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The Medieval History of Iran,  
Afghanistan and Central Asia

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## INTRODUCTION

The studies here collected together relate to the geographically very extensive world of eastern Islam and its outliers in the mediaeval period, sc. the six centuries or so between the first Arab conquests in Iran or Persia, Central Asia and Sind and the cataclysm of the Mongol invasions, which affected almost the entire span of the Old World, from Korea to Hungary. This eastern Islamic world had the ancient crossroads of civilisation, Iran, as its cultural and religious core, but its borders extended far to the north and east of modern Persia into what are now Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India and into the Soviet and Chinese-held domains of Central Asia.

These last comprised in part what is often referred to in the classical and mediaeval context as “l’Iran extérieure”, the regions of Transoxania and Khwārazm and even of Sin-kiang or Chinese Turkestan, which were still at this time ethnically and culturally Iranian or at least Indo-European. Beyond these regions lay the steppe and forest lands sparsely populated by Turks, Mongols and other splinters of Inner Asian peoples. Some of these in time came to adopt the Islamic faith, though in much of Inner Asia this was a slow process, with other faiths such as Buddhism and Christianity contending for the regions’ soul. The peoples that became Muslim at the same time adopted something of the Perso-Islamic cultural and artistic heritage which had evolved in Iran proper; but they retained and were often able to extend their particular ethnic and linguistic identity. Hence most of “l’Iran extérieure” was gradually Turkicised, and today, only in the modern Tajikistan S.S.R. is there any significant number of Iranian speakers north of the Oxus, whilst considerable stretches of Iran itself are Turkish and Turkoman.

Reflecting these ethnic complications – for Inner Asia has always been one of the ethnic and cultural melting-pots of the Old World, poorly endowed with creativity of its own, but always



receptive to outside influences and adept at absorbing them into its own limited stock of ideas and customs – one of the studies in Part 3 *Central Asia* deals with the Iranian dynasty in Transoxania of the Sāmānids, but for the most part they are concerned with the Turkish tribes and peoples of the steppes beyond. The incursions of these nomads culminated, for the pre-Mongol period, in the establishment of the powerful groupings of the Qarakhanids in Transoxania and the Seljuqs in Iran proper; from these population movements and from the effects of their pastoral mode of life there resulted important, long-term changes in land utilisation and in the ethnic complexion of the regions involved.

Iran proper remained, during the first four centuries of Islam, a land where the political control of the Damascus and Baghdad caliphs, exercised through their Arab governors, gradually became loosened and then slipped from their hands into the grip of indigenous Iranian military leaders and soldiers of fortune. This process is well seen in the annexation of Khurasan or eastern Persia in the mid-ninth century by the local Sistan dynasty of the Šaffārids, for the previous line of governors there, the Tāhirids, although ultimately of Iranian stock, had become largely Arabised, a prime example of symbiosis between the two cultures, the religiously-inspired Arab-Islamic one and the secular ancient Persian one. In the following century, sc. the tenth, we have the phenomenon of the dynamic, but as yet ill-explained rise of the Dailamīs, a mountain people from north-western Iran who had previously played hardly any noticeable rôle in the history of Iran. It seems that the Dailamīs, and other hitherto submerged peoples like the Kurds, began to assert themselves as Arab political control crumbled, adopting Islam in both its majority Sunnī and its minority Shī‘ī forms, and establishing their domination over the whole of central and western Iran and extending into Arab lands like Iraq, Diyārbakr and Oman. Hence various studies in Part 1 *Iran* deal with such Dailamī dynasties as the Būyids, the Ziyārids and the Kākūyids, whose political independence was in the eleventh century to be sapped by the incoming Seljuq Turks, but whose encouragement and patronage of New Persian culture and literature was to show that the age-old concepts of Iranian self-identity and distinctive self-expression had been only dormant during the centuries of Arab domination and by no means extinguished.

The political entity "Afghanistan" is hardly more than two centuries old, and the name of the Afghan people themselves – apparently the name of the forerunners of the modern Pashtuns – is not attested before the tenth century, yet the geographical compactness of this region of mountains and plateaux and its historic part as a buffer-zone between the Inner Asian steppes and the rich lands of ancient civilisation lying to the south, sc. Iran and above all India, nevertheless justify using the term in a mediaeval context. Arab raiders penetrated early into Afghanistan, yet apart from slaves, the booty to be gained in this land of thinly-spread population and meagre natural resources can hardly have been tempting. In fact, the indigenous rulers of northern and eastern Afghanistan (who seem to have included epigoni of the pre-Islamic Hephthalites, long dominant in this region of Inner Asia) resisted fiercely the Arabs' attempts at domination, and it was not until the coming of the Turkish slave commanders of the Sāmānids to such centres as Bust, Ghazna and Gardīz that Islam was implanted there; even then, the inaccessible central province of Ghūr remained pagan till the eleventh century, and it is less than a century now that Kafiristan, modern Nuristan, had Islam imposed upon it.

Much of Part 2 *Afghanistan* is taken up with aspects of the rule and culture of the Turkish Ghaznavid dynasty, which in the later tenth and early eleventh centuries became the nucleus of a vast if transient military empire in eastern Islam, stretching from western Iran to northern India. These studies supplement and complete the present author's two full-scale books devoted to this dynasty, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh University Press, 1963) and *The later Ghaznavids in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186* (Edinburgh University Press, 1977). The image which grew up of the great Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna as hammer of the infidel Hindus – both he and his son Mas'ūd left a lasting impression on the folk-consciousness of eastern Islam, seen in the popular romances and epics in which they figure – made him a Muslim hero, and it was through his efforts that the orientation of the Ghaznavid empire through almost two centuries of its existence was turned primarily towards India. There thus began a new phase in the close relationship of Afghanistan to northern India, one which was eventually to make much of the latter land Muslim, so that today Islam is the majority faith in Baluchistan, Sind, the

North-West Frontier Region, West Panjab and Kashmir. Yet the researches of recent decades, both in the West and in the sub-continent, have shown that the early Ghaznavids, and indeed their successors in Ghazna, had no considered plan for the Islamisation of India, but were indeed content to draw upon it as an inexhaustible milch-cow for plunder, treasure and slaves. It was not until the thirteenth century and afterwards that their successors, such as the Ghūrids and the so-called "Slave Kings" of Delhi, began to spread the faith of Muḥammad amongst the masses of the Indus-Ganges basins. The power-base for these largely Turkish-manned military dynasties was Afghanistan, hence the culture transmitted to Muslim India was the Perso-Islamic one, in which the Persian language played a great rôle as the favoured medium for poetry, artistic prose and creative literary expression in general. Likewise, the manifestations of Islamic art and architecture which arose in India owed much to Persian models, even though there later developed what might be styled, on analogy with the literary trends, a distinct *sabk-i hindī* or "Indian style" in these fields of the visual arts.

C. E. BOSWORTH

**IRAN**



# I

## THE RISE OF THE KARĀMIYYAH IN KHURASAN

### I

The historian who ranges over eastern Islam in the period between the 9th and 11th centuries not infrequently comes across the Karāmiyyah sect. It was particularly strong in Khurasan, and in the early years of the 11th century reached the zenith of its fortunes in Nishapur. Although Barthold described the sect as "pietistic," in practice it was very activist and distinguished for its persecuting zeal; and in Nishapur at least it caused considerable social and political commotion. The sources for its history are all orthodox Sunnī ones and regard the Karāmī theological doctrines as crudely literalist. But even allowing for this bias, the sect and its leaders emerge as an assertive and, when occasion allowed, a violent force.

### II

The founder was Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Karām al-Sagazī al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 255/869), who was born in Sīstān of Arab descent, but studied and spent much of his time in Nishapur. He was an ascetic and hell-fire preacher, and his opponents alleged that he held the doctrine of anthropomorphism (*tajsīm, tashbih*) to an extreme degree. His tenets were set forth in a treatise, "The Punishment of the Grave," ʿ*Adhāb al-qabr*, which is no longer extant but which in its day achieved considerable currency in Islam.<sup>1</sup> He began spreading his ideas in his native province of Sīstān, but was expelled by the local governor as an innovator in religion (*mubtadiʿ*) who was stirring up and seducing considerable numbers of the common people. He then preached his ideas in Ghūr, Gharchistān and the rural areas of Khurasan, denouncing both Sunnīs and Shīʿahs, and appealing especially to the peasants and riff-raff (*aghtām*) of those regions. Finally, he arrived in Nishapur with a group of adherents from Gharchistān, where he had just been working, comprising weavers and others from depressed classes. Hence it was probably the social and political aspects as much as the theo-

<sup>1</sup> See Margoliouth's Article "Karrāmiyya" in *EI*; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al Shāfiʿiyyat al-kubrā*, Cairo, II, 53-4, giving a biography of Muḥammad ibn Karām based on Ḥākim al-Bayyī's history of the ʿulamāʾ of Nishapur (see below, n. 22); and the entry in Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, GMS facs., London 1912, ff. 476b-477a, which is especially important. Saʿīd Nafīsī has assembled uncritically materials on the sect in the notes to his edition of Baihaqī's *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī*, Teheran 1319-32, II, 915-68. On the vocalisation of the name "K.rām," cf. *ibid.*, II, 953; although Samʿānī, f. 476b, connects it with *karrām* "vine-tender," "karām" or "Kī-rām" seem more likely. The paronomasia of this name and the adjective "noble" (pl.), *kirām*, in Abū-l-Faṭḥ Bustī's lines (see below, 4.) was noted as far back as 1858 by J. Reynolds in his translation of Jurbādhqānī's version of the *Yamīnī*, 472. On the sect's theological beliefs, see Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bain al-firaq*, Cairo 1948, 130-7. tr. A. Halkin. Tel-Aviv 1935, 18-30; Al-Sharastānī, *Kitāb al-mīlāl wa-l-nihāl*, ed. Cureton, London 1846, 20, 79-85, tr. Haarbrücker, Halle 1850-1, I, 29-30, 119-27; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology etc.*, New York 1903, 170 ff.; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947, index.

logical ones of Muḥammad ibn Karām's activities which attracted the wrath of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir, governor of Khurasan 248-59/862-73, who imprisoned him for eight years.<sup>2</sup> At this time, the countryside of Persia and the east was highly disturbed by politico-religious sectaries, variously connected with extreme Shī'ism, the deification or reincarnation of Abū Muslim, Iranian national feeling and neo-Mazdakite or neo-Zoroastrian currents. The leader of the Khurrāmdīniyyah, Bābek, had been captured and executed some twenty years previously in 223/838, but his followers persisted as a revolutionary element in several parts of Persia for at least a century. Many of these *Muḥammirah* were caught up in the Ismā'īlī propaganda activities of the 10th century, and it was not fortuitous that regions of north-eastern Persia like the Caspian highlands and Qūhistān became strongholds of the Bāṭi-niyyah.<sup>3</sup> With this background in mind, it was not surprising that the Arab ruling class in Khurasan should have been suspicious of any new movement.

The sources record that it was Muḥammad ibn Karām's ascetic and pious life which attracted people and which preserved him from the ultimate penalty for his errors. It was never difficult in Islam for such a religious figure to gather a popular following, and it is clear that Muḥammad ibn Karām's in Khurasan was largely from the poorer classes. But the fact that he claimed to stand apart from the mainstream of orthodox Sunnī and Shī'ah Islam may also be significant. The literalism of his doctrines ranges him with that attitude of mind and faith which in the 9th and 10th centuries hardened into the Ḥanbalī and Zāhirī schools. It is therefore tempting to see in the Karāmiyyah a Khurasanian counterpart to these attitudes popular in Iraq, Syria and the west. Further study may indeed reveal similarities of outlook and doctrine; but if these existed, they did not preserve Muḥammad ibn Karām in his own day, and his sect in subsequent centuries, from the sustained attacks of Sunnī theologians of all views, whether Ḥanafīs, Shāfi'īs or conservative literalists. It was a local traditionist and pupil of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who drove him out of Herat when he began preaching there; and the Zāhirī Ibn Ḥazm firmly denounced the sect.<sup>4</sup> The appeal of the Karāmiyyah in the east may well have lain in their comparative detachment from the Islamic religious "establishment," which to the Iranian masses was merely the religious aspect of the Arab ruling class and the Iranian landed and official classes who had made common cause with it. It may also be noted that the Karāmiyyah appear not only as a theological sect but also as a legal school, and could thus offer their adherents a full way of life.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Subkī, *loc. cit.*; Baghdādī, 130-1, tr., 18-9; Shahrastānī, 20, tr., I, 29-30; Maqdisī, ed. de Goeje, 37-8, 40-1; Sam'ānī, f. 477a.

<sup>3</sup> cf. G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris 1938, 229-80; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 200-4.

<sup>4</sup> Subkī, II, 53; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-faṣl fi-l-milal wa-l-nihal*, Cairo 1320, 188-90.

<sup>5</sup> Later writers violently attacked some of Muḥammad ibn Karām's legal pre-

Despite official disapproval, the sect became firmly established in Nishapur from an early date. At the same time, it spread to other parts of the Islamic world. In the 10th century there were Karāmī groups and *khānqāhs* in Baghdad, Jerusalem and in Fustāt, where they even had their own quarter.<sup>6</sup> This indicates that Karāmī doctrines were now finding a sympathetic reception outside the urban lower classes and peasantry of Khurasan. The seeds were planted by Muḥammad ibn Karām's own residence and teaching in Syria and Jerusalem, where he ended his days, and other Karāmī divines studied and worked in the west as far as the Hijaz and the Yemen.<sup>7</sup> But the continuance of the sect here long after his death may also have been helped by the commercial connections of these cities of the west with Khurasan and the movements of merchants between them. If the converts in these cities included merchants and craftsmen — and it is hard to see how such Karāmī groups could have arisen and been maintained otherwise — then the sect and its beliefs must have had attractions for classes other than the lowest ones; and it may not be irrelevant to recall the wide appeal of the radical Ismā'īlī movement, also at variance with strict orthodoxy, among the urban artisans and craftsmen.

But Khurasan remained the nucleus of the sect, with numerous adherents in the mountainous regions along the upper Oxus, where Muḥammad ibn Karām had first preached; in the 10th century their *khānqāhs* were to be found in Gūzgān, Khuttal and Ferghāna, as well as at Merv and Samarqand.<sup>8</sup> In the latter half of this century, the Karāmiyyah in Nishapur were led by Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn Maḥ-mashādh (d. 383/993), famed for his preaching and evangelistic fervour; he is said to have converted over 5000 People of the Book and Zoroastrians in Nishapur. In 370/980-1 the heresiologist 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī disputed before the Sāmānid general Abūl-Ḥasan Sīmjūrī

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scriptions; cf. Sa'īd Nafīsī, op. cit., II, 936-43, where a Shī'ah divine is quoted as accusing Muḥammad ibn Karām of such things as laxness over ritual uncleanness before the *Ṣalāt*. Nevertheless, it is likely that theological prejudice in these writers made them exaggerate the differences between the Karāmiyyah and the other legal and theological schools. In the course of his travels, the geographer Maqdisī had many contacts with the Karāmiyya, and was considerably exercised on how they should be considered; but he came down firmly on placing them within the bounds of orthodoxy. He refuted in advance criticisms of this eclecticism: "Someone might say, 'Did you not assert that there were no innovators (*mubtadi'*) in Biyār [in Qūmis, south of the Caspian], and then say that there were Karāmiyyah there?'. The answer is that the Karāmiyyah are an ascetic and godly folk, and they derive ultimately from Abū Ḥanīfa. Now everyone who derives from Abū Ḥanīfa or Mālik or Al-Shāfi'ī or the great traditionists, who holds no extremist views, is not excessive in his love for Mu'āwiya and does not anthropomorphise God or ascribe the attributes of created beings to Him, no such person can be considered an innovator." (365).

<sup>6</sup> Maqdisī, 179, 182, 202, cf. 238; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 393.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Karām, Abū Maṣ'ūr Muḥammad ibn Maḥmashādh (316-88/928-98) journeyed this far in his study of tradition (Subkī, II, 167).

<sup>8</sup> Maqdisī, 323.



with the Karāmī divine Ibrāhīm ibn Muhājir and refuted, so he says, some of his abysmal errors.<sup>9</sup>

From this period there emerges the emphasis of the Karāmiyyah on the propagation of their sectarian beliefs and on polemical and educational activity; it long remained one of their salient characteristics.<sup>10</sup> This missionary work and the ascetic lives of the Karāmī leaders appealed to the masses, and already in the 10th century the Karāmiyyah had in Nishapur a large popular following who were a turbulent element there, at odds with the orthodox Sunnīs and the Shī'ahs. Al-Maqdisī relates how the factional strife in Nishapur between the western side of the city and the other side had gradually moved from a local to a religious basis, and had become in his time (c. 985) a Shī'ah-Karāmī struggle. Similarly, the main 'aṣabiyyah in Herat was between the Karāmiyyah and the 'Amaliyyah (these last presumably received their name from their opposition to the Karāmī assertion that faith, *imān*, was summed up entirely in utterance of the *Shahādah*).<sup>11</sup>

### III

Abū Ya'qūb's son, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq, succeeded on his father's death to leadership of the sect in Nishapur. The piety and asceticism of Abū Ya'qūb had made a deep impression on the Amīr Sebūktigin, founder of the Ghaznevid dynasty, when he was a Sāmānid commander in Khurasan, and had actually converted him to the sect's beliefs. Consequently his secretary and panegyrist Abū-l-Faṭḥ Bustī penned the lines :

"The only true legal system (*fiqh*) is Abū Ḥanīfa's, just as the only true religious system (*dīn*) is that of Muḥammad ibn Karām; Those who, as I observe, disbelieve in Muḥammad ibn Karām's system, are a vile lot indeed (*ghair kirām*)."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Sam'ānī, f. 477a; Baghdādī, 133-4, 137, tr., 23, 29-30.

