán.

The Mas-mughán, son of Wanda-ummíd, had already conceived a hatred for Muḥammad b. Aws because of his tyranny towards the people, and when he saw how the affairs of Ḥasan b. Zayd prospered, he came forth from the forests where he was hiding to Mámṭír, where, on Thursday, Shawwál 26 (A. H. 250 = December 2, A. D. 864) he called upon the people to swear allegiance to Ḥasan b. Zayd, which they all did eagerly. Then he wrote tidings of what he had done to Ḥasan b. Zayd, who gave him in perpetuity the rule over Zarmíkhwást, and ordered him to go to Sári and wait there till he should join him. He did so (f. 109*a*), and encamped by the village of Pútam at Nawrúzábád, while Ḥasan b. Zayd's emissaries went forth as far as Damáwand, Fírúz-kúh and the confines of Ray, and all the people of Ṭabaristán accepted the authority of Ḥasan b. Zayd. On Friday, Dhu'l-Qa'da 14, (A. H. 250 = December 19, A. D. 864) he reached Tarícha with all his army, whence he proceeded to Jamanú.

Correspondence of the Ispahbad Qárin b.  
Shahriyár with Ḥasan b. Zayd.

At this juncture the Ispahbad Qárin wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd professing the utmost devotion to him, and promising to send him help. His real object, however, was to weaken Sulaymán al-<sup>c</sup>Alawí, drive him from the country, and seize both highlands and plains for himself. When Ḥasan b. Zayd received this letter, he summoned the Daylamites and shewed them the letter, and they wrote to the Ispahbad saying, "If thou speakest truly, join thyself to us." The Ispahbad replied, "It is better that you should join me." Then Ḥasan b. Zayd began to suspect his motives, and Sulaymán b. <sup>c</sup>Abdu'lláh sent his general Asad [b.] Jandán with an army from Sárí to a place called Dúdán on the road to Tarjí. Ḥasan b. Zayd sought counsel from his companions. An old man named Shahriyár the son of Andiyán, one of the chief counsellors of Sharwín, said to Ḥasan b. Zayd, "It is best that you should make it known that you intend to march against Asad, but during the night you should turn aside and go by way of Zarmí-khwást to Nawrúz-ábád, and thence to Sárí, where you will attack Sulaymán, and crush him, after which you will easily defeat Asad and his army. But if you act otherwise, and defeat Asad first, he will escape to Sulaymán, and your affairs will be rendered difficult; and moreover God only knows what the result of your encounter with Asad may be. Besides this, Sulaymán, who is now at Sárí, probably feels quite secure and is taking no precautions, since he will feel sure that you will first encounter his general Asad" (f. 109b).

Ḥasan b. Zayd determined to act on this advice, and to attack Sulaymán first; and Asad received tidings that Ḥasan b. Zayd had fled by night, whereupon he despatched a

courier to Sulaymán to inform him that the ʿAlawí had fled. But as the latter was sitting rejoicing over this message, he suddenly heard the cries of “*Alláhu akbar!*” and saw around him the white standards of the ʿAlawís, and heard the shouts of their Daylamite allies. Thereupon he fled bare-foot to Asad, while the Sayyid’s troops slew all whom they could overtake of their foes. When Sulaymán reached Asad, he was already engaged with the Sayyid’s troops, and the latter, like lions eager for their meal, pursued them, and slew amongst others Ḥusayn b. ʿAlí of Sarakhs, ʿAlí b. al-Ḥarb, Ishaq b. Shaykhí, ʿAli al-Maghribí, Ibn Thaʿlaba of Syria, and Naṣr b. Wabra of Syria. Then they looted Sulaymán’s palace, sent the spoils to the village of Mihrawán, and then burned the palace to the ground. Ḥasan b. Zayd reached Sárí on the first day of the five Persian *gátás* (اول روز مستترقه فارسی), and the same day news was brought to him that his brother Ḥusayn b. Zayd had reached Shalmiyya near Damáwand, and Pádhúbán the son of Kurd-zád came to him from Lafür, telling him that he ought to remain forty days at Sárí. His brother Ḥusayn b. Zayd remained 23 days at Damáwand, where the chiefs of Láríján and Qaṣrán came in to him, and he was joined by Muḥammad b. Míkál. Meanwhile Sulaymán fled to Astarábád, and sent messengers to Khurásán to demand help, while the stragglers of his army gradually joined him.

After a forty days’ halt at Sárí, Ḥasan b. Zayd turned back to go to Āmul. The Daylamites, being laden with booty, dispersed, and went back to their homes. The Is-pahbad Pádhúbán advised Ḥasan b. Zayd not to go beyond Jamanú till it was known what course Sulaymán would adopt. Soon afterwards Sulaymán himself arrived with a fresh army at Sárí and Ḥasan b. Zayd sent to Muḥammad b. Ibráhím (f. 110a) and Muḥammad [b.] Ḥamza bidding them join him with their forces from Āmul and Mámṭír. Sulaymán

had pitched his camp at Lícham, and a battle took place between the two forces at Tamashkí Dasht, in which Ḥasan b. Zayd was routed, and his men were dispersed to the forests. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aws pursued them into the forests, but they caught him unawares, and slew him with a blow from a mace. On that day Ḥasan b. Zayd shewed the greatest valour, and held the end of a bridge against the foe until he had seen his fugitive army cross in safety. Thence he marched to Úfar, while Sulaymán went to Tá-lániyán, and Muḥammad b. Aws pursued the men of Kalár, of whom he slew many in an ambush which he had prepared on the road to Úfar. But the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán and the Mas-mughán had prepared another ambush for him, into which he fell with his soldiers, of whom they slew many, while he himself was struck on the head with a stone. When Ḥasan b. Zayd perceived that he could not withstand them, he retreated by way of Bá-lá'ín with Fana the son of Wandá-ummíd and Khurshíd the son of Gush-nasf, and came that night to Ámul, whence next morning he came to Jálús, having lost many of his men, while those who remained with him were despoiled of almost all their garments and weapons, so that Já'í the son of Lashkar-sitán, one of his best-known lieutenants, had no clothes on his body. However some 10,000 *dirhams* were collected and spent on obtaining fresh clothes.

Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'lláh and the nobles of Khurásán, accompanied by the infantry of the king of the mountains, the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, came to Ámul, while Ḥasan b. Zayd sent for re-inforcements to Gílán and Daylamán. In response to his appeal, several thousand adherents of his propaganda (إبناء دعوت) joined him, whereupon he prepared his army for battle, and moved on to Khwájak. Sulaymán, learning this, came from Ámul to Pá-yi-Dasht, where he encamped. Ḥasan b. Zayd advanced to

the Lápích River (f. 110*b*) and took counsel with his allies. The Daylamites said, "This place is good. Give us permission first to attack the infantry of the Ispahbad Qárin and dispose of them, for in this place when the infantry are routed, cavalry has no chance." Ḥasan b. Zayd gave them permission, and when they had routed the infantry, the horsemen were entangled in the bushes and underwood, and were taken prisoners, or else fled, casting away their arms. Amongst those killed were Sulaymán's general Asad b. Jandán, Anúshirwán *Hazár-mardí*, 'Alí b. al-Faraj, 'Aṭṭáf b. Abi'l-'Aṭṭáf of Syria, the Ispahbad Ja'far b. Shahriyár, Qárin's general Dázmihr, 'Azíz b. 'Abdu'lláh, and 'Ubayd b. Yazíd al-Kházin.

Ḥasan b. Zayd remained there that day, and on the morrow came to Ámul, whence after fifteen days he came to Jamanú, and gave an army to the Ispahbad Padhúsbán to fight the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár. Pádhúsbán, having secured the assistance of Kúkbán-i-Bakhmí from Kimnán, burned and ravaged all the highlands of Qárin, who fled from before them, abandoning his kingdom, in which Ḥasan b. Zayd established his governors to collect the revenue. Sulaymán fled to Astarábád, and sent a courier to Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh [b.] Ṭáhir in Khurásán, asking for reinforcements. In response to his appeal, 'Anátúr b. Bakhtánsháh and Gushnasf b. Más were sent to support him, with a considerable army, whereat Sulaymán took heart, for Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd was but weakly supported at Sári, some of his army being in the highlands, while his Daylamite allies had retired to Daylamán. Hearing of Sulaymán's increased strength, he therefore fell back on Jálús, where he was told that Wih-súdán the king of Daylamán had abandoned his cause; but a few days later Wih-súdán died, and 4000 Daylamites thereupon joined Ḥasan b. Zayd.

Meanwhile Fana (f. 111*a*) had collected an army from

Farím and the highlands and come to Āmul, whence he wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd asking for his commands. Thereupon he sent Aḥmad b. Ḥasan to him to occupy the country, and to remove Ibráhím [b.] Khalíl. At his commands, Fana marched against Ibráhím and defeated him. Ḥasan b. Zayd on hearing this came to Khwájak, where the people complained of Fana's oppression, further accusing him of having a secret understanding with Sulaymán and of corresponding with him. So he sent Muḥammad b. Abí Maṣṣúr and ʿIsá b. Ḥamíd to him, bidding him come before him, but he came not. Again he sent a message to him, bidding him not be disobedient, but he returned an insolent answer. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd told the people of Āmul that Fana's blood was lawful to them, whereupon 10,000 men attacked and burned his house, while he fled to his nephew Khurshíd the son of Gushnasf; but Khiyán the son of Rustam with a number of his followers pursued him thither, and slew them both, and sent their heads to Ḥasan b. Zayd. Then Fana's son Layth came in, with all his followers, to make his submission to Ḥasan b. Zayd, having induced the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán to intercede for him, and the Sayyid gave him a robe of honour, and conferred on him his father's possessions.

After a while Ḥasan b. Zayd moved from Āmul to Jamanú, where he remained for a month. While there, an encounter took place between his outposts and those of Sulaymán, in which many of Ḥasan's men were slain, including Muḥammad b. ʿIsá b. ʿAbdu'l-Ḥamíd. So Ḥasan b. Zayd was again obliged to retreat, accompanied by Muḥammad b. Rustam, the Mas-mughán, and Kúrankíj the son of Rúzbihán, sending the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán and Wíjan the son of Rustam to the highlands to guard them. Then he returned to Āmul, while Sulaymán abode at his palace at Sári, whither he brought his wives and retainers

from Astarábád; and the people (f. 111*b*) again began to hesitate between the two rivals. Then Sulaymán sent Muḥammad b. Ismaʿil to Āmul, but Ḥasan b. Zayd, hearing of it, arrested and imprisoned him for a while, but afterwards released him, and suffered him to return to Sulaymán. Then Ḥasan collected his troops and went to Jamanú, having already warned the Mas-mughán to be on his guard, and sent Jaʿfar b. Rustam and Layth b. Fana and Wíjan b. Rustam with 700 men to help him. Sulaymán came out from Sárí to meet them in battle, and the Mas-mughán had prepared an ambush for him, but he routed the Mas-mughán, who fled to the forests. A violent thunder-storm came on, so that the archers could not shoot, and Sulaymán and his men surrounded the Mas-mughán, but the men hidden in ambush by the latter rushed out against him, and slew many of his chief followers, including Jalwánán the son of Wandá-ummíd, Muḥammad b. Faql of Láríján, Muḥammad b. Khálid, known as Abú Miráh, and others, all of whose heads were sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd. The Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár had gone with his army to meet the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán to fight with him, and the latter sent his brother Kurdí-zád to Ḥasan b. Zayd to seek for help. In response to his appeal, Muḥammad b. Rustam with the men of Kalár, Wíhán b. Sahl with the Daylamites, and Khiyán b. Rustam with the troops of Amul were sent to reinforce him. The Ispahbad Qárin fled, and Ḥasan b. Zayd came to Āmul on the day of the festival, whence, after the *ʿId-i-adhá*, he proceeded to Mámṭír, where he remained for thirteen days. Sulaymán sent two ambassadors with a letter to Khurshíd king of Daylam, urging and encouraging him to help and befriend him, and to abandon Ḥasan b. Zayd, and offering him 7000 golden *dinárs* and many robes of honour to divide amongst the Daylamites, on condition of their withholding their help from the Sayyid. He also con-

structed a boat on the river Mihrawán, placed in it Azbar b. Janáh (f. 112a) and Sa'íd b. Jibrá'íl, and sent them to Ispíd-júy, where a wind arose which carried them in an hour to Jálús. Ḥasan b. Zayd's governor, being aware of this, seized the boat, and sent the ambassadors, with their papers, money and robes of honour, to the Sayyid, who divided the valuables amongst the Daylamites, and humbled Khurshíd king of Daylam, so that all men perceived that Sulaymán's luck was on the wane.

Ḥasan b. Zayd came from Mámṭír to Jamanú, and made the Daylamites swear to be faithful and loyal to him, and then marched against Sulaymán, who had moved from Sári to Dú<sup>2</sup>-Ab. The Mas-mughán advised that white flags should be fixed to the trees in front of his camp, so that he might suppose that it was the Sayyid's camp; and that meanwhile they should secretly go by way of Banahra to Wínábád and attack the enemy in the rear, so that they might suppose they were hemmed in between two bodies of the enemy. By this device they succeeded in defeating Sulaymán, and marched on Sári, while the Daylamites looted the *bázárs*, killing and plundering. Sulaymán, abandoning his wives, children and relatives, fled precipitately, while of his chief supporters °Anátúr [b.] Bakhtánsháh, Abu'l-A<sup>c</sup>azz Muḥammad b. Qays, Muḥammad b. Kathír, Gushnasf b. Más, Muḥammad b. al-<sup>c</sup>Abbás, Muḥammad b. al-Walíd, Músá b. al-Kátib, °Alí b. Maṣṣúr, and Muḥammad b. °Abdu'lláh al-Qáđí were killed, while the two ambassadors captured in the boat were, by order of the Sayyid, hanged. This victory took place on Thursday, Dhu'l-Ḥijja 8, (A. H. 250 = January 10, A. H. 865). Sulaymán's wife and children were taken captive, and when he reached Astarábád, he wrote a letter to Muḥammad b. Ḥamza for him to lay before Ḥasan b. Zayd, couched as follows (f. 112b):

اكرمك الله بطاعته و ابقاك في سعادتہ و اتم نعتہ عليك برحمته

من أَحَاجَتْ مَعَهُ إِلَى التَّنْعَادِ وَ التَّطْوِيلِ فِي ذِكْرِ مَا يَجِبُ لِي عَلَيْهِ مِنْ  
بَيْنَ هَذَا لِلْخَلْفِ فَانْتَ مِنْهُمْ غَمِيٌّ عَنْ ذَلِكَ لِمَعْرِفَتِكَ بِمَا قَدِمَ وَ حَدِثْ  
وَ عِلْمِكَ بِنَبِيِّي وَ اتَّخِيفِي عَلَيْكُمْ أَعْدَلَ الْبَيْتِ فِي وَقْتِ الْمَخَافَةِ وَ  
الصَّعُوبَةِ وَ قَبْلَكَ أَكْرَمَكَ اللَّهُ جَمَاعَةً مِنْ عِيَالِي وَ ذَوِي رَحْمِي وَ مَتَحَرِّمِينَ  
بِي وَ مَنْقَطَعِينَ إِلَيَّ وَ أَنْتِ أَحَقُّ بِحَيَاتِنَا وَ حَيَاةِ الدَّارِ فَإِنَّ الْآبَارَ  
قَدْ تَقَدَّمَتْ بِمَا تُمْتَحُ فَلَا نُحْسَرُ وَ أَرْجُو أَنْ يَكُونَ هَذَا بَلَّغَ قَبِيماً  
وَ أَنْجَحَ وَ السَّلَامُ،

On reading this letter, the Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd sent Sulaymán's wife and children and kinsmen to him with all honour and protection, and wrote with his own hand the following verse at the top of his letter:

لَا حَيْفَ فِي دِينِنَا وَ لَا أَتْرَهُ بِالسَّيْفِ نَعْلُو جَمَاجِمَ الْكُفْرِ  
يَا قَوْمَنَا بَيِّعْتَانِ وَاحِدَةً هَاتِي وَ هَاتَاكَ بَيْعَةَ الشَّجَرَةِ  
رُدُّوْا عَلَيْنَا تَرَاثَ وَالدُّنَا خَاتَمَهُ وَ الْقَضِيْبَ وَ الْخَبْرَةَ  
وَ بَيْتَ ذِي الْعَرْشِ سَلِّمُوهُ لَنَا يَلِيهِ مَنَا عَصَابَةٌ طَهْرَةَ  
فَطَالَمَا دُنِسَتْ مَشَاعِرُهُ وَ أَظْهَرَتْ فِيهِ فَسَقَهَا الْفَجْرَةَ

The Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár took refuge with the Mas-mughán, whom he induced to intercede for him with Ḥasan b. Zayd, to whom he took the oath of allegiance, and to whose court he sent his two sons Surkháb and Mázyár. And all this happened in the year A. H. 252 (A. D. 866).

Thereafter enmity arose between the Mas-mughán and Faḍli-Rafíqí, and the former took to the forests. Ḥasan b. Záyid tried by kind messages to induce him to return, but he refused, alleging that he was afraid of the Daylamites, and became a rebel. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd marched to Lankúr-khán and burned all the corn in the country, and sent Qárin in pursuit of him, but he fled away. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd came

to Sári, where news was brought (f. 113a) to him that Jálí the son of Lashkar-sitán was tyrannizing over the people of Amul, when some of them revolted and slew him. He thereupon despatched Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to investigate the matter, and ten days later followed him himself. When he reached Tarícha, his cousin Qásim b. ʿAlí b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd came from ʿIráq, and he bestowed on him robes of honour and costly presents, and sent him to Amul, while he himself remained at Tarícha. He arrested Surkháb the son of the Ispahbad Qárin and his brother Mázyár, and put them in bonds, and sent Sayyid Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar al-ʿAqíqí to Sári, giving him the government of that district and bidding him capture the Mas-mughán. Sayyid ʿAqíqí wrote in a conciliatory strain to the Mus-mughán, and induced him to join him and apologize for his flight and rebellion. Rustam the son of Qárin, however, revolted at Mihrawán, and rendered the roads unsafe; but he sent Hurmuzd-káma the son of Yazdánkard and ʿAbbás b. al-ʿAqílí against him. Rustam b. Zabarqán met the supporters of Muḥammad b. Núḥ, slew some and took others captive, captured Muḥammad b. Núḥ, and brought him to Mihrawán. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ʿAqíqí, being informed of this, sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd informing him that he had gone to Mihrawán to fight the enemy. Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, who was then at Jamanú, at once came to Sári, and there joined Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAqíqí, who had returned victorious, having slain many, and captured some 400 prisoners, abode for a while at Sári, until he heard that Ibráhím b. Muʿádh was sending re-inforcements to the Ispahbad Qárin b. Shahriyár, who was marching against him. So the Sayyid took the initiative, attacked his highland territory, slew all whom he met, and burned down houses and villages. Then he again took up his quarters at Sári for a while, left Sayyid Ḥasan ʿAqíqí in charge of that district, and returned to Amul, whence he issued a proclamation to all the

Regions of Ṭabaristán bidding them add the [Shīʿite] clause “*ḥayya ila khayrīl-ʿamal*” to the call to prayer, and to say the *Bismillāh* aloud in their prayers (f. 113b), and the like. This proclamation ran as follows:

تَأْمُرُكُمْ بِأَخْذِ الرَّعَايَا بِمَا فِيهِ جُمْلَةً قَدْ رَأَيْتَنَا إِنْ تَنَآخَذَ أَهْلُ عَمَلِكِ  
بِالْعَجْلِ بِكُتَابِ اللَّهِ وَ سُنَّةِ رَسُولِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ آلِهِ وَ مَا صَحَّ مِنْ  
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فِي أَصُولِ الدِّينِ وَ  
فُرُوعِهِ وَ بَاطِنِيَّاتِهِ تَفْضِيلُهُ عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْأُمَّةِ وَ نَهْيُهُمْ أَشَدَّ النَّهْيِ عَنِ  
الْقَوْلِ بِالْجَبْرِ وَ التَّنْشِيبِهِ مَكَايِدَةَ الْمُوَحِّدِينَ الْفَائِزِينَ بِالْعَدْلِ وَ التَّوْحِيدِ  
وَ عَنِ التَّحَكُّكِ بِالشَّيْبَعَةِ وَ عَنِ الرَّوَايَةِ فِي تَفْضِيلِ أَعْدَاءِ اللَّهِ وَ أَعْدَاءِ  
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَ تَأْمُرُكُمْ بِالْجَهْرِ بِبِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ بِالْقِنُوتِ فِي  
صَلَاةِ الْفَجْرِ وَ التَّنْكِبِيرَاتِ لِلْحَمْسِ عَلَى الْمِيَّتِ وَ تَرْكِ الْمَسْحِ عَلَى  
الْحَقِيقِينَ وَ بِالْحَافِ حَتَّى عَلَى خَيْرِ الْعَجْلِ فِي الْأَذَانِ وَ الْأَلَامَةِ وَ إِنْ تَجْعَلِ  
الْأَلَامَةَ مَثْنَى مَثْنَى وَ نُحْدَرِ مَنْ تَعَدَّى أَمْرَنَا فَلَيْسَ مِنْ خَالَفِ أَمْرَنَا وَ  
رَأَيْنَا إِلَّا سَفَكَ دَمَهُ وَ انْتَهَكَ مَحَارِمَهُ فَقَدْ أَعْذَرْنَا مِنْ أَنْذَرْنَا،

On this same day Abú Muqátíl aḍ-Ḍarír the poet recited to the Sayyid a *qaṣida* which began “God is peerless and the son of Zayd is peerless” —

اللَّهُ فَرْدٌ وَ ابْنُ زَيْدٍ فَرْدٌ،

Ḥasan b. Zayd the *Dāʿi* cried out at him in anger, and at once prostrated himself on the ground and repeated again and again, “God is peerless and the son of Zayd is a slave” —

اللَّهُ فَرْدٌ وَ ابْنُ زَيْدٍ عَبْدٌ،

Then he ordered the poet to be driven from his presence. A few days later he returned with these verses:

أَنَا مِنْ عَصَا لِسَانِهِ فِي شِعْرِهِ وَ لِرَبِّمَا صَرَ اللَّيْبِ لِسَانُهُ  
حَبْنِي أَسَاتُ أَمَا رَأَيْتُمْ كَافِرًا نَجَّاهُ مِنْ طُغْيَانِهِ إِيْمَانَهُ

Yet still the Sayyid was displeased with him, until on the festival of Mihraján he composed and recited another *qaṣida* beginning:

لَا تَفْعَلْ بُشْرَىٰ وَ لَكِنْ بُشْرِيَانِ  
 غُرَّةُ الدَّاعِي وَ يَوْمَ الْمَبْرَجَانِ  
 (f. 114a)

Then he turned to the poet and said that he ought to have transposed these two hemistichs, so as to avoid the evil omen of beginning the poem with the negation *lá*; but the poet replied, "O Sayyid, the most noble formula is '*Lá iláha illa 'lláh*' ('There is no god but God'), yet that begins with *lá*." "Well said! well said," cried the Sayyid; "thou art right in this verse!"

It is related that one day the Sayyid was passing through the streets and markets of Ámul when he saw written on a wall the words "*the Qur'an is the Uncreated Word of God, and whosoever calls it Created is an infidel.*" He reined in his horse and paused for a while to look at it, and then rode on. As a rule it was his custom not to return by the way he had come, but on this occasion he departed from his custom, and came back by that same spot. On arriving there, he perceived that the inhabitants of the quarter had effaced the writing, whereupon he smiled to himself and said, "*By Alláh, they have saved themselves from slaughter!*"

The Sayyid remained at Ámul all the months of Sha<sup>6</sup>bán, Ramaḍán and Shawwál, while Ḥasan-i-<sup>6</sup>Aqíqí continued at Sári, until Muḥammad b. Núḥ joined the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, and the Mas-mughán became their ally, and they marched on Sári conjointly. <sup>6</sup>Aqíqí retired before them to Tarícha, and Ḥasan b. Zayd sent Ja<sup>6</sup>far b. Muḥammad and Layth b. Fana with a thousand men to help him. Setting out from Tarícha, they first fell in with the Mas-mughán, defeated him, and slew his brother <sup>6</sup>Abbás. Then they turned, advanced on Sári, attacked Muḥammad

b. Núḥ at a place called Girda-zamín, four parasangs from the city, and defeated him. Layth b. Fana shewed the greatest courage; and it was chiefly by his efforts that the victory was won. Next night Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Aqíqí made a sudden attack and slew many of them, and carried off much spoil, and Muḥammad b. Núḥ joined Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu’lláh [b.] Ṭáhír at Astarábád, and both retired together to Gurgán. Sulaymán is reported to have said: “One day I passed over to Gurgán with four comrades (*khayl-tásh*) to a place called Sulaymán-ábád. I heard a voice saying:

كَمْ تُبْرَمُونَ وَكَمْ تَحْفَى حُيُوكُمْ هَذَا فِعَالٌ دَبِيرٌ فِي الْمَدَابِيرِ

When I looked back, I saw no one, and knew not who had spoken.” After this Sulaymán abandoned all idea of conquering Ṭabaristán, and retired into Khurásán.

Ṭabaristán is finally subjugated by Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd.

When Sulaymán b. ‘Abdu’lláh [b.] Ṭáhír retired from Ṭabaristán, Sayyid Ḥasan took possession of the whole country, and was henceforth reckoned its ruler. He persecuted and slew all such as sympathized with the ‘Abbásids (*Musawwida*), till men were filled with the fear of him, and thought of nothing save how to obey and please him. On Wednesday, Dhu’l-Ḥijja 3, A. H. 253 (= December 4, A. D. 867) he gave standards to Muḥammad b. Ibráhím and Lashkar-sitán-i-Daylamí and sent them to Gurgán, and everywhere the people came out to meet them and made offerings to them. During the whole of this month and the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar, A. H. 254 (January and February A. D. 868) the Daylamites remained with them, but when they found there were no spoils to be got, they entirely abandoned Muḥammad b. Ibráhím. After ten days he arrived

alone at Sárí from Gurgán. At the beginning of Rabí<sup>c</sup> I, A. H. 254 (March, A. D. 868) Sayyid Ḥasan sent an army against the Ispahbad Qárin the son of Shahriyár, the king of the Mountains, to Hazár-garí, where they burned all the crops and destroyed the houses. When he reached Sárí, Justán the son of Wah-súdán sent a trusty messenger to the Sayyid, asking him to send a representative in whom he had confidence to conquer by his aid the kingdom of Ray. So the Sayyid sent to him Aḥmad b. ʿIsá b. ʿAlí b. al-Ḥasan, and part of the territories of Ray were captured by them, and the Sayyid came from Sárí to Āmul. Mázyár the son of Qárin and Shahriyár escaped from their captivity, and on Friday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Jumáda I, A. H. 254 (= April 29, A. D. 868) the Sayyid ordered their gaolers to receive exemplary punishment, and despatched the brother of the Mas-mughán Wandarand Wandád Hurmazd السفجى and Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to seek for the Ispahbad Qárin in the highlands; but he fled from them to Qúmish (f. 115a).

And now the Sayyids of the House of ʿAlí and the Banú Háshim began to flock to Ṭabaristán from the Ḥijáz, Syria and ʿIráq "according to the number of the leaves on the trees," and he gave them all welcome; and whenever he rode forth, he was surrounded by 300 ʿAlawís with drawn swords as a body-guard. And on this the Sayyid Náṣir-i-kabír Ḥasan b. ʿAlí says:

كَانَ ابْنُ زَيْدٍ حِينَ يَغْدُو بِقَوْمِهِ    بُدُورُ سَمَاءٍ حَوْلَهُ أَنْجَمٌ زَعْرُ  
 قِيَا بُوسٍ قَوْمٌ صَبَّحَتْهُمْ خِيُولُهُ    وَ يَا نَعَمَ قَوْمٍ تَأْتِيهِمْ جُودَةُ الْعُمَرِ

After this letters arrived from Aḥmad b. ʿIsa and Qásim b. ʿAlí, who were with Justán the son of Wah-súdán, announcing that the districts of Ray, Qazwín, Abhar, and Zangán had been occupied by them, and that the people had responded to their propaganda. Then the Sayyid again sent Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to Gurgán with his standard,

and its people also submitted, and the Sayyid's rule was firmly established over a tranquil and obedient realm.

The Caliph al-Muʿtazz sends Músá b. Bughá and Mufliḥ with an army to Ṭabaristán.

Qásim b. ʿAlí al-ʿAlawí, who was in ʿIráq, seized ʿAbdu-ʿIlláh b. ʿAzíz, one of the officers of the Ṭáhirids, and handed him over to Faḍl b. Marzubán, who took him to Ḥasan b. Zayd, advising him to keep him securely. It was the *ʿId-i-Adhá* when the prisoner was brought to the Sayyid, who immediately ordered his head to be struck off. When this news reached the Caliph al-Muʿtazz at Baghdad, he at once despatched Músá b. Bughá and Mufliḥ with an army to ʿIráq. These met Justán the son of Wah-súdán and the Sayyids at Qazwín, defeated them, and slew many of the Daylamites, plundered their treasures, and came to Ray and thence to Qúmish and Gurgán, where they encamped. There they were joined by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad السككى, the vice-gerent of Muḥammad b. Ṭáhir. Mufliḥ with the vanguard advanced to Tammísha. Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd (f. 115*b*) had reviewed an army of 10,000 men at Āmul, and with him was the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán; while Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-ʿAqíqí with his forces was at Sárí, on which Mufliḥ advanced with his hosts. ʿAqíqí for a long while held the bridge of Sárí with great valour, but was at length routed, and Mufliḥ came to Sárí and abode there three days, after which he set out for Āmul. Sayyid Ḥasan, because of the smallness of his force, retreated from Āmul to Jálús, where he was deserted by most of his men, and thence went to Kalár to seek help from the Daylamites, but none shewed any eagerness to help him. Mufliḥ remained at Āmul till Jumáda II, A. H. 255 (May—June A. D. 869), and then moved on to Jálús, halting at a place near there called ʿUmar-ábád. The Daylamites, being afraid of him,

abandoned Ḥasan b. Zayd. At this juncture, however, Muḥliḥ received orders from Músá [b.] Bughá to return at once, which he did, travelling day and night, until at Gurgán he learned that the Caliph al-Muʿtazz biʿlláh Zubayr b. al-Muta-wakkil had entrusted Gurgán to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad السكّنى. So they retired to ʿIráq, and the people once more began to gather round Ḥasan b. Zayd, and brought him back to ʿAmul on Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 255 (= September 3 A. D. 869). Yazíd b. Khashm wrote bidding him come at once to Gurgán, which he did, accompanied by his army; and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad السكّنى, induced by promises of favourable treatment, swore allegiance to him, and his affairs once again became prosperous and orderly.

#### Yaʿqúb b. Layth marches against Ṭabaristán.

Ṭáhir b. ʿAbduʿlláh, who was in control of Khurásán, was unable to govern his province with firmness; and at this time a man called “the Veiled Sayyid” (*Sayyid-i-Burqaʿi*) revolted at Baṣra and Wáṣiṭ in Sawád. This man is better known as “the Leader of the Ethiopians” (*Ṣāhibuʿz-Zanj*), and ʿAlí, in some of his apocalyptic writings (ملاحم), gave tidings of his appearance, saying:

يا احنف كأتى به وقد سار بالجيش الذى لا يكون له غبار ولا  
لُجْبٌ ولا قعقعة (f. 116a) ولا جمجمة خيل يثيرون الأرض  
باقدامهم كأنها اقدم التعام ويل لِسِكِّكُمْ الْعَامِرَةَ والدور المخرقة أتى  
لها اجنحة كاجنحة النسور وخراطيم الفيلة من اولئك الذين لا  
يُنْدَبُ قَتِيلُهُمْ ولا يُفْقَدُ غَائِبُهُمْ انا كَبُّ الدنيا لوجهها وذرعا بذرعا  
وناظرها بعينها،

Now it was at this juncture, while the Caliph and Ṭáhir b. ʿAbduʿlláh were occupied with these matters, that Yaʿqúb b. Layth, a brave and ambitious man, revolted and became

powerful. For many troubles distracted Khurásán, where rebels and robbers arose on every side, but Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb b. Layth aṣ-Ṣaffár (“the Copper-smith”) was the most cunning and powerful of all. Originally of lowly origin and humble circumstances, he gathered a band of followers round him, and, owing to the weakness of the government, succeeded at last in dispossessing the governor of Sístán appointed by Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu<sup>ʿ</sup>lláh. He was then proclaimed king, marched on Khurásán, and seized the territories of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu<sup>ʿ</sup>lláh [b.] Ṭáhir, so that at length the Caliph thought it best to make over Khurásán to his control. Having taken Níshápúr he came to Dihistán, and sent secretly to سَكِنِي, promising him Gurgán and Astarábád if he would abandon Sayyid Ḥasan and help him. So on the 1st of the month of Urdí-bihisht, A. H. 260 (Oct.—Nov., A. D. 874), they came together to Sári and fought with Ḥasan ʿAqíqí, who fled to Āmul without halting, pursued by Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb b. Layth with lanterns and torches. The Sayyid Ḥasan came from Āmul to Rúyán, while his followers abandoned him on all sides. Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb b. Layth proceeded to Kalár, and Ḥasan retreated to Shírú. Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb sent a message to the people of Shírú promising not to enter their territories if they would hand the Sayyid over to him, but they refused, incited thereunto by Kawkabán, one of the chief men of the place, and Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb (f. 116*b*) was forced to retire. His baggage was cut off and plundered by the Daylamites, and he went to Kajú, and, by torture and threats, extorted from the people of Rúyán two years’ taxes, so that they were left without food or clothes. He then made Layth b. Fana governor of Rúyán, Pádhúsbán governor of Ṭabaristán, and Qásim b. Muslim al-Khurásání, one of his own men, governor of Jálús, while he retired to Āmul. Immediately the people of Jálús attacked their new governor, burned his palace, and slew all his men. News of this was brought to Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb, who

returned, cut down the trees and burned the houses, and then marched on to Kandasán by way of Kalár, and thence to Rúyán. But all his camels were destroyed by the fly, rain and thunderstorms came on, and he entrenched himself in Ámul. No sooner had he arrived there than he heard that Ḥasan b. Zayd was coming, whereupon he emerged to the coast, and Ḥasan fled to Kúhpáya. Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb then marched to Kurd-ábád by way of Nátil, exacted two years' taxes from the people of the plain, and thence returned to Ámul and Sárí. He continued altogether four months in Ṭabaristán, and then retired from Sárí by way of Qúmish to the neighbourhood of Ray, and wrote to his deputy in Sístán to release the <sup>ʿ</sup>Alawís whom he had taken prisoner and give them money to go to their own country. One of them was Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd's brother, Abú <sup>ʿ</sup>Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd.

As soon as Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb-i-Layth had quitted Ṭabaristán, Ḥasan b. Zayd came to Sárí with an army of Daylamites, and the people again gathered round him. He advanced without halting to Gurgán, when he was met by the news that his brother, mentioned above, had been released by Ya<sup>ʿ</sup>qúb, and was approaching. He went out to meet him with his whole army, and in Şafar, A. H. 263 (= November, A. D. 876) they met, and halted for the remainder of that month and the whole of Rabi<sup>ʿ</sup> I at Gurgán, after which he returned to Ṭabaristán to see his mother. A predatory band of several thousand Turks, blood-thirsty infidels, had entered Dihistán (f. 117*a*) and were preparing to attack Ṭabaristán. Ḥasan b. Zayd was then at Gurgán. He placed Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Khurásání in command of the vanguard, consisting of 2000 Daylamites, and himself took command of the centre. They met the infidels at Shúra in Dihistán, and completely routed them. Muḥammad b. Tamím, known as Mardán-kulah was killed; and Ḥasan b. Zayd fought with great bravery, and

pursued the fugitives till they were all killed or dispersed. His courage on that day marked an epoch.

Revolt of Layth b. Fana against Ḥasan b. Zayd,  
and invasion of Ṭabaristán by Shárí, the  
lieutenant of the House of Ṭáhir.

When Ḥasan b. Zayd arrived at Gurgán, news came from Amul that Layth b. Fana had revolted, so he left Muḥammad b. Ibráhím al-ʿAlawí at Gurgán and himself went to Amul. The Daylamites refused to obey Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, and began to loot and otherwise misconduct themselves. He therefore wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd, saying, "Thou knowest the evil character and vile nature of the Daylamites, and their rebelliousness against thy authority. They will not obey me, and the people are afflicted by them." But Ḥasan b. Zayd was occupied with Layth b. Fana, and had sent his army under Aḥmad b. ʿIsá to Láriján, because its lord, Parwíz, had asked for help, representing that Layth b. Fana had gone to Ray, and had induced its governor to attack Láriján. He therefore sent his brother, Abú ʿAbdiʿlláh Muḥammad b. Zayd, to Gurgán.

Now there was a certain Daylamite named Dakiyya who had fled from Muḥammad with his people, and gone to Khurásán to Shárí, the lieutenant of the Ṭáhirids, whom he informed of the anarchy and unrest which prevailed in Gurgán, urging him to attack it, and promising to help him to obtain possession of it. So Shárí came from Isfaráʿin to Gurgán, and the Daylamites entirely deserted Muḥammad b. Zayd and Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, and went over to the invader. The two Sayyids came to Amul, and waited until Shárí desired to provision his army, and sent out the Daylamites, unarmed, to forage for provisions (f. 117<sup>b</sup>). One of the chief men of Gurgán named Isháq said to Shárí, "Do

not give wealth to the Daylamites without good cause, or else they will deal treacherously with thee, as they have ever dealt with their *amirs* and rulers; for no one hath experienced at their hands aught but insolence, oppression, and ungenerous conduct." The Daylamites were gathered together at Sulaymánábad; and the people of Gurgán, gentle and simple, were all afraid of the barbarities they might perpetrate. So Shári and Isháq ordered them all to be put to the sword, and in one day 3000 of them were slain. News of this was brought to Ḥasan b. Zayd, and he was filled with malicious delight.

When it became known to Layth b. Fana that Shári had taken Gurgán, he induced the Turk, who was the governor of Ray, to let him go to Ṭabaristán to take the country for him, and was permitted to proceed to Láriján. When he arrived, he found that Aḥmad b. ʿIsá and the Masmughán were both there, and had stopped all the roads, and cried threats and imprecations at them from the mountains. Layth b. Fana put his horse at the river, but was unable to cross. The Turk was afraid and said, "Surely he intends some treachery towards me." So he ordered him to be seized and his head to be cut off: and this he sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd, offering at the same time his apologies for having invaded the country. Immediately after this news arrived that Shári, having collected much wealth, was about to leave Gurgán, and the Sayyid Ḥasan at once proceeded thither with his army. Shári fled to Khurásán, while Ḥasan b. Zayd entered Gurgán, slew many of the common people, and plundered their property.

Revolt of the Ispahbad Rustam the son of  
Qárin the son of Shahriyár and his  
relations with Ḥasan b. Zayd.

At this time the Daylamites were plundering, stealing, and causing great trouble in Gurgán, breaking into the

houses of Muslims by night to rob and do evil, so that even unto Níshápúr men were in terror of them. So Ḥasan-i-Zayd caused the hands and feet of a thousand of them to be cut off in Gurgán, in consequence of which some thousand of his followers deserted him and joined Rustam the son of Qárin, who, though (f. 118a) ostensibly declaring himself to be loyal to the Sayyid, was really bent on rebellion against his authority. When these Daylamites joined Rustam the son of Qárin, he had not sufficient food wherewith to feed them, so he suffered them to loot the countryside in search of provisions. Qásim b. ‘Alí, who was at Qúmish, wrote to him informing him that Muḥammad b. Mahdí b. Nírak was marching against him from Níshápúr, and at the same time asked for help from Ḥasan b. Zayd. Qásim had not the least suspicion of the intentions of Rustam, and was quite off his guard, when the latter suddenly and treacherously attacked and captured him, imprisoned him in the castle of Sháh Dizh in Hazár-garí, and seized Qúmish. Sayyid Qásim died in the castle. Then Rustam sent to the governor of Níshápúr, Aḥmad b. ‘Abdu’lláh Khujistání<sup>1</sup>, telling him that the affairs of Ḥasan b. Zayd were in a precarious state, and asking for his help. Sayyid Ḥasan plundered Qúmish and chastised Rustam; but the death of his brother-in-law, Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ‘Alí b. ‘Abdu’r-Raḥmán, broke his spirit, for he loved him greatly and held him in high esteem. All the army of Sayyid Ḥasan went over to his brother Abú ‘Abdi’lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd, who ordered them to attack the Ispahbad Rustam. When they had advanced one stage, the army of Níshápúr under Khujistání had reached Gurgán, so he sent messengers to turn his brother back, abandoned Gurgán, and retired into Tammísha. Khujistání pursued him to Ribát-i-Ḥafs, captured his treasures and baggage, and took many prisoners, but slew no one.

<sup>1</sup> See my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 43—44.

Muḥammed [b.] Zayd learned at Júhína that his brother had departed, and at Sári rumour reached him that Ḥasan b. Zayd had been taken captive. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ʿAqíqí assembled the people and received their oaths of allegiance to himself, beheading all who refused to take this oath. But at Sári he was met by Ṭáhir b. Ibráhím [b.] Khalíl coming from Ḥasan b. Zayd, from whom he learned that Sayyid Ḥasan himself was approaching. Thereupon he fled from Sári and joined the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin, and though Ḥasan b. Zayd tried to win him back by kind messages, he returned no answer, but continued with the Ispahbad till Khujistání had established himself in Bakrábád in Gurgán and collected supplies. The Ispahbad remained at Astarábád until Khujistání went to Níshápúr, and the men of Gurgán attached themselves to ʿAqíqí, who protected them from the oppression of Khujistání, and excused them their taxes, and all of them swore allegiance to him. But presently Ḥasan b. Zayd collected an army in Ṭabaristán, who, by threes and by fours, began to set out for Astarábád. When he reached the village of Námina in Panjá-hazár, he chose out 500 horsemen, and made a night attack on Astarábád, so that at day-break he surprised Rustam, who only succeeded in escaping on foot into the highlands. Ḥasan b. Zayd, without delaying, set out for Gurgán, where ʿAqíqí knew nothing of what had happened to Rustam at Astarábád. The Sayyid therefore took him quite by surprise, so that he fled with only three horsemen to the plains, pursued by Muḥammad b. Zayd, until he was finally captured and brought before Sayyid Ḥasan. As soon as his eyes fell on the Sayyid, he prayed for quarter, but the Sayyid, averting his face, bade Turk-i-Rúmí to cut off his head, after which they wrapped his body in a mantle and buried it in the Guebres' cemetery. Then the Sayyid sent his brother Muḥammad b. Zayd into the Ispahbad's highlands to

pursue him, until at length, despairing, he sent messenger after messenger to beg for quarter, till at length the Sayyid wrote to his brother bidding him to spare the fugitive, but to seize all his possessions, and exact pledges that he would not in future maintain an army, all of which Muḥammad b. Zayd duly performed. On his return, his brother invested him with the standard and drum of authority, and sent him to Gurgán.

#### Death of Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd.

This year the Sayyid fell sick, so that he was unable to sit his horse (f. 119*a*) and he continued thus sick for a year, and finally expired on Monday, Rajab 3, A. H. 270 (= January 6, A. D. 884), twenty years after he first appeared in revolt. During his year's illness he bade Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, known as al-Qā'im, who was his son in law, to take from the people of Ṭabaristán the oath of allegiance to his brother Abú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. Zayd.

#### Reign of Muḥammad b. Zayd over Ṭabaristán, and Revolt of Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn.

Muḥammad b. Zayd, with the title *ad-Dā'i al-Kabir* ("the Great Missionary") received the oath of allegiance from the people of Ṭabaristán. He was at the time of his brother's death in Gurgán, and his son-in-law, Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn, seized the money which was in the treasury and expended it in inducing the people to swear allegiance to himself, which most of the Daylamite chiefs did. He was also joined by the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin and Pádhúbán.

When Muḥammad b. Zayd heard the news of his brother's death, he advanced on Āmul with his army, many of whom had been secretly won over to the interest of

Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn, who tried to persuade some of them, such as Laythám the son of Wardán, and Abú Manşúr Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, to slay Muḥammad b. Zayd at Ribát-i-Hafş. They refused to kill him, having eaten his bread and salt, but deserted him, and turned back to Gurgán. He too turned back thither, but the inhabitants refused to admit him, and he therefore took up his quarters in the village of Zawín. Abu'l-Ḥusayn sent money and robes of honour for the people of the city, and bade them let Muḥammad b. Zayd remain where he was; and he dared not put his head outside Zawín until Ráfi' b. Harthama returned defeated from Khurásán, and sent for Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, who was his servant, to come and meet him. Mahdí paid no heed to this message, whereupon Ráfi', divining Muḥammad b. Zayd's condition, sent (f. 119b) trusty men to him, brought him to his quarters and fought and defeated Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, who fled to Khurásán. Laythám-i-Daylam went to Abu'l-Ḥusayn, and 'Alí b. Surkháb was taken prisoner by Mahdí, but fled from him on the day of his defeat. Ráfi' handed over Gurgán to Muḥammad b. Zayd and returned to Khurásán. One day Abu'l-Ḥusayn began to oppress his followers in order to enrich himself, and these consequently wrote in secret to Muḥammad b. Zayd invoking his assistance. He, having collected an army, arrived at Sári on Wednesday, the first of Jumádá I, A. H. 271 (= October 25, A. D. 884), and Abu'l-Ḥusayn, who was there, fled from him to Āmul, whence he started at night to join Laythám and Nu'mán at Jálús and go to Daylam. On the Sunday Muḥammad b. Zayd reached Āmul, whence on the Tuesday he moved on to the village of Banafsh, whence he proceeded by night to Jálús, and there seized Abu'l-Ḥusayn, with Laythám and the other Daylamites who were with him, with much spoil. That night he went on to Khwájak, and reached Āmul, where, on Friday, the 6<sup>th</sup> of

Jumáda I, he was crowned king. Abu'l-Ḥusayn, whose power had endured ten months, was cast into bonds, and pardon was proclaimed to his agents and officers, who thereupon submitted, and were made to render account of the moneys they had collected for their master. He also brought in Abu'l-Ḥusayn's sister, who was the widow of his late brother Ḥasan b. Zayd, and took from her all her jewels and gold ornaments, after which he released Abu'l-Ḥusayn, bidding all those from whom he had exacted money recover it from him. Thereupon the jurisconsults of Āmul bore witness against him of exactions amounting to a million *dirhams*, upon which he was again cast into bondage, and sent with Laythám-i-Daylam to Sárí, after which no one ever saw them again, and it was said that they were killed on the road thither.

So soon as Muḥammad b. Zayd was thus established as ruler of Ṭabaristán, he set out for the highlands against the Ispahbad Rustam the son of (f. 120a) Qárin, drove him out of the kingdom, and sent him to ʿAmr b. Layth the Şaffárí, who interceded for him; and pardon was granted to him on condition that he should swear henceforth to maintain no army, and to send all that he had to Muḥammad b. Zayd, and to pay all the tax and tribute which he had withheld. And Muḥammad b. Zayd established his capital at Gurgán where many retainers gathered round him, although he was unable to give him pay.

How Muḥammad b. Zayd attacked Ray; and what befel him with Ráfi<sup>c</sup> b. Harthama, and how an army invaded Ṭabaristán.

In Rabí<sup>c</sup> I, A. H. 272 (= Aug.—Sept., A. D. 885), Asatákín the Turk being governor of Ray, Muḥammad b. Zayd marched from Gurgán to Dámghán, and thence to Samnán and Khwár. A battle took place between him and the

army of 'Iráq at Wah-rádhán, near Ray, in which Muḥammad b. Zayd was defeated and fled to Láriján. Ráfi<sup>c</sup> b. Harthama then invaded Gurgán, but troubles in Khurásán obliged him to go to Níshápur. In A. H. 273 (A. D. 886—887) Muḥammad b. Zayd returned to Ámul, and celebrated the circumcision of his son Zayd, whom he nominated as his successor, joining his name with his own on the coinage and in the *khutba*. On the arrival of Ráfi<sup>c</sup> in Khurásán the troubles there ceased, and the quarrel between Naṣr and Ismá'íl, the sons of Núḥ the Sámánid, was terminated. Ráfi<sup>c</sup> then marched against Khwárazm, with the people of which he had already waged war; and carried off thence ten thousand (f. 120*b*) men as hostages.

What befel between Muḥammad b. Zayd and the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qárin; and how an army invaded Ṭabaristán.

Rustam, dispossessed by the Sayyid, fled to Ráfi<sup>c</sup>, and seven months later returned to Ṭabaristán with him at the head of an army. — The Sayyid, unable to withstand them, retreated from Gurgán to the castle of Juhína, where he was besieged for six months. At the end of this period he left a *kotwál* in charge of the castle, and himself escaped to Tammísha. Soon afterwards the castle capitulated to Ráfi<sup>c</sup>, before whom the Sayyid fell back on Daylamán. In the beginning of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 277 (= March, A. D. 891) he was still at Kajú, while the people suffered the direst distress from the invaders. The Daylamites came to the Sayyid's assistance; and Justán the son of Wah-súdán descended from the highlands to help him. Ráfi<sup>c</sup> commanded his governor at Jálús, Muḥammad b. Hárún, to remain within his fortifications, and sent Rustam son of Qárin, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Wandawayh, 'Alí b. al-Ḥasan al-Marwazí, 'Abdu'lláh b. al-Ḥasan, and the son of the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Pádhúsbán

to Jálús by the sea-shore, while he himself came to Ahlam. (f. 121a) Muḥammad b. Hárún thereupon came out of Jálús and pursued his foes. Owing to the exactions of Ráfi<sup>c</sup> provisions become scarce and dear. At the beginning of Şafar, A. H. 278 (middle of May, A. D. 891) Ráfi<sup>c</sup> marched from Jálús by way of Ṭálaqán in pursuit of Justán the son of Wah-súdán, and laid waste his territory. Finally Justán promised not to help the Sayyid, whereupon Ráfi<sup>c</sup> withdrew to Qazwín. The Sayyid now marched on Gílán, while Ráfi<sup>c</sup> came from Qazwín to Ray. Al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid bi<sup>3</sup>lláh, who succeeded about this time to the Caliphate, sent a messenger to summon Ráfi<sup>c</sup> to his presence, but Ráfi<sup>c</sup> seized the messenger and imprisoned him, though he afterwards let him go. The Caliph then appointed Abu<sup>3</sup>l-<sup>c</sup>Abbás Aḥmad b. [°Abd] al-<sup>c</sup>Azíz b. Abú Dulaf al-<sup>c</sup>Ijlí governor of °Iráq, and ordered him to give battle to Ráfi<sup>c</sup>, who was defeated with heavy loss by the Caliph's troops on the river Kūlahwár on Friday, Dhu<sup>3</sup>l-Qa<sup>c</sup>da 18, and was compelled to fall back (f. 121b) on Ṭabaristán by way of Wíma.

Ráfi<sup>c</sup> makes peace with Muḥammad b. Zayd.

When Ráfi<sup>c</sup> reached Mihrawán, he heard that the Caliph al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid had given the government of Níshápúr to °Amr b. Layth, whereupon he took the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad b. Zayd, on condition that he should hold Gurgán. On Tuesday, the 5<sup>th</sup> of Rabí<sup>c</sup> II, the latter came to Ámul, and Ráfi<sup>c</sup> went to Gurgán. At this juncture news arrived that Aḥmad al-<sup>c</sup>Ijlí, the Caliph's governor, had died at Ray, and that his son had succeeded him. Thereupon, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of Jumádá I, Ráfi<sup>c</sup> marched on Ray, attacked and defeated him, and sent his army to Kúh-páya. A month later al-Mu<sup>c</sup>taḍid sent his son<sup>1</sup> to Ray, whereupon Ráfi<sup>c</sup> abandoned the country.

<sup>1</sup> [i. e. °Alí, afterwards al-Muktafi. He was invested with the Government of Ray in Rajab, A. H. 281 (= September, A. D. 894) by his father, who

Ibn [Abi'l-] Aṣḡagh, the deputy of the Caliph's son, ruled justly, and reduced the country to order. In this same year Bakr b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzíz al-ʿIjlí came to Sayyid Muḡammad b. Zayd at ʿAmul, and was received by him with much honour and many gifts, including a million *dirhams* made up into a hundred bags, and was finally given the government of Rúyán and Jálús. On his arrival at Nátil, however, he was poisoned in some sherbet (نقاع), and was buried there at the Bridge of Laythám. Ráfiʿ, returning defeated to Gurgán, wished to attack ʿAmr b. Layth, encouraged thereto by an officer who had deserted from that Amír. He besieged Ní-shápúr, but ʿAmr remained within the walls. While fighting was going on round the city between the troops of Ráfiʿ and those of Muḡammad b. Hárún, Abú Naṣr-i-Ṭabarí, Mahdí b. Mukhayyas and (f. 122a) Faḡl b. Jaʿfar, ʿAmr with 5000 men suddenly attacked and defeated them. Ráfiʿ and ʿAmr b. Layth both sought help from the Sayyid, but he refused to help Ráfiʿ, who, after various further misfortunes from rain and flood, was compelled to make peace and to renew his treaties with him.

How Ráfiʿ took captive the Ispahbad Rustam.

Ráfiʿ soon informed the Ispahbad Rustam that he had no intention of observing his new treaty with the Sayyid, and, on Rustam's allying himself with ʿAmr b. Layth, proceeded to seize him and put him in bonds, confiscated all his property, extorted large sums of money from his retainers, and gave his country to Abú Naṣr-i-Ṭabarí. In Ramaḡán, A. H. 282 (= October—November, A. D. 895) Rustam died in his bondage.

In this year the Sayyid Muḡammad b. Zayd gave money to Ráfiʿ to induce him to adopt the white badge and

at the same time appointed Aḡmad b. Abí'l-Aṣḡagh as his son's *kátib*. See Ṭabarí, III, p. 2140. A. G. E.]

standard of the 'Alawís, and to exact from the men of Gurgán, Dihistán (f. 122*b*) and Jájarm the oath of allegiance to him; while he on his part sent the Sayyid a share of Rustam's plundered possessions. A quarrel now arose between Muḥammad b. Wahsúdán and 'Alí b. Surkháb, and the former, having killed some of the latter's men, went to Kílárján, and was reported to have cast off his allegiance. Ráfi<sup>c</sup> again marched against 'Amr b. Layth, but was again defeated, and fled to Khwárazm, the inhabitants of which city, having an ancient grudge against him, seized him, cut off his head, and sent it to 'Amr b. Layth, who sent it on to the Caliph. After this all Ṭabaristán from Gurgán to Gílán became the Sayyid's secure possession. In A. H. 282 (A. D. 895—6) news arrived that Ismá'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid had captured 'Amr b. Layth and put him to death, and the Sayyid was now freed from all anxiety; but just as his power, glory, fame and good repute seemed to be at their height, calamity befel him, even as the poet says:

كَذَاكَ كُسُوفُ الْبَدْرِ عِنْدَ تَمَامِهِ.

Cause of the Martyrdom of Sayyid Muḥammad  
b. Zayd in his war with Muḥammad b. Hárún.

Ismá'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid sent Muḥammad b. Hárún with an army (f. 123*a*) against Ṭabaristán. Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd, confident in his power (for he had 20,000 men with him, and his antagonist only 3000), attacked the centre of his enemy's army with a mere handful of men, and was the first person slain. His head was cut off, his great army scattered, and his son Abu'l-Ḥusayn taken prisoner on Friday, Shawwál 5, A. H. 287 (= October 3, A. D. 900). The Sayyid's headless body was buried at Gurgán in a place still known as Gúr-i-Dá'í ("the Propagandist's Grave"), and his head was sent to Bukhárá. He reigned in all sixteen

years. His son Zayd was for a long while kept a prisoner by Isma'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid at Bukhárá, whence he sent these verses to his friends in Ṭabaristán:

أَسْجُنَ وَ قَيْدَ وَ أَشْتَبَاكَ وَ غُرْبَةَ، وَ نَأَى حَبِيبِ إِنْ ذَا لَثَقَيْدُ،  
 أَيَا شَجَرَاتِ الْكَجُونِ فِي شَطِّ حَرْمَزِ، لَشَوْتِي إِلَى أَفْيَاتِكُنَّ طَوِيلُ،  
 أَلَا هَلْ إِلَى شِمِّ الْبِنْفَسِجِ فِي الضَّحَى، بِخُشْكَرُودَ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَلْمَمَاتِ سَبِيلُ،

These verses were shewn to Isma'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid, who was so much affected by them that he released his captive, saying, "Thou hast thy choice of returning to Ṭabaristán or of remaining here." He replied, "The affairs of Ṭabaristán have gone beyond the point that there should be any place for me there; it is best for me to remain here." And so he lived, died and was buried in Bukhárá. Three sons of his are mentioned in the genealogical tree of the House of Abú Ṭálib (شجره انساب طالبيه), viz. Abú 'Alí Isma'íl b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, who migrated to Bukhárá; Abú 'Abd'illáh Muḥammad ar-Riḍá (f. 123*b*), whose descendants are settled at Baghdad; and Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd.

#### Account of Muḥammad b. Hárún and the rule of Isma'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid.

Muḥammad b. Hárún, having subdued Gurgán, set out for Āmul and Sári, reaching the first named city on a Friday in the month of Tír, A. H. 287 (A. D. 900), and reigned for a year and six months, till Isma'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid, having subdued the whole of Khurásán, marched against Ṭabaristán. Muḥammad b. Hárún refused to submit to his authority, and retired to Daylamán. Isma'íl encamped at a place called Ashílá Dasht, near Āmul, in the plain of Lfíkánf, and administered such justice as was almost unknown in

Ṭabaristán, restoring to the nobles and gentry the property of which they had been robbed by the Sayyids and others during the last fifty years. Thus he restored —

1,000,000	<i>dirhams</i>	to the children of Ibráhím Khalíl;
600,000	" "	Ibráhím b. Isháq al-Faqíh;
500,000	" "	Muḥammad b. al-Mughíra of Rúyán;
500,000	" "	Hárún b. ʿAlí Abú Šádiq (see p. 74 <i>supra</i> );
200,000	" "	Muḥammad b. as-Sirrí;
300,000	" "	Muqátíl, cousin of the above;
500,000	" "	the Ispahbad of Kalár;
300,000	" "	Quṭquṭí of Sárí;
700,000	" "	Qárin, Aparwíz and Khushk Khayán;
1,200,000	" "	the family of aṣ-Şayfar (so A.; B. has aṣ-Şafír);
100,000	" "	Surkháb the son of Jastán;
700,000	" "	Ibráhím and Muḥammad, sons of ju- risconsults, Ibráhím b. Mihrán, his brother Khalífa, Mañşúr and Jalwá- nán, all of Tarícha.

He also restored the possessions of the poor and reduced their taxes, and so won the affection and support of all. This took place at the end of A. H. 288 and the beginning of A. H. 289 (end of A. D. 901).

#### The Rebellion of Sayyid Náşir-i-Kabír (f. 124*a*).

Sayyid Náşir-i-Kabír's name was Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí, and he revolted in Gílán and Daylamán, declaring himself "the Avenger" (*ath-Tháʿir*) of his predecessor, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd, called *Dáʿi l-Ḥaqq* ("the Propagandist of the Truth"). Ismaʿíl the Sámánid sent against him his son Aḥmad and his cousin Abu'l-ʿAbbás ʿAbdu'lláh b. Muḥammad b. Núḥ. The armies met at a place called Falás,

and the Daylamites were defeated and two thousand of them slain, amongst them the fathers of the afterwards celebrated Mákán [b.] Kákí and of Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, the subsequent rulers of Gíl and Daylam.

Ismá'íl the Sámánid entrusts the government of Ṭabaristán to his cousin Abu'l-Abbás 'Abdu'lláh b. Muḥammad b. Núḥ b. Asad.

Ismá'íl the Sámánid, having entrusted the government of Ṭabaristán to his cousin Abu'l-Abbás, set out for 'Iráq to seek for Muḥammad b. Hárún. On reaching Samnán, he received tidings of the death of the Caliph al-Mu'taḍid (A. H. 289 = A. D. 902). Muḥammad b. Hárún effected a junction with Justán [b.] Wah-súdán, and both swore allegiance to Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír. In A. H. 290 (A. D. 903) the latter resolved on subjugating Ṭabaristán. Abu'l-Abbás summoned to his aid the Ispahbad Shahriyár, son of Pádhúsbán; the Ispahbad Sharwín, son of Rustam, king of the mountains; and the nephew of the latter, Parwíz, the lord of Láriján, and further wrote to Ismá'íl the Sámánid asking for help. In the month of Bahman, A. H. 299 (So A.;? 289) Muḥammad b. Hárún, Justán [b.] Wahsúdán, and Sayyid Náṣir reached Tamanjáda, and encamped in a plain known as Kázar. The war lasted forty days, and the people of Āmul in fear sent their children and goods to the country villages. At length the army of Abu'l-Abbás seemed to be defeated, and began to flee in rout to Mámṭír, but he, with Shahriyár (f. 124*b*) and Kawkabán of Daylam, hurled himself upon the centre of the army of Muḥammad b. Hárún, who, deeming the victory already won, had removed one foot from his stirrup and crossed it over his horse's neck. His army, taken thus unawares, was routed, and fled to Anúshadádhán.