<sup>10</sup> It was suggested by J. Ribera, "Origen del colegio Nidami de Bagdad." *Dissertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid 1928, I, 379-82 (originally in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 3-17), that the *khānqāhs* and *madrāsas* of the Karāmiyyah (the latter are mentioned specifically in the 11th century; see below, 8-10) were institutions for education and disputation; and that their existence presented a challenge to the orthodox in Nishapur and stimulated the growth of the orthodox *madrāsa* movement there. His sole support for this is the biography of the scholar Abū Bakr ibn Fūrak Isfahānī in Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, II, 673-4. It is said here that the people of Nishapur built a house and *madrāsa* for him to teach in; and that he was a great opponent of the Karāmiyyah and disputed with them at Ghazna (see also below, 7). To deduce a connection from this evidence alone is inadmissible. Nor need we seek with Ribera, *op. cit.*, I, 381-2, an origin for the Karāmī *madrāsa* in the teaching methods of the Nestorian monasteries of the east. The use of rational and philosophical arguments in the teaching of theology and law grew naturally from Islamic *kalām* itself, even if the ultimate stimulus was certainly Greek.

<sup>11</sup> Maqdisī, 336.

<sup>12</sup> *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. M. S. Behār, Tehran 1314, 339; 'Utbi, *Al-Ta'rikh al-Yamīni*, with commentary by Shaikh Manīnī, Cairo 1286, II, 310, Jurbādhqānī's version, ed. 'Alī Qavīm, Teheran 1334, 254.

Maḥmūd of Ghazna inherited his father's sympathetic attitude to the Karāmiyyah. For his part, Abū Bakr Muḥammad used this encouragement to forward his personal plans and to secure a temporal ascendancy in his home city. Already in 398/1006 when the Ilig Khan Naṣr's Qarakhānids invaded Khurasan and occupied Nishapur they feared the strength of Abū Bakr Muḥammad's party so much that they carried him off. He succeeded in escaping when the Sultan's army approached and became even more favored in the latter's sight.<sup>13</sup>

His prestige was such that at some time after the Qarakhānid invasion the Sultan appointed him to the *riyāṣah* of Nishapur.<sup>14</sup> The appointment of a divine to this key office was unusual. The position of *ra'īs* or *za'īm* was especially important in Khurasan at this time, when the dynasties controlling the province like the Sāmānids and Ghaznevīds normally had their courts and administrative organs outside Khurasan itself. Accordingly, they were compelled to leave the province with a considerable amount of local autonomy; the *ʿamid* or civil governor, with a *dīwān* and staff of officials in Nishapur, was responsible for the direction of the fiscal system, whilst the military commander of Khurasan had an army to defend the frontiers and to secure internal tranquillity. Within the cities, the *ra'īs* was of prime importance. The central administration nominated him, and installed him with an official outfit or robe of honour, *tailasān* and *durrāʿah*, a horse and the title of "Khwāje-yi buzurg." He then became the channel between sovereign and subject, and was responsible to the former for the internal security of his city or town. When the sovereign visited the city, he marked out his *ra'īs* from the rest of the notables by special honours. The *ra'īs* was expected to organise official festivities for the reception of distinguished visitors. If he was specially trusted by the sovereign, he might be entrusted with a diplomatic mission.<sup>15</sup> But the *ra'īs* had also to be a man with a backing of per-

<sup>13</sup> ʿUtbi, II, 77, 310-11, Jurbādhqānī, 182, 254. Concerning Maḥmūd's attitude towards the Karāmiyyah, there is an anecdote which appears in Saif al-Dīn Faḍlī's *Āthār al-wuzarāʾ*, India Office Persian Ms. no. 1569, ff. 111b-112a and in other sources, including ʿAufī's (facs. edn. of 15 chs. of Pt. I by Muḥammad Ramazānī, Teheran 1335, 392) *Jawāmiʿ al-hikāyāt*. In it Maḥmūd is their admirer, since they include "pious and wonder-working people" (*mardom-i parsā u šāhib-karāmāt*), and his courtier Hasanek (see below, 8) their enemy, as being "a gang of tricksters and charlatans" (*jumle-yi muzawwar u farrār*). Then the Sultan becomes their enemy when the "miracle" of a Karāmi anchorite is exposed as fraudulent. Since the story is set in the time when Abū ʿAlī Sīmjūrī was powerful in Khurasan, and depends for its point on this fact, we have here an anachronism and the anecdote must be unhistorical: Abū ʿAlī died in 387-997 and Hasanek is described as still a young man when he was appointed Vizier in 415/1024 (Samʿānī, f. 323b; *Āthār al-wuzarāʾ*, f. 113b). It reflects rather the state of affairs in the latter half of Maḥmūd's reign when he had clamped down on the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan.

<sup>14</sup> ʿUtbi, II, 311, Jurbādhqānī, 254.

<sup>15</sup> Baihaqī, *Tārikh-i Masʿūdi*, ed. Ghānī and Feyyāz, Teheran 1324, 23, 208-9, 247, 610. For the term *za'īm*, cf. *ibid.*, 290, and Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, IX, 296.

sonal wealth and status. Leadership in the organisation of public works and charities was expected of him. He had to patronise the *‘ulamā*<sup>9</sup> and literary men and keep open house for travellers and the needy. So his personal means had to be substantial.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, he had to be on good terms with the rest of the notables, for his leadership of them was more by persuasion and advice than by coercive power. It was therefore natural that the *raʿīs* should be chosen from among the class of *aʿyān*, the *haute bourgeoisie* of the city. From the middle of the 10th century the office in Nishapur had been held almost continuously by members of the Mikālī family. The Mikālīs had a long tradition of service with the Ṭāhirids, *‘Abbāsīd* Caliphs, Ṣaffārīds and Sāmānīds, and achieved high favour with the Ghaznevīds. Their extensive private wealth, derived from estates and family *auqāf* and also from trading and manufacturing interests, made them ideally suitable for supporting the dignity of the *riyāsaḥ*.<sup>17</sup>

When Abū Bakr Muḥammad took over this office he added temporal power to the religious authority he had wielded as head of the Karāmiyyah. He now constituted himself the Sultan’s aide in ferreting out Ismāʿīlī sympathisers in Khurasan. From Sebūktigin onwards, the Ghaznevīd Sultans were implacably opposed to the religious and social radicalism of the Ismāʿīlīs. The threat from them to the *status quo* in Khurasan was probably exaggerated, and the Ghaznevīds were in no direct danger from the political activity of the Fāṭimīds. But the Sultans rightly felt that conservatism in religion was the best support for an autocratic state. Furthermore, Maḥmūd was anxious for prestige reasons to stress his support for orthodoxy and the *‘Abbāsīd* Caliphate in Baghdad. Because of these considerations, the straightforward, literalist theology of the Karāmiyyah, their obvious piety and their zeal against religious dissent, all appealed to the Sultan.

Under pretext of harrying Bāṭinī heretics, Abū Bakr Muḥammad and his followers set up a reign of terror in Nishapur, so that “people saw that his saliva was deadly poison and his delation meant ruin.” The innocent and the guilty suffered indiscriminately; a favorite technique of his was to extort “hush money” as the price of silence about alleged heretical proclivities.<sup>18</sup> He played a leading part in the events leading up to the trial and execution in 403/1012-3 of an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* Al-Tāhertī. Al-Tāhertī came peacefully and openly on the traditional

<sup>16</sup> Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāset-nāme*, ed. Qazvīnī and Chahārdehī, Teheran 1334, ch. IV, 26; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1928, 234, and B. Zahoder, “Selçuklu devletinin kuruluşu sırasında Horasan,” tr. İ Kaynak, *Belleten*, XIX, 1955, 510.

<sup>17</sup> Saʿīd Nafīsī, *op. cit.*, III, 969-1009, has assembled much material on this important family; I hope myself to publish the results of research into the great families of officials and *‘ulamā* in Sāmānīd and Ghaznevīd Khurasan.

<sup>18</sup> *‘Utbi*, II, 311-12, Jurbādhqānī, 254. Maḥmūd himself used this ugly practice of extorting money from citizens in return for a certificate attesting to sound belief; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 283 (the first page of this numbering in Tornberg’s edn.).

mount of a religious figure, a splendid mule with an irridescent coat, bearing a message to Maḥmūd from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākīm. When he reached Herat, he was arrested and sent back to Nishapur. Abū Bakr Muḥammad interrogated him there, found some Ismāʿilī books in his baggage and pronounced his doctrines false. He was then sent on to Ghazna and eventually executed.<sup>19</sup> The Karāmiyyah harried the Ashʿarī scholar Ibn Fūrak, who had come to teach in Nishapur and was their opponent. They accused him of heresy and had him summoned before the Sultan at Ghazna. When Ibn Fūrak vindicated his orthodoxy, it was allegedly the Karāmiyyah who had him poisoned on the way back home in 406/1015-6. Abū Bakr Muḥammad's pursuit of anything smacking of unorthodoxy also brought him up against the Ṣūfī community of Nishapur, and in particular, against the famous Shaikh Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī-l-Khair Maihanī.<sup>20</sup>

He was now at the peak of his power. He continued to parade hypocritically in the woollen cloak of an ascetic, but he had a numerous and well-disciplined following to attend him and execute his commands, headed by a personal adjutant (*ḥājib*).<sup>21</sup> In his efforts against the Bāṭiniyyah and Ṣūfīs, he had the support of the most prominent of the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ*, led by the Qāḍī Abū-l-ʿAlāʾ Ṣāʿid ibn Muḥammad Ustuvāʿī (343-431/954-1040). The Qāḍī was head of the Ḥanafīs in Nishapur and a scholar of international reputation. Maḥmūd had appointed him tutor to the young princes Masʿūd and Muḥammad, and he had subsequently flourished under the patronage of the Sultan's brother, the Amīr Abū-l-Muzaffar Naṣr, governor of Khurasan.<sup>22</sup> It now became obvious that two strong-minded personalities like the Qāḍī and Abū Bakr Muḥammad could not share the power in Nishapur, and events moved towards a breach. Although the struggle was to be fought out on the theological plane, the real question at issue was over temporal authority in the city.

After returning from his pilgrimage of 402/1011-12, the Qāḍī Ṣāʿid came to Ghazna to deliver a message from the Caliph. In a theological disputation at court, the Qāḍī brought up the heterodox views held by the Karāmiyyah, their anthropomorphism and their consequent attribution to God of what did not befit Him. When summoned to reply, Abū Bakr Muḥammad denied holding such beliefs and thus saved his

<sup>19</sup> ʿUtbi, II, 237-50, Jurbādhqānī, 237-9; Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār*, ed. M. Nazim, Berlin 1928, 71; Samʿānī, f. 102b; Subkī, IV, 16, quoting the lost history of Herat by Qāḍī Abū Naṣr Fāmī.

<sup>20</sup> Subkī, III, 52-4; Muḥammad ibn al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-Tauḥīd fī maqāmāt al-Shaikh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. V. A. Zhukovsky, St. Petersburg 1899, 84 ff., cf. 119, 163.

<sup>21</sup> ʿUtbi, II, 311, Jurbādhqānī, 254; *Asrār al-Tauḥīd*, 89.

<sup>22</sup> Baihaqī, 38, 198; ʿUtbi, II 330-1, Jurbādhqānī, 260. See also on the Qāḍī Ṣāʿid, Samʿānī, ff. 31a-b. There is an entry on him in ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī's continuation of Ḥākīm al-Bayyī's history of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Nishapur, *al-Siyāq li-taʾrikh Nishābūr*, in Al-Ṣarīfī's epitome, Istanbul Arabic Ms. Köprülü 1152, ff. 74a-b (cf. H. Ritter, "Philologica XIII," *Oriens*, III, 1950, 72-6).

skin, but Maḥmūd ordered local governors and *ru'asā'* in Khurasan to investigate members of the sect and to purge the madrasas and minbars of them. These too had to renounce their beliefs to save themselves. Both religious leaders were now free to go about their business. But Abū Bakr Muḥammad was thirsting for revenge, and the next stage was that he placed a formal deposition before the Sultan charging the Qāḍī with Mu'tazilite views, and assembled a group of his own partisans to testify at court. Maḥmūd appointed the Chief Qāḍī of Ghazna, Abū Muḥammad Nāṣihī, to preside over a commission of enquiry of scholars and divines. At this, the Karāmī leader tried to retract, protesting that the accusations of heterodoxy he and the Qāḍī had thrown at each other had been made purely out of rancour, and that neither was really true. But tension again grew when he brought up his group of witnesses. Eventually the Amīr Abū-l-Muẓaffar Naṣr testified to his brother about the Qāḍī's pure Ḥanafī faith, and the Sultan was then convinced that the Qāḍī was too noble a man to have become tainted with Mu'tazilism. He was thus cleared, but prudently retired to a life of teaching and scholarship in Nishapur, letting his two sons deputise in his judicial office.

Meanwhile, complaints of Abū Bakr Muḥammad's oppression and abuse of his position as *ra'īs* in Nishapur were coming in to Ghazna. For a time, the Sultan forbore to move, but in the end yielded to the pressure of criticism. The experiment of a divine as *ra'īs* was now renounced, and Maḥmūd once more appointed a layman from the Mikālī family, Abū 'Alī Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, known by the hypochoristic "Ḥasanek." Coming from a collateral branch of the family which had espoused the Ghaznevid cause at an early date, Ḥasanek had been in Maḥmūd's court service since his youth and had become marked out for favour. He was born rich, and when he was later executed by Sultan Mas'ūd in 422/1031, he left extensive property in Nishapur and its environs. The *riyāṣah* now returned to that class which by social position and tradition was best qualified to hold it. Ḥasanek took stern measures against the Karāmiyyah in Nishapur, with a severity, according to 'Utbi, surpassing that of Ziyād ibn Abīhi. The most tyrannical were jailed in fortresses; Abū Bakr Muḥammad's spoliations were recovered, and he was enjoined to fade away into a life of seclusion and contemplation. Ḥasanek then warned other members of the religious classes, especially the 'Alīds, that their favoured position and the respect they were accorded depended wholly on their obedience to the secular power. They for their part agreed, recognising that the Sultan was the Shadow of God on Earth, and that obedience and extreme circumspection (*al-ma'il ilā-l-ghulūw li-l-iqtisād*) should henceforth be their watchword.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> 'Utbi, II, 311-25, Jurbādhqānī, 254-8; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 289-90. For Ḥasanek and his ultimate fate, cf. Baihaqī, 178-89 (= Elliot and Dowson,

This was the end of the Karāmī bid for power in Nishapur, and so favourable an opportunity never presented itself again. The Sultan had been quite prepared to encourage the Karāmiyyah when he could use them in purging Khurasan of heretics, but had restrained them when they had attempted to establish a theocracy of their own in Nishapur which would have conflicted with the Erastian basis of the Ghaznevid state. Yet despite this check, the sect remained powerful and popular in Nishapur and Khurasan. In the town of Baihaq (modern Sabzavār), at some time just before 414/1023 a rich citizen, himself descended by marriage from the Mikālīs, built there four madrasas. He allotted them impartially to the Ḥanafīs, Shāfi'īs, 'Alīds and Karāmiyyah, implicitly accepting the latter as meriting equal provision with the others.<sup>24</sup> In Nishapur, hostility long continued to be polarised around the families of Abū Bakr Muḥammad and the Qāḍī Šā'id. Ibn Funduq and Ibn al-Athīr record civil strife in Nishapur in 489/1096 between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfi'īs on one side, led respectively by the Qāḍī Abū Sa'id Muḥammad ibn Ahmad Muḥammad ibn Šā'id and Abū-l-Qāsim, son of the Imām al-Ḥaramain Juwainī, and the Karāmiyyah under Maḥmashādh on the other. The former groups sought aid from the nearby town of Baihaq, and spread the dispute thither, where fighting also broke out. The Karāmī madrasa in Baihaq probably perished at this time; whereas three of the madrasas whose foundation was mentioned above were still standing in Ibn Funduq's time (wrote 563/1168), the Karāmī one had gone without a trace. In Nishapur, the conflict ended with the killing of the Karāmī leader and the razing of their madrasa.<sup>25</sup> Even so, their rôle in Khurasan was not quite finished; and it is hoped to deal with their part in the conversion of Ghūr in another paper.

#### ADDENDUM

'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (see n. 22) often mentions the Karāmiyyah as the *Ashāb Abī 'Abdallāh [ibn Karām]*, and has an important entry on Abū Bakr Muḥammad (*al-Siyāq li-ta'rikh Nīshābūr*, f. 3b) which is translated here because it emphasises his ascendancy in Nishapur and his hostility to the more extreme Shī'ah.

"Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Maḥmashādh, Preacher, Teacher and Imām. He was an ascetic, and the son and grandson of ascetics. He was the chief and leader of the followers of Abū 'Abdallāh. In his day he had great influence with the Sultan. He held an exalted position and was one of Sultan Yamīn al-Daulah Maḥmūd's confidants. He was zealous in support of the Sunnah,

*History of India*, II, 88-100); Gardizī, 96-7; *Athār al-wuzarā'*, ff. 111a-114a; Sa'id Nafīsī, op cit., III, 993-1006.