Ismá'íl the Sámánid had sent his son Aḥmad to help Abu'l-Abbás, but he tarried on the way, hoping that his

cousin might be defeated. Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abbás complained of this to Ismá'íl, who recalled Aḥmad to Bukhárá, and reproached him, saying, "Thou pretendest that if Ṭabaristán be lost, no harm will accrue to Bukhárá. Dost thou not know that, should such a thing happen, we should no longer be safe here?" Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abbás then went to Ray, and sent to Fáris, governor of Gurgán, bidding him be on his guard until Muḥammad b. Hárún's death. Fáris forwarded this letter to Bukhárá, and requested Ismá'íl to send him his insignia, standard and ring. Muḥammad b. Hárún again collected an army and came to Āmul. Fáris spread abroad a rumour that Ismá'íl was come, and on the day of battle stationed one of his officers dressed in Ismá'íl's robes, wearing his insignia, and bearing his standard in the centre of the army. Then he came to Muḥammad b. Hárún with ten men, saying, "O man, art thou mad to come and draw the sword against thy master? Lo, he sends me with his army and his signet-ring, promising thee pardon and safety and the government of this province." Muḥammad b. Hárún, seeing the signet-ring and other insignia, was confounded, and said to his men, "Do you remain where you are;" (f. 125*a*) then he said to Fáris, "Advance, let us go to the Master!" Thus Fáris brought him to the centre of his own army, where he at once cast him to the ground, put him in fetters, and carried him off prisoner. Of his army, some joined Fáris, others went to Baghdad, and the remainder stayed in Ṭabaristán. Muḥammad b. Hárún was carried to Bukhárá, paraded round the town, and then immured and starved to death. And so long as Ismá'íl the Sámánid lived, Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abbás ruled Ṭabaristán from Gurgán to Gilán.

A ḥ m a d b. I s m á ' í l t h e S á m á n i d s e n d s S a l á m  
t o g o v e r n Ṭ a b a r i s t á n .

Ismá'íl on his death was succeeded by his son Aḥmad,

in A. H. 294 (= A. D. 906—7). After two years and a few months he dismissed Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abbás, whom he hated, from the government of Ṭabaristán, and in A. H. 297 (= A. D. 909—910) sent to succeed him a Turk named Salám. His father's officers, such as Abú Şáliḥ Maṣṣúr and Fáris, were disgusted at this, and wished to swear allegiance to Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abbás, who sought to retire to Gurgán to effect a junction with Fáris, but was stopped by Hurmazd-Káma, the lord of Tammísha, Rustam the son of Qárin, and the Ispahbad Shahriyár. He therefore returned to Ámul, and tried to go thence by Kajú and Rúyán to Ray, but the Ispahbad Shahriyár met him at Injír and persuaded him to refrain from any act of rebellion. At this juncture Muḥammad b. Ḥajar arrived as an ambassador from Aḥmad b. Ismá'íl the Sámánid, bringing a robe of honour and conciliatory messages (f. 125*b*), and conducted him to Bukhárá, where the Sámánid nobles advised that he should be treated with honour and sent at the head of 30,000 horsemen to 'Iráq. In Jumáda I, A. H. 297 (= January—February, A. D. 910) Salám the Turk came to Ámul, on the first day of the old Persian month of Ádhar, and governed the country for 9 months and 22 days, till one day Abú Aḥmad Zanrás (B. "Zanráshan") of Náşirábád came before him to complain of the exorbitant taxes which he was compelled to pay, and was answered by blows; whereupon he rushed out and raised the people against the Turk, whom, after he had fired the bázár and repelled them for three days and nights, they drove out of the city.

Aḥmad b. Ismá'íl sends Aḥmad b. Núḥ  
to govern Ṭabaristán.

Thereupon Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abbás Aḥmad was made governor of Ṭabaristán, and he was accompanied by the son of Dhu'r-Riyásatayn.

The Russians come over the sea to plunder  
Ṭabaristán.

This year 16 ships filled with Russians came to Ābasgún, as they had already done in the time of Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, who defeated and slew them. This time they wasted and looted Ābasgún and the adjacent coasts, and carried off or slew many Musulmáns. The governor of Sári, Abu'ḏ-Ḍarḡhám Aḡmad b. al-Qásim, wrote news of this to Abu'l-ʿAbbás. Next year the Russians returned in greater force, burned Sári and Panjáḡ-hazár, and carried off many prisoners. Then they sailed to Chashma-Rúd in Daylamán; but, while some of them were on land, a number of the people of Gílán descended to the sea-shore (f. 126a), burned their ships, and slew those who had landed. Shírwánsháh, King of the Khazars, hearing of this, intercepted such of their ships as had escaped and destroyed them and their crews, and thenceforth the marauding raids of the Russians were stopped. Abu'l-ʿAbbás Aḡmad b. Núḡ died in Şafar, A. H. 298 (= October, A. D. 910).

Aḡmad b. Ismáʿíl sends Muḡammad b.  
Şaʿlúk to Ṭabaristán.

When news of the death of Abu'l-ʿAbbás reached Aḡmad the Sámánid he made Muḡammad b. Şaʿlúk, who was then at Ray, governor of Ṭabaristán, and sent his wazír Abu'l-Faḏl Muḡammad b. ʿAbdu'lláh al-Balʿamí from Bukhárá to meet him. They met near Āmul at a place called Báshír, and Muḡammad b. Ilísa<sup>c</sup> was also there.

Rebellion of Sayyid Náşir-i-Kabír.

This Sayyid, whose name was Abú Muḡammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí, had for some time been engaged in study and

teaching in Gílán. On the return of al-Bal'ámí to Bukhárá, and the arrival of Muḥammad b. Ṣa'ílúk at Āmul, the people of Fajam, Maraz, and all Gíl and Daylam flocked to him. He sent his son Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad to Rúyán, and thence expelled the Sámánid governor Muḥím. Náṣir-i-Kabír then went to Kalár, and there received the allegiance of its Ispahbad Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Thence he proceeded to Gúr-Shír and Jálús, sending on his cousin Ḥasan b. al-Qásim with the vanguard to take Jálús. Muḥammad b. Ṣa'ílúk had advanced to Búrábád with 15,000 men. Then a battle was fought (f. 1266), in which Ibn Ṣa'ílúk was defeated, and many of his soldiers slain. On a Sunday in Jumáda II, A. H. 301 (= January, A. D. 914) Sayyid Náṣir advanced to Jálús, captured Abu'l-Wafá Khalífa b. Núḥ, slew the Khurásání garrison, and razed the fortress to the ground. Ibn Ṣa'ílúk fled by way of Āmul, Málíka Dasht, Sári and Gurgán to Ray. Two days later Sayyid Náṣir came to Āmul and established himself in the Palace formerly occupied by Ḥasan b. Zayd. He treated all with the utmost justice, pardoned such as had offended him, and received the allegiance of the people of Āmul and the neighbourhood. Then 'Abdu'lláh b. al-Ḥasan raised the white standard at Sári, and summoned the people to support Sayyid Náṣir.

Quarrel between the Ispahbad Shahriyár and Náṣir, and arrival of an army from Bukhárá to subdue Sayyid Náṣir.

'Aqíqí joined Sayyid Náṣir, and, having been given an army of Gílís and Daylamís, was sent to fight the Ispahbad Shahriyár. Between Āram and Kúlá, however, he fell into an ambush prepared for him by Shahriyár, and was slain. His troops fled, and his head was sent by Shahriyár to Ibn Ṣa'ílúk. When news of Sayyid Náṣir's rising power reached

Bukhárá, Aḥmad the Sámánid sent Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu’l-‘Azíz to Ṭabaristán, but forty days after his arrival there he was defeated by Sayyid Náṣir, whose power now became paramount over Ṭabaristán. He wished to raise a tax of one-tenth on all produce, but the people complained, and he desisted from his intention. Aḥmad the Sámánid collected 30,000 of his own troops and sent to Turkistán for 10,000 more, intending to “transport the very earth of Ṭabaristán to Bukhárá” (f. 127*a*), but when he had only gone two stages on his journey, his attendants murdered him at midnight as he slept, and Sayyid Náṣir was for the moment left unmolested. Soon afterwards the Caliph al-Muqtadir bi’lláh appointed Aḥmad the Sámánid’s son Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Isma‘íl (Naṣr I) regent of Khurásán in place of his father, and he, incited by the messengers of Hurmazd-Káma and Sharwín the son of Rustam, sent Ilyás b. Ilísa<sup>c</sup> as-Sughdí at the head of 10,000 men to Ṭabaristán. When these reached Tammísha, Abu’l-Qásim Ja’far b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alí an-Náṣir was at Sárí, with a thousand men. Entrenching himself there, he wrote to his father informing him of the Sámánid advance. Abu’l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad [b.] an-Náṣir went to Gílán and Daylamán, and spent much money in collecting an army, while the Ispahbad Shahriyár pitched his camp at Wínábád above Sárí, still retaining the black standard and draperies (of the ‘Abbásids), though he sent reinforcements to Sayyid Abu’l-Qásim. An undecided battle took place at Sárí between Sayyid Abu’l-Qásim and Ilyás b. Ilísa<sup>c</sup>, and the Sámánid troops at length retired, leaving Ṭabaristán to Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír. The Ispahbad Sharwín also made peace with him, whilst Hurmazd-Káma retired to Astarábád, and the Sayyid handed over most of the administration to his cousin Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Qásim, whom he set over his own sons, who were thereby filled with envy, as one of them, Sayyid Abu’l-

Husayn Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir, commonly known as *Ṣāhibu'l-Ḥaysh* ("the Commander in Chief") says in a poem (f. 127b):

فَيَا عَجَبًا مِنْ قُرْبِ أَسْبَابِ مَبْعَدِي      وَ كَثْرَةِ أَعْدَائِي وَ فِلْتَةِ مُسْعِدِي  
 فِيهَا دَوْلَةٌ قَامَتْ عَلَيَّ بِجَوْرِهَا      وَ يَا وَالِدًا لَمْ يَبْرَحْ لِي طَيْبَ مَوْلِدِي  
 هَلِ الْعَدْلُ إِلَّا قَسْمَةٌ بِسَوِيَّةٍ      وَ إِنْصَافٌ مَطْلُومٍ وَ إعْطَاءٌ مُحْتَدِي  
 فَمَا بَالُ أَنْتَرَابِي رَقَعَتْ رُؤُوسَهُمْ      وَ طَاطَأَتْ مِنِّي جَاعِدًا لِنَبْعَدِي  
 قَانَ رَزْفُوا مِنْكَ أَلَدِي قَدْ حَرَمْتَهُ      فَمَا رَزْفُوا عَلَيَّ وَ فَضَلِي وَ مُحْتَدِي  
 وَ إِنْ أَكَلْتِ دُنْيَاكَ دُونِي عَصَابَةً      صَبْرَتْ لَهَا يَوْمِي وَ أَمْسَى إِلَيَّ غَدِي  
 فَمَا اللَّهُ عَنْ ظُلْمِ الْعِبَادِ بِغَائِلٍ      وَ مَا أَنَا بِالْوَانِي وَ لَا بِالْمَبْلَدِي  
 أَيَقْضَى قَرِيبَ الرَّحْمِ مِنْ أَجْلِ رَحْمِهِ      وَ يَدْنُو بِإِحْسَانٍ لِأَخْرُ مَبْعَدِي  
 فَابْقِ عَلَى الْإِرْحَامِ خَوْفَ شِمَانَةٍ      تَحَلَّ بِنَا فِي كُلِّ نَادٍ وَ مَشْهَدِي  
 أَنْتَرَضِي بِأَنْ أَرْضَى بِخُطَّةٍ عَاجِزٍ      إِذَا خَانَتِي سَيْفِي وَ شَلَّتْ بِهِ يَدِي

He also reproaches his father, who was of the Imámí sect, in these lines:

يَا أَيُّهَا الزَيْدِيَّةُ الْمُهْمَلَةُ      إِمَامُكُمْ ذَا آيَةٍ مَنزَلَةٍ  
 كَفَّ لَهْ بِالْأَخْذِ مَبْسُوطَةً      وَ فِي الْعَطَايَا جَعْدَةٌ مَقْفَلَةٌ  
 أَشَلَّى عَلَى الْأُمَّةِ أَوْلَادُهُ      وَ أَظْهَرَ الرِّشْوَةَ وَ الْقَنْدَلَةَ  
 يَا رَحِمَاتِ الْإِجْوِ تَبَا لَكُمْ      غَضَنْتُمْ فَأَخْرَجْتُمْ لَنَا جَنْدَلَةَ  
 تَوْبُوا إِلَى الرَّحْمَنِ وَ اسْتَغْفِرُوا      مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ يَأْتِيَكُمْ زَلْزَلَةٌ

Strife arises between -Ḥasan b. -Qásim  
and -Náṣir.

Náṣir-i-Kabír had sent -Ḥasan b. -Qásim to Gílán, bidding him bring the rulers of that province to Ámul to swear allegiance to him. He wrote to Náṣir that he had persuaded Harúsandán the son of Tídá, Khusraw Fírúz the son of

Justán, and Laythám the son of Wardán, with all their tribesmen, to come in. But these bore Náşir a grudge, because he had not performed all that he promised them, so they swore allegiance, not to him, but to -Ḥasan b. -Qásim (f. 128*a*). On reaching Āmul, -Ḥasan alighted at Muşallá (the Oratory) and did not go before Náşir, but came next day with his guards and retainers to ask for provisions for his army. Náşir was frightened, and fled from his quarters on a mule towards Pá-yi-Dasht, but was pursued and captured by -Ḥasan, who brought him back to Āmul, and thence sent him to the castle of Láriján, while his allies looted the Palace. Thereafter arose a great strife between the partisans of Náşir and of Ḥasan; and Laylá b. Numán came from Sárí, and headed an attack on Ḥasan's palace. They reviled him, took from him his signet-ring, and brought him back to Āmul before Náşir, of whom they asked pardon. When Ḥasan, deserted by his followers, was brought before Náşir, the latter said without one reproach or bitter word, "I forgive thee," and bade him return to Gílán. But Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. an-Náşir interceded for him, got him recalled, and gave him his daughter (who was afterwards the mother of Abu'l-Faḍl ad-Dá'í) in marriage; and he was given the government of Gurgán.

-Ḥasan b. -Qásim sets out for Gurgán. He is  
 attacked by the Turks, and be-  
 sieged in the Citadel.

After -Ḥasan b. -Qásim had set out for Gurgán, Sayyid Náşir sent his son Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far after him to support him (f. 128*b*). But the latter, having a grudge against him, purposely lagged behind, and kept writing to his father, saying, "This man cherishes enmity against thee." And when, on approaching Gurgán, the Turks came out to give battle to -Ḥasan, Abu'l-Qásim abandoned him to his fate;

and Ḥasan, being unable to withstand them, fell back on Astarábád, and withdrew into the castle of Kajín, which had remained in good repair from the time of Shápúr Dhu'l-Aktáf [the Sásánian] until the time of Ardashír b. al-Ḥasan, who ordered it to be destroyed, lest it should fall into the hands of Tukush b. Il-Arslán. There Ḥasan remained all the winter, besieged by the Turks, while his men suffered much from the cold. At length, being in want of food, he made a sortie with a few of his followers, attacked the Turks and slew some of them, and made his way safely to Āmul, and thence to Gílán. Sayyid Náṣir now retired from public life and devoted himself to study and teaching, and the fame of his knowledge in Jurisprudence, Traditions, Philosophy, Poetry and Literature brought him many visitors from distant lands. He finally died on Sha'bán 5, A. H. 304 (January 31, A. D. 917), having sent his son Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad to Gílán and made his son-in-law Ḥasan b. -Qásim his successor.

-Ḥasan b. -Qásim, called ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq.

Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán ash-Shajarí b. al-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib now succeeded under the title of *ad-Dá'í* (f. 129a) *ila'l-Ḥaqq* ("The Summoner unto the Truth"), or, as he is called in the *Kitábu'l-Ansáb*, *ad-Dá'í aṣ-Ṣaghír* ("the Lesser Dá'í"). He reached Āmul on Ramaḍán 12, A. H. 304 (= March 9, A. D. 917), and Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. an-Náṣir surrendered the sovereignty to him. The brother of the latter, Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far b. an-Náṣir, sent to him, saying, "The kingdom is our father's; why then dost thou surrender it to him?" but he paid no heed, and an estrangement between the two brothers resulted. Ja'far went to Muḥammad b. Ṣa'lúk at Ray, and promised to adopt the black colour of the

‘Abbásids, to coin money in the name of the (Sámánid) rulers of Khurásán, and to insert their names in the *khutba*, and help to recover Ṭabaristán for them.

Ḥasan governed justly and well, and made the people contented and happy. When Ja‘far came to Āmul, Ḥasan retired to Gílán in A. H. 306 (= A. D. 918—919), and Ja‘far remained there seven months, extorting exorbitant taxes from the people, till -Ḥasan returned in Jumádá II, A. H. 307 (November, A. D. 919), and again established justice, so that all men prayed for long continuance of his life. He had his palace at Muṣallá (“the Oratory”) near Āmul, and built lofty dwellings for his officers round about him, so that they should not dwell in the city, or vex and molest the inhabitants. The Ispahbad Sharwín and Shahriyár the son of Wandá-ummíd agreed to pay him the tribute they had paid in the time of Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, but -Ḥasan b. -Qásim, not deeming this enough, marched against them, defeated Shahriyár at Kawj, and made peace with Sharwín.

At this time the Sámánids were vainly endeavouring to subdue Níshápúr, and Sayyid Ḥasan sent against it Laylá b. Nu‘mán (f. 129*b*), who took it. Then he proceeded to Ṭús, where, being defeated by the Sámánid army, he fled to Gurgán. There a number of the Daylamite chiefs gave him their allegiance, and conspired with him to kill Sayyid Ḥasan by treachery, but, the plot being made known to the Sayyid, he, without saying a word to any one, marched to Gurgán, seized the conspirators, and beheaded them. Amongst them was Harúsandán, the father of Siyáh Gíl, chief of Gílán. So men’s hearts were filled with fear of Sayyid Ḥasan, and thenceforth no one dared to plot against him. Leaving Abu’l-Ḥusayn [b.] Náṣir at Gurgán, he then returned to Āmul. Shortly after this Abu’l-Qásim b. an-Náṣir collected a number of followers in Gílán, while Sayyid Abu’l-Ḥusayn [b.] Náṣir also turned against Sayyid Ḥasan, and

sent his general Abú Músá Hárún Isfáh-dúst to Ámul, where, however, he was defeated and slain. On this event 'Abdu'lláh b. Muḥammad al-Kátib has the following verse:

كَمْ لِهَامٍ بِكَلِّ نَجْدٍ كَمِيٍّ وَ هَمَامٍ بِكَلِّ أَمْرِ نَجَابٍ

Sayyid Ḥasan, having concluded peace with Abu'l-Ḥusayn for a payment of 10,000 dirhams, sent 'Alí b. Ja'far ar-Rázi against the Ispahbad Shahriyár, and Ḥusayn b. Dínár against the Ispahbad Sharwín. Both submitted and came in (f. 130a), but fled on being informed that Sayyid Ḥasan thought to put an end to the trouble they were continually causing by casting both of them into prison. Sayyid Ḥasan was therefore compelled to pursue them, and finally had to be content with taking their sons as hostages for their good behaviour.

Sayyid Ḥasan next ordered Ilyás b. Ilísá to evacuate Gurgán, but, as he paid no heed, he was attacked, his army routed, and himself killed. When this news reached Bukhárá, the Sámánids sent Qará-takín the Turk with 30,000 horsemen to Gurgán. Sayyid Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn retired into Tammísha, knowing that they could not withstand so large a host, and Abu'l-Ḥusayn presently deserted Sayyid Ḥasan, went to Gílán, and joined Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far, while Sayyid Ḥasan took refuge with the Ispahbad Muḥammad b. Shahriyár, who, however, put him in fetters and sent him to 'Alí b. Wah-súdán, governor for the Caliph al-Muqtadir at Ray. Ṭáhir b. Muḥammad the scribe was sent to 'Alí b. Wehsúdán bidding him not to forward his prisoner to Baghdad, but to imprison him in his fathers' castle at (f. 130b) Alamút, where he remained a prisoner until Muḥammad b. Musáfir defeated 'Alí b. Wehsúdán at Qazwín, when Khusraw Fírúz released him and sent him to Gílán.

Meanwhile Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan and his brother Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far succeeded conjointly in expelling Qará-takín

from Ṭabaristán, which was rendered the easier by troubles in Khurásán which required his presence. The brothers then remained in Gurgán until Aḥmad Ṭawíl was sent against them from Bukhárá, but him also they defeated, and he fled alone to Bisṭám, while most of his army dispersed to Jájarm and Isfará'in.

Sayyid Ḥasan, on his release, came to Gílán, sent to Ṭabaristán for his hidden treasures and moneys, and there-with collected an army, with which he invaded Ṭabaristán, and advanced to Āmul and Sári. Abu'l-Ḥusayn and Abu'l-Qásim sent Abú Bakr az-Zifrí to Āmul to obtain news, but at Astarábád he heard that Sayyid Ḥasan had already reached Lamrásk, whereupon he at once returned to make his report. Abu'l-Ḥusayn, Abu'l-Qásim and [the son of] Harúsandán<sup>1</sup> held a council of war (f. 131a), and it was agreed that the first should march on Astarábád and give battle to Sayyid Ḥasan, while the two others remained in Gurgán. Next morning these last went out from the city to the Dá'í's Tomb to await news from Astarábád. A *ghulam* of 'Alí Qumí Darzí came out from Gurgán, however, with the news that Laylá's men were plundering their houses and stealing their treasures. Thereupon they went back to the city, and Abu'l-Qásim found the very mats stripped from his house, and learned that there were only ten of his followers left in it, whereupon he cast himself on the ground and burst into tears. Laylá denied any complicity in this robbery, but told Abu'l-Qásim that he could not remain in Gurgán; and as he feared to go alone, he gave him an escort of 30 men under Lashkar-sitán. The Daylamites had shut the gates, but he got out by the new

<sup>1</sup> [Harúsandán has already been beheaded; see p. 205 *supra*. Should we not perhaps read "the son of Harúsandán (پسر) having dropped out in the MSS.) i. e. Siyáh Gil (cf. p. 205)? A little lower down this same person appears to be designated درزی علی قمی and درزی قمی. A. G. E.]

road of Kaláta, having only three *dinárs* in his possession with which to buy bread (f. 131b). On advancing a little further he met three men, who informed him that Sayyid Ḥasan had defeated his confederate Abu'l-Ḥusayn. Abu'l-Qásim and Darzí Qumí were now left alone in despair and bewilderment. The former bought an ass in a neighbouring village, and went by Bisṭám to Dámghán, and thence to Ray and Gilán.

Sayyid Ḥasan, having defeated Abu'l-Ḥusayn, sent him a kindly message, saying, "I am thy servant, and the kingdom is thine, having been thy father's before." So these two were reconciled.

When the House of Símjúr began to cause trouble in Khurásán, [Abú] 'Alí b. Símjúr came to Gurgán, and invited the Sayyids, as men of peace and religion, to abandon the country quietly to him. They refused, and fought a battle with him at the village of Jaláyin. Surkháb the son of Weh-súdán attacked and routed him, while Abu'l-Ḥusayn scattered his right wing. His men fled into the plain, but when they had gone some distance, the Turks turned at bay, alighted from (f. 132a) their horses, and fired a volley of arrows, completely routing their assailants, so that the Sayyids Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn fled, accompanied only by one *ghulám*, and by 'Alí b. Buwayh [i. e. 'Imádu'd-Dawla], Mákán b. Kákí, and Jakáv the *sipahsálár*, while the Turks pursued them to Ábasgún. In Tammísha they halted and began to fortify themselves, while Sayyid Ḥasan, leaving Mákán there, went on to Ámul to gather fresh troops. Abu'l-Ḥusayn then again attacked the Turks, repulsed them, and re-occupied Gurgán. This victory was at the end of Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 310 (= April 20, A. D. 923). For some time after this Sayyid Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn held Ṭabaristán thus, the former residing at Ámul, the latter at Gurgán. Sayyid Ḥasan built mosques and colleges, encouraged and patronized

men of learning and poets, and governed the people wisely and beneficently. After a while Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Ḥusayn again quarrelled with and attacked him, but was defeated, and fled to join his brother Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Qásim.

These two then allied themselves with Mákán b. Kákí, ʿAlí b. Khurshíd, Asfár b. Shírúya and Rashámúj, and determined to seize Sayyid Ḥasan, who, being informed of their designs, marched from Ámul to Sárí with Rustam b. Sharwín. The brothers Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Ḥusayn and Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Qásim marched along the coast to Mishkawá, meaning to fight him next day at Sárí, but Sayyid Ḥasan fled that night, none knew whither. Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Ḥusayn nominated his own governors and lieutenants, and on Thursday (f. 132*b*), the 8<sup>th</sup> of Jumáda I (A. H. 311 = Aug. 24, A. D. 923), came to Ámul, but behaved so exorbitantly and tyrannically towards the people that they longed with all their souls for the former government. And on Tuesday, Rajab 29, A. H. 311 (= Nov. 13, A. D. 923) Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Ḥusayn died.

On his death, Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Qásim, his brother, was left in undisputed possession of Ṭabaristán, for Sayyid Ḥasan had fled to the mountains, where many of those who loved his rule joined him. On hearing of Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Ḥusayn's death, he approached Ámul, halting at a place known as *Gázar-gáh* (the Washing-place) to fight Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Qásim; but in Ramaḍán, A. H. 311 (= Dec. A. D. 923—Jan., A. D. 924), most of his men having deserted to the enemy, he again fled to the mountains. About the same date Sayyid Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Qásim ordered Khalíl b. Kájí to kill ʿAbdu'lláh [b.] Mubárah the scribe, stick his head on a pole, and parade it, with an ink-stand set before it in mockery, through the bázárs. But Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Qásim himself died soon afterwards on Tuesday, Dhu<sup>3</sup>l-Qa<sup>c</sup>da 10, A. H. 312 (= Febr. 7, A. D. 925).

All Gíl and Daylam now swore allegiance to Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Qásim's nephew [Abú ʿAlí] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad [b.] al-Ḥasan, who

was beloved for his justice and beneficence as much as he was feared for his courage.

Abu'l-Qásim had made Mákán b. Kákí governor of Gurgán (f. 133a), and he, with Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán and Abú 'Alí b. Işfahán, agreed to swear allegiance to Abu'l-Qásim's little son (by Díkú, daughter of Işfahán) Ismá'íl and make him king; which design, however, they kept secret, until Sayyid Abú 'Alí summoned them to his presence, when they marched from Gurgán to Sárí, Abú 'Alí having gone with only a few retainers to Mámţír. Mákán then sent his army to seize him, bidding them drag him from his horse, and snatch off his *kuláh*, which was done. Then Mákán sent him to Gurgán to the Amír Ká, son of Wardásf, who came to Amul and crowned Ismá'íl. Mákán wrote news of this to Sayyid Ḥasan, and sent his brother Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí with the insignia of royalty to Jájarm and Khurásán, whither also he despatched an army. 'Alí b. Buwayh, the paternal uncle of Ađudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusrav, was the Sayyids' governor of that place, and he, with his 400 men, was defeated and captured by Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí, who slew all the Khurásání soldiers who fell into his hands. Soon afterwards Mákán wrote to his brother to return to Gurgán and take over the government of it from the Amír Ká; and he sent a confidential message to his brother bidding him kill Sayyid Abú 'Alí, who was lodging in the house of Rađí, and send him his head. As the two sat drinking together, Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí began to quarrel with the Sayyid, who, divining his object, made some pretext for leaving the room, and borrowed from one of his servants a small knife (f. 133b) which he concealed in his dress. Then he returned, and when Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Kákí, waxing more quarrelsome, seized him by the throat, he threw him down and ripped up his belly. To escape, the Sayyid was obliged to leap from the roof thirty yards down into the moat. He then sent his ring to

‘Alí b. Khurshíd and Asfár b. Shírúya, who were in revolt against Mákán and were plundering on the high roads of Gurgán, and they at once joined him and swore allegiance to him. Soon he had an army round him, and was in possession of Gurgán.

As soon as Mákán heard of his brother's death, he collected an army and marched on Gurgán, but the Sayyid, by bribing Rashámúj the son of Shír-Mardán to desert to his side was able to discomfit and rout him. Mákán fled to Lamrásk (f. 134a) without halting, left the Amír Ká, son of Wardásf, there with a regiment, and continued his flight to Sári. Sayyid Abú ‘Alí, having left ‘Alí b. Khurshíd in charge of Gurgán, pushed on to Lamrásk, where the vanguard of his army had already defeated Amír Ká. Without halting he marched on to Sári and defeated Mákán, who fled into the city, after slaying Abú Ja‘far Kúrankíj, who tried to seize him. He was pursued by the soldiers from quarter to quarter and repeatedly wounded, but struck down a soldier who tried to arrest him and escaped. In trying to cross the river he was thrown from his horse, which he then abandoned, together with his coat of mail, and fled through a garden to a house belonging to a poor man, whose help he implored, and who hid him in the branches of a mulberry-tree. The soldiers arrived there and threatened the poor man, who, however, would not betray Mákán's hiding-place. When they had gone, he brought Mákán out, bound up his wounds, and, when he was strong enough, set him on his way, so that he escaped to the highlands of Sári. When afterwards Mákán became powerful and prosperous, he richly rewarded his deliverer, whose name was Kayán Búj, raised him to a high position and conferred honour on his family. Sayyid Abu ‘Alí came to Āmul and took possession of Ṭabaristán. He ruled firmly and wisely, but ere long was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing polo.

When the mourning for his death was concluded, the people (f. 134<sup>b</sup>) swore allegiance to his brother Abú Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>far. His accession was soon followed by a serious riot, caused by the injustice of his minister Abu<sup>ʿ</sup>l-Ḥasan [b.] Abí Yúsuf, in which disturbance many persons were killed, even in the chief Mosque, where the soldiers massacred numbers of the congregation as they came from public prayer on Friday, till at length the people rose and expelled the troops from the city.

Mákán b. Kákí kept writing from his highland retreat to the Dá<sup>ʿ</sup>í urging him to revolt and promising him his support, but he would not stir until Mákán had collected 500 men at a place above Nátil still known as "Mákán's camp". When Sayyid Abú Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>far learned this, he marched from Āmul to Nátil, and encamped opposite Mákán. Many of the notables of Āmul, such as Sayyid Abú Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>far *Mánk-dim*, Abu <sup>ʿ</sup>Abdī<sup>ʿ</sup>lláh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abú Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>far Muḥammad b. <sup>ʿ</sup>Alí, the head-man of Āmul and nephew of Ḥusayn b. <sup>ʿ</sup>Alí Faqíh, and <sup>ʿ</sup>Abbás b. Qábúsán, wrote letters to Mákán promising to help him. He bade them remain quietly in the city, but they disobeyed him, and, gathering a great rabble of the townsfolk, made manifest their intentions (f. 135<sup>a</sup>). Sayyid Abú Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>far, learning this, sent against them 1200 picked soldiers, who utterly routed these undisciplined levies, killing many of them. Next day Sayyid Abú Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>far Náṣir entered Āmul, where Abu<sup>ʿ</sup>l-Ḥasan the minister had exacted large sums of money from the people.

Mákán again urged the Dá<sup>ʿ</sup>í to revolt, but he still refused, until Asfár the son of Shírúya and Muṭrif, his minister, having exacted vast sums of money from the people, retired to Gurgán and openly cast off their allegiance to Abú Ja<sup>ʿ</sup>far, who sent <sup>ʿ</sup>Alí b. Khurshíd to Sárí as governor. After a month or so, Asfár came from Gurgán and attacked him, defeated him, imprisoned him in the caravanseray of Ḥasan b. Bahrá, seized the city, and proclaimed himself king.