<sup>24</sup> 'Alī ibn Zaid, called Ibn Funduq, *Tārikh-i Baihaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār, Teheran 1317, 194-5, 220-1.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid.*, 194, 268-9; Ibn al-Athīr, X, 171, under, however, 488/1095.

and had the new mosque which the Shī'ah (*al-Rawāfiḍ*) had built pulled down. Under his direction, the fortunes of the Karāmiyyah flourished, and the Sultan entrusted to him the building of a *ribāḥ* at a staging-post on the Serakhs road.<sup>26</sup> He was invested with a teaching post [in the madrasa of the Karāmiyyah] by the side of the stream [sc. the Wādī Saghāwar which flowed through Nishapur] in the year 405, and Al-Ḥuskānī and then Abū 'Amr ibn Yaḥyā acted as his assistant in lectures (*mustamlī*). He retained great prestige until he died in Shawwāl 421. He related traditions from Al-Ḥākim Abū Aḥmad."

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<sup>26</sup> This *ribāḥ* is probably the one for which Maḥmūd gave the money he had originally offered to Firdausī's daughter; cf. Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, *Chahār maqāla*, ed. Qazvīnī and Mu'īn, Teheran 1333, 83, E. G. Browne's Revised translation, GMS, London 1921, 59.

## II

### On the Chronology of the Ziyārīds in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān

The history and chronology of the Ziyārīds in the 5th/11th century presents several difficulties. The sources differ on the exact succession of rulers; the last firm date upon which they all agree is the death of Qābūs b. Vushmagīr in 403/1012—13, for Qābūs was the outstanding member of the dynasty, with a reputation as a Maecenas and as a littérateur himself of no mean talent. With his death, the Ziyārīds' influence diminished perceptibly. In the previous century, they had been a power disputing with the Sāmānīds and Būyīds for control of northern Persia. But after the succession of Manūchīhr b. Qābūs, the dynasty fell under the suzerainty of the Ghaznavīds; and when the battle of Dandānqān in 431/1040 destroyed Ghaznavīd authority in Khurasan, the Ziyārīds were forced to acknowledge the Seljuqs. With the death of Manūchīhr in 420/1029 or 421/1030, the dynasty lost much of its power of independent action even within the Caspian region, and never again played any significant rôle in affairs outside there.

Thus at this point, the notices on the Ziyārīds in the general histories become very sparse. Numismatics can often supplement the shortcomings of the literary sources, but the present writer has found this line of investigation disappointing. MAYER'S *Bibliography of Moslem numismatics* lists several works in which Ziyārīd coins are mentioned, but the majority of these are of Scandinavian, Russian and east European origin, many being articles or notices in obscure local journals recording coin finds, and these have not been accessible. The four Ziyārīd coins in the *British Museum catalogue*, III, 10—12, are of Vushmagīr and Qābūs only, and Dr. JOHN WALKER writes to me (30. 5. 62) that the Museum has had no new Ziyārīd accessions since Lane Poole's time. Prof. V. MINORSKY was kind enough to read through the manuscript of this article and to suggest some lines of enquiry. In particular, he suggested that the number of accessions of coins in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad must have been very great since MARKOV'S time. I accordingly wrote to the Keeper of the Numismatic Department A. A. BYKOV, who has kindly sent me



(24. 5. 62) much relevant information on the coinage of the Ziyārīds. He reports that there are no Ziyārīd coins of the 5th/11th century in the Hermitage. MARKOV, in the 4th Supplement to his *Inventarniy katalog* (1906), 979, nos. 64—66, records one Ziyārīd dirham from Āmul and five from Gurgān, all from the second half of the 4th century. The first coin is anonymous, and the others bear only the name of the Caliph al-Qādir (381—422/991—1031). All are in poor condition, and the latest identifiable date is 395/1004—5. Accessions since MARKOV's time do include Ziyārīd coins, but all of them belong to the early Amīrs, and the latest identifiable date is 369/979—80. Keeper BYKOV knows of no Ziyārīd coins later than those of Qābūs, and doubts whether the later Amīrs issued their own coins. Finally, Prof. MINORSKY mentions that great numbers of coins have been and still are being found in the Caucasus, but although E. A. PAKHOMOV of Baku mentions finds of Ziyārīd coins in his catalogues, he gives no individual details.

Numismatic evidence on the later Ziyārīds is thus wholly negative. The flourishing economic state of the eastern Islamic world in the pre-Seljuq period — the century of MEZ's "*Renaissance of Islam*" — doubtless carried the coins of the early Ziyārīd rulers along the trade routes to Russia and the Baltic. It is true that in the middle and later decades of the 5th/11th century Gurgān and Ṭabaristān enjoyed a certain cultural florescence: the *Qābūs-nāma* emanated from there, and the region seems to have played a part in the development and diffusion of a type of Arabic script peculiar to the eastern Iranian world.<sup>1)</sup> On the other hand, the period from the second quarter of the 11th century onwards was one of political instability and disrupted economic and commercial life. The political authority of the Ziyārīds shrank and they were reduced to the status of mountain chieftains (see below, 360—1). It seems to the present writer that these facts amply explain the apparent lack of coins from the later rulers.

The dynasty as a whole has in the past been treated by CL. HUART in a monograph "*Les Ziyārīdes*" in *Méms. de l'Acad. des Inscrs. et Belles-Lettres*, XLII (1922), 357—436, on which his article in *EI* is also based. Reflecting the amount of material in the sources, the rulers up to and including Qābūs are dealt with at length, but his successors receive scant attention. HUART's treatment is purely narrative, with glances at literary and cultural history, and in its superficiality, is inadequate for the present age. Moreover, as we shall see, HUART relied essentially on the non-contemporary sources of Ibn Isfandiyār, Ibn

<sup>1)</sup> cf R. N. FRYE, "An early Arabic script in eastern Iran", *Orientalia Suecana*, III (1954), 67—74 (originally in *Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum*).

al-Athīr and Zāhīr ad-Dīn Mar‘ashī, and neglected contemporary sources which would have illuminated the history of the later Ziyārids. Sir E. DENISON ROSS’s comments on the Ziyārids in his “*On three Muhammadan dynasties in northern Persia in the tenth and eleventh centuries*“, *Asia Major*, II (1925), 209—11, 221, do not carry us much further than HUART’s work, for he uses the same, limited range of sources, in particular, those of the *Qābūs-nāma*, Ibn Isfandiyār and Ibn al-Athīr. Nor did H. L. RABINO, in his many valuable works on the dynasties of the Caspian region, devote much attention to the Ziyārids, and he brought nothing new.<sup>2)</sup>

It is curious that none of these writers has made use of the contemporary Ghaznavid sources of Gardīzī and Baihaqī, for they provide detailed information on the provinces of Dehistān, Gurgān and Ṭabaristān in the decade 1030—40. Their accounts of Mas‘ūd of Ghazna’s expedition to the region in 1035 give rich topographical information and throw light on the chronology of the Ziyārid dynasty at this time. It is true that the relevant section of Gardīzī’s *Zain al-akhbār* was not printed till 1928, although Barthold had long before this drawn attention to that work’s value for Khurasanian history; but Baihaqī’s *Ta’rīkh-i Mas‘ūdī* has been available in print since MORLEY’s edition of 1862, and sections of it particularly concerned with the Caspian provinces were already available before then in Vol. IV of DORN’s *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres* (St. Petersburg 1858). BARTHOLD’s complaint that Baihaqī had been insufficiently used by scholars (*Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 23—4) has certainly remained true for the history of the Caspian region.

Manūchīhr b. Qābūs died in the interval between Maḥmūd of Ghazna’s conquest of Ray and Jibāl in 420/1029 and the Sultan’s own death in Rabī‘ II 421/April 1030; just before he died, Maḥmūd confirmed Manūchīhr’s son Anūshīrvān in his territories in return for tribute. Previously, Manūchīhr had prudently cultivated the support of Mas‘ūd, the stronger and more capable of Maḥmūd’s two sons; for several years, he had had secret relations with him, and when Maḥmūd was dying (we must assume that Manūchīhr himself abruptly died just after this point), he had obtained an investiture diploma from Mas‘ūd, as being the Sultan’s most likely successor. Because of this link, Ghaznavid approval of Anūshīrvān’s succession was assured; but at

<sup>2)</sup> there are relevant passages in his *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, *GMS* (London 1928), 141, and “L’histoire du Māzandarān”, *JA*, CCXXXIV (1943—5), 229—33.

the outset of his reign, Mas'ūd seems to have been worried because the young Anūshirvān was still immature and lacked the qualities necessary for ruling (*ān kūdak pīsar-i Manūchihr nayāmada ast chunānka babāyad va dar sarash himmat-i mulk nīst*).<sup>3</sup>) Gurgān and Dehistān, the latter with its famous ribāṭ, was a key region, a *thaghr*, in the defence of northern Iran at this time against the so-called “‘Irāqī” Turkmens of the nearby Balkhān Kūh mountains, who since the last years of Maḥmūd’s reign had been raiding the northern borders of Ghaznavid Khurasan.

However, a letter reached Ghazna in Rabī‘ II 423/March-April 1032 reporting that Anūshirvān had been poisoned by a conspiracy of his maternal uncle Bā Kālījār and the commander-in-chief of Manūchihr’s army, so that no male descendent of the house of Mardāvīj and Vushmagīr now remained. The news caused Mas'ūd no perturbation. He confirmed Bā Kālījār as tributary ruler in Gurgān and Ṭarbaristān, and the prospect of stronger rule in the region was probably welcome. The next year, in Rajab 424/June 1033, Mas'ūd married at Nishapur one of Bā Kālījār’s daughters, an alliance which corresponded to that of the previous reign, when one of Sultan Maḥmūd’s daughters had been married to Manūchihr.<sup>4</sup>) In reality, Anūshirvān was not dead, as appears later from Baihaqī and Ibn al-Athīr, but Bā Kālījār was indeed the effective ruler in the Caspian provinces for the rest of the decade, with Anūshirvān deprived of actual power. Ibn Isfandiyār, and following him, Ṣāḥīr ad-Dīn, do not mention Anūshirvān at all, but make Bā Kālījār a son of Manūchihr who succeeded his father on the latter’s death in 424/1033; they thus attach Bā Kālījār to the Ziyārid dynasty.<sup>5</sup>)

Who exactly was Bā Kālījār? For some possible clues, we must look briefly at the subsequent course of his career. As a Ghaznavid tributary, his behaviour proved unsatisfactory. In Ṣāfar 426/January 1035 Mas'ūd resolved on an expedition to the Caspian coast, hoping to secure food and fodder for the hard-pressed army of Khurasan, to extract a financial subsidy from the city of Āmul and to recover the

<sup>3</sup>) Baihaqī, *Ta’rīkh-i Mas’ūdi*, ed. GHANĪ and FAYYĀD (Tehran 1324/1945), 135—8 (informant, Khwāja Bū Sa’īd ‘Abd al-Ghaffār), 264; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. TORNBORG, IX, 262, 284—5.

<sup>4</sup>) ‘Utbi, *at-Ta’rīkh al-Yamīnī*, with commentary of Manīnī (Cairo 1286/1869), II, 181 ff.; Baih., 208—9, 340, 387, 394—5; Ḥamza b. Yūsuf as-Sahmī, *Ta’rīkh Jurjān* (Hyderabad 1369/1950), 411; *Mujmal at-tawārīkh wa’l-qīṣaṣ*, ed. BAHĀR (Tehran 1318/1939), 402; Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ta’rīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, E. G. BROWNE’S abridged tr., *GMS* (London 1905), 233—4; Ṣāḥīr ad-Dīn Mar’ashī, *Ta’rīkh-i Ṭabaristān u Rūyān u Māzandarān*, ed. A. SHĀYĀN (Tehran 1333/1954), 142.

<sup>5</sup>) Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. 235; Ṣāḥīr ad-Dīn, 143.

two years' arrears of tribute and presents owed by Bā Kālījār. The details of this spring campaign are closely documented by Baihaqī, and to a lesser extent, by Gardīzī. The Sultan's army penetrated with difficulty through the swamps and jungle of the coastal plain as far west as Nātil and Rūyān. Anūshirvān now reappears; Bā Kālījār fell back before the Ghaznavids, accompanied by Anūshirvān and other local leaders, including one Mardāvīj and the Amīr of Astarābād, Shahrākīm b. Shīrzīl.<sup>6)</sup> Mas'ūd's eventual victory was a Pyrrhic one; the excesses of his army alienated the local people, and after his departure, Bā Kālījār's position there became stronger than ever. However, the latter submitted to the Sultan, promising to send another son to the Ghaznavid court as a hostage, and according to Gardīzī, the son of his brother Shahrū b. Surkhāb was also sent as a pledge.<sup>7)</sup> From scattered mentions in Baihaqī, we learn that Bā Kālījār continued to rule Gurgān and Ṭabaristān under Ghaznavid suzerainty. The Sultan, threatened as he was by the Seljuqs, felt obliged to conciliate him. Bā Kālījār for his part sent presents, and in the summer of 429/1038 sheltered at Astarābād the fugitive Ghaznavid civil governors of Ray and Khurasan, Abū Sahl Ḥamdavī and Abū'l-Faḍl Sūrī, who had fled before the Seljuqs. He is last mentioned in this source in Jumādā II 431/March 1040 when Mas'ūd sent him a robe of honour in return for his services.<sup>8)</sup>

Meanwhile, we hear nothing more of Anūshirvān until Ibn al-Athīr records under 433/1041—2 the Seljuq Toghrīl Beg's occupation of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān in that year. Ibn al-Athīr states that Anūshirvān had arrested his military commander Abū Kālījār b. Waihān al-Qūhī, and on the advice of his own mother, had married Abū Kālījār's mother. Toghrīl considered the region to be defenceless, and came with Mardāvīj b. Basū or Bashū (? Bishūī), a former commander of the

<sup>6)</sup> Gardīzī's text, ed. NAZIM (Berlin 1928), has *Sūrīl* for *Shūzīl* = *Shērzīl* "Lion-heart", where, according to JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 277, *zīl* = the Dailamī form of *dīl*; according to ḤAMZA IṢFAHĀNĪ, the Būyids sprang from the Dailamī tribe of Shīrzīl (cf. MARQUART, „Der Stammbaum der Bujiden“ in „*Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān*“, *ZDMG*, XLIX [1895], 660—1). In the third oldest New Persian manuscript so far known, one of the *Qābūs-nāma*, the colophon has the scribe's name as Shirdā b. Shirdhīl al-Iṣfahbadhī aṭ-Ṭabari and the date 483/1090 (cf. FRYE in *Orientalia Suecana* [1954], 67 and Fig. 1, 68). As the manuscript was probably written in the Caspian provinces, it seems that the form in 11th century Ṭabaristān was *dhīl*.

<sup>7)</sup> Baih. 444, 451—64, 468—9; Gard., 99—100; brief mentions of the expedition in Ibn Isfandiyār and Zahir ad-Dīn, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8)</sup> Baih., 502, 548—50, 589—90, 610.

Ghaznavids, and took it over. Mardāvīj married Anūshirvān's mother and henceforth Anūshirvān ruled under Mardāvīj's control and "did not oppose him in anything whatever".<sup>9)</sup> Information on the date of Anūshirvān's death is uncertain. A definite date does appear in Yāqūt, who says that Manūchihr died in 423/1032 and was then succeeded by his son Anūshirvān; the latter died in 435/1043—4 and was succeeded by his son Ḥassān.<sup>10)</sup> But the existence of this Ḥassān is not otherwise attested, and it is possible that Anūshirvān reigned until 441/1049—50 when, according to Ibn Isfandiyār, his cousin Kai Kā'ūs b. Iskandar came to power in the mountainous parts of the region.<sup>11)</sup> On the other hand, in his chapter in the *Qābūs-nāma* "On the rearing of children", Kai Kā'ūs speaks of his father as one who exercised the prerogatives of independent rule such as the bestowing of robes of honour, and who brought up his son in a kingly tradition. The fragmentation of power in the Caspian region during the fifth decade of the 11th century may help explain this apparent confusion. In the coastal lowlands there were Seljuq nominees as governors, possibly with Anūshirvān continuing as nominal sovereign; in the mountainous interior, Iskandar b. Manūchihr may have succeeded in establishing himself, although in the absence of specific information, this can only be conjectured. From what he says in the *Qābūs-nāma*, Kai Kā'ūs himself spent much of his early life away from the region, in the service of Maudūd b. Mas'ūd of Ghazna (433—41/1041—50) and of the Shaddādīd Abū'l-Asvār Shāvur b. Fadl (413—49/1022—67).<sup>12)</sup>

Gardīzī and Ibn al-Athīr thus give us two filiations for Bā Kālījār, one to Surkhāb and the other to Waihān, and from Baihaqī's informa-

<sup>9)</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 340; HUART, "Les Ziyārides", 418—19.

<sup>10)</sup> *Irshād*, VI, 145, in the biography of Qābūs b. Vushmagīr. It is possible that Yāqūt derived his information from the Būyid Vizier Zain al-Kufāt Abū Sa'd Manšūr b. al-Ḥusain al-Ābī, whom he cites not only in this biography, but often elsewhere in the *Irshād* and in the *Mu'jam al-buldān*. Al-Ābī's death is usually given as 421/1030 (e.g. in GAL, I, 429—30, and in Barthold, *Turkestan*, 8 n. 8), but he must have been alive after that, for Tha'alībī in his *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, written some time between 424/1033 and 429/1038, speaks of him as alive and hearty. It may be of relevance in evaluating al-Ābī's information on Ziyārid affairs to note that his brother Abū Manšūr Muḥammad was Vizier to „the King of Ṭabaristān" (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. WÜSTENFELD, I, 57, under „Āba").