Meanwhile Mákán's strength continued to increase, and he determined to attack Sayyid Abú Ja'far, who, on his approach, fled from Amul to Wandád-Hurmazd Kúh. Mákán occupied the city, and at once sent messengers to the Dá'í to bring him from Gílán. When he arrived, amidst the rejoicings of the people, he advanced with Mákán from Amul to Sári. Asfár fled at their approach (f. 135*b*), while the Ispahbad Sharwín retired into his highlands. At this juncture Naşr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid marched from Bukhárá with an army of 30,000 men to subdue Ṭabaristán and 'Iráq, and entered the highlands of Ṭabaristán. Abú Naşr was Sayyid Ḥasan's governor in Shahriyár-kúh, and he blocked the roads, broke down the bridges, and so entangled Naşr b. Aḥmad in the highlands that he was unable to get out, and was reduced to great straits for food and fodder, so that finally he sent an ambassador to Sayyid Ḥasan asking him on what terms he would let him depart. The Sayyid sent 'Abdu'lláh b. Salám and Abu'l-'Abbás [b.] Dhu 'r-Riyásatayn to him, and concluded peace, on the understanding that he should pay an idemnity of 20,000 *dinárs* and depart to Khurásán.

When the Sámánid had departed, Mákán began to behave arrogantly towards the Sayyid, who left him, and went to Gílán with the Ispahbad Sharwín b. Rustam. Mákán sent messengers to make apologies, but the Sayyid would not listen to them. Then Asfár collected an army of 7000 Turks, Gílís, and Daylamites and came to Amul, where he fought with Mákán for three days and nights at the gate known as *Dar-i-Şúr*. Rashámúj had promised to help Mákán, and actually joined him on the fourth day. All the people were watching the fray from the roofs of the various buildings. Mákán looked back, saw them, and said, "Why do ye not take down these dogs?" Then Mákán's troops dashed at Asfár's and routed them, and

pursued them to Sárí. Asfár came to Gurgán, releasing ʿAlí b. Khurshíd, whom he had kept in bonds (f. 136a), and who was brought to Mákán, and by him restored to liberty. Mákán then marched on to Astarábád, while Asfár went to Abú Bakr b. Ilísa<sup>c</sup>, Naşr b. Aḥmad's commander-in-chief, who turned back to Sárí, and in A. H. 315 (A. D. 927—8) despatched Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá<sup>n</sup> to the highlands to seek out Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar, whom he brought in to Sárí, bare-headed and bare-footed, and imprisoned in the Palace of Abu'l-ʿAbbás [b.] Dhu'r-Riyásatayn. Then the Dá'í wrote to Mákán, reproaching him bitterly for what he had done to Sayyid Abú Jaʿfar, notwithstanding all his protestations of friendship and promises of support to himself; and thereupon Mákán released Abu Jaʿfar and sent him to the Dá'í. Then the latter, supported by Gíl and Daylam, and accompanied by the Ispahbad Sharwín, came to Āmul, where Mákán came out to meet him. Soon after this Mákán slew Abú Naşr, who had come to Sárí, with a blow from his mace, while he was riding with him, and restored the government of Shahriyár-kúh to the Ispahbad Sharwín, whom he dismissed with presents and robes of honour. Asfár joined Abú Bakr [b.] Ilísa<sup>c</sup> and on his death, which occurred shortly afterwards, the army swore allegiance to him. Abú Bakr had a *ghulám* named ʿIl-Tughdí, who, fearing Naşr b. Aḥmad, joined Asfár, and secured for him the kingdom of Khurásán. Naşr b. Aḥmad, hearing this, sent Şáliḥ b. Sayyár (f. 136b), with the insignia of royalty, to conciliate him, and Asfár waxed bold and tyrannical, so that the people of Khurásán conceived a great hatred for him.

Mákán and the Dá'í being now reconciled, a great army gathered round them, and they marched on Ray, expelled its governor, Muḥammad b. Şa'ílúk, and annexed it. Asfár, hearing of their absence, marched on Ṭabaristán with the army of Khurásán, and Abu'l-Ḥajjáj Mardáwíj b. Ziyár, the

elder brother of Washmgír, who was with Qará-takín the Sámánid, asked permission to join this expedition.

News of this invasion reached the Dá'í and Mákán at Ray, and the latter begged the former to remain there while he marched back to fight the invaders. But the Dá'í would not listen, and, with 500 men, marched to Āmul. The people of Āmul, on account of Abu'l-<sup>c</sup>Abbás al-Faqíh al-<sup>c</sup>Alaqí, refrained from helping the Dá'í; and Asfár, who was at Sári, hearing of his weakness at Āmul, and of Mákán's absence at Ray, marched to Āmul and attacked the Dá'í, who came out to meet him in battle, but was slain by Mardáwíj with a blow of his mace at <sup>c</sup>Alí-ábád as he was endeavouring to recross the river and regain the city. On the same day Abú Ja<sup>c</sup>far Mánk-dím and another, a descendant of <sup>c</sup>Aqíl b. Abí Ṭálib, were slain, and Ṭabaristán passed into the possession of Asfár, who appointed his own governors, and, being reinforced by a Turk named Agúshí and his tribe, marched on Ray and defeated Mákán, who fled to Ṭabaristán, while Asfár remained at Ray to enrich himself and his army (f. 137a). Then, leaving Agúshí at Ray, Asfár returned to Ṭabaristán. Mákán thereupon fled to Daylamán. Asfár swore allegiance to Abú Jaf<sup>c</sup>ar, who, however, he shortly afterwards seized, together with Abu'l-Ḥusayn Shajarí and Zayd b. Šálih, and sent them in chains to Bukhárá, while Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn fled. These three remained in captivity at Bukhárá till the death of Abú Bakr Zakariyyá, when they were released, and returned to Ṭabaristán. Āmul was ceded to Mákán on condition that he should not interfere with the rest of Ṭabaristán. Agúshí the Turk behaved so tyrannically at Ray that Asfár resolved to kill him, but he fled to Qum, pursued by Mardáwíj, whom Asfár sent after him, but without success.

At this juncture the Caliph al-Muqtadir sent his cousin Hárún b. al-Gharíb against Ray, but he was defeated by

Asfár. Mákán, not regarding his treaty, strove to bring all Ṭabaristán under his control, made Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá'n his deputy at Āmul, and himself marched to Gurgán and thence to Nishápúr, accompanied by the Ispahbad Sharwín and Shahriyár of Wandád-Hurmazd-Kúh. There he fought many battles and gained many victories, but a report arose in Ṭabaristán that he was dead, and Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá'n assumed the control of affairs and placed the crown on the head of Isma'íl the 'Alawí, who was his half-brother, giving him Fáṭíma, the daughter of Aḥmad, who had been the wife of the Dá'í, as his wife. But Khadíja, the mother of Abú Ja'far, bribed two of Díkú's handmaidens with 400 *dinárs* to poison Isma'íl with a poisoned lancet while he was being bled. Later, when these handmaidens quarrelled and divulged the secret, both were hanged at Shálús by Díkú. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá'n came to Āmul, but was expelled by Abú 'Alí of Isfahán and Abú Músá, two of Mákán's officers, and retreated to Daylamán. Asfár went from Ray to Qazwín, and slew many of its inhabitants, because they had, in a riot, slain his lieutenant, and burned the *bázárs*, and many of the people fled into exile. Mardáwíj b. Ziyár quarrelled with him, gathered a number of followers, and retired to Zangán, whence he made an attack on Qazwín, and drove Asfár to Ray, and thence to Qúmish, where he was joined by Abu'l-'Abbás b. Kálanjár. With him Asfár fell back by way of Quhistán on Ṭabas, whither he was pursued by Mákán. Thence he endeavoured to reach the castle of Alamút, but Mardáwíj stopped the way (f. 138), and finally captured him in Tálaqán and beheaded him. All this happened in A. H. 319 (A. D. 931). Mardáwíj, being now quit of Asfár, slew many of the rabble who had supported him, including Aḥmad b. Rasúl and Abu'l-'Abbás 'Aṣṣá'í, and established himself at Ray. Mákán advanced from Khurásán to Ṭabaristán and made peace with Mardáwíj, who sent messengers

to Gilán by way of Qazwín and brought Náşir to Ray. Mákán had tortured Abu'l-Fađl Shágird, a relative of Muţrif, to make him disgorge money; and Muţrif induced Mardáwíj to march on Ṭabaristán. Mákán, learning this, came to Amul. Mardáwíj sent Náşir by way of Láriján and Damáwand, but Mákán met him near Wálá-rúd and slew him and many of his followers. Mardáwíj retreated by way of Damáwand to Ray. At this period the sons of Buwayh had seized the provinces of Fárs and Kirmán, and Mardáwíj went to Isfahán to arrange his plans, but while there he was assassinated in the bath. <sup>1</sup>

On the death of Mardáwíj, the army of Ray swore allegiance to his brother Washmgír b. Ziyár, who, having set in order the affairs of 'Iráq, sent Shíraj b. Laylá, Lashkarí and Abu'l-Qásim to expel Mákán from Ṭabaristán. Mákán fled thence to Gurgán, on a Tuesday in Ramađán, A. H. 323 (= August, A. D. 935). Abú Bakr and Abu'l-Mudhaffar, who were both there, allied themselves with Abu'l-Qásim, and left him in possession of Gurgán when they had expelled Mákán (f. 138*b*). But in Ramađán, A. H. 324 (= July—August, A. D. 936) Abu'l-Qásim was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing polo, and buried at Sári. His army swore allegiance to Ibráhím b. Gúshyár. The Amír Abú Ṭálib Washmgír came from Ray to Ámul and thence to Sári, and Ibráhím b. Gúshyár came from Gurgán to meet him, but was dismissed from his command and degraded to his former rank. Washmgír then remained for some while at Sári, until Abú 'Alí Khalífa and Langarcha Pír were murdered at Ámul. In Muḥarram, A. H. 325 (= Nov.—Dec., A. D. 936) he sent to Níshápúr and brought back Mákán, to whom he gave Gurgán. The command of the army of Ṭabaristán he conferred on Abú Dá'úd and Isfáhi b. Ur-mazdyár, bidding them make war on Abú Músá b. Bahrám,

<sup>1</sup> See *J. R. A. S.* for 1901, pp. 687—8.

who had rebelled in Daylamán. Abú Ja'far Muḥammad, who was at Āmul, was joined by Abú Dá'úd, and these, accompanied by Abú Ja'far Náşir, went to attack Abú Músá, whom they defeated and expelled from that country. Daylamán, Jálús and the regions on that side of Āmul were conferred by Abú Ṭáhir Washmgír on Aḥmad b. Sálár, while Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Náşir ruled at Āmul, giving audience every Monday and Thursday, and holding religious discussions with the doctors of Islám every Wednesday. Abú Dá'úd was at Sárí, which suffered greatly this year from floods, so that the people fled into the highlands. Abú Dá'úd summoned all the ministers and officials, and warned them that any exaction of which they might be guilty would be severely punished (f. 139a).

In Muḥarram, A. H. 328 (= Oct.—Nov., A. D. 939) Naşr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid sent Abú 'Alí b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mudhaffarí to Gurgán. Mákán appealed for help to Washmgír, who sent Isfáhí, with numerous levies from Gíl and Daylam. For seven months there was war in Gurgán, and at length Mákán and his allies were defeated, though reinforced by Shíraj b. Laylá. Finally, driven out of Gurgán by the army of Khurásán, Mákán fell back on Ṭabaristán and halted at Āmul. At this juncture news arrived that Ḥasan the Buwayhid had come from Kirmán to Ray, seeking to conquer 'Iráq. Washmgír marched at the head of an army to a place two stages distance from Ray called Mushkú, where a battle was fought, and the army of Ḥasan the Buwayhid was defeated, and fell back on Işfahán. In this battle the chamberlain Ibn Shá'úshtí was slain, and Ḥasan the Buwayhid captured the Gílá-gúr, but Washmgír's men recovered him and brought him in his bonds to Washmgír, who set him free. Some days later, Washmgír came from Ray to Damáwand and summoned Mákán b. Kákí before him. He arrived on the 'Ashúrá

(Muḥarram 10) A. H. 329 (= October 15, A. D. 940), and was received with the utmost honour and sent to Sárí. As he was returning thither from Damáwand, the commander-in-chief Abu ʿAlí came to Dámghán, marching on ʿIráq. Washmgír turned back from Ray to Wíma near Damáwand, and sent to Mákán to join him. Mákán, leaving his cousin Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá at Sárí, went to Washmgír, and they met at Isháq-ábád. On Saturday, the 21<sup>st</sup> of Rabíʿ I, A. H. 329 (= December 24, A. D. 940) they drew up in battle-array against the commander-in-chief [of the Sámánids]. At the first attack of the Khurásánis (f. 139<sup>b</sup>) Washmgír fled; but Mákán stood firm, till, 1400 of his Gílí and Daylamite guards having been slain, twenty Turkish champions hurled themselves upon him, dragged him from his horse, and slew him. His head, with a number of notable Daylamites who had been taken prisoners, was sent to Bukhára<sup>1</sup>. His *wazír*, the father of Ustád Ibnu<sup>l</sup>-ʿAmíd Muḥammad Qumí, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, known as *kala*, one of the finest scholars of the age, was also slain, and his head sent to Bukhára. Thither also was sent his secretary, who, because of his accomplishments, was received with honour at the Sámánid court, where he remained for the rest of his days.

Washmgír, meanwhile, fled to Láríján, whence, ten days later, he came to Muşallá of Āmul. There, on Wednesday, the 28<sup>th</sup> of Rabíʿ II, A. H. 329 (= December 31, A. D. 940) he received the news of Mákán's death. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá, Mákán's cousin, and his clansmen agreed that Washmgír had purposely deserted their kinsman, and so rebelled against the latter, who sent Shíraj b. Laylá to fight them. He drove them out of Sárí, and they fell back on Astarábád. Shíraj came to Āmul, and advanced on Astarábád,

<sup>1</sup> For the celebrated despatch written on this occasion by Iskáfí, see Anecdote III of the *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 28—30 of my translation.

while Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń fled to ʿIráq and joined the Sámánid commander-in-chief, whom he induced to invade Ṭabaristán. Washmgír then retired from Gurgán to Sári, where, at a place called Walajúy, a battle took place, wherein Washmgír stood firm; and even in the midst of it (f. 150a) news arrived of the death of Naşr b. Aḥmad and the succession of his son Núḥ. Thereupon the Sámánid general made peace with Washmgír, and set out for Bukhárá, accompanied by Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń, who, on the way thither, treacherously slew his chamberlain Mushawwiq, and, with the plunder which he had seized, returned to Gurgán, while the Sámánid general proceeded on his way to join Núḥ b. Naşr the new sovereign. All this happened in the year A. H. 331 (= A. D. 942—943). Washmgír made Isfáhi governor of Ṭabaristán and himself went to Ray.

At the end of Ramaḍán, A. H. 331 (beginning of June, A. D. 943) Ḥasan the Buwayhid advanced from Isfahán by way of Qazwín, and Washmgír came forth from Ray to give him battle. Shír Mardí and Gúrigír deserted him and went over to his enemy, and Washmgír, filled with apprehension, was defeated, and fled to Muşallá near Ámul. Ḥasan the Buwayhid seized Abú ʿAlí the scribe, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿUmarí and Abú ʿUmar the *wazír*, and bade them disclose Washmgír's treasures. They indicated to him as the treasurer Abu'l-Ḥasan Mámṭírí, who, under torture, gave up all his own wealth, but not a grain of his master's. On reaching Ámul, Washmgír sent Binán b. al-Ḥasan as an ambassador to Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń, who, however, imprisoned him in the castle of Jahína, and again came to Sári, where Washmgír then was. A battle ensued, and Muḥammad b. Dabírí and Ismaʿíl b. Mardúchín deserted to Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń's side. Thereupon Washmgír again fled to the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín in the highlands, and, taking all his kinsmen and women-folk with him (f. 140b), made his way

to Bukhárá, where Núḥ b. Naṣr the Sámánid came out to meet him and received him with honour. Washmgír's lieutenant Isfáhí came to Āmul, whence, learning that Washmgír had fled, he moved to the castle of Kuhrúd. A riot ensued in Āmul, wherein many officers and myrmidons of the government were slain, and Ja'far b. Alanbán was hanged, and the people of Qum who were there were maltreated, till Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán came to Āmul and encamped at Sha'bu-Dasht, whence he went to Láriján and captured the castle and slew Isfáhí b. Akharyár, and seized all his property, and sent the spoils to his own castle in Daylamán.

Then Núḥ b. Naṣr the Sámánid sent Qarátakín at the head of 30,000 horsemen with Washmgír to Ṭabaristán. When he reached Gurgán, Ḥasan b. Fírúzán pretended that he was going to attack him, but suddenly slipped past him from Astarábád to Āmul, destroying the roads and bridges, by way of Mámṭír and Tarícha. He was pursued by Washmgír to Sári, whence, by way of Āmul, he made good his escape to Daylamán. Washmgír advanced to Jálús, and Qarátakín demanded money of him, so that he was obliged to turn back to Āmul and give him a share of his possessions, besides presenting all the men of learning and position to him in the mosque, in order that they also might be laid under contribution. Meanwhile Ḥasan b. Fírúzán remained in his castle *در ولسب چین داراچن کرد*, and encamped his men at a place called Dúládár. Washmgír marched thither, while Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán encamped on the sea-shore beyond Darband. Washmgír put his horse into the sea and attacked them, and captured Abu'l-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan ash-Sha'rání, whom he at once beheaded. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán then took refuge with Mázyár b. Justán, while Washmgír came to Āmul and there abode. [Ḥasan] b. Fírúzán then retired to Rúyán and took refuge with the Ustundár. Washmgír, learning this, suddenly attacked (f. 141a) them and dispersed their troops.

Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń next fled to Láriján, whence, by way of Damáwand, he went to Astarábád and took up his abode in the castle of Kachín. Washmgír came from Ámul to Gurgán, but no sooner had he arrived there than Ḥasan the Buwayhid came from Ray by Ámul to Astarábád, where he was joined by Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń. They then proceeded to Gurgán and fought and defeated Washmgír, who retired to Níshápúr. The Ispabhad Shahriyár came to Ḥasan the Buwayhid, who was now in possession of Ṭabaristán, where he left ʿAlí b. Níkama, and himself returned to ʿIráq and settled at Ray. The Ustundár brought forth Abu'l-Faḍl ath-Tháʿir al-ʿAlawí (the grand-nephew of an-Náṣir al-Kabír) and established him at Jálús. The people collected round him. Ḥasan the Buwayhid, on hearing this, sent an army under Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibnu'l-ʿAmíd, to Ámul to help ʿAlí b. Níkama, but Abu'l-Faḍl ath-Tháʿir deserted the Buwayhid force at Taman-jádiya, and came to Ámul, where he established himself in the Sayyid's palace, while the Ustundár took up his abode at Kharmazar above Ámul. After some time, these two quarrelled, and ath-Tháʿir al-ʿAlawí went to Gílán. Ḥasan the Buwayhid gave an army to Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń, and sent him to Ṭabaristán. At this juncture Ḥasan the Buwayhid's mother died at Ray, and was buried with great pomp at Jálús near Ámul, and all Ṭabaristán passed under the sway of Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń, who discovered Abú Jaʿfar the brother of Mákán at Sári. Washmgír sent to Núḥ the Sámánid to ask his help, and received in response to his appeal several thousand troops, with whom he suddenly attacked Gurgán, and surprised and defeated Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzáń, whose army joined Washmgír (f. 141ḃ), while their late captain fled by night to the castle of Kachín. Washmgír then obtained control of the country.

At this date the Buwayhids had over-run the two ʿIráqs,

al-Hijáz and Syria, as is fully set forth by Abú Ishāq Ibráhím b. Hilál aṣ-Ṣábi in his *Kitábu't-Táji fi áthári 'd-Dawlati 'd-Daylamiyya*, and had made Baghdad their capital. Ḥasan the Buwayhid, the father of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Fanákhusráw, made his brother Mu'izzu'd-Dawla governor of Ray, while he himself held sway over 'Iráq. As soon as he heard of the return of Washmgír, he set out with a large army of Persians and Arabs to attack Ṭabaristán. Washmgír fled to Daylamán, but its people refused to shelter him for fear of the Buwayhids. Ruknu'd-Dawla Ḥasan the Buwayhid advanced as far as Jálús, and Washmgír took refuge with Abu 'l-Faḍl ath-Thá'ir, but for whose protection the Daylamites would have surrendered Washmgír to his foes. Ruknu 'd-Dawla the Buwayhid retired to Āmul and remained there a month, till news of the death of his brother 'Alí reached him, whereupon he left Ṭabaristán and returned to 'Iráq. Thereupon Washmgír and ath-Thá'ir al-'Alawí, accompanied by a host of Gílís and Daylamís, came to Āmul and appointed their own governors. Leaving the Sayyid at Āmul, Washmgír himself marched to Gurgán. Shíraj b. Laylá, Wardánsháh and Abu'l-Ḥasan the brother of Náṣir conspired together and slew the chief supporters of ath-Thá'ir, while Muḥammad b. Wahrí, one of his chief intimates, joined them, so that the Sayyid was left alone, and fled by night to Daylamán, while the conspirators plundered and looted Āmul (f. 142a).

When Ruknu'd-Dawla had concluded the mourning for his brother, he collected a large army, marched on Gurgán, attacked Washmgír, and drove him by way of Nasá and Báward to Merv, which was then governed for Núḥ the Sámánid by Manšúr Qarátakín. Níshápúr had been seized by Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, who had revolted against Núḥ. Washmgír and Qarátakín made a combined attack on him, and he, unable to withstand them, retired

to Gurgán, where he joined Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla's governor, Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá. In Shawwál, A. H. 337 (= April, A. D. 949) Qarátakín and Washmgír entered Gurgán, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu<sup>3</sup>r-Razzáq fled to Ray and took refuge with Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla. Qarátakín returned to Níshápúr and there died. Amír Núḥ thereupon appointed Abú ʿAlí Muslim commander in chief in Khurásán, and sent him against Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla. He reached Ray in A. H. 342 (= A. D. 353—4), besieged Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla in the citadel, and finally made peace with him on the condition that he should pay to the Court of Bukhárá a yearly tribute of 200,000 *dinárs*. Thereupon Abú ʿAlí Muslim retired, to the great vexation of Washmgír, who wrote to the Amír Núḥ saying that, if he had pressed his advantage, he might have taken Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla captive. Amír Núḥ, incensed at this, dismissed Abú ʿAlí Muslim from his office of commander in chief, and gave it to Abú Saʿíd Bakr b. Malik. Abú ʿAlí Muslim, being informed of his dismissal, revolted against Amír Núḥ, omitted his name from the *khuṭba*, and seized Níshápúr. And about the same time, as it chanced, in A. H. 343 (= A. D. 954—5) Amír Núḥ died, and was succeeded by his son ʿAbdu<sup>3</sup>l-Malik. Thus Abú ʿAlí Muslim's power became greater, and he concluded (f. 142*b*) an offensive and defensive alliance with Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla. They agreed to invade Ṭabaristán, the former by way of Shahriyár-Kúh, the latter by Hurmazd-Kúh; but soon after they had effected a junction, Abú ʿAlí Muslim died, and his Khurásání soldiers dispersed, whereupon Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla retired to Ray, and Washmgír remained unmolested, though enmity continued to exist between the two, until, when Maṣṣúr b. Núḥ the Sámánid came to the throne, he sent a large army under Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr to help Washmgír against the Buwayhid. Thereupon Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla, being alarmed, sought for help from Baghdad and Fárs, from his brother

Mu'izzu'd-Dawla and from the sons of 'Aḍudu'-Dawla. In the year A. H. 356 (= A. D. 967) [Abu'l-Ḥasan] Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr joined Washmgír outside Gurgán.

One day about this time Washmgír wished to go for a ride, but was advised by his astrologer not to do so. He waited till the afternoon prayer, at which time some horses were brought for him to see. Amongst these was a very fine black horse from Bukhárá. He ordered it to be saddled, mounted it, and rode forth a little way, when he remembered with vexation the astrologer's advice. Thereupon he turned back, when suddenly he was attacked by a wild boar, which gored his horse, while he fell to the ground with blood pouring from his nose, eyes and ears, and shortly afterwards expired. This was in Muḥarram, A. H. 357 (= December, A. D. 967).

Washmgír left two sons (f. 143*a*), Bahistún and Qábús, of whom the former was at this juncture in Ṭabaristán and the latter with his father. The nobles swore allegiance to Qábús, to whom [Abu'l-Ḥasan] Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Símjúr also gave his support. Bahistún, greatly disappointed, thereupon made overtures to Ruknu'd-Dawla, and went to him at Ray, while his brother Qábús continued to strengthen his hold on Ṭabaristán and Gurgán, and to conciliate the nobles by gifts of lands and money. Amongst others he was joined by his maternal uncle the Ispahbad Rustam b. Sharwín b. Shahriyár Báwand. And on Muḥarram 25, A. H. 366 (= November 28, A. D. 970) Ruknu'd-Dawla died.

'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Abú Shujá<sup>c</sup> Fanákhusrav, the son of Ruknu'd-Dawla, was in Fárs with his brother Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla. The mother of both of these was the daughter of Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, the cousin on the father's side of Mákán Kákí. Fakhru'd-Dawla, the third brother, was in Hamadán. Him the other two attacked, and he fled before them to Shamsu'l-Ma'áli Qábús in Ṭabaristán, who received him

with honour. His two brothers (f. 143*b*) offered Qábús the revenues of Ray for a year if he would surrender Fakhru<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla to them, threatening him with war in case of refusal; and on his rejecting their proposals with scorn, 'Aḍudu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla collected a great army of Kurds, Lurs, Arabs, Daylamites and Turks, and sent them under the command of his brother Mu<sup>2</sup>ayyidu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla to invade Ṭabaristán. They met and defeated Qábús at Astarábád, and he fled with Fakhru<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla, bearing with him his treasures, to Níshápúr, where he placed himself under the protection of Tásh, who was ordered by Amír Núḥ the Sámánid to help him to recover his kingdom. Tásh thereupon marched on Gurgán, sending Fá<sup>2</sup>iq by way of Qúmish, and, aided by Qábús, besieged Mu<sup>2</sup>ayyidu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla in Gurgán for two months. In spite of the scarcity of provisions to which the garrison was reduced, Mu<sup>2</sup>ayyidu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla, at the advice of the astrologer Abu<sup>2</sup>l-Faḍl of Herát, waited till Mars, the planet fortunate to the Turks, had begun to decline. At this juncture news of the death of 'Aḍudu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla reached him, and he secretly bribed Fá<sup>2</sup>iq and other captains of the besieging army to flee when battle should be joined, which happened on Wednesday, Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 371 (= March 21, A. D. 982). In consequence of the desertion of these faithless officers, Tásh and Qábús were defeated and compelled to retire to Níshápúr. At this time Fírúzá**n** b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá**n** ruled over Daylamán, his brother Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzá**n** over Qúmish, and the Ispahbad Sharwín Báwand over Ṭabaristán.

On the death of 'Aḍudu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla (f. 144*a*) quarrels arose between his sons, and Fakhru<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla proceeded to 'Iráq, but shortly afterwards died at Ray. Qábús meanwhile returned to Gurgán, and, by gifts and promises, tried to conciliate the chiefs of that country. Núḥ b. Maṣṣúr the Sámánid died, and was succeeded by Amír Raḍí. Abú 'Alí b.

Ḥasan Símjúr rebelled against him, and Khurásán was plunged in confusion. Amír Rađí fled to Ghazna, and appealed for help to Sabuktagín, who had succeeded Alptagín as ruler of that place. Sabuktagín collected an army and marched on Níshápúr against Abu ʿAlí Símjúr and Fáʿiq, whom he met in battle at a place called Tafsúr. Qábús, though at heart sympathizing with the Sámánids, had been compelled to place his son Dárá as a hostage in the hands of Abú ʿAlí. During the battle Dárá escaped and joined the Sámánid Amír Rađí. Abú ʿAlí was defeated, and Sulṭán Maḥmúd b. Sabuktagín, to whose efforts the victory was largely due, was appointed by Amír Rađí commander in chief of Khurásán, and given the title of Sayfuʿd-Dawla, while his father, Sabuktagín, received Balkh as his reward, and withdrew to Herát. Amír Rađí retired to Bukhárá, where he shortly afterwards died.

Sulṭán Maḥmúd, now in secure possession of Khurásán, allied himself with Ilak Khán, and the two came to Bukhárá, seized Amír Rađí's son, Ibráhím al-Muntaṣir, and put to death some other Sámánid princes. Muntaṣir, however (f. 144*b*), succeeded in effecting his escape to Níshápúr, and, being pursued thither by Maḥmúd, fled to Gurgán, where he was well received and generously treated by Qábús, together with Abu'l-Qásim b. Símjúr and Arslán Bálú, who were with him. Qábús further advised them, having regard to the strength of Maḥmúd and Ilak Khán, to abandon for the present all hopes of recovering Khurásán, and rather to turn their attention to Ray, which was ruled by the boyking Majduʿd-Dawla b. Fakhruʿd-Dawla. Thither, accordingly, they marched, accompanied by the two sons of Qábús, Dárá and Minúchihr, but Abu'l-Qásim and Arslán Bálú, bribed by the nobles of Ray, induced them to retire without molesting the city. The sons of Qábús left them and returned to their father, while Muntaṣir made another attempt to

recover Níshápúr, whence he was driven back by Sulţán Maĥmúd to Gurgán. This time, however, Qábús, seeing that Muntaşır could effect nothing, sent 2000 men to oppose his entrance, and thenceforth (f. 145*a*) concerned himself no further with the fortunes of the House of Sámán. He sent the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín to subdue the district of Shahriyár, which was held by Rustam b. al-Marzubán, the maternal uncle of Majdu'd-Dawla Abú Ṭálib Rustam b. Fakhru'd-Dawla, whom he defeated, and proclaimed Qábús ruler of that country.

Bátí b. Sa'íd was dwelling amongst a section of the Jíl-i-Isfandári, but, though outwardly their ally, his heart was with Qábús. Naşr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, driven by famine from Daylam, attacked and defeated them, and took prisoner the Ispahbad Abu'l-Faḍl, who shortly afterwards died. Bátí fraternized with Naşr, and the two agreed to attack Ámul, whence they drove out the governor, Abu'l-Abbás the chamberlain. Having occupied Ámul, Bátí wrote a letter to Qábús, informing him of the victory, and tendering his allegiance. Leaving Naşr, he then proceeded to Astarábád and easily persuaded its inhabitants to accept the rule of Qábús, who sent the Ispahbad Shahriyár to support him (f. 145*b*)<sup>1</sup>. Fírúzán b. al-Ḥasan [b. Fírúzán], hearing of this, marched from Gurgán to attack them, and had almost succeeded in defeating Bátí outside Astarábád when a number of the Kurds and Arabs in his army suddenly raised the battle-cry of Qábús, and deserted to his enemy. In consequence of this Bátí not only put his army to flight, but captured him and a score of his chief officers. The fugitives were opposed and turned aside from Gurgán by the Sálár Khargásh, a

<sup>1</sup> [From the beginning of this page as far as l. 21 of p. 234 is entirely extracted from al-'Utbf's *Ta'rikh al-Yamini* (Delhi ed. of A. H. 1263, pp. ٢٠٨—٢١٢ and ٢١٥—٢١٩; Buláq ed. of A. H. 1286, vol. I, pp. ٢١٢ to end, and Vol. II, pp. ١—١٧ and ١٧—١٩) A. G. E.].

kinsman of Qábús; and the latter was soon afterwards crowned at Gurgán in Sha<sup>c</sup>bán, A. H. 388 (= August, A. D. 998).