<sup>11)</sup> Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. 235—6.

<sup>12)</sup> *Qābūs-nāma*, ed. LEVY, GMS (London 1951), 24—5, 84, 135—7, tr. Levy, *A mirror for princes* (London 1951), 35—7, 120—1, 230—1, 234—5; cf. MINORSKY, *Studies in Caucasian history* (London 1953), 56, 64 n. 1, and A. 'A. Badavī, *Baḥth dar bāra-yi Qābūs-nāma* (Tehran 1335/1956), 59—81.

tion that he was Anūshirvān's maternal uncle we also infer that his sister was a wife of Manūchihr b. Qābūs. I am unable to explain the name Waihān, but reliance must in any case be placed first of all on the contemporary Gardizī, who seems often to have accompanied the Ghaznavid armies and who may have been present, as Baihaqī certainly was, on Mas'ūd's Caspian expedition. To have achieved authority and respect in the region, Bā Kālījār must have had some local standing. Now his father's name Surkhāb (< Suhrāb "having a reddish tinge", Justi, 312—13) is very frequent among the Bāvandids. The Bāvandid Ispahbads were neighbours of the Ziyārids; the first line of the dynasty, that of the Kā'ūsiyya, ruled from Firrīm and Shahriyār-Kūh in the mountains south-west of Sārī between the 7th and early 11th centuries. Ibn al-Athīr's *nisba* for Bā Kālījār, "al-Qūhī", points to a connection with the mountainous interior rather than with the coastal lowlands.<sup>13</sup> The Bāvandids and Ziyārids had close relations in the early part of the 11th century. The Ispahbad Shahriyār b. Sharvīn b. Rustam was the maternal uncle of Qābūs b. Vushmagīr, as Bīrūnī proudly relates, for he was thus able to attach his patron Qābūs to the Sasanids. Later, Shahriyār b. Dārā (d. 397/1006—7) was the ally of Qābūs and accompanied him on his Khurasanian exile of 371—88/981—2 to 998. He had two sons, Rustam and Surkhāb, the first of whom was his father's lieutenant in the district of Firrīm and Shahriyār-Kūh. I suggest that Bā Kālījār and his brother Shahrūī were two of the last Kā'ūsī Bāvandids, sons of this Surkhāb, even though Ibn Isfandiyār and Zāhīr ad-Dīn do not mention them, naming only as Surkhāb's son Qārīn, who wielded some authority in the mountains in Alp Arslan's reign.<sup>14</sup> The marriage of their sister with Manūchihr b. Qābūs would be a natural alliance of the two houses of Bāvand and Ziyār. Membership of the ancient family of Bāvand, which claimed an origin from the Sasanid royal family, would explain Bā Kālījār's hold on the people of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, a hold which can plainly be discerned from Baihaqī's pages; by the side of them, the Ziyārids were parvenu Dailamī adventurers.

<sup>13</sup> Ross, "On three Muhammadan dynasties", 210 n. 2, takes this *nisba* as a Kurdish one, relying on the mention of *al-Akrād al-Qūhiyya* in Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 316; but surely *Qūhī* is in both cases here a general term, "mountain dweller", and not a tribal name.

<sup>14</sup> Bīrūnī, *The chronology of ancient nations*, tr. SACHAU (London 1879), 47; Ibn Isfandiyār tr. 238—9; P. CASANOVA, "Les Ispehbeds de Firīm", *Essays to E. G. Browne* (Cambridge 1922), 117—26; RABINO, "Les dynasties du Māzandarān", *JA*, CCXXVIII (1936), 416—21.

As for Bā Kālījār's ally Shahrākīm, the only possibly relevant point for identification is that the name is common amongst the Bāduspānids, who ruled in western Ṭabaristān, in the districts of Rūyan, Rustamdār, Nūr and Kujūr; JUSTI mentions three Bāduspānids with this name.<sup>15)</sup>

A final complication remains, that which concerns a further son of Qābūs, Dārā. Dārā fought in the wars in Khurasan between the last Sāmānids, their rebel generals and Maḥmūd of Ghazna. During his brother Manūchihr's reign, he was sheltered by the Ghaznavid Sultan, who retained him as a watchdog to be unleashed should his tributary Manūchihr prove recalcitrant, and in 407/1018 he was at Maḥmūd's court at Bust.<sup>16)</sup> However, Gardīzī and Baihaqī make no mention of Dārā in Mas'ūd's reign, i.e. after 1030. He only turns up again in Ibn al-Athīr, under the year 426/1035. It is stated there that Mas'ūd had installed Dārā as governor of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān and that Dārā had married the daughter of Abū Kālījār, the commander of the army. The two of them had then allied with the Kākūyid ruler of Isfahan, 'Alā' ad-Daula, and with Farhadh b. Mardāvīj ad-Dailamī, ruler of Birūjird and a possible scion of the Ziyārīds, and had rebelled; this was the cause of Mas'ūd's expedition of 1035. After his campaign, the Sultan confirmed Dārā and Abū Kālījār in power once more.<sup>17)</sup>

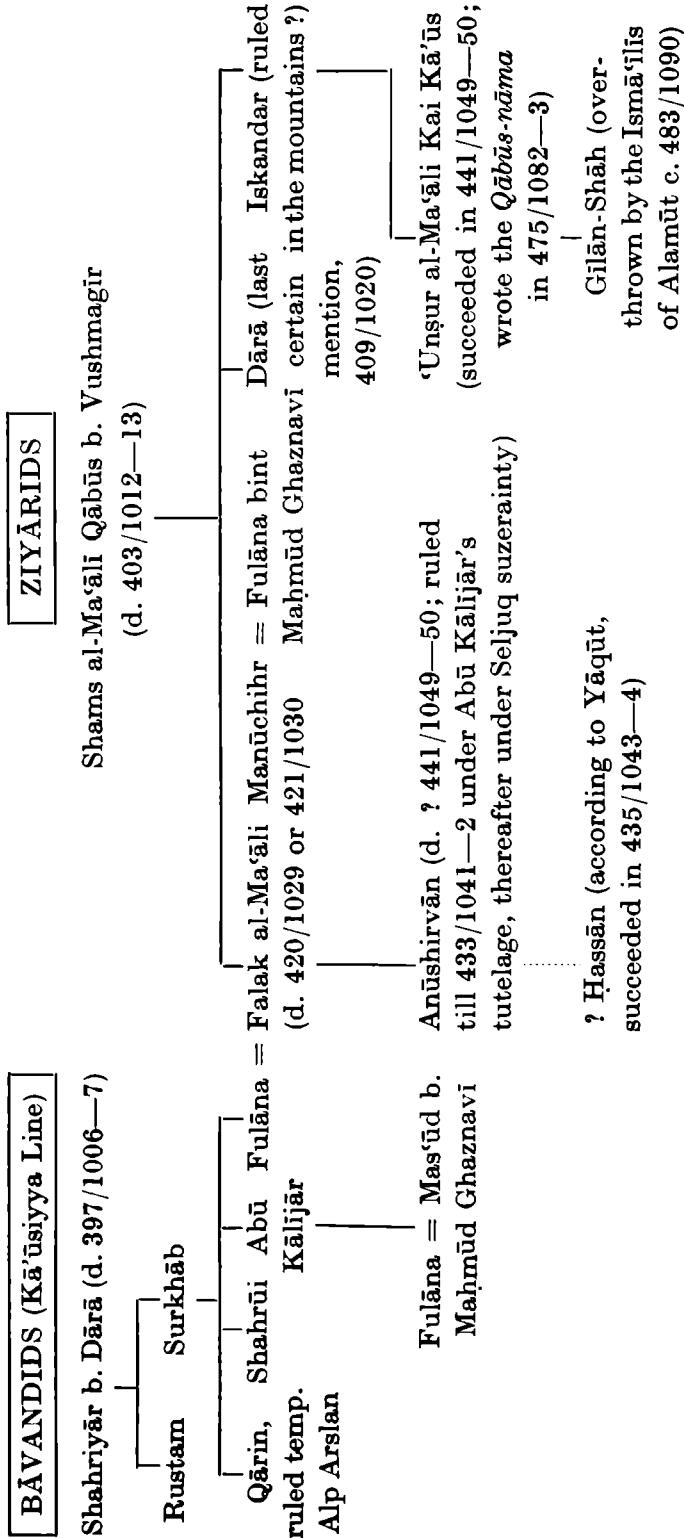
HUART, "*Les Ziyārides*", 420—2, does not attempt to reconcile this story with the information given elsewhere about Anūshirvān and Bā Kālījār. ROSS, "*On three Muhammadan dynasties*". 210—11, 221, posits "Dāra" as an alternative name for both Anūshirvān and for Iskandar b. Qābūs. The first identification is impossible, since we know that Dārā fought for the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr (d. 387/997) and Anūshirvān was only a child in 1030 (see above, 358). The second identification is possible but dubious, for Iskandar's son Kai Kā'ūs lived, as Ross points out, at least until 475/1082—3, the date when he began writing the *Qābūs-nāma*, at which time he was 63 years old; this identification would thus give a very long combined period of life for the father and son. In explanation of the information in Ibn Isfandiyār [and in Zāhīr ad-Dīn] that Manūchihr was succeeded by his son Bā Kālījār (see above, 359), Ross further suggests that Bā Kālījār and

<sup>15)</sup> *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 276; cf. RABINO, *JA* (1936), 455—6, 461.

<sup>16)</sup> 'Utbi, *Yamīnī*, II, 187—92; Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. 234—5; Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 207; cf. HUART, "*Les Ziyārides*", 420—1, and M. NĀZIM, *The life and times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), 78.

<sup>17)</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 301. HUART, "*Les Ziyārides*", 424—7, assumes that Farhādḥ was definitely a Ziyārīd because he was the son of a Mardāvīj; but this was a common enough name amongst the Dailamīs in general.

Anūshirvān are one person, apparently following here the table in Justi, 441; but it is clear from Baihaqī that these are two separate persons. I would suggest that Ross (and ZAMBAUR in his *Manuel*, 210—11) were unwise to rely on Ibn al-Athīr, whose information on





the events of 1035 is uncorroborated and unlikely. The silence of the contemporary Ghaznavid sources shows that we must disregard the mysterious Dārā, for he was either dead by then or else in total obscurity; as we have seen (above, 358), Baihaqī says that there was no male Ziyārid left after the alleged poisoning of Anūshirvān.

The genealogy of the later Ziyārids, with the attempted elucidations put forward in this article, is shown in the table.<sup>18)</sup>

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<sup>18)</sup> Since this article was written I have been able to see the article of MAFIZULLAH KABIR, "History of the Ziyarids of Tabaristan and Gurgan (927—8—1090—1 A.D.)", *Jnal. of the Asiatic Soc. of Pakistan*, V (1960), 1—20. This is entirely in the line of HUART's earlier monograph, depending on the same, limited sources. The successors of Qābūs are dealt with very summarily (15—16), and the author gives no indication of the problems connected with the chronology of these later rulers.

### III

## MILITARY ORGANISATION UNDER THE BŪYIDS OF PERSIA AND IRAQ

### I

Although Professor V. Minorsky has made strenuous attempts to stimulate interest in the „Dailamī interlude” of Iranian history, it cannot be said that orientalists have responded with alacrity. It seems that some are still influenced by the attitude of the Muslim chroniclers towards the various Dailamī dynasties which ruled in the central lands of the Islamic world during the 10th and early 11th centuries (see, for instance, Minorsky's criticism of Spuler's anti-Dailamī and pro-Turkish bias in his review of Spuler's *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*<sup>1</sup>, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, CCVII/3-4 [1953], 193-9). Many of these Muslim chroniclers wrote at a time when political Shī'ism's bid for power in the 10th century had failed or had subsided into the uncoordinated violence of the Ismā'īlī *fidā'īs*. Their attitude towards the Būyids, most prominent of the Dailamī dynasties, is accordingly at best unenthusiastic, at worst downright condemnatory. It is true that the first generation of Dailamī condottieri, men like Lailā b. Nu'mān, Mākān b. Kākī, Asfār b. Shirūya, Mardāvic b. Ziyār and the three Būyid brothers 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and Aḥmad (=the later 'Imād ad-Daula, Rukn ad-Daula and Mu'izz ad-Daula), were barbarians who brought savage destruction into the ancient lands of culture and civilisation of western Persia and Iraq, and equally true that in the first half of the 11th century, the Būyid family dissolved into a warring band of mediocrities. But in the second half of the 10th century, when Būyid power was at its height and their territories extended from Iraq and Oman to the borders of Xurāsān and Balūčistān, there were long periods of peace and prosperity. This was undeniably an age of cultural brilliance, above all for Arabic literature and learning; sufficient to note that the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and al-Mutanabbī's *Adudiyyāt* were written under the Būyids and that such great scholars as Abū l-Faḍl

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<sup>1</sup> Full bibliographical details of those works most frequently cited are given at the end of the article.

b. al-‘Amīd and the Ṣāhib Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād served as their ministers. Above all, such a monarch as ‘Aḍud ad-Daula Fanā-Xusrau has not yet been appraised at his true worth. Yet the admiration shown for this strongly-Shī‘ī ruler by Nizām al-Mulk, himself the architect of the Sunni reaction in the Selcuq period, is striking; anecdotes in the *Siyāsat-nāma* praise his authoritarian rule and his administrative and military system, and ‘Aḍud ad-Daula is regarded as second only to Maḥmūd of Ghazna as an exemplar and model.

The Būyid family rose to power as soldiers of fortune, and the part played in Islamic history by their people, the Dailamis, was almost exclusively military. Virtually no great administrators, scholars or literary men arose from this remote and culturally backward mountain region of Persia, but the Būyid Amīrs depended on secretaries and officials from the Arab lands or from the rest of Persia for the smooth running of their government. Hence the military aspect of Būyid rule is always important; from military exigencies stemmed many of the administrative and territorial changes which permanently affected western Persia and Iraq and which were taken over and spread still further by the incoming Selcuqs. In their period of florescence, sc. under such rulers as Rukn ad-Daula (338-66/949-77), ‘Aḍud ad-Daula (338-72/949-83) and Faxr ad-Daula (366-87/977-97), the Būyids were an aggressive and expanding dynasty, clashing with the Sāmānids and Ziyārīds in the east and the Ḥamdānīds and other Arab amīrates of the Syrian Desert fringes in the west. Tha‘ālibī, in his *Laṭā‘if al-ma‘ārif*, cites ‘Aḍud ad-Daula as a ruler who had acquired a number of territories unique amongst contemporaries (ed. de Jong [Leiden 1867], 56-7, ed. Abyārī and Ṣairafī [Cairo 1960], 83-4, tr. Bosworth, *Tha‘ālibī’s book of curious and entertaining information* [Edinburgh 1966], section headed „A ruler of our own time who got possession of the kingdoms of nine powerful rulers, either by conquest or through inheritance; according to Abū Maṣṣūr al-Barīdī, no parallel to this is known in Islam”).

But in addition to this expansionist aspect of the Būyid state, there is a more technical reason why Būyid military organisation merits a separate study, sc. the mixed nature of the Būyid armies and their place in the development of the multi-national, slave-centred armies characteristic of the middle Abbasid period and beyond. In the course of the 9th century, the Caliphs’ old army of Arab *Muqātīla* and Xurāsānī guards was transformed into a force in which Turkish mercenaries (*ghilmān*, *mamālik*) predominated. Being strictly professional soldiers, and being bound to the ruler by personal bonds of fealty, these Turkish slaves and freedman were expected to give a single-minded loyalty to their masters,

untrammelled by vested interests; yet as the history of the Caliphate shows, above all after the murder of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, these expectations were not realised. Nevertheless, these professional armies of the Caliphate were imitated by provincial dynasties, and soon became the norm in the Islamic world; the culmination of the process can be seen in the armies of the Sāmānids, Fāṭimids, Ghaznavids and Selcuqs.

On these new armies, see in general R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam* (Cambridge 1957), 417 ff.; for the central lands of the Caliphate, D. Sourdel, *EI*<sup>2</sup> Art. "Ghulām. I. The Caliphate"; and for the Iranian world, Bosworth, *ibid.*, "2. Persia". Specific studies on the armies of provincial dynasties have been made by I. Hrbek, *Die Slaven im Dienste der Fatimiden*, Archiv Orientální, XXI (1953), 543-81, and Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, Der Islam, XXXVI (1960), 37-77, slightly condensed in *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh 1963), 98-128.

The Būyid army is interesting in that it shows a transitional stage of development, being based partly on a national following as the early Arab armies had been (*sc.* the Amīrs' Dailamī troops), and partly on slave mercenaries of the familiar, newer type (*sc.* the Turks). Where in Islamic armies there was a duality like this, difficulties often arose between the two groups. This can be demonstrated at its clearest from the Selcuq period, for the Sultans never succeeded in reconciling the tribal Turkmen element with the idea of a professional, salaried army; but tension between two differing elements can be demonstrated from the Būyid period with equal facility, and this tension cannot have been without some effect on the fortunes of the dynasty, especially in the later period when strong guidance from the top was lacking.

Even though much of the comparatively rich historiography of the Būyid period has perished, we have what is virtually a contemporary source for Būyid administrative and military history in Miskawaih's *Tacārīb al-umam*, incorporating material from the chronicles of Thābit b. Sinān b. Thābit b. Qurra and Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣābi' and also from informants and officials in the Būyid bureaucracy (see M. S. Khan, *The eye-witness reporters of Miskawaih's contemporary history*, Islamic Culture, XXXVIII [1964], 295-313, and more generally, D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic historians* [Calcutta 1930], 128-37, and F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography* [Leiden 1952], *passim*; the anonymous article in *EI*<sup>1</sup> s.v. "Ibn Miskawaih" is only cursory). Ibn al-Athīr gives a connected picture of Būyid history, and it is possible that he utilised Hilāl's chronicle; on the other hand, the continuation by Hilāl's own son, Ghars an-Ni'ma Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, seems to be known only in Sibṭ b. al-Cauzī's *Mir'āt az-zamān* (cf. Cl. Cahen, *The historiography of the Seljuqid period*, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt [London 1962], 60-1). Other works of Hilāl, such as the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* and the *Rusūm dār al-xilāfa*, throw a little light on military affairs, although the first of these deals primarily with the period immediately preceding the Būyids' rise to power. For secondary works on the course of Būyid history and the campaignings of their armies, recourse can only be had to Spuler's *Iran*, 91 ff., and for the later years, Harold Bowen's article *The last Buwayhids*;

but a characterisation of the dynasty can be found in Mez's *Renaissance of Islam*, 19-28, and Cahen has contributed a valuable survey of the dynasty as a whole and the general trends of the period in his *EI*<sup>2</sup> article "Buwayhids".

## II

A consideration of the Dailamī element in the Būyid armies must start from the region of Dailam itself, and several problems present themselves here. Why did the people of this obscure Caspian region, virtually unnoticed by earlier Islamic authorities, spring into such prominence in the 10th century? How did the region provide the manpower for such extensive military operations as those undertaken by the various Dailamī military leaders? It is clear that life in Dailam was barbarous and hard. When Mardāvīc b. Ziyār sent a non-Dailamī envoy to his brother Vushmagīr in Gīlān, the envoy found Vushmagīr cultivating rice with a group of others, barefoot and half-naked, with patched trousers and a ragged tunic. Vushmagīr's first reaction to his brother's proposals was a rude noise of contempt (*darāṭa bi-famīhi fī lihyat axīhi*). The envoy was appalled at his grossness, and says that he blushed afterwards to think of it (Ibn al-Athīr [hereafter IA], VIII, 182-3; cf. also, *Mucmal at-tawārīx*, 389). With such limited opportunities in their homeland, it is small wonder that Dailamīs flowed out in the wake of successful generals like Mardāvīc (cf. IA, VIII, 167, 199), and this perhaps eased population pressure at home. In the course of the 10th and 11th centuries, Dailamī mercenaries came to be found in the armies of powers as far apart as the Fāṭimids and Ghaznavids (see below, 158-9); and Minorsky regards as one of the causes of Dailamī political weakness the dispersal of their not-too-numerous manpower over a wide area (*EI*<sup>2</sup> Art. „Daylam”).

A further problem is to estimate how far any religious factors, whether older Iranian or Shī'ī Muslim, were behind this bursting-forth. Some of the earlier Dailamī condottieri retained older Iranian beliefs, which apparently survived in an inaccessible area like Dailam till the 8th century and beyond. This is well-known in the case of Mardāvīc, whom Minorsky calls "fantasque et barbare". At Hamadhān and Dīnawar, his troops made a special point of massacring the Muslim religious classes and he himself dreamed of restoring the ancient Persian empire and religion, with himself as Shāhanshāh (Mas'ūdi, *Murūc*, IX, 22-8; Mis-kawaih, in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, I, 316-17, tr. IV, 358-9; IA, VIII, 144-5, 226; cf. Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, 19-20). Asfār b. Shirūya, although originally in the service of the Sāmānids, was not a Muslim, and after he had thrown off allegiance to Naṣr b. Aḥmad and had em-

barked on a career of independent conquest in Ṭabaristān and northern Persia, revealed openly his anti-Muslim attitude; at Qazwin, he forbade the performance of the *ṣalāt*, demolished mosques and had the muezzin of the Friday mosque thrown down from his own minaret (*Murūc*, IX, 8, 10-11; IA, VIII, 143). But these were early aberrations. More potent were the Shi'ī ideas introduced into Ṭabaristān and Dailam at the end of the 8th century by Ḥasanid *du'āt*, and it seems likely that these doctrines had a catalytic effect in releasing Dailamī energies outside the Elburz mountain region. Certainly, Shi'ism became the characteristic faith of the Dailamīs, and only the Ziyārīds of Ṭabaristān and Gurgān (who were, strictly speaking, of Gīlānī and not Dailamī origin) assimilated themselves to the strongly Sunnī religious climate of Xurāsān and the east. Towards the end of the Būyid period, certain elements of the dynasty and their Dailamī followers received Ismā'īlī propaganda with some sympathy, and it has often been noted as hardly coincidental that Alamūt and other Ismā'īlī fortresses later arose in the old region of Dailam (cf. Ibn al-Balxī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 119, cited in Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, 234, on the activities in Fārs of an Ismā'īlī *dā'i*, one Abū Naṣr b. 'Imrān, during 'Imād ad-Dīn Abū Kālicār's reign, 415-40/1024-48).

Answers to these problems must be sought in the first instance in the land of Dailam itself, and our knowledge of the social and economic structure of the region and its cultural and religious state, is only sketchy, and is unlikely to be much expanded; most of the available information is presented by Aḥmad Kasravī in his *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām* (Tehran 1307-9/1928-30), I, 2 ff., by Ahmed Ateş in his *İslâm Ansiklopeaisi* Art. "Deylem" and by Minorsky in his *EI*<sup>2</sup> Art. "Daylam", bringing up to date his earlier study, *La domination des Dailamites*.

The earliest mentions of the Dailamīs reveal their bellicosity and aptitude for warfare. These mountaineers achieved a reputation as mercenary soldiers, above all as infantrymen—a rôle parallel to that of the Swiss in late mediaeval and Renaissance Europe. The references to Dailamī soldiers in classical, Byzantine and Sāsānid times have been noted by Kasravī, Ateş and Minorsky in the works mentioned above. Particularly interesting is the information of Procopius in his *De bello Persico* that the independent Dailamīs served the Sāsānids as mercenaries, and that their characteristic fighting equipment was the sword and shield and the javelin (*ἀρόντια* = the Islamic *żūpīn*, see below), for this picture tallies well with the later Islamic characterisations of them (cf. also, A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup> [Copenhagen 1944], 204, 209-10). In the first centuries of Islam, Dailam remained unconquered by the Arabs and communications along the southern rim of the Elburz suffered much from

Dailamī raiders and brigands; towns like Čālūs in Ṭabaristān, Qazwīn and Qum had to be heavily garrisoned against them.

During the course of the 9th century, demand increased in the Abbasid Caliphate for mercenary soldiers in the palace guard and the army at large, and a trickle southwards of Dailamīs began, although these were not as yet numerically strong enough to be considered as a major ethnic group like the Turks, the Xurāsānīs, the men of Farghāna and the Egyptian Arabs of the *Maghāribā*. In Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi's survey of the Caliphal administrative expenses during the time of al-Mu'taḍid (279-89/892-902) are enumerated the guards comprising the *aṣḥāb al-maṣāff*, those who lined the reception hall of the palace (no doubt, as Sourdel notes, *EI*<sup>2</sup> Art. "Ghulām. I. The Caliphate", these were the nucleus of the *Maṣāffiyya* infantry mentioned later in the sources). These troops included *ad-Dayālīma wa't-Ṭabariyya*, i.e. soldiers from Dailam and Ṭabaristān (*Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, 15). From 300/912-13 to 304/916-17 a Dailamī soldier, 'Alī b. Wahsūdḥān, was chief of police ('*alā a'māl al-ma'āwīn*) in Iṣfahān for al-Muqtadir (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, I, 26, 38-9, tr. IV, 29, 43: that *al-ma'āwīn* means here "police duties" and not "tax levies" seems secured by the mention in *ibid.*, I, 139, tr. IV, 156, of a Turkish warrior appointed to the same job). For many decades to come, it remained customary for the Caliph's personal guards to include Dailamīs as well as the ubiquitous Turks. When in 367/977-8 the Caliph aṭ-Ṭā'i' awarded 'Aḍud ad-Daula the *laqab* of *Tāc al-Milla*, robes of honour and the formal confirmation of his power, the audience hall was lined with Dailamīs and Turks on the left and right respectively for the reception of the Būyid Amīr (Hilāl, *Rusūm dār al-xilāfa*, 80-1). In the early decades of the 10th century, when all of northern and central Persia was becoming abstracted from Caliphal control, Dailamī adventurers also found their way into the forces of neighbouring provincial powers. 'Alī b. Būya took service for a time with the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43); and at an early date, the founder of the Ḥamdānid dynasty, Nāṣir ad-Daula Abū Muḥammad of Mosul (317-56/929-67) was using Dailamīs as well as Turkish ghulāms, thus obviating sole reliance on Bedouin Arab levies, who were liable to refuse to fight in winter (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 90, 122, tr. V, 94, 126, cf. IA, VIII, 310).

But most important of all, the Dailamīs and Gilānīs formed the national backing of the three Būyid brothers, and are often referred to by contemporaries as the *auliyā'*, partisans of the dynasty *par excellence* (e.g. by Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 12, 41, 151, 242, 379, tr. VI, 4, 39, 157, 256, 406, and Tanūxī, *Nishwār al-muḥādara*, 154, tr. 168); and in his dying testament of 356/967 Mu'izz ad-Daula enjoined his son and successor in

Baghdad, ‘Izz ad-Daula Baxtiyār, to cherish and conciliate the Dailamīs and always see that they were paid regularly (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 234 ff., tr. V, 248 ff.).

*Ad-Dailam* and *al-Cīl* are often distinguished by Miskawaih, e.g. in *Eclipse*, I, 301, 302, II, 85, tr. IV, 340, 342, V, 89. It seems that there was some rivalry, if not real hostility, between the two groups. Mas‘ūdī records that when in 317/929 the Caliph al-Muqtadir incited the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad against the ‘Alid Dā‘ī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Uṭrūsh and his ally Mākān b. Kākī, Naṣr instructed his general to take advantage of the hatreds and mutual antipathy (*ad-ḍaghā’in wa’t-tanāfur*) between the Dailamī and Gīlānī elements of Mākān’s forces (*Murūc*, IX, 6-7). There may have been a certain religious basis to this —Maqdisī, 367, observes that Dailam was Shī‘ī whereas most of Gīlān was Sunnī—but the fundamental reason for the division was doubtless social and geographical, the opposing interests of the mountaineers of the interior and the plainsmen of the Caspian coast.

Under the Būyids, the Dailamīs continued to play their historic rôle as hardy infantrymen, with their swords and brightly painted shields, their battleaxes, their bows and arrows, and above all, their *žūpīns*, two-pronged short spears which could be used either for thrusting or for hurling at the enemy as javelins. The *žūpīn* (or *mizrāq*, the semantic equivalent in Arabic, cf. ‘Arib al-Qurṭubī, *Ṣilat Ta’rīx at-Ṭabarī* [Cairo, al-Ḥusainiyya edn.], XII, 83, s.v. AH 319) is always distinguished in the sources from the ordinary, longer lance or *rumḥ*, which was used by the Arab troops in the Būyid armies (cf. Miskawaih, *Eclipse*, II, 110, tr. V, 113). Back in Dailam, these *žūpīns* were always carried by the Dailamīs at their clan and village meetings (Maqdisī, 369); and for ceremonial duties at the Būyid courts, the *žūpīn* and shield were as characteristic of the Dailamī guards as the mace of the Ghaznavids’ court *ghulāms* (cf. Hilāl, *Rusūm dār al-xilāfa*, 16, and in *Eclipse*, III, 112, tr. VI, 116-17: reception of a Byzantine noble at Ṣamsām ad-Daula’s court). There is a vivid description of Dailamī infantrymen in battle in the 11th century romance by Faxr ad-Dīn As‘ad Gurgānī, *Viś u Rāmīn*. Kasravī, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, 4-5, thought that the passage probably goes straight back to the Parthian original, but Minorsky, *Viś u Rāmīn, a Parthian romance. I.*, BSOS, XI (1943-6), 762, points out that it could well be based on Gurgānī’s personal observations in northern Persia; noteworthy is the mention of the characteristic Dailamī equipment of war, the *žūpīn* and shield, and also of the *nāwak*, i.e. cross-bow or some similar contrivance for firing arrows from a tube.

Dr. D. N. MacKenzie of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, has kindly sent me a linguistic note on the word *žūpīn*, the substance of which is as follows: "The etymology of the word is uncertain. A similar form *svin* or *sevin* < \**suvin* appears in Armenian, and Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, I (Leipzig 1895), 394-5, compares this both with Persian *žūpīn* and Greek σιβύνη; but for phonetic reasons, the Armenian form is unlikely to be a loan from Persian.



The word *žūpīn* is not apparently attested in MP or Parthian, but there is no reason why it should not have been in the pre-Islamic source of *Viś u Rāmīn*'. Dr. MacKenzie then goes on to cite E. Benveniste, *Noms d'armes orientaux en grec*, in *Mélanges Émile Boisacq*, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, V (Brussels 1937), 45-6, where Benveniste is talking of Protohellenic contacts with "des peuples guerriers, Scythes et Thraces mêlés": "Un exemple significatif par la diversité de ses formes est le nom de l',épieu": gr. σιβύνη (σιβύνης), ζιβύνη, σιβίνη, lat. *sibyna*, *sybina*, pers. *zōpīn*, *zōbīn*, *žōbīn* (mot caspien), arm. *svin*, *sevin* (ancien \**suvin*), syr. *subyn*, aram. targ. *swpyn*'. Festus, 453, donne *sybina* pour Illyrien. Il se peut, quant à l'origine immédiate. Mais, à travers l'illyrien, ce doit être un mot thraco-scythe qui s'est propagé simultanément à l'Ouest et à l'Est de la Mer Noire".

As for the *nāwak*, this mention of it confirms the impression that the cross-bow and such-like mechanical bows were known in the Iranian world before 1100, *pace* K. Huuri's assertion in his *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen* (Helsinki 1941), 118, cf. 107, repeated by Spuler, *Iran*, 491. A reference to *nāwakiyān* in Ibn Funduq's *Ta'riḫ-i Baihaq*, referring to events at the end of the 10th century, has already been noted by Cahen in his review of Huuri's book in *JA*, CCXXXVI (1948), 169. A further possible reference from 9th century Sīstān is a name given in the anonymous *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, ed. M. S. Bahār (Tehran 1314/1935), 194, which could be vocalised as *Sar-i nāwak*, as is implied by the editor himself in *loc. cit.* n. 6.

The superior endurance and hardihood of Dailamī infantry, as compared with Turkish troops, are noted more than once by the sources. During 340/951-2 the Sāmānid general Maṣṣūr b. Qaratigin Isficābī campaigned with Turkish troops in Cibāl against Rukn ad-Daula's Dailamīs, and both sides suffered badly from the summer heat and lack of food. But the Dailamīs preserved their morale and cohesion whilst Maṣṣūr's Turks became mutinous; they were more frugal and abstemious than the Turks, and when they slaughtered a single horse or camel, shared it out among many men. The same Dailamī troops of Rukn ad-Daula are similarly compared favourably with the Turks of the Sāmānid commander Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥṭāc during winter campaigning round Ray. Another occasion when Dailamī troops had an advantage over Turks had been in 326/938, when Mu'izz ad-Daula was taking over Ahwāz; the Turkish archers of Bečkem, lieutenant of the *Amīr al-Umarā'* in Baghdad, Muḥammad b. Rā'iq, were unable to stand up to the Būyid army because the continuously rainy weather had ruined their bowstrings (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 140-1, 154, tr. V, 147, 165; *IA*, VIII, 254-5, 367). When the Rūs descended on Bardha'a in Arrān in 332/943-4, the Kurdish and other troops of the Musāfirid governor and all the volunteers there fled before the invaders, with the exception of 300 Dailamīs, who stood firm and were completely wiped out, except for those who happened to have horses and could ride off (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 62, tr., V, 68; cf. Margoliouth, *The Russian seizure of Bardha'ah in 943 A.D.*, *BSOS*, I [1917-20], 88).

Various common tactics of the Dailamī infantry are mentioned. Normally, they advanced on the enemy in solid lines (*maṣāff*); if the opposing side could pierce their lines and get its cavalry through to their rear, the Dailamīs' battle formation tended to crumble irretrievably (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 133, tr. VI, 136-7). One particular tactic was for a group of Dailamīs to advance on the enemy behind a solid wall of shields, from where they employed their battleaxes and *žūpīns* (Ṭabari, III, 1693; Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, I, 297-8, tr. IV, 336-7, battle of 'Alī b. Būya with Yāqūt, governor of Fārs, in 322/934).

This practice may be compared with a similar one of the Ghūrī infantrymen, themselves a hardy mountain people like the Dailamīs, mentioned some two centuries later. Cūzcānī speaks of the Ghūrīs' use of the *kārwa*, a protective screen of cowhide padded with cotton, placed over the shoulders and used as a defence when advancing (*Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī [2nd edn., Kabul 1342-3/1963-4], I, 343, tr. H. G. Raverty [London 1881-99], I, 352-3; according to Raverty, the *kārwa* was used in Afghanistan until the introduction of firearms).