The fugitives were received at Ray with reproaches, and the minister Abú 'Alí Ḥamúla<sup>1</sup> at once proceeded to collect an army of Turks, Arabs and Daylamites ten thousand strong, with which he set out for Gurgán, accompanied by Manúchihr<sup>2</sup> b. Qábús, Asfár b. Kurdúya, Abu'l-'Abbás b. Já'í, 'Abdu'l-Malik Mákán, Músá Ḥájib, Bísitún b. Tíjásaf, Kinár b. Fírúzán, and Rashámúj, all leading men of Daylam. When they reached the district of Shahriyár, Qábús resolved to oppose them. Abú 'Alí Ḥamúla sent messengers to try to win over to his side Naşr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, of whose attitude he felt doubtful, urging him, out of regard for the bond of kinship between him and Majdu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla (f. 146a), to espouse his cause, and promising to reward him with the district of Qúmish. Naşr, deceived by these promises, came to Sári, and, taking the right hand one of the two roads to Gurgán, advanced to within a short distance of Qúmish. Here he made known to his soldiers the real reason why he had espoused the cause of Majdu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla. Thereupon they differed in opinion, some being for Gurgán and others for Ustundár, while Naşr, with the rem-

<sup>1</sup> For this correction of the reading "Ḥamawayh" (حمويه) of the MS. I am indebted to Mr. Ellis, who has looked it up in the *Yamini* (Delhi ed., p. ۳۹; Add. 7310 of the Museum, dated A. H. 696, f. 112a, and Or. 1513, dated A. H. 767, f. 108a. "In all these texts," he adds, "the full name of this personage appears as أبو علي الحسن بن أحمد بن حمولة. The same is the case in the Bodleian MS. of the *Mu'jamu'l-Udabá* of Yáqút. (Bodl. Or. 753, f. 17a), as I am informed by Mr. Amedroz. The Delhi ed. of the *Yamini* vocalizes the name as حمولة, whilst the Buláq ed. (Vol. II, p. 2) and Add. 7310, f. 112a, agree with Ibn Isfandiyár in reading ابن حمويه."

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Isfandiyár has "Maşşúr b. Qábús", but, as Mr. Ellis informs me, "Minúchihr" is the reading of all texts of the *Yamini* (Delhi ed. p. ۳.; Buláq ed., Vol. II, p. ۳; Add. 7310, f. 112a; Or. 1513, f. 108a.

nant which claved to him, advanced to Qúmish, and requested Abú 'Alí Ḥamúla to put him in possession of the citadel. They assigned to him the castle of Júmand, where he placed his family and his baggage and stores.

Abú 'Alí Ḥamúla, leaving Naşr b. Fírúzán at Qúmish, returned by Sári to Gurgán, where he encamped outside the city by the Mausoleum of the Dá'í. For two months fighting continued between him and the allies of Qábús, till famine prevailed in Gurgán, and food became hardly obtainable. Rain, floods and storms presently combined with dearth to render the position of the besiegers more and more difficult. Thereupon the soldiers of Qábús made a sortie, and a fierce fight ensued in which some 1300 men were slain. The Daylamites were defeated, and many of their chiefs, including Sipahsálár b. Kúrángíj, Zarhawájastán b. Ashkalí, Ḥaydar b. Sálár, and Muḥammad b. Wahsúdán were taken captive, while Abú 'Alí Ḥamúla retreated to Qúmish, where he urgently summoned Naşr b. al-Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán to assist him. Fearing the advance of Qábús, however, he dared not remain in Qúmish, but retreated to Ray, while Naşr marched to Samnán. Here he halted and demanded re-inforcements from Majdu'd-Dawla, who sent (f. 147*a*) the son of his chamberlain Baktakín with six hundred Turkish horsemen. Qábús, on the other hand, despatched Bátí b. Sa'íd, and subsequently the Ispahbad Shahriyár, against the Daylamites. Bátí, however, suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Naşr, and his army was annihilated.

Majdu'd-Dawla, greatly encouraged by this victory, sent his maternal uncle, Rustam b. al-Marzubán, with 3000 men to re-inforce Abú 'Alí Ḥamúla, appointing him Ispahbad of Shahriyár. Naşr came out to meet Rustam as far as Damáwand, and helped him to take effective possession of the district assigned to him. The Ispahbad Shahriyár fell back on Sári to seek aid from Prince Minúchihr, the son of

Qábús, and watched his opportunity, until, Rustam having been separated from Naşr, he attacked him and drove him out of the country back to Ray, and established himself in his place.

After this Majdu'd-Dawla made peace with Qábús, and the two agreed to make an end of Naşr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, who, notwithstanding his ancient and noble lineage, was generally hated for his exactions and oppressions (f. 147*b*). Naşr discovered their intention, and, hearing that Sulţán Maḥmúd's governor of Quhistán, Arslán Hindú-bacha, had attacked and driven back Abu'l-Qásim [b.] Símjúr, he went to the latter, and, eager to avenge himself on Majdu'd-Dawla, persuaded him to attack Ray. He was, however, easily repulsed; and, while retiring in disappointment, was attacked and routed by the troops of Qábús, whereupon he and his confederate Abu'l-Qásim offered their services to Sulţán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. Abu'l-Qásim, for reasons set forth in al-'Utbi's *Ta'rikh-i-Yamini*, was soon compelled (f. 148*a*) to flee from the Sulţán's court, but Naşr remained in the Sulţán's service, and was finally given in fief Biyár and Júmand. These, however, did not satisfy him, and he suffered himself to be beguiled by specious promises to Ray, where he was put in chains and sent as a prisoner to the castle of Ustúnáwand, while Qábús subdued all the surrounding strongholds, and bestowed them on his chief officers and nobles.

About this time the Ispahbad Shahriyár, having collected a large army, began to shew signs of restiveness, and Rustam b. Marzubán was sent against him from Ray, followed by Bísitún b. Tíjásf, who defeated and took him prisoner. Rustam, being a partisan of Qábús and ill-disposed towards the ruler of Ray, proclaimed Qábús king, with the acquiescence and approval of Bísitún. Qábús conferred Gilán on his son Minúchihhr, and shortly afterwards reduced the dis-

tricts of Ustundáriyya, Rúyán and Jálús, so that his dominions now included, besides these regions, Gurgán, Ṭabaristán and Daylam to the shores of the Caspian Sea (f. 148*b*). He also entered into friendly relations with Sulṭán Maḥmúd.

For all his noble qualities, his learning, piety, munificence, magnanimity, wisdom, prudence and intelligence, Qábús was, however, arrogant, harsh, and sometimes cruel. No one was secure against his occasional acts of violence, and many men of condition suffered death at his hands, so that a growing discontent became apparent. Now he had a chamberlain called Na'ím, a simple and guiltless man, whom he had made governor of Astarábád; and him, on the mere suspicion of his inclining to the Mu'tazilite heresy, he condemned to death. Na'ím craved a respite, that he might establish his innocence (p. 149*a*), but his request was refused, and he was put to death by Qábús. This so exasperated the nobles and officers that they determined to depose Qábús, who had gone for change of air to Janáshk, and knew nothing of their disaffection until one night they surrounded and attacked his camp and plundered his baggage, but were driven off by his retainers. They then went to Gurgán, seized the city, and brought thither Prince Minúchihr, the son of Qábús, from Ṭabaristán, threatening him that, unless he would consent to depose his father and accept the crown at their hands, they would find another ruler and cast off their allegiance to his house. Minúchihr, being unable to oppose them, deemed it best to agree to their demands.

Meanwhile Qábús, with his retainers and baggage, came to Biṣṭám, there to await the upshot of the affair (f. 149*b*), and his son Minúchihr was compelled by the rebels to march against him. Qábús summoned Minúchihr into his presence, which he entered with every mark of respect and with tears in his eyes. After bewailing the untoward events

which had forced him in appearance to oppose his father, Minúchihr offered, if Qábús wished it, openly to espouse his cause; but the latter, recognizing the hopelessness of his own position, gave Minúchihr his blessing and handed over to him his signet-ring and the keys of his treasuries, and retired to Janáshk, there to end his days in prayer and pious exercises. The rebels, however, could feel no security as long as Qábús was alive, and soon found on opportunity to put him to death secretly (f. 150a) <sup>1</sup>. He was buried beneath a dome outside Gurgán on the road to Khurásán.

After mourning for three days, according to the fashion of the Daylamites, Minúchihr ascended the throne and assumed the reins of government, while Qábús was soon forgotten:

كَأَنَّ كَرَّ يَكُنُ بَيْنَ الْهَاجِرِينَ إِلَى الصَّفَا أُنَيْسٌ وَ لَمْ يَسْمُرْ بِمَكَّةَ سَامِرٌ

Letters of condolence from the Caliph al-Qádir Bi'lláh, conferring on him the title of Falaku'l-Ma'álí, soon reached Minúchihr, who made it his first business to conciliate, with presents and professions of loyalty, the powerful Sulţán Maḥmúd of Ghazna, who recognized his sovereignty in Gurgán, Ṭabaristán and Qúmish, and sent Abú Muḥammad b. Mihrán as an ambassador to confer on him a robe of honour and other marks of his favour; while he on his part agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 50,000 *dinárs*, and, on the occasion of the campaign against Nárdín, supplied a contingent of a thousand picked soldiers of Daylam (f. 150b). Later Minúchihr sent Abú Sa'd Sawák, the greatest noble of Gurgán, to Sulţán Maḥmúd to pray that he would bestow on him, for the confirming of the alliance, the hand of one of his daughters. To this request a favourable answer was brought back by the ambassador, who was then

<sup>1</sup> See Dawlatsháh, pp. 48-49 of my edition.

sent to Ghazna a second time accompanied by the Qádí of Gurgán to draw up the marriage-contract and bring back the bride (f. 151*a*).

Having thus secured his position, Minúchihr prepared to take vengeance on his father's murderers, which he had hitherto feared to do, and did not rest until he had put most of them to death, save the son of Khargásh, who fled into exile, and none knows what fate overtook him. Abu'l-Qásim Ja<sup>c</sup>dí, who had been in command of the army of Qábús, long evaded capture, and finally (f. 151*b*) took refuge with the Sultán at Níshápúr, who, however, handed him over to Minúchihr, from whom he met with his deserts.

To return now to Minúchihr's brother Dára, who, as we saw (p. 227 *supra*), escaped from the custody of Abú 'Alí b. Símjúr and joined the Sámánid Amír Rađí. When his father Qábús had established his rule, Dára continued for a time in his service, but presently, his fears and suspicious being aroused, he again fled secretly into Khurásán, where he was at first well received (f. 152*a*) by the Sultán, but presently, falling under suspicion, he escaped to Sháh Shár of Ghars, between whom and himself an ancient friendship existed, but who dared not persist in refusing his surrender to the Sultán. He was imprisoned by the Sultán for some time — more rigorously after he had once succeeded in escaping —, but was finally received back into favour, and sent with Arslán Jádhib<sup>1</sup> to assume the government of Ṭabaristán and Gurgán, whence, however, owing to the wisdom of his brother Minúchihr in conciliating Sultán Maḥmúd, he was speedily recalled, and attached to the Sultán's personal service. At this juncture (f. 152*b*) Amír Abu'l-Fawáris,

<sup>1</sup> The India Office MS. (A) has "Hárib", but the British Museum MS. Add. 7633 (B.), f. 182*b*, "Jádhib", which is, as Mr. Ellis points out, certainly correct, as it is confirmed by all texts of the *Yamini* (Delhi ed., p. 144*f*; Buláq ed., Vol. II, p. 14; Add. 7310, f. 177*a*; Or. 1513, f. 170*a*).

son of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid, came from Kirmán to the Sulṭán to complain of the wrongs which he had suffered at his brother's hands, and a dispute occurred between him and Dárá as to the nobility and antiquity of their respective families in the course of which the latter made use of expressions so insulting and improper that he was again disgraced and imprisoned till Muḥarram, A. H. 409 (= May-June, A. D. 1018), when, at the intercession of the Prime Minister, he was released, and his estates were restored to his stewards.

In A. H. 424 (= A. D. 1033) Minúchihr died, and was succeeded by his son [Abú] Kálanjár, who was the contemporary of Sulṭán Ma'súd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna. In A. H. 425 (= A. D. 1033—4) the latter, in spite of the urgent dissuasion of his ministers and nobles, decided to visit the former in Gurgán and Ṭabaristán. Abú Kálanjár answered (f. 153*a*), "I am thy servant: the king does but visit his own house;" but he retired to one of his castles, and even ventured a remonstrance at the exactions and irregularities committed by Mas'úd's troops. Finally, as summer advanced and the weather grew warm, Mas'úd retired to Gurgán, where, on the very day of his arrival, he learned that two thousand Seljúq Turkmáns had reached Merv, and had been joined by two of the sons of Seljúq, Yaghmur and Búqá. This was the first revolt of the Seljúqs, and their power continued to increase until Jaghrí<sup>1</sup> Beg Da'úd seized Khwárazm, and thence marched to Ṭabaristán and Ray, occupying and annexing most of the realms of the House of Washmgír (or Ziyárids) except the mountains. And in A. H. 441 (= A. D. 1049—1050) Abú Kálanjár died<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Add. 7633, f. 183*b*, has جغر بیگ, "Jaghar Beg", but on the authority of ar-Ráwandí's *History of the Seljúqs* (N<sup>o</sup>. 1314 *Suppl. Persan* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, f. 37*b*), transcribed in A. H. 635, I prefer this form. See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> Ibnu'l-Athír places his death in A. H. 440.

He was succeeded by his cousin Kay-Ká'ús b. Iskandar b. Qábús, chiefly celebrated as the author of the Qábús-náma<sup>1</sup>, who was contemporary with Rustam b. Shahriyár, and ruled in the mountain districts until A. H. 462 (= A. D. 1069—1070), when he died, and was succeeded by his son [Gílánsháh], to whom there remained but a shadow of power. For ʿTughril the Seljúq had traversed ʿTabaristán and Gílán, levying taxes and appointing governors (f. 153b), and thence had passed on to Ray [and Baghdad], restored the authority of the Caliph al-Qa'im bi-amri'lláh and put down the agents of the Fáṭimid Anti-Caliph al-Mustansir, and in return for all his services received the title of Sulṭán. Gílánsháh died, and was succeeded by his cousin Anúshirwán b. Minúchihr b. Qábús, in A. H. 471 (= A. D. 1078—9)<sup>2</sup>.

[Here follows some account of Alp Arslán's conquests, and in particular of a wonderful march which he made with 100,000 men from Balásághún to the Euphrates to relieve the Caliph al-Qa'im, who was hard pressed by the Byzantines. This march he is said to have accomplished in sixteen days. The author now turns back to trace the history of the Ispahbads of the House of Báw from the earliest times down to the period which he has now reached.]

(F. 154a). To the Ispahbads of this ancient and noble house was given the title "King of the Mountains" (*Malikü'l-Jibál*). Their ancestor Báw was a vassal of Khusraw Parwíz, whom he aided in his wars with the "Romans" and

<sup>1</sup> An excellent edition of this interesting book of counsels was lithographed at Tihrán in A. H. 1285.

<sup>2</sup> The chronology here seems very confused, this same date being given for the death of ʿTughril, who really died in A. H. 455 (A. D. 1063). A little further on, however, the date of Alp Arslán's death is correctly given as A. H. 465 (A. D. 1072), but on f. 158a the same erroneous date is repeated.

with his rebellious subject Bahrám Chúbína, and for whom he successively governed Iṣṭakhr, Ādharbayján, ʿIráq and Ṭabaristán. Over the latter province he maintained his sway for 15 years after the Arabs had overrun the rest of Persia, but was at last treacherously slain by Walásh, who struck him from behind with a brick, and usurped his authority, driving his son Suhráb into exile. The latter, however, aided by the men of Kúlá, Khúrzád, Khusraw-isfáhí and Qárin-kúh, attacked Walásh at Panjá-hazár and slew him, and was crowned at Farím. From that time until the death of Fakhruʿd-Dawla, though they were partially subdued at different times by the ʿAlawí Sayyids, the House of Gáwbára, the Qárinwands, the Buwayhids and the Ziyárids, no king or ruler was able to destroy or extirpate them, or (f. 154*b*) to take undivided possession of their domains.

Suhráb was succeeded by his son Mihr-mardán, and he, after a brief reign, by his grandson Sharwín b. Surkháb, who was the contemporary of Wandád-Hurmazd, and first took the title of "King of the Mountains". He and Wandád-Hurmazd united to drive the Arabs out of Ṭabaristán. The sons of these two, Shahriyár b. Sharwín and Qárin b. Wandád-Hurmazd were contemporaries of Hárúnuʿr-Rashíd, to whom the former had been given as a hostage by his father.

Shahriyár was followed successively by his two sons Jaʿfar and Qárin. The latter, in the Caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim, in the year A. H. 227 (= A. D. 841—2) abandoned the Zoroastrian religion and embraced Islám. He was the contemporary of the Dáʿí-Kabír, who sent the Ustundár Padhúsbán to ravage his lands until he submitted to the Sayyid, and committed to him his sons Mázyár and Surkháb in the year A. H. 252 (= A. D. 866). The latter died young, and was succeeded by his son Rustam. When the

Dá'í, who was still reigning, punished the Daylamites for their disobedience by cutting off the hands and feet of about a thousand of them, the remainder of them fled to this Rustam, who led them to Qúmish, captured it, and banished the Dá'í's viceroy, Sayyid Qásim, to Sháh Dizh in Hazár Jarib.

Rustam, being on bad terms with the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd (f. 155*a*) joined Ráfi° b. Harthama, the governor of Khurásán, and with him ravaged Mázandarán, Daylam and Rúyán. After a while Ráfi° returned to Khurásán, and, being routed by °Amr b. Layth, fled to Gurgán and made peace with the Sayyid, but sent a message to Rustam informing him that this truce was only a stratagem, and inviting him to meet him at Astarábád. On his arrival, however, Rustam was treacherously seized by Ráfi° as he sat at meat, and was cast into prison, where he died in Ramaḍán, A. H. 282 (= October—November, A. D. 895).

He was succeeded by his son Sharwín, who made peace with Sayyid Náşir-i-Kabír, and was contemporary with Mákán b. Kákí. Sharwín was in turn succeeded by his son Shahriyár, who was contemporary with Ruknu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid and Washmgír b. Ziyár. His son, who predeceased him, bore the name of his grandfather, Sharwín. Shahriyár survived till the time of Qábús b. Washmgír and Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna.

[Here the author cites from the *Chahár Maqála* the account of Firdawsí, and how he took refuge from Sulṭán Maḥmúd with this prince, given in that work by Nidhámfi-°Arúđí-i-Samarqandí; which account has been published with a German translation by Dr. Ethé at pp. 89—94 of the *Z. D. M. G.* for 1894, Vol. XLVIII, and criticised by Nöldeke in his *Iranische Nationalepos*, pp. 21—30 of the *tirage-à-part*. A full English translation of this passage, which extends from f. 155*a*, l. 17 to f. 157*b*, l. 12, will be found

at pp. 77—84 of my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, so that it may be passed over in this place.]

(F. 157*b*). The Ispahbad Shahriyár was succeeded by Dárá, who reigned but a short time, and was followed by his son Shahriyár, who accompanied Qábús b. Washmgír in his 18 years' exile, conquered Shahriyár-kúh and expelled its governor Rustam b. Marzubán, and, assisted by Bátí b. Sa'íd, in A. H. 387 (= A. D. 997) defeated Fírúzán b. al-Ḥasan, and afterwards Naṣr b. Ḥasan.<sup>1</sup> But towards the end of the reign of Qábús (f. 158*a*) Shahriyár rebelled against him, and, being defeated by Rustam b. Marzubán, was imprisoned till his death. After this none of the House of Báwand dared shew themselves or claim any power, until, when the Seljúqs conquered Khurásán, and the power of the House of Washmgír was destroyed, the Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin restored in some degree the power and fortunes of his house.

[The author now returns to the history of the Seljúqs at the point where he left it to recount the history of the Báwands, namely the death of Ṭughril and the accession of Alp Arslán. Most of what follows belongs to the general history of Persia from this to the Author's own time (first half of the thirteenth century of our era), while another hand has carried on the chronicle to A. H. 750 = A. D. 1349—1350.]<sup>2</sup>

(F. 158*b*). During the reign of Alp Arslán, Ṭabaristán suffered much from the constant passage of his troops, but the Ispahbad Qárin b. Surkháb of the House of Báwand succeeded in re-establishing his power to some extent in the mountains, while the power of the House of Washmgír continually grew less. Qárin died in A. H. 486 (= A. D.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 228—231.

<sup>2</sup> "This continuation," observes Mr. Ellis, "is absent from Add. 7633, f. 188*b*."

1093), and was succeeded by Ḥusámu'd-Dawla. About this time began the power of the Assassins. The 'New Propaganda', begun by Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh in Ray, was soon extended to Dámghán, Shahriyár-kúh, Damáwand and Qazwín, till finally the mountain fastness of Alamút, "the Eagle's Nest", was surrendered to them by its warden, 'Alawí Mahdí, on Wednesday, Rajab 6, A. H. 483 (= September 4, A. D. 1090), a date which, by a most curious coincidence, is represented by the sum of the numerical values of the letters composing its name<sup>1</sup>. 'Alawí Mahdí received from Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh an order for 3000 *dinárs* on the governor of Gird-i-Kúh and Dámghán, Ra'is Mudhaffar, who, though ostensibly subordinate to Amír Dád Ḥabash b. Altúntásh, had secretly accepted the doctrine of, and sworn allegiance to, Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh. It was a great surprise to Mahdí when, on his presenting this order, it was at once honoured. The growing power (f. 159b) of Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh aroused the alarm of the Nidhámú'l-Mulk, who, however, was assassinated on the eve of Friday, Ramaḍán 12, A. H. 485 (= October 16, A. D. 1092) at Siḥna near Naháwand by one of Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh's *fidá'is* named Ṭáhir-i-Arrání, who had disguised himself as a Šúfí.

Very shortly after this, Maliksháh (f. 160a) died, and the civil war which broke out between his sons Muḥammad and Barkiyáruq permitted the Assassins to strengthen their position unmolested. On the death of Barkiyáruq, Muḥammad sent his brother Sanjar to attack them in Khurásán. He began by capturing a stronghold named Qal'a-i-Ātash-Kúh

<sup>1</sup> This coincidence is remarked in the *Ta'rikkh-i-Guzida* and many other histories. The name of the castle must, however, to yield the correct sum,

be written in its full form *آله آموت*, *Áluh-ámút*. I believe that Ibnu'l-Athír's explanation of the name as meaning "the Eagle's Teaching" is correct, for *áluh* occurs in Pahlawí meaning an eagle, and *ámút* certainly stands for *ámúkkh* ("taught").

("the Castle of the Mountain of Fire")<sup>1</sup> which they had seized at the very gates of Isfahán, and putting several thousand of them to death there. He also ordered the Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin to co-operate with him in extirpating the Assassins, under pain of dismissal, but he, displeased at the preemptory and minatory tone of the message, refused to do so. Thereupon<sup>2</sup> the Seljúq monarch sent 5000 horsemen under the command of Amír Sunqur of Bukhárá to Mázandarán, ordering his governors in Láriján, Rúyán and Āmul to join him and assist him. At Āmul, accordingly, he was met by a number of local magnates (f. 160b), who proposed to accompany him by the sea-shore to Sári. The Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla, being informed of this, collected to himself Amír Mahdí of Lafúr, one of the Qárinwands, and all the *amírs* and notables of Shahriyár Kúh, at a place called Āram, and together they marched on Sári, of which they proceeded to repair the fortifications. Sunqur encamped at a place called Atrábin. The Ispahbad promised his black Persian *kuláh*, round which he had wound a turban, to whichever of his sons would attack and rout the enemy. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin at once alighted from his horse, took a Gílí shield, opened the gate and went out, followed by his son, Fakhru'l-Mulk Rustam. Ḥusámu'd-Dawla had with him four hundred Gílís, all with shields and white plumes (*parchan*), and these he drew up in ranks before Sunqur's army. Then Farámarz b. Shírzád came forth with his horsemen.

Now Husámu'd-Dawla had induced an Amír named Bekcherí to desert Sunqur as soon as battle was joined; this he did, and was received with honour and sent to the Is-

<sup>1</sup> See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, pp. 606—609. The castle in question is generally named Dizkúh or Sháh-Dizh. It fell on Sha'bán 6, A. H. 500 (= April 2, A. D. 1107).

<sup>2</sup> ["In A. H. 500 (= A. D. 1106—7)"; so Add. 7633, f. 191a. A. G. E.]

pahbad's palace. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin then attacked Sunqur; the noise of battle scared all the water-fowl in the surrounding marshes (f. 161a) and they rose into the air with tumultuous cries, so that Sunqur thought that he was being attacked by another force in the rear. His army gave way, and fled, pursued by Najmu'd-Dawla, who killed and took captive many of them, especially the foot-soldiers of Ámul. The people of Sári blackened the faces of the captive Ámulís, branded on their foreheads the names of Muḥammad and ʿAlí, and paraded them through the town, after which they were released. Then the Ispahbad divided the abundant spoils which had fallen to their lot, and dismissed the *marzubáns* and other local chiefs who had helped him with presents and robes of honour.

Sunqur meanwhile fell back on Gurgán, and thence returned to Isfahán, where he told the Sulṭán that by force they could effect nothing in that wild country, but only by political stratagems. So the Sulṭán sent another embassy to the Ispahbad, telling him that Sunqur had exceeded his orders in making this attack, and asking him to send one of his sons to the court at Isfahán. To this proposal the Ispahbad finally consented, on receiving the Sulṭán's solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that the son thus sent should be treated with all honour; and, summoning his sons before him, communicated to them the Sulṭán's proposal, and asked which of them would go. Najmu'd-Dawla Qárin, having taken part in the attack on Sunqur, dared not venture, but his brother ʿAláʿu'd-Dawla ʿAlí b. (f. 161b) Shahriyár volunteered to go, and was accordingly sent off to Isfahán with a pious Sayyid named Muntahí as his tutor, and an escort of a thousand horse and two thousand foot. His father accompanied him from Sári as far as Farím, and sent him on his journey by way of Asrán and Samnán.

At this time the castle of Ustúnáwand was in the hands of the Assassins, and also the castle of Manşúr-kúh. Some of the garrison of the latter had come to Dámghán, and the Amír Qachghuz attacked them and slew many. Then he joined ʿAláʿuʿd-Dawla ʿAlí, and, being under obligations to his father Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla the Ispahbad, took charge of him and brought him to Isfahán, where he was most graciously received by the Sulţán, who was still more favourably impressed when he saw the young Prince's prowess in polo, hunting, and throwing the mace, which he could throw as far as the Sulţán could shoot an arrow. The Sulţán then offered him the hand of his sister in marriage, but he, fearing the jealousy of Najmuʿd-Dawla, suggested that this honour should rather be accorded to his elder brother. The Sulţán approved this suggestion; the marriage contract was drawn up, and ʿAláʿuʿd-Dawla was sent back to Ṭabaristán with presents and robes of honour to convey the news. At Amul he was magnificently received by all the notables, and there he tarried ten days, when he was joined by the chief men of Shahriyár-kúh, who accompanied him to Sári. His father, after congratulating him on his success, sent him to his brother Najmuʿd-Dawla Qárin, who, however, refused to receive him, and, being rebuked by their father the Ispahbad, sought permission to go to Baghdad, which he was suffered to do.

On reaching Baghdad, Najmuʿd-Dawla, who was a brave and skilful horseman, perfect in all knightly accomplishments, was met by the Sulţán, who soon afterwards took him with himself to Isfahán, where he married him to his sister. Then he set out to return to Ṭabaristán, on hearing which his younger brother ʿAláʿuʿd-Dawla craved permission from their father the Ispahbad to retire into seclusion, for he feared his brother (f. 162*b*). Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla met his son Najmuʿd-Dawla at Farím towards Sam-

nán, and gave him the castle of Kúzá. This vexed 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, since it had been given to him, and, though his father sent Amír Mahdí of Lafúr to Zárím, where he was, to pacify him, he retired in anger to Gulpáyagán, and took up his abode in a village called Mírwand-ábád, which was his mother's property. Najmu'd-Dawla came to Sári, and, charging his father with being privy to his brother's withdrawal, threatened him, ill-used his servants, and desired to claim for himself the symbols of authority; and his father, being then 75 years of age, finally gave way to his violent and unfilial conduct, abdicated, and retired to Āmul. Thither Najmu'd-Dawla, fearful of what men might say of him, followed him, offered profuse apologies, and brought him back to Sári; but, as his conduct did not greatly amend, Húsamu'd-Dawla again withdrew to Húsam into religious seclusion. "I have heard from my father," says the author, "that when he reached Āmul, he passed by the gate of a Mosque where was a school for children, and said (f. 163a), 'O my children, when you grow up, say, 'Shahriyár, abandoning his throne, fled to Daylamán from the hands of his own son Qárin.''" All the people of Gíl and Daylam rallied round him at Húsam, but he, wearied of sovereignty, occupied himself in building, farming and religious exercises. After a while he fell ill, and his son Najmu'd-Dawla, again repenting of his harshness, sent several notables to Āmul to bring his father thither. There he met him, fell at his feet and apologized for his conduct, and brought him with him to Sári, leaving the care of the estates of Húsam to an old servant called Amír Ḥasan.

The Sulṭán, Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, had a young son named Malik Aḥmad, whom he entrusted to the care of an Amír named Sunqur-i-Kúchak, and sent to Ray, making him governor of that town, together with Āwa, Sáwa, Arrán, Khwár, Samnán, Rúyán, Láriján, Ṭabaristán and Gurgán.

But every agent sent by Sunqur-i-Kúchak to Āmul was expelled by Najmu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Qárin. This continued for some time, till at last Sunqur sent to <sup>2</sup>Alá<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla <sup>2</sup>Alí, Najmu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla's brother, offering to appoint him governor of Āmul and Ṭabaristán, if he would come to Malik Aḥmad. So <sup>2</sup>Alá<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla (f. 163*b*) came to Ray, where he was well received, and sent with Sunqur's brother Jáwalí an army to Āmul. There the notables came out to meet him, with Amír Ḥassán Bahá<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla the governor of the town, and installed him in the palace called Kúshk-i-Jáwalí, which in the author's time was razed to the ground by Sháh Ardashír. Ḥusámu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla, on hearing this, came with the army of Shahriyár-kúh to Lák-Ābandán, and made an agreement with Jáwalí, whom he sent with Sháh Ghází Rustam to Āram, where he was entertained for a week, and then sent back to <sup>2</sup>Iráq.

About this time a quarrel arose between the Ispahbad and the Assassins, because they had killed a certain Abú Ja'far Báwandí. One day the Ispahbad Sháh Ghází Rustam was passing through the quarter of the Mosque of Zanakú when an Assassin sprang out on him and tried to stab him, but failed and was slain by the clubs of the companions of his intended victim. To his father Sháh Ghází made light of this event, but a little later, while on his way from Sári to Āmul, two Assassins attacked him while he was out hunting in the plain of Walíkán, at a moment when he had alighted to drink water, and inflicted a deep gash in his side. One of these Assassins was killed by Ḥusayn Shírzíl; the other drew his knife (f. 164*a*), rushed amongst the Ispahbad's servants, and wounded several of them ere he was himself slain. Sháh Ghází recovered from his wound, which, though deep, had not involved the intestines. His father the Ispahbad came to Āmul on hearing the news, and wept bitterly over his son's misfortune.

About this time Sulţán Sanjar commanded the Ispahbad to wait on him, but he apologized on the ground of his age, and offered to send his sons. Sanjar was angry at this, and sent his nephew Sulţán Mas'úd with an army to Astarábád to take Shahriyár-Kúh from the Ispahbad, who, however, defeated him near Tammísha and slew many of his men. He was joined by Kiyá Buzurg ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ĥaqq [b. al-] Hádí with 5000 Daylamites, and soon afterwards by his son Sháh-i-Gházi, who had recovered from his wound (f. 164b); and with their aid inflicted a second still more severe defeat on Mas'úd, who, having lost half his army, together with the Amír Jáwalí, fled to Gurgán. This happened in A. H. 521 (= A. D. 1127).

Sanjar, infuriated at this reverse, invited one of his *amírs* to volunteer to avenge it. Bazghash offered his services, which were accepted, and came to Dámghán, whence he sent harsh messages to the Ispahbad, who was at the castle of Kúzá, and who received his threats with derision. It was then Ramađán, but, as soon as the fast and ensuing festival were over, he moved to Tammísha, while Bazghash came to Astarábád and besieged the castle of Rúhín. The Ispahbad left his son Táju'l-Mulúk Mardáwíj in Tammísha, and came to Sári. Mardáwíj remained for eight months (f. 165a) in Tammísha, so that Bazghash could not move, while Qárin b. Garshásf continued to defend the castle of Rúhín successfully. Then news arrived that Qarája the cup-bearer had gone to Baghdad with the army of 'Iráq and was acting as Atábek, or guardian, to Seljúqsháh, and that Mas'úd also had gone to them from Gurgán; and Bazghash, being recalled by the Sulţán, was compelled to retire.

The Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús and Fakhru'd-Dawla Garshásf agreed together to rebel against the Ispahbad. When each had returned to his own country, the latter first revolted at Gulpáyagán, and ravaged the district of Astarábád. The

Ispahbad retaliated by attacking Gulpáyagán, plundering and burning the neighbourhood, and killing several of Fakhru'd-Dawla's men. Meanwhile the Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús took advantage of the Ispahbad's absence to attack Āmul, burn the Ispahbad's palace of Baqrá-Kaláta, and expel his retainers from the town. Fakhru'd-Dawla meanwhile, being driven out of Gulpáyagán, retired to the castle of Jahína. The Ispahbad despatched his son 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Ḥasan to attack Kay-Ká'ús, who, however, set an ambush for him and defeated him, so that he fled, and, by the help of one Dárgíl, crossed over by boat into Gílán and betook himself to the house of Sulţán-Sháh-i-Gíl. After a while he desired to return to his father the Ispahbad, who, however, being vexed at his defeat, refused to receive him, and ordered that he should retire to Karkam, and that certain of his officers, Amír 'Alí Sábiqu'd-Dawla, Mudhaffar-i-'Alawí (f. 165*b*), Majdu'd-Dín Dára and Abú Hášim-i-'Alawí, should for a period of one year not ride on horseback, and should each retire to a different place, which in each case he specified. But Amír 'Alí Sábiqu'd-Dawla propitiated the Ispahbad with a gift of a thousand sheep, though he was still kept out of his fief-holds for a year. Shortly afterwards the Ispahbad succeeded in surprising and putting to flight the Ustundár Kay-Ká'ús, and plundering his palace.

One of the Ispahbad's vassals named Minúchihr had embellished his estate of Kuhrúd with all sorts of rare merchandise from India, Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria. He had several daughters and eighteen sons, of whom the eldest, Abú Ḥarb, was violent, undutiful, shameless, and without fear of God. One day he fled from his father, who sent soldiers in pursuit of him. He had reached the dyke called Dar-band-i-Shínúh when they came up with him, and he, to escape, leaped his horse into the river Hurmuz, which there runs like a mill-race. The soldiers, supposing him to have

perished, returned, but he reached the shore and made his way to Amul, where he was furnished with clothes (f. 166a), and sent to the court of the Ispahbad, who treated him with kindness and sent him back to his father.

His father, meanwhile, had disinherited him in favour of a younger brother, which so infuriated him that one night in Ramađán he invited his brothers to a banquet, and caused each one to be murdered as he was leaving the house. Then he came to his father, and, taking him unawares, smote him on the head with a mace and slew him (f. 166b), while his followers cut down one or two servants who offered resistance. He then announced to the people that he had done this deed by order of the king of Má-zandarán, and sent a message to the Ispahbad, saying what he had done, and promising to appear before him if summoned. So the Ispahbad, who was just setting out for Amul from Kajúr, bade him come, and Abú Ĥarb joined him with 300 soldiers, horse and foot. The combined armies marched by way of Daylamán, Kalár, and Gúrshírad to Kajú, which they set on fire. Near this place they were met by the Ustundár Kay-Ká<sup>2</sup>ús, and a fierce fight ensued, in which 900 of the Ustundár's men were killed and 400 taken prisoners, though he himself escaped with a few retainers. The Ispahbad (f. 167a) then returned to Amul, where he bound the 400 unfortunate captives to the staircase of the Palace which Kay-Ká<sup>2</sup>ús had burned, wrapped it in reeds and matting, and burned them all. The Ispahbad then set out for Daylamán, but when he reached Banafsha-gún, Kay-Ká<sup>2</sup>ús came before him with a sword and a winding-sheet to make his submission. He was ordered to collect his army and join the Ispahbad at Amul to help him in dislodging Garshásf from his castle of Juhína. There he received, at the Ispahbad's command, 1000 gold *dinárs* of Amul from the *marzubán* of that city, whose exactions had,

as he declared, driven him into rebellion, and a remission of certain sums of money for which he was responsible . . . .

(F. 167*b*). The Ispahbad Sháh Ghází Rustam was now sixty years old. On the first of Farwardín, the Persian Nawrúz, he reviewed his army at Sári, in the *maydán* of Atrábin, Sábíq of Qazwín being on one side of him, and on the other Abú Ḥarb of Láriján. He bade them bring him a polo-stick and ball, and struck the ball, saying, "O sixtieth year, I know not whether thou art come for sickness or death!" Then he threw down the polo-stick and dismissed his army; and on that very day he fell sick. He retired to the village of Zínwán, distant one parasang from Sári, and there died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Farwardín, A. H. 558 (April, A. D. 1163), leaving two sons, Sharafu'l-Mulúk Ḥasan b. Rustam and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, and a daughter, whom Sháh Ardashír gave in marriage to the Ispahbad Naṣíru'd-Dawla Dára b. Bahman. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla was put to death by Sháh Ardashír near Tarícha. On the death of Sháh Ghází Rustam a poet has the following verses:

دیو سپید سر ز دماوند کس برون  
 کاندز زمانه رستم مازندران نماند  
 ای پرده دار پرده فرو هل که بار نیست  
 بر تخت رستم بن علی شهریار نیست

The Ispahbad Sháh Ghází was buried by the notables of Ṭabaristán, such as the Ispahbad Majdu'd-Dín Dára, king of Daylamán, Amír 'Alí Sábíqu'd-Dawla, Sayyid Háshim the 'Alawí and Amír Surkháb, in the college where 'Alá'u'd-Dawla had been buried. After the funeral these notables met in the house of Shahrásán b. Āsán, and (f. 168*a*) wrote to Sharafu'l-Mulúk Ḥasan to inform him of his father's death. He, though ill at the time, at once came to Sári,

and despatched his boon-companion Kay-Ká'ús with fifty horsemen to Āba-sar to seize his brother Náşiru'l-Mulk, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the late Ispahbad Sháh Ghází, and cut off his head. . . . The warden of the castle of Ṭabarak sent to the Ispahbad offering to surrender it, as he was a Turk, and could not hold it. "Íráq also," he added, "like Mázandarán, is thine: send thy warden to Ṭabarak, and take possession of Ray, for I have business before me." So, though it was bitter cold that year, the Ispahbad sent 300 men and a warden to take possession of that country, and ordered the *marzubán* of Láriján and the Ustundár to keep a daily watch on the state of the castle and the Amír 'Inánj.

When the Ispahbad used to sit late drinking wine, none of his servants dared go to his home, for, if he wanted one of them, and did not find him, he would on such occasions punish him with death. So only when he fell asleep towards morning did they dare to depart to their homes to rest. One night 300 of these servants conspired together to kill him, and those who were on duty, watching their opportunity, fell upon him, and so plied their swords and maces that, when they left him dead, not one of his limbs was whole. Then (f. 168*b*) they went out, saying that the Ispahbad desired to be left alone, and bade all disperse, which they did. Sháh Ardashír, learning what had happened, desired to pursue the murderers, but was dissuaded; but such as were recognized were arrested wherever they were found and sent to him, singly or in batches, and he caused them to be hung up and shot with arrows, until in the course of a year, all had been taken and killed.

The Ispahbad had four sons and one daughter. Two of the sons, Yazdigird and 'Alí, died before their father, while Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Sháh Ardashír and Fakhru'l-Mulúk Rustam survived him. His daughter was noted for her piety, de-

voutness and virtue. Náşiru'd Dín Rúz-Bihán composed the following verses on the death of the Ispahbad:

ای آمدن و گذشتنت چون سیلاب  
 چون آتش سوختنی جهانی بشتاب  
 چون باد نه آسایش بودیت نه خواب  
 در خاک نهان شدی کنون چون سیماب

When the Ustundár Hazárasp obtained control of his dominion, he ordered his son Zar-míwand Máníwand and his brother Shirwánsháh to be put to death. Both fled for protection to king Ardashír, who (f. 169a) sent a message of remonstrance to the Ustundár, saying:

جوان سبك سر بود خویش كام سبك سر سبكتم در افتد بدام

Admonition, however, availed nothing. The Ustundár was abandoned by 'Aynu'd-Dawla Siyáh, Arslán, Ṭanṭiq and the Turkish Amírs, who joined themselves to the King, and were re-inforced by Arjásf, who, having obtained king Ardashír's permission, raided the marches of Daylamán, and brought in all the inhabitants and the soldiers of that district into Ámul, on which Hazárasp began to march. King Ardashír collected an army of 14,000 Turks and Tájíks, set out for Rúyán, and came as far as Nátil, where he heard that Hazárasf was engaged in battle with Khwájak. The King sent on his standards and insignia, and as soon as these were seen, Hazárasp's men took to flight, and many were taken and killed, while he himself fell back on Kajú. The King encamped at Siyáh-rúd, where he remained two days, till the people of Rúyán came in to make their submission to him. Then he marched on to Kajú, ravaging the country as he went, and then returned to Qúr-shírad and Kalár (f. 169b).

In this year Sultán ʿUghrīl and the Atábek Muḥammad<sup>1</sup> rebelled, and demanded help from the King, having already received it from the Caliph, the Amírs of Aywa, and the armies of Arrán, Adharbayján, Akhlát and Marágha. The Ispahbad Bahá<sup>2</sup>u<sup>3</sup>d-Dín was accordingly sent to join them, and he came to Lafúr with so splendid an equipment of weapons adorned with gold that he was nick-named "the Golden Amír" (*Amír-i-Zarrín*). He aided in defeating the Atábek Darkala, and was dismissed to his country with honour and presents, while the Ispahbad was thanked for the aid which he had lent.

In this year a noble, brave and accomplished 'Alawí waited on the king, and was by him given rank and insignia, and assigned the district of Daylamán, which belonged to Kiyá Buzurg ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq ar-Riḍá b. al-Hádí. He at once entered into possession, and ruled justly, and put to death the Ispahbad Shahriyár and Rustam, and liberated Bárkala after he had been imprisoned for some years, and imprisoned the governor of the city (*shahr-dár*) for sixteen years (f. 170a) in the castle of Kúzá....

In this year also Táju<sup>3</sup>d-Dín Túránsháh b. Zardastán died. Arjásf obtained permission to go to Alexandria (*sic!*) and raise an army wherewith to invade Gílán, but died there. King Ardashír made his cousin Hizibru<sup>3</sup>d-Dín Khurshíd commander-in-chief of his army, and made him governor of Āmul and viceroy of Rúyán. Hazárasp and his brother went to Hamadán to Sultán ʿUghrīl and the Atábek Muḥammad, and prayed these to intercede for them that they might be permitted to return home. The Atábek 'Izzu<sup>3</sup>d-Dín was there-

<sup>1</sup> That is, I suppose, the Atábek Muḥammad the son of ʿIlduguz, to whose wise administration the prosperity of the first ten years of the reign of ʿUghrīl b. Arslán (reigned A. H. 573—590 = A. D. 1177—1194) was due, according to the historian of the Seljúqs, Najmu<sup>3</sup>d-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad ar-Ráwandí. See *J. R. A. S.* for 1902, p. 876.

fore sent as an ambassador to Āmul to the king of Mázandarán, who, however, declined to overlook Hazárasp's previous misdeeds. Hazárasp was told that he must himself go to the king and seek to conciliate him:

هزاراسفرا جواب باز دادند که ملازمت درگاه او باید کرد و رضای او  
جست پادشاه هزبر الدین خورشیدرا مدد فرستاده ابو بکر درازگوسرا  
تا بدر دروازهٔ ری بدنبال بر داشته بدوانیدند و شاعری میگوید  
ملك مازندران را چون توان کرد ببو بکری و ترکی چند عاجز  
که کون هر يك از صد من ابریشم رفو نکنند صد مرد مطرز

(F. 170*b*). The following verses were also improvised on Hazárasp by other poets:

(بیت)

بیزیر ران چو هزار اسپ را يك اسپ نماند  
درازگوش طلب کرد و زو حمایت خواست

(رباعی)

شاهان بهوس مرکب تازی جویند خرا ز پی مزاج و بازی جویند  
شاید که هزار اسپ پس از عمر دراز قوت ز درازگوش رازی جویند

(رباعی)

هرگز رستم ز نیزه بازی رنجد یا رعد ز بانگ طبل بازی رنجد  
شاه که هزار اسپ انگیزد اوست هرگز ز درازگوش رازی رنجد

(رباعی)

نه باغ و نه بوستان گزینم بی تو نه با می و دوستان نشینم بی تو  
نوک مژه خار باد در دیدهٔ من گر هیچ گل جهان بچینم بی تو

He left a little son named Sanjar Sháh, born of Turkán Khátún, and one of Tughánsháh's retainers named Manklí-

tukuz undertook to be his guardian, or Atábek. He put to death the Qádí Burhán, and on this a poet says:

جور تو ز جور آل مروان بیش است  
 برهان گشتن ز خون عثمان بیش است  
 انصاف بد که اشك مظلومان  
 گر جمع شود ز آب طوفان بیش است

Sháh Ardashír soon afterwards (f. 171a) hanged Mankli-tukuz for this deed. Sanjar Sháh and his mother carried off Qiwám 'Alí and other notables to Khwárazm, and seized the king of Khurásán, Quṭbu'd-Dín Khán, who was his eldest son, and cut off his head, which he sent to the king at the Palace of Dawlatábád at Sári, on which a poet says:

هر سر که به بر سر رضای تو بود  
 بی تن سر او چون سر زردستان باد

..... (f. 171) Verses on the untrustworthiness of women:

زن گر نه یکی هزار باشد در عهد کم استوار باشد  
 چون نقش وفا وعهد بستند بر نام زنان قلم شکستند  
 زن نیک بود ولی زمانی تا جز تو نیافت مهربانی  
 چون با دگری فرو نشیند خواهد که وجود تو نبیند  
 این کار زنان راست بازست افسون زنان بد درازست

Qizil Arslán was assassinated at Hamadán by four men, at the instigation of Záhida Khátún<sup>1</sup>, who plucked the ring from his finger, gave it to the Atábek Abú Bakr, his nephew, and said, "Go, assume control of Arrán and Adhar-bayján." This Abú Bakr did, and reigned in peace for twenty years.

<sup>1</sup> This took place in A. H. 587 (= A. D. 1191).

At this time took place the accession and coronation of the Ispahbad Shamsu'l-Mulúk Rustam. Ruknu'd-Dawla Qárin, accompanied by the nobles of Ṭabaristán, came to make him their offerings at the castle of Dárá. The day fixed for the coronation was declared by the astrologers to be unlucky, but the Ispahbad paid no heed to their objections. The coronation festivities lasted seven days, according to the old Persian fashion, and included the usual feastings, rejoicings, and giving of presents, while the notables and Ispahbads and Báwands assembled from all the country-side. When (f. 172a) these congratulations were finished, on the eighth day the Ispahbad ascended the throne, and girded on the royal girdle, and confirmed the governors in their appointments, and caused the Ispahbads and Amírs to cast aside their mourning, and clad them in robes of honour.

Ruknu'd-Dawla Qárin was dissatisfied with the Ispahbad on account of the inheritance of his elder brother Sharafu'l-Mulúk, and appealed to the Sultán, who sent 'Alí Sháh, governor of Dámghán and Bisṭám, with some soldiers to bid the Ispahbad, first with gentleness, and, if this failed, with a show of force, to surrender Sharafu'l-Mulúk's inheritance to his brother Ruknu'd-Dawla. He also ordered the Amírs of Ray and Gurgán to help him in this. So 'Alí Sháh came by way of Fírúzkúh to Láriján, and encamped at Rúdbár-pích, and sent his brother-in-law on with a message by way of Mankúl; but the people of Shaláb waylaid him and killed him. There was a certain 'Alawí named Músá, who, before Tukush b. Il-Arslán became king<sup>2</sup>, had fled from Khwárazm and taken refuge with king Ardashír, and had long been a source of trouble and sedition in Tammísha. He induced the Sultán to appoint him *wazír* to 'Alí Sháh,

<sup>1</sup> Till A. H. 607 (A. D. 1210). See S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. King of Khwárazm, which he did in A. H. 568 (= A. D. 1172).

whom he tried to persuade (f. 172*b*) to seize the Ispahbad and take from him the kingdom of Mázandarán. Failing in this attempt, he strove to provoke the Ispahbad against 'Alí Shah, who sent his head to the Ispahbad, by whom it was paraded for three days in the market. His sons, who were at Āmul, were also arrested and imprisoned for some time in the castle of Kuhrúd. Peace was then concluded between the Ispahbad and 'Alí Sháh, and the former restored to Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla the estates of his elder brother Sharafu<sup>3</sup>l-Mulúk. Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla then surrendered the castle of Kúzá to the Ispahbad's warden Afrásiyáb, and himself waited on the Ispahbad, who received him with all honour.

Shortly after this the Assassins (f. 173*a*) treacherously murdered Ruknu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla, and obtained various signal successes. Shamsu<sup>3</sup>l-Mulúk had no son, but he gave his sister in marriage to the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Kínkhwár b. Rustam b. Dára b. Shahriyár, who was "the Father of kings" (*Abu<sup>3</sup>l-Mulúk*). This sister bore a son named Kínkhwár, who was cousin on the father's side to king Ḥusámu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla Ardashír b. Kínkhwár. Ḥusámu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla Shahriyár lived in the reign of Maliksháh the Seljúq, who used to address him as his "father", as witnessed by the verse of the poet Ráfi<sup>3</sup>:

م ملك خواند م پدر سلطان عصرش در جهان  
 گر نداری باور از من نامهء سلطان نگر  
 بر جهان و بر بزرگان جهان تا روز حشر  
 شهریار قارن سرخابرا فرمان نگر

while in another verse he says:

داند ملك از قدر ترا داور گیتی خواند پدر از فخر ترا خسرو عالم

At this period Sulṭán Jalálu<sup>3</sup>d-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, taking advantage of the growing weakness and dis-

ruption of House of Báwand, took possession of sundry castles and lands outside Tammísha, and garrisoned them with his own men. Abú Riḍá Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Abu ʿl-ʿAlawí al-Mamṭírí, on Shawwál 21, A. H. 606 (= April 1, A. D. 1210) treacherously murdered Naṣíruʿd-Dawla Shamsuʿl-Mulúk. This caused further confusion and disorganization, and many of the nobles of Ṭabaristán submitted to Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh. But in a little while this dynasty in turn was brought to an end by the terrible Mongol Invasion (f. 173*b*). The destruction and devastation resulting therefrom included Ṭabaristán as well as other provinces of Persia, and for thirty years it was without a king or ruler, while the armies of destroying Mongols traversed it to and fro.

At last, after this period of anarchy, the people of Má-zandarán and Ṭabaristán met in council at Sárí, and chose as their ruler Malik Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla Ardashír b. Kínkhwár (or Kíkhwáz) b. Rustam b. Dára b. Shahriyár, who for some time revived the glories of his ancient house and kingdom. But soon he too was overtaken by misfortune, even as Shamsuʿl-Maʿálí Qábús b. Washmgír says in well-known verses: <sup>1</sup>

قُلْ لِلذِّى بِصُرُوفِ الدَّهْرِ عَيَّرَنِي      هَلْ عَانَدَ الدَّهْرِ إِلَّا مَنْ لَهْ خَطْرُ  
 أَمَا تَرَى الْبَحْرَ يَعْלו فَوْقَهُ جَيْفٌ      وَ يَسْتَنْقِرُ بِأَعْلَى قَعْرِهِ الدَّرْرُ  
 وَ فِي السَّمَاءِ نَاجِمٌ مَا لَهَا عَدَدٌ      وَ كَيْسَ يَكْسِفُ إِلَّا الشَّمْسُ وَالْقَمَرُ  
 (F. 174*a*)

On his accession, Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla Ardashír transferred the capital from Sárí, which the House of Báwand had always hitherto made its metropolis, to Ámul, where he made his palace at Qará-Kaláta on the banks of the river Hurmuz. Once, says the author, when he was walking through it, he

<sup>1</sup> These verses are also cited at the end of the third volume of the *Yati-matuʿd-Dahr* (Damascus edition, p. 290). I have translated them at p. 470 of my *Literary History of Persia*.

read, amongst the paintings on the wall a long bilingual (*mulamma'*) *qaṣīda* by Siráju'd-Dín Qumrí, beginning as follows:

وَصَلَ الْعَبْدُ إِلَى مَقْدَمِ كَسْرَى الثَّانِي  
 مَلِكِ الْعَادِلِ ذِي الْعِزَّةِ وَالْبَرْهَانَ  
 بِأَسْطِ الْجُودِ عَلَى الْكَاشِحِ وَالْخُلَانِ  
 صَادِقِ الْوَعْدِ فَلَا يَخْلِفُ كَالْحَوَانِ  
 اردشیر آن شه پر دل که گه بخشش و جنگ  
 نگذارد اثر هستی دریا و نهنگ  
 آنکه بهرام فلک روی سوی گور نهد  
 چون وی از کیش بر آرد بگه جنگ خدنگ

His father Kínkhwár (or Kíkhwáz) was the nephew of Sháh Ardashír b. al-Ḥasan, while he himself was the nephew of Jalálu'd-Dín Ḥasan b. 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad [Khwárazmsháh]. But in the year A. H. 647 (= A. D. 1249—1250) he died, having reigned fifteen years.

[*It is not clear at what point the record written by Ibn Isfandiyár ends, and the continuation supplied by another hand and carried down to A. D. 750 (= A. D. 1349—1350) begins, but it seems unlikely that Ibn Isfandiyár continued the history beyond this point*].

At this time Mangú Qá'án (the grandson of Chingíz Khán) sat on the Mongol throne. Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Ardashír was succeeded by his elder son Shamsu'l-Mulúk Muḥammad (f. 174*b*). Mangú Qá'án sent an army under the Amír Kat Búqá to subdue the castles and strongholds of the Assassins. Many of these he reduced, but Gird-i-Kúh, Alamút, Tún und Qá'in still held out. Mangú than sent his brother, the redoubtable Húlágú, who first took Tún and Qá'in, and captured so many prisoners that Khurásán was filled with slaves.

He then laid siege to Gird-i-Kúh and Alamút. Kiyá Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, entitled by his followers al-Qá'im bi-'amri'lláh, was at that time Grand Master of the Assassins, but he was killed by one of his sons, and his son Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh (or Khwarsháh), who was but an inexperienced lad, succeeded him. The philosopher Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí, whom Kiyá Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan had forcibly detained and compelled to act as his *wazír*, while professing friendship for the heretics, was inwardly eager to compass their destruction, and when Ruknu'd-Dín Khúrsháh asked his advice as to how he should answer Húlágú Khán, he counselled him (f. 175*a*) not to give battle, for which the stars were not propitious, but to surrender Alamút, which he accordingly did. He was at once put in chains and sent off to Mangú Qá'án, who, however, on hearing what had been done, sent a messenger to meet him and put him to death. Alamút was destroyed, and its priceless treasures and library delivered to the flames. But Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí was treated with honour, and retained in Hulágú Khán's service.

Húlágú Khán now marched on Baghdad, [sacked the city and destroyed the last 'Abbásid Caliph, al-Musta'ṣim bi'lláh, as is well known]. As regards the remaining stronghold of the Assassins, Gird-i-Kúh, orders were issued to all the princes, potentates and nobles of the district to besiege it in turns; and after two or three years the turn came to the King and the Ustundár of Mázandarán. So the King of Mázandarán, Shamsu'l-Mulúk Muḥammad b. Ardashír, and the Ustundár, Shahrákím b. Namáwar, set out to conduct the siege; and a daughter of the latter had been betrothed to the former. It was spring, and there was in Rúyán (f. 175*b*) a poet named Quṭb-i-Rúyání who composed a *tarjī-band* in the dialect of Ṭabaristán on the spring season and the hunting in Rúyán, as follows:

داوا وره<sup>1</sup> و رشی<sup>2</sup> چل شم ای شیم  
 واپی کرد بناز و شکت و هار<sup>3</sup> دجیردیم<sup>4</sup>  
 کنی کرم<sup>5</sup> وادکت سرما وکالیم<sup>6</sup>  
 روبری اوهارش بای<sup>7</sup> ورفالیم<sup>8</sup>  
 میه شی<sup>9</sup> شنی ای سنبله خوری بیم  
 آهو سنبل<sup>10</sup> و ر<sup>11</sup> بکرد زبله رازیم<sup>12</sup>  
 نرگس دهیت<sup>13</sup> جام زر در بودیات<sup>14</sup> سیم  
 دبیری<sup>15</sup> بیازریر بسیم<sup>16</sup> زری میم  
 و نوشه بناز هو<sup>17</sup> کرد سرو در و مه<sup>18</sup>  
 چادر نکهو کرد بکلون کرد جو مه<sup>19</sup>

[The following additional verses are given only in B.]

ایلک و ویلک ها و شکت ای سکیلیم  
 سناور بیا ای زکۀ نلیرم  
 ویهی حال و شکوت جون و شکوی هتکم  
 روی سوی و شکوت بوجون سنبره دم  
 فونیم وندی هازه سر بوشه رم  
 شیم هازن آسا سر بدوله جم  
 کیلونه وا بینی دم دجاینی خور  
 هاییت و هشت سون دشت و کو و مسیر

[The following additional verses are omitted in A.]

- 1 داوا ده. C. 2 ورشتی. C. 3 بهار. A. 4 بجزیردیم. A.  
 5 کرمه. B. 6 دکالیم. B. 7 بای. B.  
 8 ورفالیم. C. 9 میدشی. C. 10 سنبللی. B. 11 در. C.  
 12 زاریم. C. 13 دیست. B. 14 یودیات. B.  
 15 دبیری. C. 16 نیازر سرسم. C. 17 نیازر. B.  
 18 سرواد و امه. B. 19 کرچومه. C.

شکار کاهیکم خورم بوروناری  
 ویری وند کاهیکم خوش بوکلاری  
 جتنه خور شکاری سگ شکار سالاری  
 هی هیکم بری یوزه بباشکاری  
 کوهیکم جری تر لورا ولاری  
 آینه نیال هیکم خوش بوسلاری  
 شه کین خشت هولار زتن هو<sup>1</sup> زماین  
 بینن انکشت هوکیل درکیب جایین

When Shamsu<sup>2</sup>l-Mulúk was killed, his brother <sup>3</sup>Alá<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla <sup>4</sup>Alí was made king, and he was aided by his brother-in-law the Ustundár Shahrákím, but a fresh inrush of Mongols reduced his power to nothing and filled the land with ruins. He died in A. H. 663 (= A. D. 1264—5), in the same year in which his brother had been killed, and the devastation of Rustamdár, Mázandarán and Rúyán took place at the same time.

(F. 176). Malik Táju<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Yazdigird next succeeded, and in his time such order prevailed that a single officer, armed only with an axe, Ḥasan Qádí Kal by name, used, alone and on foot, to collect all the taxes of Mázandarán from Tammísha to Alísha-rúd, and bring them to the capital. Táju<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla maintained the most friendly relations with the Ustundár Sháh Ghází. He reigned 30 years, overcoming many difficulties in his relations with the Mongols, and died in A. H. 701 (= A. D. 1301—2). He left a son named Sikandar, who, however, died soon after him, and he was succeeded by another son named Naşíru<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Shahriyár. In his days there were still seventy flourishing colleges in Mázandarán.

<sup>1</sup> Or سو .

Shahriyár, following the example of his predecessors, allied himself by marriage with the Ustundár Sháh Kay-Khusraw. The Mongol dominion, however, left them but little power or security, and Shahriyár, after a reign of twelve years, died in A. H. 714 (= A. D. 1314—1315), and (f. 176*b*) was succeeded by his brother Malik Ruknu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw b. Táju<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Yazdigird. At this juncture Amír Mú<sup>2</sup>min, Amíru<sup>2</sup>l-Umará, represented the Mongol government in Ṭabaristán, and between him and Ruknu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla there was perpetual warfare. The latter entrusted his women and children to the care of the Ustundár Naşíru<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Shahriyár, who placed them at Íwájan in Kalá-Rustáq; but could not prevail against Amír Mú<sup>2</sup>min, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Mongol sovereign Úljáytú Sultán Muḥammad Khudá-banda, and who, having obtained authority to that effect from the Mongol camp (*urdú*), sent his son Amír Qutlugh Sháh to invade Mázarán. Several battles took place between him on the one hand, and Shahriyár and the Ustundár on the other. One of the most celebrated of these battles, in which the latter were victorious, and many Turkish *amirs* and notables of Mázarán who were with Qutlugh Sháh were killed, took place at Lit-Kúh on the road to Yásamín-Kaláta. At length Amír Mú<sup>2</sup>min himself invaded Mázarán, and Sháh Kay-Khusraw, unable to withstand him (f. 177*b*), set out for the [Mongol] camp (*urdú*). By chance Amír Tálísh Chúbán had been appointed Amír of Khurásán, and was proceeding thither. Kay-Khusraw met him, courted his favour, and promised to bring the Ustundár Naşíru<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Shahriyár to his presence. They journeyed on together to Ámul, and alighted in the Maydán-i-Rúdbár Báqalí-pazán. There Sháh Kay-Khusraw brought the Ustundár before Amír Tálísh Chúbán, who treated them both with honour, and remained that winter at Ámul. Amír Mú<sup>2</sup>min's power was thus checked. Kay-Khusraw, fearing

the Mongol Amírs, who were constantly going and coming, conveyed his women and children and baggage to the Ustundár, from whom he bought for them the village of Fímat near Ganjáwarúz, and there abode; and there his descendants dwell to this day. He died in A. H. 728 (= A. D. 1327—8).