The Dailamīs had the custom too of erecting a tent during a battle (presumably as a rallying point), but striking it when they were defeated. They always made a point, however, of keeping a last reserve of power so that they could put on an extra spurt of fierce fighting before surrendering, lest it be thought that they were yielding out of weakness (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 77, tr. V, 81; Hilāl, in *ibid.*, III, 321, tr. VI, 344). A disadvantage in the strategic deployment of infantry was of course its lack of manoeuvrability compared with cavalry, but this was to some extent circumvented by the practice of conveying infantry to the battlefield on mules and camels (Miskawaih, in *ibid.*, I, 297-8, tr. IV, 336-7; Hilāl, in *ibid.*, III, 423, tr. VI, 449). The Ghaznavids likewise carried their crack force of palace infantry, *piyādagān-i dargāhī*, on swift camels to the scene of battle, cf. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, 59. Nevertheless, infantrymen were handicapped by their inability to flee from a battlefield and re-group if things went wrong; in the battle of Qibāb Ḥumaid on the Tigris in 332/944, Aḥmad b. Būya's Dailamī infantry were unable to escape from the Turkish general Tüzün and over a thousand of them had to surrender to him. But in difficult or confused terrain, infantry had a definite advantage over cavalry. During the course of his warfare in Iraq and Ahwāz with Turkish rebels, 'Izz ad-Daula was besieged in the Wāsiṭ area, and only contrived to hold out because he had set up his headquarters in a palm grove, where his own Dailamīs could move but where the Turkish cavalrymen could not operate (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 77, 332, tr. V, 81, 360, cf. Hilāl, in *ibid.*, III, 256, 271, tr. VI, 272, 288-9; IA, VIII, 305-6).

We have virtually no information on the tribal and family organisation

of the Dailamis beyond what is given in the 10th century Muslim geographers (e.g. Iṣṭaxrī, ed. de Goeje, 204-5, Ibn Ḥauqal<sup>2</sup>, ed. Kramers, 376-7, *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*, 133-7, Maqdisī, 368-70). The names of two Dailamī tribes, that of Wardād Awendān (from which Asfār b. Shirūya sprang) and that of Shīrzīl Awendān (from which the Būyids sprang), are mentioned by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta’rīx sinī mulūk al-ard wa’l-anbiyā’* (Beirut 1961), 175. It seems that there was the care for purity of blood and lineage which one might expect in a proud, isolated mountain people. Thus Maqdisī, 368-9, stresses how marriage in Dailam was strictly endogamous, with death as the penalty for exogamy; when in Dailam, he himself witnessed the murderous pursuit of a man accused of this social crime. Furthermore, within this endogamous framework, some marriage practices flourished in Dailam which were outside those sanctioned by the *Shari‘a* and which may have approximated to the looser ways of pre-Islamic Persia. When Maḥmūd of Ghazna captured Ray from Macd ad-Daula in 420/1029, he wrote in his *fath-nāma* to the Caliph that he had found the Būyid ruler with over 50 free wives and 33 children born from them; when taxed with this, Macd ad-Daula had merely replied that it was the custom of his forefathers, *hādihā ‘ādat salafī* (Ibn al-Cauzī, *al-Muntazam*, VIII, 39; IA, IX, 262; cf. Bosworth, *The imperial policy of the Ghaznawids*, 71-2). The *Ḥudūd al-‘ālam*, 137, speaks of the clan feeling or *‘aṣabiyyat* of the men of the Gilān-Dailam regions, which often led to bloody fighting between neighbouring villages; only when the men had left the province to seek their fortunes as soldiers did this animosity calm down. According to Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiya*, 224, cited in Minorsky, *EI<sup>2</sup>* Art. “Daylam”, the pagan Dailamis were organised under the heads of families, each exercising the rights of a *pater familias* and called by the title of *kadhxudhā*; this patriarchal clan system was, however, abrogated by the *Dā‘ī* al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Uṭrūsh.

Feelings of racial solidarity were kept up amongst the Dailamis after they had left their homeland and enrolled in the forces of the Būyid Amirs. It seems that in order to claim the pay and privileges of the Dailamis, outsiders frequently insinuated themselves into their ranks, and that periodical reviews of the troops were necessary, such reviews being the responsibility of the *‘Ārid al-Caish* (see further, below, 162-3). In 356/967 ‘Izz ad-Daula excised from the pay rolls all those who were not of true Dailamī or Gilānī stock, but had mingled with them, *man ixtalaṭa bihim mimman laisa minhum* (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 235-6, tr. V, 250). In 388/998 Ṣamṣām ad-Daula of Fārs and Kirmān was advised by his counsellors to make a register of all the Dailamis in his territories, retaining those whose lineage was sound (*ṣariḥ an-nasab*

*wa aṣīl*) and rejecting those whose lineage was doubtful (*mutashabbih*) or who were obvious intruders (*duxalā'*). The intention was that the Amīr could then deprive the latter classes of their fiefs and thereby enlarge his own resources. For this work of review, an expert on the genealogies of the Dailamīs, Abū Ca'far Ustādh Hurmuz b. al-Ḥasan, was summoned from Kirmān, and he began work at Fasā, where the estates of the Dailamīs were especially strongly concentrated. When he had finished registering and questioning the troops, 650 men were rejected, and his deputy in Kirmān, Abū l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ammal, rejected a further 400. These men were turned off their estates and left to seek new employment, and Rūdhrawārī, the epitomiser of Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi', condemns the whole episode as one which had disastrous consequences for Ṣamṣām ad-Daula, as narrated below, 156-7 (*Eclipse*, III, 312, tr. VI, 333-4; IA, IX, 100-1).

Cf. also Nizām al-Mulk's disapproval in *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xli, tr. Darke, 170-1, of the discharge of troops, on the grounds that such men have no other trade or profession but that of arms, and will inevitably turn to brigandage or rebellion; and for an instance in the Selcuq Malik Shāh's reign when this actually happened, see IA, X, 76.

It seems probable that certain high officers mentioned several times by Hilāl with the title of "*Naqīb an-Nuqabā'* of the Dailamīs" had the task of keeping records of the genealogies and family backgrounds of the troops, much as the *Naqībs* of the 'Alids and Hāshimīs had similar responsibilities for their own communities; this impression is strengthened by an incident concerning a *Naqīb an-Nuqabā'* under Bahā' ad-Daula, who was killed by rivals because he knew too much about the affairs, origins and genealogies of the Dailamīs (*Eclipse*, III, 321, tr. VI, 345, cf. also III, 190, 331, 334-5, tr. VI, 201, 357, 359-60).

### III

The fact that the Dailamīs were essentially infantrymen—Iṣṭaxrī, 205, mentions that there were insufficient horses in Dailam for the province's needs—created a military problem for the Dailamī generals, for they obviously needed horsemen for their thrusts across the Iranian plateau. The solution was to follow the prevailing military trend of the time and recruit Turkish cavalrymen, large numbers of whom could readily be signed on in western Persia during the opening years of the 10th century when Caliphal authority was breaking down and disorder increasing. The indispensability of these Turkish cavalrymen was readily acknowledged by the rank-and-file of the Dailamī soldiery (see below, 156). At an early date, Mardāvīc b. Ziyār had a force of Turkish

*ghulāms* and it was his harsh and contemptuous treatment of them which brought about his murder in 323/935; worthy of note is the fact that there was already in Mardāvīc's troops a tension between the Dailamī and Turkish elements, for he used the Dailamīs to inflict various humiliations on the Turks (Mas'ūdī, *Murūc*, IX, 29-30; Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, I, 162, 310-15, tr. IV, 182-3, 350-6; *Mucmal at-tawārīx*, 390; IA, VIII, 222-7). After the death of Mardāvīc, a section of his Turkish *ghulāms* joined 'Alī b. Būya, the rest entering the service of Bečkem, although 'Alī had Turkish troops in his personal army before this time, for in the year 322/934 a Turkish *ḥācib* of his named Qutluḡ is mentioned. Two years after this, 'Alī was able to put at the disposal of his younger brother Aḡmad a force of 1,500 Dailamīs and 500 Turks and others for the conquest of Oman (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, I, 304, 353, tr. IV, 344, 397; IA, VIII, 226).

Very soon, the Būyid Amīrs began to place more trust in their Turkish *ghulāms* than in their Dailamī co-nationals, for the Turkish slaves and freedmen were their personal retainers, connected to them by individual bonds of fealty. Whilst the sources are not explicit here, it is possible that after the Būyids had been on the throne some time, they began to lose touch to some extent with their co-nationals; the Dailamīs, for their part, may have found it difficult to adapt themselves to the newly-acquired eminence and regal pomp of the Amīrs. The growth of such a sentiment would be a parallel to the gradual estrangement of the Great Selcuq Sultans from their Turkmen supporters. To be sure, the first generation of the Būyids were unable to rise much above the position of *primi inter pares* with their Dailamī commanders; it is recorded that 'Imād ad-Daula never felt secure amongst his generals, for they were all ambitious men who thought themselves superior to him in lineage and family (IA, VIII, 362; cf. also Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 115, tr. V, 117, where Mu'izz ad-Daula suffers disrespectful and contemptuous treatment from a relative). It was presumably to raise the Būyid family above the rest of the Dailamīs and put them on equal terms with such other Iranian dynasties as the Bāwandids and Sāmānids that a genealogy going back to the Sāsānid Bahrām Gūr was elaborated for them (cf. Birūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiya*, 38, quoting the *Kitāb at-tāc* of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣābi'; Marquart, „Der Stammbaum der Bujiden" in *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān*, ZDMG, XLIX [1895], 660-1).

There was a revolt against Mu'izz ad-Daula amongst the Dailamī troops in 334/945-6, and the Amīr had to adopt a conciliatory policy against the rebels, distributing to them and to the Turks estates in the Sawād of Iraq which had belonged to the Abbasid Caliphs or whose

owners had fled. But he was now openly favouring the Turks, and when the treasury was virtually empty, it was the Dailamīs whose pay was stopped, whilst the Turks continued to be conciliated. Miskawaih notes at this point that "Necessity drove him [sc. Mu'izz ad-Daula] to attach the Turks to himself, to take them more into his confidence and to rely on them against the Dailamīs. But in the measure that he concentrated his attention on the first group, and neglected the affairs of the second, disaffection resulted and both groups grew discontented, the Turks through sheer greed and avarice, the Dailamīs through poverty and want" (*Eclipse*, II, 96-100, tr. V, 100-5; IA, VIII, 342-3; cf. Amedroz, *Abbasid administration in its decay, from the Tajarib al-Umam*, 827-8).

In 345/956-7 there was an extensive Dailamī rebellion in Shīrāz, Ahwāz and Lower Iraq, led by Rūzbahān b. Windādh Xūrshīd and his two brothers. This was a terrible crisis for Mu'izz ad-Daula, because the loyalty of his remaining Dailamī troops was very problematical. Men in his Vizier 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī's army of Ahwāz melted away to the rebels' side, as did many of those in his own force. He was able to pacify and keep loyal the Dailamī garrison of Baghdad, which was threatened by a Ḥamdānid attack from Mosul, and he also posted guards on the road and at a strategic bridge point to prevent Dailamīs who had just drawn pay from him from deserting to Rūzbahān. In a battle with Rūzbahān, the Amīr was reduced to dependence on his Turkish troops, a body of young slaves and a small group of loyal Dailamīs. After defeating Rūzbahān, he dismissed from his army all those Dailamīs who had joined the rebels, and charged al-Muhallabī with the task of escorting under guard to the frontiers the groups of discharged men. With the money thereby saved, he promoted all the Turks one rank, and encouraged them to taunt the Dailamīs with disloyalty and rebelliousness and with inferiority to the Turks in battle (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 162-6, 173-4, tr. V, 173-8, 186-8; IA, VIII, 385-7).

In his *waṣīyya* to 'Izz ad-Daula Baxtiyār, Mu'izz ad-Daula did it is true enjoin his son to conciliate the Dailamīs (see above, 148-9), but he also told him to regard the Turks as the essential nucleus of his army (*camrat 'askarihī*) who could be used, if need arose, to deal with Dailamī unrest. In fact, notes Miskawaih, on his accession in 356/967 'Izz ad-Daula disobeyed all his father's injunctions. He banished the Dailamī chiefs because he coveted their property and *iqṭā*'s; consequently, they became rebellious, demanding an extra four months' pay as accession money and the restoration to the pay rolls of those Dailamī soldiers removed by Mu'izz ad-Daula. He protected himself in his palace at Baghdad with his Turkish guards, but it was then the turn of the Turks to mutiny; to

increase his difficulties further, the Turks and the Dailamīs presented a common front and agreed not to oppose each other's demands. Hence 'Izz ad-Daula was forced to yield and compromise with the Dailamīs, handing over to them the third of a *razqa* or pay instalment which he had previously promised them. This, then, was an occasion when the Amirs' attempts to play off one side against the other misfired (*Eclipse*, II, 234-7, tr. V, 248-51; IA, VIII, 426).

Accordingly, in 360/971 'Izz ad-Daula turned to a policy of bringing the two opposing ethnic elements together and of linking them both with his own family by means of marriage alliances. One of his sons, Marzubān, married a daughter of the Turkish general Baxt-tigin Āzādh-rūya, and another, Sālār, married the daughter of another general, Bek-temür; further marriages took place, and oaths of mutual fidelity were made between the Amīr, his Commander-in-Chief Sebūktigin 'Acamī and the other great leaders. Nevertheless, three years later 'Izz ad-Daula turned violently against the Turks. Rivalry between the Turks and Dailamīs in Ahwāz had flared up into fighting and had then spread to Iraq, where Sebūktigin upheld the Turkish cause against the Amīr. 'Izz ad-Daula took decisive action against the Turks, arresting their leaders, and having his palace in Baghdad burnt down in retaliation; these repressive measures were, however, adopted against the advice of the senior Dailamī leaders, who pointed out that they needed in battle the protection of Turkish archers and Turkish cavalry. He persisted in his policies, but was worsted in Iraq by the Turks and had to seek help from his cousin 'Aḍud ad-Daula of Fārs (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 282-3, 323 ff., tr. V, 302-3, 349 ff.; IA, VIII, 466-8, 476-7).

After Bahā' ad-Daula took over power in Baghdad in 379/989, on the death of his brother Sharaf ad-Daula, the feuds of the Dailamīs and Turks there raged particularly violently. An element of higher politics was involved in that the Dailamīs favoured the return to power of Bahā' ad-Daula's other brother, the deposed and partially blinded Ṣamsām ad-Daula. Bahā' ad-Daula was therefore compelled to espouse the side of the Turks, as being the stronger side militarily and the most loyal. Not surprisingly, after he had been restored to power in Fārs, Ṣamsām ad-Daula in 385/995 ordered a general massacre of the Turks there; many were executed in Shīrāz and the rest fled to Kirmān and then Sind (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 158, 264-5, tr. VI, 165-6, 281; IA, IX, 43-4, 78). But the resulting disequilibrium in the constitution of his military support soon proved his undoing. The ascendant Dailamīs grew more and more greedy and arrogant, and Ṣamsām ad-Daula's resources for granting out *iqṭā's* grew less and less, so that the Dailamī soldiers rejected in the 'ard

of 388/998 (see above, 152-5) joined two sons of ‘Izz ad-Daula, who had succeeded in escaping from captivity, raised a rebellion, and deposed and killed Şamşām ad-Daula (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 311-15, tr. VI, 333-7; IA, IX, 101). Finally, the Dailamīs were prevailed upon by Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ustādh Hurmuz to make their peace with Bahā’ ad-Daula, now the ruler of the united provinces of Iraq, Ahwāz, Fārs and Kirmān, and to re-enter his service; their disputes with the Turks were to be settled, *iqṭā*’s to be allotted to them and oaths of pardon and reconciliation to be taken. Bahā’ ad-Daula’s Vizier Abū ‘Alī Ismā‘īl al-Muwaffaq and the official (later Vizier) Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusain ar-Ruxxacī then worked out the exact repartition of fiefs in Ahwāz, and when the Amīr’s army arrived in Fārs, the Vizier re-organised the fiefs of the Dailamīs there too (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 319-21, 323-4, 327-8, tr. VI, 342-4, 347-8, 352-3; IA, IX, 106-7).

In this rivalry of the Dailamī and Turkish elements of the Būyid forces, it is possible that religious attitudes were also involved. The Dailamīs were Shī‘īs, whereas the Turks were in general Sunnīs, although according to Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 247, tr. V, 263-4, IA, VIII, 431, the Commander-in-Chief Sebūktigin ‘Acamī had Shī‘ī sympathies and was inclined at one point to follow a plausible impostor who claimed *inter alia* to be an ‘Alid and the promised Mahdī. In the endemic civil and religious strife of Baghdad, the Shī‘īs tended to look to the Dailamīs of the garrison for support, and the Sunnīs to the Turks (cf. Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 328, tr. V, 355; IA, VIII, 468). The Būyids’ seizure of political power in western Persia and Iraq and their cavalier treatment of the Abbasid Caliphs, exacerbated religious feelings in the eastern Islamic world, evoking particular hostility from the highly orthodox province of Xurāsān. This feeling is seen in an episode of 355/966 when Rukn ad-Daula of Ray and Cibāl had to cope with an invasion of fanatical *ghāzīs* from Xurāsān and Transoxania, ostensibly bound for Anatolia, where the Byzantines had taken the offensive against the Muslims. But on reaching Ray, they insulted and cursed the Dailamīs, stigmatising them as unbelievers; one group of them entered the city shouting the *takbīr*, as if about to attack the infidels, and then started killing everyone they saw in Dailamī costume, calling them *Rāfiḍa* “heretics” (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 222-8, tr. V, 234-40; Ibn al-Cauzī, *al-Muntazam*, VII, 33-4; IA, VIII, 421-2). When Maḥmud of Ghazna captured Ray from Maḥd ad-Daula’s Dailamīs, he proudly proclaimed that he had “cleansed it of the activity of the infidel Bāṭiniyya and the evil-doing innovators” (Ibn al-Cauzī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 38-9; cf. Bosworth, *The imperial policy of the Ghaznawids*, 70).



It has been suggested by Cahen, *EI*<sup>2</sup> Art. "Buwayhids", that one of the reasons why the Amīrs came to rely so much on their Turkish soldiers was that the recruitment of Dailamī mercenaries tended progressively to dry up. There may have been a long-term trend in this direction, and the numbers of Dailamīs employed in the Būyid armies do not always seem to have been great (but see the high figure of 19,000 noted below).

Miskawaih and Hilāl frequently give the number of troops involved in battles and campaigns, some of which are cited here as examples. In 329/941 the united forces of the Sāmānid general Abū 'Alī b. Muḥtāc and the Būyid brothers 'Alī and al-Ḥasan against Vushmagīr b. Ziyār comprised 7,000 Dailamīs and Gīlānīs plus some Arabs and Turks. Bečkem had in his forces 1,500 Dailamīs. When Sharaf ad-Daula came in 376/987 to Baghdad, he gathered a force of 19,000 Dailamīs, those in his own army plus those of the Baghdad garrison, and 3,000 Turks (this high figure of 19,000 at the end of the 10th century does not seem to show a diminution in the numbers of Dailamī troops). The army sent to Ahwāz in the same year by Faxr ad-Daula to resist an invasion by Bahā' ad-Daula comprised 3,000 of his own Dailamīs, plus 4,000 of his ally Badr b. Ḥasanūya's Kurds and a large group of Arabs (*Eclipse*, II, 5, 11-12, 13, III, 132, 169, tr. V, 4, 11-12, 13, VI, 137, 177-8).

Yet it is clear that the recruitment of Dailamīs continued in the 11th century at a significant level. Hilāl's description of an 'ard of Dailamī troops in Kirmān in 390/1000 implies that they were still arriving continuously; he speaks of payments and allowances being made to *al-'Acam alladhīna yaridūna min bilād ad-Dailam* (*Eclipse*, III, 362, tr. VI, 389). Dailamīs were still conspicuous in the armies of the last Būyids; it was Macd ad-Daula's inability to control the large numbers of Dailamī troops in his capital of Ray that drove him to the ill-considered step of calling in Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Moreover, the diaspora of Dailamī mercenaries in the armies of other princes long remained widespread. The Arab dynasty of the 'Uqailids of Mosul and central Iraq supplemented their Bedouins with them (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 300, tr. VI, 320, Dailamī and Kurdish troops in the service of Ḥusām ad-Daula Abū Ḥassān al-Muqallad b. al-Musayyib in 387/997, cf. Amedroz, *Three years of Buwaihid rule in Baghdad*, A.H. 389-393, 750 ff.). During the reigns of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd (together spanning the period 388-432/998-1041) the Ghaznavids had a force of Dailamīs, whose commanders were highly favoured, and these troops included an élite group of 50 to 60 soldiers who carried golden or bejewelled shields and were used for ceremonial duties (Baihaqī, *Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ghani and Fayyād [Tehran 1324/1945], 288, cf. Bosworth, *Ghaznavid military organisation*, 55-6). Likewise, there was a corps of Dailamī infantry in the service of the Fāṭimids. Early in al-Mustansīr's reign (427-87/1036-94) the traveller Nāṣir-i Xusrau was in Cairo and saw 300 of them with *zūpīns* and battleaxes escorting the

Caliph on his ceremonial progress to the Nile, and there was a special quarter of the Dailamīs in Cairo (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. D. Siyāqī [Tehran 1335/1956], 61, 63). They had a place in the multi-national armies of the Selcuqs, and are commended by Nizām al-Mulk; he recommends that there should be a picked force of Dailamī *Mufradān* for court service, and that the army at large should include a substantial Dailamī element (*Siyāsat-nāma*, chs. xix, xxiv, xxv, tr. Darke, 96, 103, 104). As late as the eighth decade of the 12th century we find Dailamī infantry in the forces of the Kirmān Selcuq Amīrs Arslan Shāh b. Toghrīl Shāh and his brother and rival Bahram Shāh; in Kirmān at this time, the Dailamīs held extensive *iqṭā*'s and were entrenched in such high official posts as the governorships of important towns (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Ta'rīx-i Selcūqiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. Houtsma [Leiden 1886], 43, 49, 71, 81).

## IV

The question of their troops' payment was a constant source of worry for the Būyid Amīrs. The lands which they had taken over in Iraq and western Persia had flourished exceedingly in the heyday of the Abbasid Caliphs, and the Amīrs had inherited the complex administrative machinery of these regions together with the personnel to run it. Properly exploited and developed, these resources should have sufficed for the Būyids' military requirements. The difficulty lay in the attitudes of the Amīrs themselves, their comparative inability to make the change from being military adventurers to becoming rulers of settled states. Miskawih quotes the great Vizier Ibn al-'Amīd, that he was unable to push through desirable reforms because his master Rukn ad-Daula, although superior in many ways to the rougher Dailamīs, was still on the level of a pillager, with no regard for the subject population and the long-term economic and social interests of his territories; his only concern was to keep his troops regularly-paid and thus satisfied (*Eclipse*, II, 279, tr. V, 298-9). This *Raubwirtschaft* mentality was common to the Būyids' western neighbours, the Ḥamdānids (though less to their eastern ones, the Sāmānids), and it underlies much of the political and military turmoil of the Būyid period; only 'Aḍud ad-Daula and Faxr ad-Daula were to some extent exempt from this attitude.

For the payment of their troops, the Būyids established a system of land grants, *iqṭā*'s, in which the grantee was allotted a sum from the *xarāc* of an estate or district. He did not, and being usually a soldier or official on active duty, could not, reside on the spot, but sent an agent to collect this sum; nor did he in theory acquire any judicial rights, although

in practice, the growth of *talci'a*, corresponding to the mediaeval European *commendatio*, gave him considerable rights of patronage (a good description of the development of *talci'a*, in this instance involving Mu'izz ad-Daula's Turkish troops in the regions of Basra, Wāsiṭ and Ahwāz in 347/958-9, is given by Miskawaih in *Eclipse*, II, 173-4, tr. V, 186-8). As implied above *iqṭā's* were used not only for paying soldiers but also for the support of civilian officials. Thus 'Izz ad-Daula retained in office his father's old Vizier Abū l-Faḍl 'Abbās b. al-Ḥusain ash-Shīrāzī and in 357/968 granted him a fief worth 50,000 dinārs, this being the rate which customarily went with the office of Vizier (*ibid.*, II, 241-2, tr. V, 256).

With regard to the size and value of *iqṭā's*, one can only make the obvious observation that those in the fertile, irrigated lands of Iraq and Ahwāz were richer and more productive than those on the Iranian plateau. Fāxr ad-Daula of Ray invaded his nephew Baha' ad-Daula's territory of Ahwāz in 379/989, and it is recorded that his Dailamī officers became envious and embittered when they compared the *iqṭā's* of the Dailamī senior officers (*quwwād*) in Ahwāz, which ranged from 200,000 to 300,000 dirhams in value, with their own modest ones in Cibāl and Ray of only a tenth of that. Yet in spite of the fact that such a region as Kirmān was not outstandingly fertile, Dailamis who had been established there for some time had by 390/1000 accumulated fiefs valued at over half a million dirhams; at a redistribution held at this time, these excessive accumulations of estates were reduced (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 165-6, 362, tr. VI, 173-4, 390; see also below, 163-4).

The Būyid *iqṭā'* system derived from earlier practice in the central lands of the Caliphate, but the Būyid period is important for the spread and consolidation of the system in those regions. The trends of the period have been exhaustively reviewed by Cahen in his article *L'évolution de l'Iqta' du IXe au XIIIe siècle*, 30 ff., and more briefly, by A. K. S. Lambton in her *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 50-1. Lambton cites various sources which describe the arbitrary and capricious nature of Būyid rule in the Persian countryside, the confiscations and compulsory sales necessary to get land for granting out to the soldiery. Speaking of the region of Ray and Cibāl, Maqdisī, 399-400, tells how the incoming Dailamis of Rukn ad-Daula deprived the common people of their houses and estates and forced most of them to emigrate; the conduct of the Būyids at the time he was writing (sc. in 375/985 during the reign of Fāxr ad-Daula) was, however, better. In the *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. B. Karimī [Tehran 1310/1931-2], 26, Aḥmad b. Abī l-Xair Zarkūb says that in Fārs, unrest and violence caused the abandonment of much land and its diversion from

private ownership, *milk*, into *dīwānī*, state land; and in the *Ta'rix-i Qum* of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Qummī, ed. Calāl ad-Dīn Tihrānī [Tehran 1313/1934], 53, it is written that when the Dailamīs and Gilānīs came to Qum, the *Dīwān-i Āb* which had regulated the complex irrigation system there was abandoned and *iqṭā's* established. (On the credit side of Būyid rule in Cibāl it is however noted in the same source, 42, that in 370/980-1 Mu'ayyid ad-Daula and his Vizier the Ṣāḥib Ismā'il b. 'Abbād did much repair work to the *qanāts* of Qum, bringing in skilled *qanāt*-diggers and expending much money.).

Cahen, L'évolution 36-7, characterises the Būyid administrative system as one which revolved round the needs of the army. The old financial departments survived, but with greatly diminished rôles; Miskawaih's account of the ruin of the Sawād of Iraq through its being parcelled out as *iqṭā's*, and the consequent decline of the financial departments in Baghdad because revenues no longer came to them, is well-known. When faced with military revolts because the army's pay was in arrears, Mu'izz ad-Daula was forced to confiscate land belonging to the Caliphs and in private hands, and grant it out as *iqṭā's*. These lands became the subject of extensive disputes: soldiers wished to exchange *iqṭā's*, and measures vital for the health of the countryside, such as road-making and irrigation, were neglected. Mu'izz ad-Daula was never able to lay up a reserve treasury of cash—a reserve such as is advocated by Niẓām al-Mulk in the *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xlvi, tr. Darke, 246—and so had to live from hand to mouth, putting off the importunings of his troops by fresh confiscations of land for *iqṭā's* (*Eclipse*, II, 96-9, tr. V, 100-4; IA, VIII, 342-3). Yet somehow, Mu'izz ad-Daula contrived to leave at his death the modest sum of 400,000 dirhams, which his son 'Izz ad-Daula soon dissipated (*ibid.*, II, 238, tr. V, 253).

The passage of Miskawaih on the decline of the Sawād is also translated by Amedroz in his article *Abbasid administration in decay, from the Tajarib al-Umam*, with a commentary explaining many of the technical terms used therein. For further light on the working of the *Dīwāns* in the 10th century, and on their highly technical vocabulary, without an adequate explanation of which much of Miskawaih and Hilāl is hardly comprehensible, see in the first place the fourth chapter of the first discourse of Xwārazmī's *Mafāṭīḥ al-'ulūm*, 54-79 (the present author is preparing a translation of and commentary on this chapter on *kitāba*). For secondary works, reference may be made to the *EI*<sup>2</sup> Arts. "Dīwān. 1. The Caliphate" (A. A. Duri) and "Daftar" (B. Lewis); Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, 76-131, chs. on administration, the Vizier and finance; W. Hinz, *Das Rechnungswesen orientalischer Reichsfinanzämter im Mittelalter*, *Der Islam*, XXIX (1950), 113 ff.; and the article by Hoenerbach cited below.

As a result of these trends and practices, Cahen points out, the *Dīwān*

*al-Caish* grew to dwarf all other departments in importance. It was concerned not only with military affairs like the organisation, equipment and payment of the forces, but also with purely financial functions: it distributed *iqṭā*'s, surveyed and delimited them and assessed the average revenue (*'ibra*) from them (Cahen, 36-7).

The Būyid *Dīwān al-Caish* was taken over from the Caliphal administration, and we have an excellent study of the Abbasid *Dīwān* by W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der 'Abbāsiden. Studie über Abulfarağ Qudāma: Dīwān al-ğaiš*. He describes it as it was in the reign of al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-32), using material from Qudāma b. Ca'far's *Kitāb al-xarāc*, supplemented by that from Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi's *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* and other sources. After surveying the earlier Islamic history of the *Dīwān*, he analyses Qudāma's information under three broad headings of (1) enlistment and registration procedure (2) the disposition of the component units of the army and (3) pay arrangements. Most of the procedures detailed here passed into Būyid practice a few decades later; and whilst a detailed survey of Būyid financial and taxative policy would not be in place here, certain of the more strictly military aspects of the Būyid *Dīwān al-Caish* will now be examined.

The *Dīwān* was presided over by the *'Āriḍ al-Caish*, who was concerned with the recruitment of soldiers, their recording in the registers (*carā'id*), their state of equipment and military preparedness and the disbursement of their pay. At the peak of the dynasty's fortunes, under 'Aḍud ad-Daula and later under Bahā' ad-Daula, there were two separate *'Āriḍs*, one for the Dailamis and one for the Turks, Kurds and Arabs (the Būyids often had Kurdish and Bedouin contingents in their armies, and at times recruited the Zuṭṭ of Fārs and the Qufīcis of Balūčistān, cf. *Eclipse*, II, 368, III, 348, 351 [*ar-raccāla al-Kūč*], 378, tr. V, 402, VI, 374, 376, 405; IA, IX, 115). As a result of this duality, one meets the term *Dīwān al-Caishain*, cf. *ibid.*, III, 442-3, tr. VI, 471. The two *'Āriḍs* of 'Aḍud ad-Daula are named as Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umāra and Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusain b. Sa'dān (who later became Ṣamṣām ad-Daula's first Vizier); they were received by the Amīr each morning, immediately after he had seen the Vizier, an indication of the importance attached to them (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 40, tr. VI, 37; the two *'Āriḍs* of Bahā' ad-Daula are named in *ibid.*, III, 187, tr. VI, 198). It was the *'Āriḍ* who, often in company with the Amīr himself, presided over the periodic reviews (*'urūd*, sing. *'arḍ*) of the forces. There is a detailed description of an *'arḍ* in its classical Islamic form, directed by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'taḍid personally, in Hilāl's *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, 17-18, and in this, the essential features of the Būyid *'arḍ* are all foreshadowed. At these inspections, military

competence, weapons, equipment and mounts were examined, and sub-standard men weeded out.

Since registration on the rolls of the *Dīwān* conferred entitlement to pay and other privileges, there were frequent efforts made by people to secure a place on the registers. The excision of these intruders was a constant care of the 'Ārid, and Qudāma stresses the need for a careful listing of the physiognomy and distinguishing features of the troops (*hulā ar-ricāl*) for identificatory purposes (Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der 'Abbāsiden*, 269 ff.). On detection, the trickster was struck off the rolls, the technical term for this action being *wad'* or *isqāt*, the opposite of *ithbāt*, registration and entitlement to pay (cf. Xwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 64-5). It seems that people would go to considerable length in their determination to get on the rolls. The *Amīr al-Umarā'* Muḥammad b. Rā'iq inspected the Caliph's *Ḥucariyya* troops at Wāsiṭ in 325/936 and made a great purge of intrusive elements: he reduced the number of the palace door-keepers' deputies (*xulafā' al-ḥuccāb*) from 500 to 60, and weeded out the interlopers, substitutes, women, traders and miscellaneous refugees (*ad-duxalā' wa'l-budalā' wa'n-nisā' wa't-tuccār wa man laca'a ilaihim*), provoking as a result a rebellion (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, I, 357-8, tr. IV, 402-3; IA, VIII, 246). Tanūxī, *Nishwār al-muḥādara*, 88-9, tr. 95-6, tells the amusing story of a man of Ahwāz who learnt the Dailamī language, made himself conversant with the topography of Dailam, characteristically ate copious amounts of garlic, adopted a Gilānī name, bought appropriate military equipment, and when he fell into straitened circumstances, enlisted in the forces of Abū l-Qāsim al-Barīdī as a genuine Dailamī; it was several years before he was detected. These financial motives behind the searching-out of interlopers were allied, as we have seen above, 152-3, to a desire for preserving purity of lineage amongst the Dailamis and Gilānis.

The chain of command in the Būyid army seems to have been, at least in the times of Mu'izz ad-Daula and 'Izz ad-Daula, from *Naqīb* (junior officer) through *Qā'id* (field officer) to *Ḥācib* (general officer), cf. Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 236, tr. V, 251. The commander-in-Chief had the title of *Ispahsālār*.

We have a good description of a Būyid 'ard held in Kirmān in 390/1000 by Bahā' ad-Daula's Vizier 'Umdat al-Mulk Abū 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Muwaffaq. The intention was that a new register should be made; all the Dailamis were to surrender their existing *iqṭā's* and receive instead direct payment ('*aṭā'*) and assignments on specified sources of taxation (*tasbībāt*, cf. *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 62). Henceforth, this was also to be the method for paying newly-recruited Dailamī troops. For the actual review, the army

was paraded, with the Dailamī officers on the right and the Turkish ones on the left, and Abū ‘Alī had his subordinate ‘*urrād* and secretaries with the registers in front of him. They went through the registers, cancelling the entitlements of Dailamis who had accumulated an inordinate number of *iqṭā*’s and gave them modest allowances instead; interlopers were ferreted out, and soldiers who were of no military use were dismissed. Some of these last then entered the service of the Ṣaffārid prince Ṭāhir b. Xalaf, who was endeavouring to seize power in Kirmān (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 362, 381, 384, tr. VI, 389-90, 408, 411-12, cf. IA, IX, 118-19, and Amedroz, *Three years of Buwaihīd rule in Baghdad*, A.H. 389-393, 523 ff.). Such a review of registers and pay rolls as this was not infrequently resorted to by Amīrs who were at their wits’ ends how to pay their soldiers, or who desired to reduce the power of their commanders by stripping them of their *iqṭā*’s. But the Amīr had to be in a position of some strength; ‘Izz ad-Daula’s attempt in 356/967 to cut down the numbers of those on the rolls misfired in practice (see above, 155-6).