He was succeeded by his son Sharafu'l-Mulúk, a handsome and well-dispositioned youth, whose accession was hailed with joy by all the notables of Mázarán. His reign was peaceful and happy, but short, (f. 177*b*), for he died in A. H. 734 (= A. D. 1333—4).

He was succeeded by his brother Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla Ḥasan b. Sháh Kay-Khusraw, the last of the Báwand kings, whose accession was nearly contemporary with Sulṭán Abú Sa'íd's death<sup>1</sup>. This practically coincided with the end of the Mongol Power in Persia, which lasted about 80 years from the date of Húlágú Khán's capture of Baghdad in A. H. 656 (= A. D. 1258). The author speaks highly of the order and good government which prevailed during this period, especially during the reigns of Gházán Khán, Úljáytú Khudábanda, and Abú Sa'íd, which, says he, one might think that the poet Dhahír-i-Fáryábí was describing when he said:

آرام یافت در حرم امن وحش و طیر  
 آسوده کشت در کنف عدل انس و جان  
 گردون فرو گشاده میان از جفای تیغ  
 آیام بر گشوده زه از گردن کمان  
 (f. 178*a*) ملکی چنین مستخر و حکمی چنین مطلع  
 دیرست تا نداد فلک از کسی نشان

On Abú Sa'íd's death anarchy supervened, each *amír* striving

<sup>1</sup> He died in A. H. 736 (= A. D. 1335—6).

to seize what he could for himself out of the general wreckage. Amongst those who thus rose to power was Amír Mas'úd Sarbadál [or *Sar-ba-dár*], who rose up in Sabzawár, killed his brother Pahlawán 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, gathered round himself a number of rogues and vagabonds, and established himself in a citadel which he made for himself in Sabzawár. Tughá-Tímúr was nominally Sultán of Khurásán, but his *wazir*, 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad, had practically (f. 178*b*) got possession of all the power, and used it most oppressively. His tyranny, and that of a tribe of Turks called Jataz, reduced the people of Khurásán to desperation. The disaffected joined themselves to Amír Mas'úd Sarbadál, whose power thus rapidly increased, so that he defeated many of the Mongol and Turkish *amirs*, and even Arghún-Sháh and his brothers, until he finally held possession of Khurásán from Jám and Bákhaz to Mázandarán. His popularity largely depended on the fact that all spoils of war were equitably shared by him with his followers, and that he in no way distinguished himself from them.

He now marched on Herát and attacked Malik Mu'ínu'd-Dín Ḥusayn-i-Kart. The battle lasted three days and nights, and 7000 men are said to have perished in it, including Amír Mas'úd's spiritual director Shaykh Ḥasan Júri; and Amír Mas'úd was finally defeated and fell back on Mázandarán. At Bayáru-kamand he had another battle with Tughá-Tímúr, whose brother, Shaykh 'Alí Káwán, he killed. He defeated Tughá-Tímúr and took captive Píshín Khátún and other ladies of his house (f. 179*a*), and pursued, captured and put to death his *wazir* 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad at Qal'a Kamín. Tughá-Tímúr fled from him to Lár and Qaşrán, where he was re-inforced by Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla and the Ustundár.

Amír Mas'úd soon succeeded in re-establishing his power in Khurásán, which, from Herát to Gurgán and Qúmish, fell

under his sway, and he placed his governors in each important town. He then came to Astarábád, intending to subjugate Ṭabaristán, and sought by all means to win over to him its kings and rulers. Kiyá Jamálu<sup>3</sup>d-Dín Aḥmad Jál, a powerful, sagacious and experienced noble, obtained permission from the King of Mázandarán to go with his nephews Kiyá Táju<sup>3</sup>d-Dín and Kiyá Jalál, to Astarábád, and try to come to terms with Amír Mas<sup>3</sup>úd, who received them well, but forced them to accompany him on his onward march to Sári, whence he sent to the kings at Āmul (f. 179b) desiring to see them. After prolonged consultation, Malik Fakhru<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla of Mázandarán and Malik Jalálu<sup>3</sup>d-Dawla Iskandar the Ustundár determined to resist Amír Mas<sup>3</sup>úd by force, and sent him a harsh answer. Thereupon, leaving some of his men at Sári, Amír Mas<sup>3</sup>úd marched on Āmul. The two armies met outside Āmul on Dhu<sup>3</sup>l-Qa<sup>3</sup>da 17, A. H. 743 (= April 13, A. D. 1343), in the plain of Búrán, where the Mázandaránís had constructed at Qará-Kaláta by their King's Palace a temporary stockade, which they prepared to defend with the utmost stubbornness. Jamálu<sup>3</sup>d-Dín Aḥmad Jál, seeing that battle was inevitable, and that Amír Mas<sup>3</sup>úd would not hearken to his advice (f. 180a), sent repeated and urgent messages to his friends and kinsmen to "defend the honour of Mázandarán", and not to concern themselves about his possible fate; "for," said he, "I am an old man, who have lived my life: if I perish and Mázandarán continue in honour it is better than that ye should submit to subjection and abasement." The Mázandaránís responded to this heroic advice, and all, from Tammísha to the frontiers of Gílán, forgetting their private quarrels and jealousies, presented a united face to the foe. Amír Mas<sup>3</sup>úd, alarmed at their firmness, requested Kiyá Jamálu<sup>3</sup>d-Dín Aḥmad Jál and his nephews to extricate him from Āmul (f. 180b). Amír <sup>3</sup>Alí Hawákhún (? Mawákhún) deserted him for the Mázandaránís, which added

to his alarm, and he gave Kiyá Aḥmad Jál five *kharwárs* of *dirhams* to guide him out of the country. The Kiyá sent this money to his kinsmen, and bade them construct earth-works from the river Hurmuz to Sári and close the roads. After ten days' sojourn in Ámul, Amír Mas'úd quitted it with his army. At Yásamín-Kaláta, one parasang's distance from the city, he was confronted by the Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla, while the soldiers of Mázandarán attacked him in the rear. Mas'úd, seeing that he was out-manceuvred, killed Kiyá Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad Jál and his nephews, and fled towards Lávich, making for the mountains. The woods and thickets which he was compelled to traverse were swarming with his foes, while the Kings closely pursued him, and one vast battle raged from Yásamín-Kaláta to Rúdbár-i-Núr; until the Khurásánis, after sustaining heavy losses, were finally completely disorganized and scattered:

جمع آمدہ بودند چو پروین یکچند  
گردون چو بنات نعششان پیراگند

Finally (f. 181*a*), after two days' flight, Amír Mas'úd, with a few of his followers, reached the mountains by way of Rúdbár-Bálú, and began to ascend. The path was barred by the scouts of Taju'd-Dawla, the Ustundár's brother, Malik-i-Mu'adh<sub>h</sub>ham Sharafu'd-Dawla Gustahm, and he was forced to turn back by way of Rúdbár-Uz; but, losing his way, was taken captive.

Amír Mas'úd, wounded and captive, was brought before Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla, who asked him as to the original size of his army. He answered that provision had been made for 4000 horses, 600 mules and 400 camels, from which could he deduced the size of the army. He was then sent on to the Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla, who, after two days' consideration, put him to death. His body was buried on the road to Káljjar under a mill on the east side of the stream.

صاحب نظری کجاست تا در نگر  
تا این همه مملکت بدان می آرزید

(F. 181*b*). His head was cut off, stuffed with straw, and exhibited to all men at the very place where he had, a few days before, encamped with so great and well-equipped an army.

غرّه مشو گر ز چرخ کار تو گردد بلند  
ز آنکه بلندی دهد تا بتواند فگند

(رباعی)

عمری بهراند گیر آخر چه وین نامه عمر خوانده گیر آخر چه  
گیریم که بکام دل بمانی صد سال صد سال دگر بمانده گیر آخر چه

(بیت)

اگر پادشاهست و در پینه دوز چو خفتند گردن شب هر دو روز

(F. 182*a*).

(قطعه)

دل در جهان میند که باریست بی وفا  
جامیست بی شراب و شرابیست بی صفا  
نوشش مچش که زهر افعیست در عقب  
خمرش مخور که رنج خارست در قفا  
راه امل میوی که الدار قَدْ خَلَّتْ  
رسم طلل مجوی که اَلرَّبْعُ قَدْ عَقَا

The people of Ṭabaristán, except the learned and religious classes, used to wear their hair long and hanging loose — sometimes as much as a yard (*gaz*) in length; but, some days after the execution of Amír Mas'úd-i-Sarbadál, Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla, seeing that his late foe had his hair shaved, adopted the same practice, together with the wearing of the turban, and first his own kinsmen, and then the rest

of the people, imitated him, so that the new fashion became general, and the long locks, called *kalálak*, and the head-dress called *kalá-band*, were finally abandoned.

It has been already described how, in the reign of Malik Ruknu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw, Amír Mú<sup>2</sup>min and his son Qutlugh-Sháh caused dissension in Mázandarán which led to great disorganization, and how Malik Shamsu<sup>1</sup>l-Mulúk Muḥammad treacherously slew his brother ‘Alá<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla ‘Alí, and assumed the reins of government<sup>1</sup>. Malik Ruknu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw went to the [Mongol] camp (*urdú*) and brought back an order for the dismissal of Malik Shamsu<sup>1</sup>l-Mulúk, who retired to Gílán for a while, but was presently summoned thence by Ruknu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla, who, at the advice of Amír Qutlugh Sháh, put him to death, together with his brother Malik Ardashír and ‘Alá<sup>2</sup>u<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla ‘Alí (f. 182*b*) in the summer-palace of Ardáshír-ábád.

Thus Malik Sháh Kay-Khusraw, being left alone, was weakened, and Qutlugh Sháh strengthened; and the former, gradually pushed back, conveyed his family and possessions to the domain of the Ustundár, whose people helped and supported him. There his sons, and those of Sharafu<sup>1</sup>l-Mulúk, Fakhru<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla, and the other brothers, grew up, honoured and treated in every way like the princes of Ustundár; until, moved by false suspicions, he put to death Kiyá Jalál b. Aḥmad Jál, which caused universal disgust and consternation amongst the nobles who had hitherto supported him, save the rival Kiyás of Chaláp, with whom he was now compelled to ally himself. Of these, Kiyá Afrásiyáb of Chaláp was his principal ally.

In Mázandarán, thus distracted, there now appeared the dervish orders, *pírs*, and *muríds*, which had already appeared in Khurásán. Afrásiyáb (f. 183*a*) and his kinsmen became

<sup>1</sup> This statement cannot be reconciled with that on p. 261 *supra*, ll. 9—10, but the meaning of the text seems clear in both passages.

enthusiastic for this doctrine, and desired to persuade Malik Sháh Kay-Khusraw to it. The Kiyás of Jalál attached themselves to the chief Ustundár, Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla Iskandar. Malik-i-Mu<sup>6</sup>adh<sup>h</sup>am marched on Ámul and ravaged the surrounding territory. Fakhru'd-Dawla came with two or three thousand men to the camp of the king of Ustundár to sue for peace, which was granted; and the united forces then expelled the Kiyás of Chaláp from Ámul. These allied themselves with their former foes, the Kiyás of Jalál. The king of Mázandarán tried to regain their confidence, but could not overcome their mistrust. Amír Sayyid Qiwámu'd-Dín, whom the Kiyás of Chaláp regarded as their saint and spiritual director, disliked Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla on account of his real or supposed heretical tendencies. Finally on Muḥarram 27, A. H. 750 (= April 17, A. D. 1349) Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla was treacherously murdered in the bath at Ámul by <sup>6</sup>Alí Kiyá b. Afrásiyáb and his brother Muḥammad Kiyá (F. 183*b*). His family, having no other place of safety, again took refuge with the supreme Ustundár Jalálu'd-Dawla Iskandar, who received them with all hospitality and kindness.

Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla left four sons, all of tender years, Malik Sharafu'l-Mulúk, Sháh Ghází, and Malik Ká'ús<sup>1</sup>, of whom the eldest was but ten years of age. Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla not only protected and cared for them while they were young, but when they were grown up he undertook several campaigns with a view to restoring them to their kingdom. On one occasion he attacked Kiyá Afrásiyáb, the Kiyás of Jalál and Sayyid Qiwámu'd-Dín at Marán-Dih near Ámul (f. 184*a*), and killed the former, but finally, with his men of Rustamdár, was out-numbered and driven back by the Mázandaránís. In this battle 330 of the men of Rustamdár were slain, and it was the last attempt of the kings of Báwand

<sup>1</sup> The name of one son is evidently omitted.

to assert their power, which had endured in Mázandarán for 705 years; for the founder of the Dynasty, Báw-i-Shápúr, established his independence in A. H. 45 (= A. D. 665—6), while the last of them, Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla Ḥasan, was killed, as above stated, in A. H. 750 (= A. D. 1349).

*Colophon of India Office Manuscript.*

تمت في شهر سنة ١٠٣٢ كتبه العبد الجاني  
 همت بن رستم نلق المازندراني

## NOTES.

(The following notes by Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum comprise such observations as he was kind enough to send me on the proofs which I submitted to him, and which could not be incorporated in the text either as corrections or foot-notes.)

P. 9. "The setting of this anecdote is quite historical, for the three persons concerned were all contemporaries. You will find a notice of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Qurayb al-Aşma'î in De Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikán, vol. II, p. 123, and of al-'Attábî in the *Fihrist* of al-Warráq, vol. I, p. 121. See also De Slane, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 466 and vol. III, p. 99."

"With regard to the Shi'a "*rijál*" (notable men) all the authorities that I quoted contain much the same matter; but I could not tell which of them might be accessible to you. Of -Najáshí, I think, no MS. is at present recorded in Europe. I have a Bombay lithograph, which can easily be procured. The *Fihrist* of -Ṭúsí (contemporary with -Najáshí) you have in the *Bibliotheca Indica*. Concerning -Astarábádí and his *Manhajū'l-Maqál*, see Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, N° 635. I have a Persian lithograph of the book. The *Muntaha'l-Maqál* of Muḥammad b. Isma'íl al-Ḥá'irí is a quite recent work, compiled from all accessible older authorities, and extremely useful, though somewhat condensed. Of this also I have a Persian lithograph. Another book of which I possess a Bombay edition is the *Ikhtiyár* of Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Kashshí (see Rieu's *Arabic Sup-*

plement, N° 833). It often contains useful information, but is not very easy of reference. I have also a Persian edition of the *Naqdu'r-Rijál* of at-Tafrishí (Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, N° 636); but it is rather meager, and does not add much to the contents of the first-named works."

"In the following notes I have quoted several times from a book which you may perhaps know, namely *'Umdatul-tálib fi ansábi Áli Abi Tálib* ("the Student's Mainstay for the [verification of the] genealogies of the House of Abú Tálib"). It was composed in Arabic under the Amír Tímúr by Ibn 'Utba ('Uqba, 'Inaba) Jamálu'd-Dín Aḥmad b. 'Alí, who died in A. H. 828 (= A. D. 1424—5)."

P. 19. "Concerning Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá al-'Alawí, called *Kúchak*, see *'Umdatul-t-Tálib*, p. 68."

P. 32. "'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. Khúrzád, author of a *Kitábu'l-Masálik wa'l-Mamálik* is cited. May not this be intended for Ibn Khurdádhbih? It is true the last is usually called 'Ubaydu'lláh. Still there is some slight uncertainty with regard to his name, and we know next to nothing about the man. The remark about the excellence of Samarqand will be found on p. 172 of De Goeje's edition of his book, together with the saying of ar-Raqqáshí with some variation. On p. 171 of the same edition Ibn Khurdádhbih says of Ṭabaristán that it is احسن الأرض مفروقة. De Goeje omits these words in his translation, and gives no explanation. In his critical notes he says that al-Muqaddasí has معروفه in place of مفروقه. Al-Muqaddasí says that he got this rhyming notice from a book which he found in the library of 'Aḍu-du'd-Dawla, and adds — وزِدْتُ فِيهِ مَا لَا يَجِبُ تَرَكُّهُ. 'Abdu'lláh b. Khurdádhbih, the father of 'Ubaydu'lláh, was, I may mention, according to -Ṭabarí (Series III, pp. 1014—1015) governor (*wáli*) of Ṭabaristán."

*Ibid.* "Ḥusayn b. Mundhir ar-Raqqáshí was the Imám

‘Alī’s standard-bearer and an Anṣarī. There are brief notices of him in the *Manhajū’l-Maqāl*, p. 118, and the *Muntahā’l-Maqāl*, p. 115. There is nothing to show how he came to know anything about either Samarqand or Ṭabaristán. He may, however, have been a Persian, as his *kunya* is Abú Sásán.”

P. 36. “Concerning ‘the son of Amír Ká’, compare ‘*Umdatul-Ṭalīb*, pp. 71, 72, where Amír Ká appears as —

الحسين امير كا القمي الملقب بشكنيه بن علي بن محمد المعروف بابن عليّة  
a descendant from Isma‘īl Jálibu’l-Hijára by eight generations.”

P. 37. “A Jew named Sham‘ún (Simon)’. Or. 7633 has شمعون بن خداداد. This suggests a reminiscence of the Jewish Maccabean hero Shim‘on ben Mattathyah. Mattathyah = Gift of God = Khudádád.”

P. 39. “In the *Akhhbár-i-Barmakiyán* of Ḍiyá’u’d-Dín Baraní (Bombay ed., pp. 6—7) allusion is made to this talisman. Baraní, however, speaks of it as an armlet, and does not mention its origin. The anecdote connected with the ring is as follows. The courtiers introduced Barmak into the presence of ‘Abdu’l-Malik, who, as soon as he saw him, ordered him to be severely beaten and thrust out. Afterwards the courtiers prayed the Caliph to make known to them Barmak’s offence. ‘Abdu’l-Malik replied that Barmak carried poison upon his person, and that upon his own arm were two jewels which, whenever anyone should come before him having poison upon him, would be attracted towards one another. When Barmak entered, these two jewels were so strongly drawn together as to cause pain to the Caliph’s arm. Angered at this, ‘Abdu’l-Malik ordered Barmak to be chastised.”

P. 47. “May not ‘Abu’l-‘Amr’ perhaps be the same person as أبو معمر بن أبي سعيد الاسمعيلى (*Yatimatul-Dahr*, Damascus ed., vol. III, p. 274) and الاستاذ أبو المعمر يعمر بن الحسين

بن المنظر (*Dumyatu'l-Qaṣr*, Add. 9994, f. 80b)? Unfortunately, all that we seem to know about these three names is that they all belonged to the same part of Persia."

*Ibid.* "There is a biographical notice of Muḥammad b. Zayd at pp. 71 *et seqq.* of the '*Umdatul-t-tālib*.'"

*Ibid.* "By 'Ṭabāṭabá al-<sup>c</sup>Alawí' must be meant Abú <sup>c</sup>Abdilláh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabāṭaba al-Ḥasaní, one of the chief authorities of the author of the '*Umdatul-t-tālib* for the pedigrees of the earlier Sayyids. He was the Shaykh of Abu'l-Ḥasan <sup>c</sup>Alí b. Muḥammad al-<sup>c</sup>Umarí, another of Ibn <sup>c</sup>Utba's authorities, who was in al-Mawṣil in A. H. 423 = A. D. 1032 (*Umda*, p. 364) and in Amid in A. H. 430 = A. D. 1038—9 (*Ibid.*, p. 60). For Ibráhím Ṭabāṭabá, the genealogist's ancestor, see *Umda*, p. 158."

P. 50 (also p. 46). "*As-Sarwí*. As-Sam<sup>c</sup>ání (*Ansáb*, Add. 23,355, f. 297b, gives سَرَو from سَرَو in the district of Ardabíl, but سَرَو from سارِبَة in Mázandarán. Unfortunately he does not mention anyone derived from the last named place."

Pp. 50 and 55. "Ibnu'l-Mahdí al-Mamṭírí and Sayyid Imám Bahá<sup>2</sup>u'd-Dín al-Ḥasan b. Mahdí al-Mamṭírí are, I suppose, the same person."

P. 52. "The ascription of the authorship of the *Kitábu'l-Faraj ba<sup>c</sup>da<sup>c</sup>sh-Shidda* to Qáđí Abu'l-Qásim at-Tanúkhí is an error. The real author was his son Muḥassin b. <sup>c</sup>Alí, as is clearly shewn by various allusions in the book itself."

P. 54. "Abu'l-Faraj <sup>c</sup>Alí b. al-Ḥusayn must be the poet Ibn Hindú. He was a native of Ray, and one of the *Kut-tábu'l-Inshá* of <sup>c</sup>Aḍudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid. He was in Jurján about A. H. 410 = A. D. 1019—1020 (aṣ-Ṣafadí's *Wáfi bil-Wafayát*), and died in A. H. 420 = A. D. 1029 (Ḥájji Khalífa, vol. III, p. 252; vol. VI, p. 15)."

P. 59. "Concerning Zarrín Kamar, see the '*Umdatul-t-tālib*,

p. 68, where he appears as الحسن الملقب بزبير كمر بن علي, a direct descendant of 'Abdu'r-Rahmán ash-Shajarí."

*Ibid.* "‘Imádí is, I suppose, identical with the homonymous contemporary of Saná’í of Ghazna mentioned by Dawlatsháh, p. 98, and noticed by ‘Awfí in vol. II of the *Lubáb*, pp. 257 *et seqq.* The author of the *Majma‘u’l-Fuṣahá*, vol. I, p. 350, calls him ‘Imádí Shahriyári, and says that he composed poems in praise of ‘Imádu’d-Dawla ad-Daylamí and Ṭughril Beg the Seljúq. He admits, however, that some critics say that there are more ‘Imádís than one. Taqiyyu’d-Dín Káshání in his *Khulāṣatu’l-Ash‘ár*, (Or. 3506, ff. 449b—452a) has a long notice of ‘Imádí. He distinguishes two poets of this name, ‘Imádí-i-Ghaznawí and ‘Imádí-i-Shahriyári. The latter was a native of Shahriyár, one of the dependencies of Ray, and resided in the last-named city. In the latter part of his life he was attached to the court of Ṭughril b. Arslán. He died in his native place in A. H. 573 (= 1177—8)."

*Sheet 9* (pp. 129—144). Owing to the vagaries of the Post Office, this sheet was printed off before the corrections indicated by Mr. Ellis had been made. These, therefore, are included with the longer notes in this place.

P. 129, l. 26. For "whom" read "whose". "*‘Abú Faysh al-Hiláli*. Properly this *kunya* should be *Abu’l-Faysh*, not *Abú Faysh*, but perhaps in a Persian MS. the absence of the article may not be significant. Otherwise I had thought of أبو حنّش عاصم بن النعمان, who was a Badawí poet of the reign of al-Mahdí, and a friend of Bashshár b. Burd (died A. H. 167 or 168 = A. D. 783—4 or 784—5). See the *Ki-tábu’l-Aghání*, vol. III, p. 60, vol. XI, p. 65, vol. XVIII, pp. 74—75. I have not, however, discovered his tribal *nisba*, and there does not appear to be any evidence of his ever having been in Ṭabaristán. Add. 7633 has distinctly أبو جيبش.

Pp. 130—131 (and also pp. 120, 124 and 125 *supra*). “For ‘*Amr* b. ‘*Alá* read ‘*Umar* b. *al-‘Alá*. So Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 136, 137, 493, 500, 520, and 521, and Add. 7633.”

P. 130, l. 26 “The story to which reference is here made is given in brief in the *Muraṣṣa‘* of Ibnu‘l-Athír, ed. Seybold, 1896, p. 184.”

P. 132, ll. 16—23. “Either the India Office MS. or yourself has jumped a few lines. I have inserted a translation of these in their place on the proof, and enclose herewith a copy of the passage from Add. 7633.” (The lines in question are, I find, actually omitted in the India Office MS. The amended translation runs as follows. “Next came Sa‘id b. Salm (so Ṭabarí) b. Qutayba b. Muslim, who was replaced after six months by Ḥammál and ‘Abdu‘lláh, the sons of ‘Abdu‘l-‘Azíz. Ten months later, in A. H. 177, these were superseded by Muthanná b. al-Ḥajjáj, who ruled for a year and four months, and was followed in A. H. 179 by ‘Abdu‘l-Malik b. Qa‘qa‘, who remained one year...” “For *Ḥázim*, Add. 7633, supported by Ṭabarí, has *Kházim*.”

Pp. 134 and 136. “Both these alternative motives for the destruction of the Barmecides are recorded by Ṭabarí (series III, pp. 669 *et seqq.* and pp. 676 *et seqq.*.)”

Pp. 134, l. 16. “By *-Nawfalí* ‘Alí b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymán an-Nawfalí is probably intended. See De Goeje’s Index to Ṭabarí, p. 400.”

P. 140, l. 30. “Add. 7633 has Khalífa b. Sa‘d here, as well as in l. 19 above.”

*Ibid.* “For *Mihruya*, De Goeje (Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 650 *et seqq.*) has *Mahruwayh*.”

P. 141, l. 12. “*Farishí* should at least be *Furayshí*, but *Furashí* is the older and better form, and is the actual reading of Add. 7633. This *nisba* is thus vocalized by as-Sam‘ání (Add. 23,355, f. 127a), who derives it from Juraysh, a Ḥimyarite tribe. Ṭabarí (Series III, pp. 650 *et seqq.*) has *al-Ḥarashí*.”

*Ibid.*, l. 28. "Read *Zufar* for *Zafr*; and in l. 29 read 'Amira for 'Umayra, which is always a woman's name."

P. 142, ll. 22, 25, 28. "Read *Nu'aym b. Kházim* for *Na'im b. Házim*."

P. 144, l. 12. "Through" is, of course, a misprint for "though".

P. 147, l. 2. Correct, as above on p. 141, *Furayshi* to *Furashi*.

*Ibid.* ll. 5—6. "For Bizíst-i-F'irúzán = Yahyá b. Abi Manşúr, see *Fihrist*, p. 275, al-Qiftí's *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukamá*, pp. 357—359. He died in A. H. 215 or 217 (= A. D. 830 or 832): see Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, N° 14.

P. 174, 6. The text has Tarchí for Tarícha, but the emendation, suggested by Mr. Ellis, seems pretty certain.

P. 180, l. 4. "Here, as on the previous page, A. wrongly reads *al-Musta'in* for *al-Mu'tazz*, which latter is not only required by history, but is in every case the actual reading of A. Ṭabarí gives the name of this Caliph as Muḥammad, but in the *Maḡátihu'l-'Ulúm* of al-Khwárazmí and in the *Wáfi* of aṣ-Şafadí (Add. 23,858, f. 112a) he is called Zubayr."

P. 187, ll. 14—15. "Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was a Shajarí Sayyid, a descendant of a different line from Sayyid Ḥasan's. See *'Umdatul-tālib*, p. 71, l. 18, where his relationship to Sayyid Ḥasan is expressed by *ختنه علی اُخته*. This must, I think, imply 'brother-in-law'. The word *ختن* may be used of any relation through a woman, according to the lexica."

P. 190, l. 2. "Compare -Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 2039—2201."

P. 191, ll. 14—15. "Compare -Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 1929—2159."

P. 193. "*Martyrdom of Sayyid Muḥammad*". Abu'l-Farajul-Işbahání, the author of the *Kitābu'l-Aghání*, gives, in his *Maḡátulu'l-Ṭālibiyyín* (Ṭihrán, A. H. 1307, p. 229), rather a

different account of the death of Muḥammad b. Zayd. He relates that Ismaʿil b. Aḥmad, who had made himself master of Khurásán, sent against him one of his officers named Muḥammad b. Hárún with orders to attack him. An engagement took place at Báb Jurján in which the Sayyid was mortally wounded. After the battle he was found on the field still breathing, and was carried to Jurján, where he died. His funeral obsequies were performed by his adversary Muḥammad b. Hárún. These events took place in Ramaḍán, A. H. 289 (*sic*). Sayyid Muḥammad's son Zayd was taken prisoner in the battle, and brought to Jurján, where he still is at the present time, i. e. A. H. 313 (= A. D. 925—6). Abu'l-Faraj was born in A. H. 284 (= A. D. 897), five (or three) years before the above mentioned battle was fought."

P. 194, l. 15. "This *Shajara-i-ansáb-i-Ṭalibiyya* is most probably identical with the *Ansábu ashrafí'l-amṣár* of Ibn Ṭabátabá, already mentioned on p. 47, l. 8."

P. 195, ll. 17—18. "Add. 7633 (= B.) has *ابراهيم ومحمد* ابناء المصطفى. The vocalization and meaning of *المصطفى* are obscure. The dictionaries do not give much help. *مصا* is one of the nomina verbi of *مَصَى*, and has amongst other meanings that of 'carrying an enterprise to its conclusion'. I would suggest that a derivative *مصّا* should be read, but unfortunately no such form is recorded in the lexica. *فقها* must, I think, be an error for *فقهاء* [this last is the reading of A.], for no such form as *فُقّهَانُ*, although quite possible, is recorded."

P. 198, end. "The person usually known by the title of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn* was the famous *wazír* of the Caliphate al-Faḍl b. Sahl. As, however, he was murdered at Sarakhs in A. H. 202 (= A. D. 817—818), he can hardly be the

person intended here, unless 'grandson' could be substituted for 'son'."

P. 199, l. 25. "Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Bal'amí was the father of the Persian translator of -Ṭabarí, and died in A. H. 329 (= A. D. 940—941). See -Sam'ání's *Ansáb*, Add. 23,355, f. 90."

P. 210, ll. 5—6. "The addition in parentheses (which is found in B.) seems necessary, otherwise the personality of Díkú on p. 216 is rather enigmatical."

P. 210, l. 18. "The Sayyids' governor'. He was appointed by نصران; *i. e.* the family of an-Náşiru'l-Kabír, not by Sayyid Ḥasan."

P. 215, l. 14. "Mánkdím was a descendant of Zaynu'l-'Abidín, not of 'Aqíl b. Abí Ṭálib."

P. 219, ll. 24 *et seqq.* "The news was brought to Ḥasan b. Fírúzán at Sári, not to Washmgír at Āmul."

P. 227, ll. 3—4. "Add. 7310, f. 8, vocalizes the name of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's father سُبُكْتِكِينَ 'Subuktigín', not 'Sabuktagín'."

P. 229, l. 5 and note. As regards the vocalization *Hum-múla* adopted by the Delhi edition, Mr. Ellis remarks that if the name be Arabic, as it appears to be, such vocalization is inadmissible, as giving no meaning. The same edition incorrectly gives this person's full name as *Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ḥummúla*, 'Alí having dropped out after Abú.

P. 229, l. 8. "As to the name *Asfár b. Kurdúya* the texts of the Yamíní vary. Add. 7310 reads سار; the Delhi ed. has شار; Or. 1513 and the Buláq ed. concur in reading شاپور.

P. 229, l. 10. "The *Yamíní* adds after the name Rashámúj the words ابن أخت عظیم الديلم. See Delhi ed., p. ۳.; Buláq ed., vol. II, p. ۲; Add. 7310, f. 112a. The MS. Or. 1513, f. 108a, has incorrectly شاموج for شاموج."

P. 245, l. 29. "Add. 7633 (= B.) reads شیره زیل. I take *Shirzil* (or *Shira-zil*) to be a clan name. Compare Ḥamza (*Ta'rikh*, pp. 241—2), who mentions the *Shirdhilāwandān* as the tribe or clan (قبيلة) of 'Alī b. Buwayh, and the *Wardadāwandān* as that of Asfār b. Shīrawayh (Shīrú'è), both these leaders being 'Daylamī', as opposed to Mardāwīj, who was a 'Jīlī'. Also *Shirzilwand* are named in the original Persian of Ibn Isfandiyār as forming part of the 400 prisoners burnt by the Ispahbad."

INDEX.

This Index includes, besides a few general references to matters of special interest, (1) names of persons, (2) names of places, and (3) titles of books mentioned in the preceding pages. In the arrangement of the Muḥammadan names, the prefixes *Abū* ("Father of ...") and *Ibn* ("Son of ...") are disregarded, so that, for example, the names *Abū'l-Faḍl* and *Ibn Khurdādhbih* must be sought under the letters F and K respectively, not under A and I. Between two names the word *Ibn* ("Son of ...") is represented by *b.*, but in the case of Persian names, the Persian *idāfat* (-i) is sometimes employed to indicate the same relation: *e. g.* *ʿAbdu'llāh b. Ṭāhīr* and *Qārin-i-Shahriyār*. A hyphen prefixed to a name (generally a *nisba*) means that the Arabic definite article *al-* should precede it: *e. g.* *Hārūn-Rashīd* = Hārūn al-Rashīd, or, according to the phonetic transcription which I adopt, Hārūnu'r-Rashīd. Each name is written in full the first time it occurs, but some of the commonest names are occasionally abbreviated as follows: *A.* = Aḥmad; *Ibr.* = Ibrahīm; *Ism.* = Ismaʿīl; *H* = Ḥasan; *Hus.* = Ḥusayn; *ʿAb.* = ʿAbbās; *ʿAl.* = Abdu'llāh; *ʿA.* = ʿAlī; *ʿU.* = ʿUmar; *Q.* = Qāsīm; *M.* = Muḥammad; *Ya.* = Yaḥyá. Persian names I have thought it best always to write in full. Place-names are distinguished by an asterisk, while titles of books are printed in italics. In the case of names of little-known places in Ṭabaristán, where the vocalization is often extremely uncertain, I occasionally refer to Melgunof's *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres* (Leipzig, 1868) as "*Mel.*", and to Dorn's four volumes of *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des kaspischen Meeres* as "*Dorn I*", "*Dorn II*", etc. To facilitate identification, I have occasionally indicated in brackets after a name the century of the Christian era in which the owner flourished, or, in the case of place-names, the district in which the place is apparently situated. When it is desired to indicate in which half of a century a person flourished, a small (1) or (2) is added to the Roman figure: thus (1X<sup>2</sup>) means the latter half of the ninth century of our era.

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<sup>°</sup>Al. b. <sup>°</sup>Abd -<sup>°</sup>Azíz (VIII), 132.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. <sup>°</sup>Azíz (officer of Ṭáhirids, IX<sup>2</sup>), 179.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Abí Burda b. Abí Músá -Ash<sup>°</sup>arí, 6.

<sup>°</sup>Al. [b.] Faḍlawayh -Sarawí (not -Sarwí, as in text), 46.

“As-Sam<sup>°</sup>ání, *Ansáb*, Add. 23,355 (Brit. Mus.), f. 297b,

gives سَرَوَى, *Sarwi* from سَرَو, *Sarw*, in the district of

Ardabíl, but سَرَوَى, *Sarawí* from سارِبِنَة, *Sáriya* (now

Sarí) in Mázandarán. Unfortunately he does not mention

anyone derived from the last-named place.” A. G. E.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Ḥasan (adherent of Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír, x<sup>1</sup>), 200.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Ḥázim (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 132.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Ḥusayn b. Sahl “Tájí Duwayr”, 73.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b.-Kawwá (Khárijite leader, VII), 101.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Maḥmúd b. Núḥ, Abu'l-<sup>°</sup>Abbás — (governor of Ṭabaristán), 38.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Málík (governor of Ṭabaristán, VIII<sup>2</sup>—IX<sup>1</sup>), 143.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Mubárák, the scribe (x<sup>1</sup>), 209.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. M. b. Núḥ -Sámání, Abu'l-<sup>°</sup>Abbás — (x<sup>1</sup>), 195.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. M. -Kátib (“the Scribe”), 206.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. -Muqaffa<sup>°</sup>. See *Ibn -Muqaffa<sup>°</sup>*.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Qaḥṭaba (VIII<sup>2</sup>—IX<sup>1</sup>), 132.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Qutayba. See *Ibn Qutayba*.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Sa<sup>°</sup>íd (IX<sup>2</sup>), 162, 163.

<sup>°</sup>Al. b. Sa<sup>°</sup>íd -Jarishí (or -Jurayshí, IX<sup>1</sup>), 141, 143, 147.

“*Farishi* should at least be *Furayshi*, but *Furashi* is the older and better form, and is the actual reading of Add. 7633.” A. G. E. (See end of p. 276).

°Abdu'lláh b. Salám (x<sup>1</sup>), 213.

°Al. b. Sayf (viii<sup>2</sup>), 123.

°Al. b. -Ṭabarí (ix<sup>2</sup>), 80.

°Al. b. Ṭáhir (governor of Khurásán, ix), 152—157.

°Al. b. °Umar b. -Khaṭṭáb, 98.

°Al. b. Wahb -Rásibí (Khárijite leader vii<sup>2</sup>), 102.

°Al. b. Wandá-ummíd (ix<sup>2</sup>), 162.

°Al. b. Yaḥyá b. Kháqán (minister of -Mutawakkil, ix<sup>2</sup>), 158.

Abú °Abdi'lláh, Shaykh — (Imámí divine, x<sup>2</sup>), 54.

Abú °Al. -Ḥasan b. °Alí b. Hishám (contemporary of -Aṣma'í, viii<sup>2</sup>—ix<sup>1</sup>), 136.

Abú °Al. M. b. Ḥ. (of Āmul, x<sup>1</sup>), 212.

Abú °Al. M. -Riḍá b. Zayd b. M. b. Zayd (x<sup>1</sup>), 194.

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°Abdu'l-Malik [b.] Mákán (x<sup>2</sup>), 229.

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-Dá'í ila 'l-Ḥaqq b. -Hádí, Kiyá Buzurg — (VI<sup>1</sup>), 246, 251.

-Dá'í. This title was borne by three of the four 'Alawí Sayyids who ruled over Ṭabaristán from A. D. 864—928. The first, Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Isma'íl "*Ṣálibu'l-Ḥijára*" b. -Ḥ. b. Zayd b. -Ḥ. b. 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib (A. D. 864—883), seems to have been entitled simply *ad-Dá'í*. The second, M. b. Zayd, brother of him last mentioned, was entitled *ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq* (p. 195) or *ad-Dá'íl-Kabír* (p. 187). He was followed by Sayyid Násir-i-Kabír, called *ath-Thá'ir* ("the Avenger", p. 195); and he in turn by Sayyid Abú M. -Ḥ. b. -Q. b. -Ḥ. b. 'A. b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán ash-Shajarí b. Q. b. Ḥ. b. Zayd b. -Ḥ. b. 'A. b. Abí Ṭálib, called also *ad-Dá'í ila'l-Ḥaqq*, or *ad-Dá'íl-Ṣaghír*. See under these names, and also pp. 47, 48, 158, 187—194, 195, 203, 204, 212—216, 237, 245, 252.

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- Gurdiya (sister of Bahrám Chúbín, *q. v.*), 35.
- \*Gurgán, 14, 25—28, 54, 57, 60, 62, 89, 97, 105—108, 115, 120, 121, 131, 140, 177—184, 186—194, 197, 200, 203, 205—208, 210—214, 216—218, 220—223, 225—229, 231—234, 237, 241, 244, 245, 254, 263, 264.
- Gurgín-i-Mílád (legendary hero), 28.
- \*Gúr-i-Dá‘í (“The Tomb of the Dá‘í”, *i. e.* Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd), 193.
- Gúrigír (x), 220.
- \*Gúrishbard, 163.
- “Gurívun” (Ṭabarí equivalent of *guribán* = Ar. *jayb*), 34.
- \*Gúr-shír, 200.
- \*Gúrshírad, 248. (This undoubtedly represents the same name as Gúrishbard above, and probably as Gúrshír and Qúrshírad, but I cannot identify the place, and have no means of deciding which form is correct).
- Gúr-tír (herb), 40.
- Gushnasp b. Más (IX<sup>2</sup>), 169, 172.
- Gushnasp-sháh. See *Fashnasf*.
- Gúshyár (IX<sup>2</sup>—X<sup>1</sup>), 217.
- Gúshyár b. Lisán -Jílí (astronomer), 87.
- Gustahm, Malik-i-Mu‘adhdham Sharafu<sup>2</sup>d-Dawla — (XIV), 265.

- Hádí (Caliph, VIII<sup>2</sup>) 53, 131, 132.  
 Hádí b. Hání (governor of Ṭabaristán, VIII<sup>3</sup>), 132.  
 Ḥájib b. Zurára -Tamímí (VI), 130.  
 -Ḥájjáj b. Yúsuf (VII<sup>2</sup>), 13, 101, 104, 105.  
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 Ḥájji Khalífa, 35.  
 \*Ḥalawán, 123.  
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 -*Ḥamása* (of Abú Tamám), 103.  
 Ḥaml °A'isha (child of Ja'far the Barmecide and °Abbása, VIII<sup>2</sup>), 134.  
 Ḥammád (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 128.  
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 Ḥammál b. °Umar -Duhálí (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 126.  
 Ḥamúla, Abú °Alí — (X<sup>2</sup>—XI<sup>1</sup>), 229, 230.  
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 Hárúnu'r-Rashíd (VIII<sup>2</sup>—IX<sup>1</sup>), 17, 26, 43, 44, 45, 53, 132—  
 137, 142—144, 237.  
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 -Ḥasan b. °A. -°Askarí (eleventh Imám, IX<sup>2</sup>), 50.

- Ḥ. b. °A. b. Ḥ. b. °A. b. °Amr b. °A. Zaynu'l-°Abidín.  
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- Ḥ. b. °A. b. Abí Ṭálib (VII), 27, 48, 70, 98, 108.
- Ḥ. b. °A., Sayyid Abú M. — See *Nāṣir-i-Kabir*.
- Ḥ., Amír — (servant of Najmu'd-Dawla, XII<sup>1</sup>), 244.
- Ḥ. b. Bahrám, Caravansaray of — (at Sári), 212.
- Ḥ.-Başrı (VIII), 13.
- Ḥ. b. Būwayh, Ruknu'd-Dawla — (X), 218, 220, 222, 223.  
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- Ḥ. b. Fírúzán (X<sup>1</sup>), 196, 210, 214, 216, 219—222, 224, 225.
- Ḥ. b. Ḥamza (X), 12 *ad calc.*
- H. b. Ḥamza, Sayyid Abu'l-Q. —, 55—57.
- Ḥ. b. Ḥus. (brother of -Ṭáhir, IX<sup>1</sup>), 154, 156, 157.
- Ḥ. b. Isháq. See *Nidhāmu'l-Mulk*.
- Ḥ. b. Isma°il (officer of M. b. °Al. b. Ṭáhir, IX), 161.
- Ḥ. b. Ja°far -°Aqíqí, Sayyid — (IX<sup>2</sup>), 174.
- Ḥ.-Júrí, Shaykh — (spiritual director of Amír Mas°úd, XIV<sup>1</sup>), 264.
- Ḥ. b. Mahdí -Mámṭírí, Sayyid — (XII), 55, 68.
- Ḥ. b. M.-°Aqíqí (IX<sup>2</sup>), 174, 176, 177, 179, 181, 186. See also *Şāhibu'l-Şaysh*.
- Ḥ. —, Sayyid Abú M. —, 49. See *Nāṣir-i-Kabir*.
- Ḥ. Qádí Kal (XIII<sup>2</sup>), 261.
- Ḥ. b. Q. (X<sup>1</sup>), 200, 202—204, 206—209, 213. See *ad-Dá°i ila°l-Ḥaqq*.
- Ḥ. b. Rustam b. °A., Ispahbad °Alá°u°d-Dawla — (XII<sup>2</sup>), 67.
- Ḥ. b. Rustam, Sharafu'l-Mulúk — (XII<sup>2</sup>), 249.
- Ḥ. b. Şabbáḥ (the "Old Man of the Mountain", or founder of the Assassins, XI<sup>2</sup>), 240.
- Ḥ. b. Yaḥyá -°Alawí, called *Kúchak*, 19.
- Ḥ. b. Zayd b. Isma°il "Jálibu'l-Ḥijára" (IX<sup>2</sup>), 47, 161—187, 189, 200, 205.
- Ḥ. b. Zayd b. M. b. Zayd, Sayyid —, called *ad-Dá°i ila°l-Ḥaqq* (X<sup>1</sup>), 194.

- Abu'l-Ḥ. (brother of -Náṣir, x<sup>1</sup>), 223.
- Abu'l-Ḥ. °Alí b. Músá, Imám — (IX<sup>1</sup>), 70.
- Abu'l-Ḥ. °A. (of Ray), 35 *ad calc.*
- Abu'l-Ḥ. b. Hárún -Faḳíh (his grandfather converted to Islám, VIII<sup>2</sup>), 26.
- Abu'l-Ḥ. -Mámṭírí (x<sup>1</sup>), 220.
- Abu'l-Ḥ. M. See *Yazdádi*.
- Abu'l-Ḥ. Qábús, See *Qábús b. Washmgír*.
- Abu'l-Ḥ. b. Abí Yúsuf (x<sup>1</sup>), 212.
- Háshim, House of —, 49, 178. See also °Alí b. Abi Ṭálib, *Sayyids* etc.
- Háshim °Alawí, Sayyid — (XII<sup>2</sup>), 249.
- Háshim (gaoler of Yúsuf [b.] °Umar ath-Thaqafí, VIII<sup>1</sup>), 6.
- Abú Háshim Dá'úd b. Qásim -Ja'farí, Sayyid — (IX), 161.
- Abú Háshim Masrúr. See *Masrúr*.
- Ḥassán Bahá'u'd-Dawla, Amír — (governor of Āmul, XII<sup>1</sup>), 245.
- Hátim -Aṣamm (Ṣúfí saint), 10.
- Hawákhún (? Mawákhún), Amír °Alí (XIV<sup>1</sup>), 265.
- Hayáṭila (Huns), 94.
- Ḥaydar b. Ká'ús (fellow-conspirator with Afshín and Bábak IX<sup>1</sup>), 155.
- Ḥaydar b. Sálár (Daylamite chief, x<sup>2</sup>), 230.
- Ḥayyán -Nabaṭí, Abú Ya'mar — (VIII<sup>1</sup>), 107.
- Hazárasp, Ustundár — (XII<sup>2</sup>), 251—253.
- \*Hazár-garí, Hazár-jaríb (Mel., p. 175, etc.), 23, 29, 178, 185, 238.
- "Hazár-mard" (title), 128 *ad calc.*, 169.
- \*Ḥázima-Kúy (parish in Āmul), 34.
- \*Herát, 226, 227, 264.
- \*Hí-Hí-Kayán, 128.
- \*-Ḥijáz, 58, 91, 124, 178, 223.
- Ibn Hilál -Ṣábí, Abú Ishāq Ibráhím — (x<sup>2</sup>), 90, 223.
- °Ḥilla, 60, 79.

- \*Hirhiz (river), 25, 194, l. 5, 247, 257, 266. (In the last three places the text has "Hurmuz", but I have no doubt that *حورمز* is a mistake for *حیرمز*. This river runs by the E. side of Āmul. See Mel., 200, *etc.*, and *s. v.* "*Heraš*" in his Index).
- Hishám, Qádí — (author of macaronic verse), 81.
- Ḥiṭṭán, ʿImrán b. — (Khárijite poet, see *Ṭabari*, series I, p. 3064), 103.
- Hizibruʿd-Dín Khurshíd (cousin of Sháh Ardashír, XII<sup>2</sup>), 252, 253.
- Ḥudhayfa of Yaman (VII), 98.
- Ibn Ḥujr, 78, l. 4.
- Húlágú (XIII<sup>1</sup>), 258, 259, 263.
- \*Ḥulwán, 38.
- Huns (Hayáṭila), 94.
- \*Ḥúr (?), 29.
- Hurmazd (? IV, Son of Anúshirwán, Sásánian king, VI<sup>2</sup>), 36, 95.
- \*Hurmazd-ábád, 127, 149, 152.
- Hurmazd-Káma-i-Yazdánkard (IX<sup>2</sup>), 174, 198, 201.
- \*Hurmazd-Kúh, 224.
- Hurmuz-i-Khurshíd, 116, 118.
- \*Hurmuz (river), 194, l. 5, 247, 257, 266. See *Hirhiz*, for which in all these passages I now believe Hurmuz to be a scribe's error.
- Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla. See *Ardashír b. Ḥasan*.
- Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla Ardashír b. Kínkhwár (or Kíkhwáz) b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár (XIII<sup>1</sup>), 256, 257.
- Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin (XI), 239—245. See also *Shahriyár b. Qárin*.
- Ḥusámuʿd-Dín. See *Nuṣratuʿd-Dín Rustam b. ʿAláʿuʿd-Dawla ʿAlí b. Shahriyár b. Qárin* (XII), 62.
- \*Húsam (هوسم), 14, 244.
- Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, Sayyid — (IX), 164.

- Ḥusayn b. °A. b. Abí Ṭálib (the Third Imám, VII), 48,  
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- Ḥus. b. °Alí -*Fáqih* (X), 212.
- Ḥus. b. °Alí, Sayyid — “Şáhibu'l-Fakhh” (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 124.
- Ḥus. b. °Alí of Sarakhs (IX), 167.
- Ḥus. b. Dínár (X<sup>1</sup>), 206.
- Ḥus. b. Ḥamza -Laythí, 12 and *ad calc.*
- Ḥus. b. Hárún, Sayyid —, 50.
- Ḥus. Kart, Malik Mu°ínu'd-Dín — (XIV<sup>1</sup>), 263.
- Ḥus. b. M. -Ḥanafí (IX<sup>2</sup>), 163.
- Ḥus. b. M. “Kala” (X<sup>1</sup>), 219.
- Ḥus. b. M. -°Alawí -Mámṭírí, Abú Riḍá — (XIII<sup>1</sup>), 257.
- Ḥuşayn b. Mundhir -Raqqáshí, 32.
- Hus. “the Poet”, 58.
- Ḥus. Shírzíl (XII<sup>1</sup>), 245.
- Ḥus. b. Zayd, 167.
- Abu'l-Ḥus. -Mu°ayyad Bi'lláh °Aḍudu'd-Dawla, Sayyid —  
(X<sup>2</sup>—XI<sup>1</sup>), 50—54.
- Abu'l-Ḥus. A. b. M. b. Ibr. called “al-Qá'im” (IX<sup>2</sup>), 187—189.
- Abu'l-Ḥus. b. M. b. Zayd, Sayyid — (IX<sup>2</sup>), 193.
- Abu'l-Ḥus. A. b. Abí M. Ḥ. b. °Alí, Sayyid — (X<sup>1</sup>), 200—209.
- Abu'l-Ḥus. °A. b. °Al. b. °Abbás (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 112.
- Abu'l-Ḥus. b. Kákí (brother of Mákán, X<sup>1</sup>), 210.
- Abu'l-Ḥus. -Shajarí (X<sup>1</sup>), 215.
- Húshang (brother of Kayús, VI<sup>1</sup>), 92.
- Ibráhím b. Ablá (IX), 149.
- Ibr. b. Gúshyár (X<sup>1</sup>), 217.
- Ibr. b. Hilál -Şábí, Abú Ishāq — (X<sup>2</sup>), 90, 223.
- Ibr. b. Ishāq -Faqíh (X<sup>1</sup>), 195,
- Ibr. b. Ishāq -Shámí (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 122.
- Ibr. b. Khalíl (IX<sup>2</sup>), 164, 165, 170, 195.
- Ibr. b. Mihrán (X<sup>1</sup>), 195.
- Ibr. b. Mu°ádh (IX<sup>2</sup>), 174.

- Ibráhím b. M. Náṣihí (teacher of M. b. Ḥ. b. Isfandiyár, author of this book, XII<sup>2</sup>), 76.
- Ibr. Mu°iní (Ṭabarí poet), 86.
- Ibr. -Muntaṣir -Sámání (X<sup>2</sup>), 227.
- Ibr. -Mu°taṣim. See -*Mu°taṣim*.
- Ibr. b. °Uthmán b. Nahík (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 26.
- Íḍáḥ* -°*Aḍudí* (of °Abdu°l -Qádir -Jurjání, *g. v.*), 78, 90.
- °Ijlí, °Abdu°l-°Azíz — (IX<sup>1</sup>), 47, 48. See also *Abu°l-°Abbás Aḥmad*, and *Bakr b. °Abdu°l-°Azíz*.
- Ilak Khán (X<sup>2</sup>—XI<sup>1</sup>), 227.
- Il-Arslán Khwárazmsháh (XII), 67.
- Ilduguz, Atábek — (XII), 67, 72, 252.
- Il-Ṭughdí (X<sup>1</sup>), 214.
- Ilyás b. Ilísa° -Sughdí (X<sup>1</sup>), 201.
- °Imád Kujaj (XII<sup>2</sup>—XIII<sup>1</sup>), 79. See also *Faqihu Ali Muḥammad*.
- °Imádí (the poet, XII<sup>1</sup>), 59.
- °Imádu°d-Dawla °Alí b. Buwayh (X<sup>1</sup>), 208, 210.
- Imámí sect, 49, 54, 58, 68, 202.
- Imám-i-shahíd ("the martyred Imám"), 75. See also °*Abdu°l-Wáḥid b. Isma°il*.
- Imáms, Tombs of — destroyed by -Mutawakkil (IX<sup>2</sup>), 48.
- °Imrán -Ḥiṭṭán (Khárijite, VII), 103, 104.
- °Inánj, Amír — (XII<sup>2</sup>), 250.
- \*India, 33, 35, 40, 68, 93, 156, 246.
- Indian servants, 156.
- \*Injír, 198.
- °Iraj (son of the legendary Ferídún), 17, 18, 19.
- °Íraq, 3, 14, 16, 33, 49, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 91, 96, 104, 107, 127, 131, 141, 147, 154, 161, 174, 178, 179, 196, 198, 213, 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 226, 236, 244, 245, 249.
- °Isá b. °Abdu°l-Ḥamíd, 170.
- °Isá b. Máhán (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 131.

- \*Iṣfahán, 16, 69, 217, 218, 241, 243.  
 Isfáh-dúst, Abú Músá Hárún — (X<sup>1</sup>), 206.  
 Isfáhí b. Akharyár (X), 221.  
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 \*Isfandiyár, 123.  
 Ibn Isfandiyár (Muḥammad b. -Ḥasan, author of this work, XII<sup>1</sup>), 3—4, 258.  
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 \*Isháq-ábád, 219.  
 -Iskáfí (scribe, X<sup>1</sup>), 219 *ad calc.*  
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 Isma<sup>c</sup>íl b. ʿAbbád, the Ṣáhib — (X), 19, 76, 78, 90—92.  
 Isma<sup>c</sup>íl b. Aḥmad -Sámání (IX<sup>2</sup>—X<sup>1</sup>), 193—197.  
 Isma<sup>c</sup>íl b. Mardúchín (X<sup>2</sup>), 220.  
 Isma<sup>c</sup>íl b. Núḥ -Sámání (IX<sup>2</sup>—X<sup>1</sup>), 190. (I think, however, that the passage should read “Naṣr and Isma<sup>c</sup>íl, the sons of *Aḥmad*”, whose brother Núḥ was their uncle.)  
 Isma<sup>c</sup>íl b. Sayyid Abu<sup>2</sup>l-Qásim (X<sup>1</sup>), 210, 216.  
 Isma<sup>c</sup>íl b. Zayd, Abú ʿAlí — (X), 194.  
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 \*Ispahbadán, 116.  
 \*Ispíd Dáristán, 67.  
 \*Ispíd-júy, 172.  
 Isracl, Children of —, 13. See *Jerws*.  
 \*Iṣṭakhr, 18, 96. 237.  
 \*Iwáján (in Kalá Rustáq), 261.  
 ʿIzzu<sup>2</sup>d-Dín, Atábek — (XII<sup>2</sup>), 252.

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-Ja‘dí, Abu’l-Qásim — (XI<sup>1</sup>), 234.

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201, 204—206, 218.

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Ja‘far b. Rustam (governor of Kalár, IX<sup>2</sup>), 165, 171.

Ja‘far b. Shahriyár b. Qárin (IX<sup>2</sup>), 163, 169, 237.

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Abú Ja‘far -Báwandí (killed by Assassins, XII<sup>1</sup>), 245.

Abú Ja‘far -Ḥanáfi, 80.

Abú Ja‘far Kúrankij (X<sup>1</sup>), 211.

Abú Ja‘far (brother of Mákán, X<sup>1</sup>), 222.

Abú Ja‘far Mánkdím, Sayyid — (X<sup>1</sup>), 212—216.

Abú Ja‘far -Manšúr. See -*Manšúr*.

Abú Ja‘far M. b. ‘A. of Ámul (X<sup>1</sup>), 212, 218.

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Jaghrí Beg Dá’úd, Abú Sulaymán — -Seljúqí (XI<sup>1</sup>), 235.

Jahḍam b. Khabáb (governor of Ṭabaristán IX<sup>1</sup>), 140.

-Jáḥidh (IX), 6 *ad calc.*, 110.

\*Jahína (Castle of —, more correctly *Fuhína* or *Fuhína*,  
*q. v.*), 66, 220, 247, 248.

Abu’l-Jahm -Kalbí (VIII), 106.

\*Jahrum, 33, l. 23.

Já’í (or Jálí)-i-Lashkar-sitán (IX<sup>2</sup>), 168, 174.

\*Jájarm, 14, 60, 66, 193, 207, 210.

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\*Jaláyin, 208.

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\*Jálús (Mel., 47, where it is called *Shálús* or *Chálús*), 28, 29, 40, 132, 149, 151, 157, 163, 165, 168, 169, 172, 179, 181, 188, 190—192, 200, 218, 221—223, 232.

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\*Jám, 264.

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\*Jámanú, 41, 123, 165, 167, 169—172.

Jámásp-i-Pírúz (Sásánian, V<sup>2</sup>—VI<sup>1</sup>), 94—97.

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\*Janáshk, castle of —, 232.

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\*Jáshk, 33.

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\*Jawn, 194, l. 5.

\*Jayḥún, river. See *Oxus*.

Abú Jaysh—Hilálí (VIII<sup>2</sup>), 129.

-Jaysham, Ḥakím —, 53.

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 [This name, as Mr. Ellis has pointed out to me, should be °Abdu'l-Qáhir, the author of the well-known *Ml'at °amil*, who died in A. D. 1078. See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, Vol. I, pp. 287—288].
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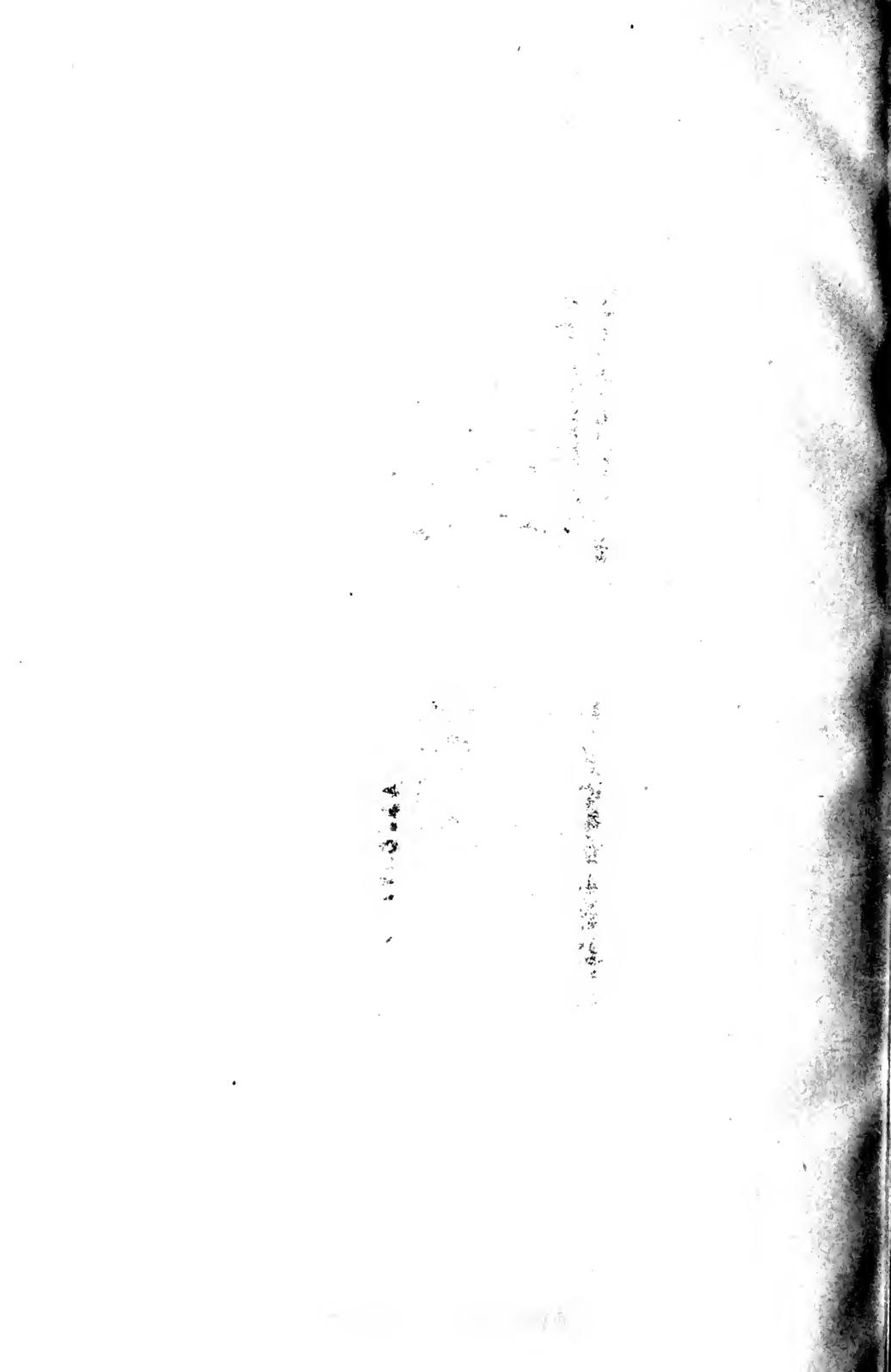
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