The system of paying troops by land grant alone was far from universal in the Būyid period, although it tended to become more widespread as penurious Amīrs were driven to give out more and more estates as *iqṭā*’s. A good proportion of the troops continued to receive cash grants paid in instalments at specified points of the year. This is the system called by Xwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-‘ulūm*, 65, that of the *Murtaziqa*, “regularly-paid troops”. In the *Dīwān* of Iraq (sc. that of the Būyids), he says, these pay instalments are called *razaqāt*, sing. *razqa*. He goes on to add that the practice of the Sāmānids, in whose territories he was writing, was to give out these instalments three times a year, i.e. every 120 days. In the Abbasid Caliphate of an earlier period, there was a wide variation in the period of payment. According to Hilāl, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā*’, 16, the freedmen of al-Muwaffaq, called collectively the *Nāṣiriyya* (from al-Muwaffaq’s *laqab* of *an-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh*), were originally paid every 40 days, but the period was lengthened, first to 50 days, and then in the time of al-Mu‘taḍid, to 60 days. In the time of al-Qāhir (reigned 320-2/932-4), the *Hucariyya* guards were paid every 50 days, whereas the *Sāciyya* (i.e. the former troops of Abū s-Sāc Divdādh) were paid on the same basis as the slaves, once each 60 days only (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, I, 261, tr. IV, 296). However, Hilāl and Qudāma both say that the free cavalymen of the army might be paid only two or three times a year where troops of inferior training and expertise were involved (Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der ‘Abbāsiden*, 279-82). The Būyid practice in this respect is not very clear, but the chronic financial difficulties of

many of the Amīrs and the frequent riotings and mutinies of their troops show that payment was often erratic and in arrears (cf. Amedroz, *Years*, 774-5).

Hilāl's praise of 'Aḍud ad-Daula for the regularity and punctuality with which that monarch paid his army confirms the impression that this was not the norm. To expedite the work of payment, an increased staff of clerks and secretaries was taken on in the 'Ārid's department (*Eclipse*, III, 43, tr. VI, 40). The core of his forces, the palace *ghulāms*, received monthly allowances (*mushāharāt*). The procedure was for the soldiers to receive from the *Dīwān al-Caish* financial authorisations (*ṣikak*, sing. *ṣakk*, cf. *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, 56, Hoenerbach, *Heeresverw.* 281), and payment was made on these drafts at the pay sessions. Normally, the Amīr issued a general authorisation to the Treasurer to disburse money to the 'Ārid for honouring the drafts three days before the end of each month. On one occasion, an official forgot to convey this authorisation until four more days had elapsed, and the *ghulāms* were not paid until a day after the month had begun. 'Aḍud ad-Daula regarded this negligence as serious, and censured the official in these terms (*Eclipse*, III, 45, tr. VI, 42-3):

“Your ignorance of the serious character of your mistake is more disastrous than the negligence which you have displayed. Cannot you see that if we give out their pay to the *ghulāms* when the month has still one day to run, we are their benefactors? Whereas if we let the month run out and another begin, they will present themselves to the 'Ārid and remind him, and he will have to put them off with promises, then they will come again the next day, and he will have to apologise, then on the third day, so that by this time they will have become clamorous in their importunings and demands; we shall lose all gratitude, they will lose all self-restraint, and we shall lose more than we gain”.

Indeed, during 'Aḍud ad-Daula's reign all the organs of government were raised to a high pitch of efficiency. He had an efficient network of postal and intelligence agents (*naubiyyūn*), organised from the *Dīwān al-Barīd* (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 40-1, 59, tr. VI, 37-8, 59; Mez, *Renaissance of Islam*, 25). He experimented with new military techniques, re-introducing into Persia the use of war elephants, unknown since the Arab invasions, although it is not recorded that they played any appreciable part in the fighting (Miskawaih, in *Eclipse*, II, 368, tr. V, 402: *fuyūl muqātila* employed against 'Izz ad-Daula. Cf. also Bosworth, *EI*<sup>2</sup> Art. “Fil. As beasts of war”).



The presence of elephants amongst the Būyids a few years before this is signalled by Tanūxī, who says that in 339/950-1 he saw in Basra a small elephant sent by the ruler of Oman [? Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Wacīh] to Mu‘izz ad-Daula (Margoliouth, *The table-talk of a Mesopotamian judge*, Islamic Culture, IV [1930], 385).

Other items in the troops' pay included the extra money extorted by them on the accession of a new ruler, the *māl al-bai‘a*, corresponding to the *Cülüs akçesi* paid by the Ottoman Sultans to their Janissaries. Whenever there was a disputed succession, the allegiance of the army went to the highest bidder in this respect. On Calāl ad-Daula's death in Baghdad in 435/1044, his son al-Malik al-‘Azīz Abū Manṣūr was unable quickly to pay the required *māl al-bai‘a*, and his cousin ‘Imād ad-Dīn Abū Kālīcār of Fārs and Ahwāz eventually stepped in and secured the allegiance of the Būyid troops in Iraq (IA, IX, 353; cf. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, 232-3). Only the strongest and most financially secure of the Amīrs could avoid having to make extra payments such as these; it is written that ‘Aḍud ad-Daula refused to make any additional payments above the basic allowances (*ziyādāt fi'l-uṣūl*) except on justifiable occasions like after victories or when a special policy of conciliation was called for (Hilāl, in *Eclipse*, III, 43, tr. VI, 40).

Finally, in addition to the income from *iqṭā‘*s and the regular *razaqāt*, allowances in kind were also made. But as prices in general mounted, the cost of these allowances to the Treasury increased. Hence in 386/996 Bahā' ad-Daula's Vizier Abū ‘Alī al-Muwaffaq made an alteration to the system of giving rations to the Turkish troops of the Baghdad garrison. Instead of the actual food, they were to have a cash allowance with which to buy rations; this was paid weekly (later, monthly) and was to be considered as part of their pay. The same practice was then extended to the Dailamīs, and a considerable saving to the Treasury effected (Hilāl in *Eclipse*, III, 283, tr. VI, 301).

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## IV

### THE ṬĀHIRIDS AND PERSIAN LITERATURE

As a pendant to my consideration of the Ṭāhirids and Arabic literature and music in the article "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture", *Journal of Semitic Studies* XIV/1 (1969), it is useful to examine briefly what is known of the dynasty's attitude *vis-à-vis* Persian lore and literature in the third/ninth century. Ethnically, this line of governors in Baghdad and Persia was Persian in origin, and the native tongue of the first of the line, Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain, was actually Persian (see art. cit.). But as I have endeavoured to show in the article mentioned above, the Ṭāhirids followed so many of their fellow-countrymen during this early 'Abbāsid period in assimilating themselves almost totally to the socially-dominant Arab ruling institution and its culture. Ṭāhir was highly articulate as an Arabic prose stylist, as the contemporary renown of his moralizing epistle to his son 'Abdallāh shows,<sup>1</sup> and several of his offspring played leading rôles as patrons of the great Arab poets and musicians and as Arabic scholars and authors themselves. During the civil war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn (195-98/811-13), and during the years immediately after the latter's assumption of the Caliphate, there was hostility and rivalry between Ṭāhir and the Caliph's minister al-Faḍl b. Sahl, whom D. Sourdel has called "the most Iranian of the viziers of the 'Abbāsid caliphs",<sup>2</sup> and who was the proponent of Persophile policies. Ṭāhir, on the other hand, was regarded in the period after 198/813 as the hero of the pro-Arab party (despite his killing of al-Amīn), and the Arab poets of Iraq appeal in their verses to Ṭāhir as the natural leader of their group.<sup>3</sup>

Certain Persian sources allege that the Ṭāhirid governors showed an outright hostility to any manifestations of Persian culture and literature in their Persian territories; unfortunately, these sources are very late. Muḥammad 'Aufī, writing in the early seventh/thirteenth century, states in his literary biographical work, the *Lubāb al-albāb*:

"The Ṭāhirid dynasty was characterised by patent nobility and abundant generosity, yet though the flood of their bounty and largesse flowed over everyone, they had no concern for (literally, 'gave no credence to', *ishān-rā i'tiqādī nabūd*) Fārsī and the Darī language. Hence in that period, poets devoted little effort to this form of expression. However, in the auspicious age of the Ṭāhirids, a poet of sugared words arose, called Ḥanzāla of Bādghīs . . .".<sup>4</sup>

The other passage is from the mid-ninth/fifteenth century literary biographer Daulat-Shāh's *Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā'*, and occurs in the section dealing with the first *tabaqa* of Persian poets. He begins by speaking of the eclipse of literature in Persian brought about by the Arab invasions and the subsequent dominance of the Arab language for poetry, prose and official correspondence. Then he continues:

"They relate that Amīr 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, who was governor of Khurāsān in the time of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, was holding court at Nishāpūr one day. A man came forward with a book and presented it to the Amīr. 'Abdallāh asked, 'What is this book about?' The man replied, 'It is the story of Wāmiq and 'Adhrā, a pleasant tale which wise men put together and presented to King Anūshirvān'.<sup>4a</sup> Amīr 'Abdallāh replied, 'We are men whose reading is the Qur'ān, and we have no need of anything except the Qur'ān and the

<sup>1</sup> See my forthcoming study of this, "An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain's Epistle to his Son 'Abdallāh (206/821)", to appear in *JNES* (1969).

<sup>2</sup> In *EI* s.v., see also his *Le vizirat 'abbāside de 749 à 936 (132 à 324 de l'Hégire)* (Damascus 1959-60), vol. I, pp. 205-06.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Ghédira, "Deux poètes contemporains de Baḥār: les frères Ibn Abī 'Uyayna", *Arabica* X (1963), pp. 158-60.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī (Tehran 1335/1957), p. 241.

<sup>4a</sup> It seems that this romance came into Middle Persian from a Hellenistic source, the original of 'Adhrā' being the daughter of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos; an Arabic version by the Shu'ūbī translator Sahl b. Hārūn is mentioned in Ibn an-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, and a New Persian verse rendering was made by the Ghaznavid poet 'Unṣurī. See M. Shafī, "'Unṣurī's Wāmiq wa 'Adhrā'", *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Orientalists held at Cambridge*, ed. D. Sinor (London 1954), pp. 160-1.

traditions of the Prophet. We do not require this kind of book; it was composed by Magians, and in our view, should be rejected'. Then he added that the book should be hurled into the water, and he issued a command that, if any of the books of the Persian and Magians should come to light in his territories, they were all to be burnt. Because of this, right down to the time of the Sāmānids, no Persian poetry is known; if such poetry was occasionally composed, it was not written down and preserved."<sup>5</sup>

Contrary to Daulat-Shāh's concluding remarks, we do in fact have quite a few references to Persian poets of the third/ninth century who lived in the Ṭāhirid and early Ṣaffārid periods, with some citations of their verses. It is accordingly certain that at least from the middle years of the century onwards, verse which was quantitative, rhymed and written in metres similar to those of Arabic poetry (in contrast to the Middle Persian, which seems to have been characterized by stress, to have had no regard for quantity and to have had varying numbers of unstressed syllables),<sup>6</sup> was being composed. Admittedly, the material surviving is exiguous,<sup>7</sup> and poses some problems. We cannot, for instance, accept 'Aufī's story<sup>8</sup> that when the future Caliph al-Ma'mūn entered Merv in 193/809 he was greeted with a Persian *qaṣīda* by a local scholar and poet, 'Abbās or Abū l-'Abbās. The authenticity of the lines quoted by 'Aufī has been denied by most competent scholars on the grounds of their polished and advanced style (they are written in an impeccable Arabic *ramal* metre); Lazard concludes that "Il faut admettre soit que cette *qaṣīda* est une contrefaçon délibérée, fabriquée quelques siècles après, pour assurer à la ville de Marv la gloire d'avoir produit le premier poète persan, soit que, par suite d'une confusion, une oeuvre relativement tardive s'est trouvée rapportée à l'époque de Ma'mūn".<sup>9</sup>

None of these Persian poets of the third/ninth century seems to have had links, so far as we know, with the Ṭāhirids. E. G. Browne wrote that the Ḥaṇẓala of Bādghīs mentioned by 'Aufī and also by Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī in his *Chahār maqāla* "lived more or less under their [sc. the Ṭāhirids] patronage",<sup>10</sup> but there does not appear to be anything to support this assertion. Ḥaṇẓala probably wrote in his native Bādghīs, for according to Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, the commander Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Khujistānī<sup>11</sup> read Ḥaṇẓala's verses there and was inspired by them to abandon the life of a herdsman and launch out on a career of military adventure.<sup>12</sup> If Ḥaṇẓala's fame was purely local, it is unlikely that he could have had any contact with the Ṭāhirid court in Nishāpūr. Ṭāhirid authority hardly extended beyond the walls of Herat, and the mountainous hinterland of Bādghīs and Gharchistān was largely the haunt of Khārijī sectaries.<sup>13</sup> During the governorship of the last Ṭāhirid in the east, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh (248–59/862–73), Ṭāhirid control over Herat itself was lost to rivals like Ya'qūb b. al-Laith and Aḥmad al-Khujistānī. It seems, rather, to have been the Ṣaffārids of Sīstān, Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. al-Laith, who first extended the patronage of a ruling house to Persian poets; on the evidence of the local chronicle, the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, Muḥammad b. Waṣīf acted as their court poet.<sup>14</sup>

Thus we are left with no solid evidence that the Ṭāhirids encouraged the first stirrings of the revival of New Persian language and literature. Yet we cannot, on the contrary, accept Daulat-Shāh's allegation that 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir took positive measures to suppress what remained in his lands of the pre-Islamic and Middle Persian literary heritage, hunting out and destroying Zoroastrian books and manuscripts; the unlikelihood of his pursuing such a policy was pointed out by Barthold,<sup>15</sup> and the whole

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Muh. 'Abbāsī (Tehran N.D.), p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> Such, at least, seems to be the evidence of the Middle Persian verse texts found amongst the Manichaean fragments in Eastern Turkestan; see M. Boyce, "The Parthian *gāṣān* and Iranian Minstrel Tradition", *JRAS* (1957), pp. 39 ff.

<sup>7</sup> It is gathered together by G. Lazard in his *Les premiers poètes persans (IX<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Tehran-Paris 1342/1964), vol. I, pp. 10–20; vol. II, pp. 12–23; cf. also E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London and Cambridge 1902–24), vol. I, pp. 452–3; J. Rypka et al., *Iranische Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig 1959), pp. 136–7; and A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature* (London 1958), pp. 31–2.

<sup>8</sup> In the *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Nafīsī, pp. 21–2.

<sup>9</sup> Lazard, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 13; cf. also Chr. Rempis, "Die ältesten Dichtungen in Neupersisch", *ZDMG* CI (1951), p. 221.

<sup>10</sup> *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. I, p. 346. More judicious is the comment of R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (London 1962), p. 253: "... the creation of a New Persian poetry coincides [my italics] with the dynasty of the Tahirids".

<sup>11</sup> Khujistān was itself a district of Bādghīs, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Beirut 1374–76/1955–57), vol. II, p. 347.

<sup>12</sup> *Chahār maqāla*, ed. Mirzā Muḥ. Qazwīnī, Gibb Memorial Series, XI/1 (London 1910), p. 26, revised tr. by Browne, GMS, XI/2 (London 1921), pp. 27–8.

<sup>13</sup> See Bosworth, "The Armies of the Ṣaffārids", *BSOAS* XXXI/3 (1968), pp. 543 and 544.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Lazard, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 12 and 18; vol. II, pp. 13–15.

<sup>15</sup> In his *EI* Art. "Ṭāhirids".

story is on a par with that of 'Umar's ordering the destruction of the library at Alexandria. The Ṭāhirids controlled not merely Khurāsān proper, but virtually all Persia with the exception of the north-west and the Caspian provinces. However, it is well-known that the Zoroastrian communities of Persia, though generally on the defensive against the incoming faith of Islam, were quite flourishing and productive during the third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries. It is in this period that a Zoroastrian apologetic and polemical literature arose and that the work of making Middle Persian excerpts and compilations from the Avesta proceeded apace: the latest important redaction of the *Bundahishn* comes from the end of the third/ninth century, and the third/ninth century element in the encyclopaedic *Dēnkard* is also strong.<sup>16</sup> The Letters of Manūshchihr, High Priest of Fārs and Kirmān, show the existence of a Zoroastrian community in Nishāpūr during the third/ninth century; a hundred years and more later, the leader of the fundamentalist Muslim Karrāmiyya sect, Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq b. Mahmashādh (d. 383/993) and the great Ṣūfī shaikh Abū Sa'īd b. Abī l-Khair al-Maihanī (d. 440/1049) were still converting Zoroastrians there.<sup>17</sup>

The alleged hostility of the Ṭāhirids to Persian culture may well have originated in the efforts of the first Ṭāhirids, and especially of Ṭāhir and 'Abdallāh, to stress the family's links with the ancient nobility of the Arabs, through the family's original clientage to the tribe of Khuzā'a; this process can be clearly traced in the compositions of the poets and authors attached to the Ṭāhirids' circle.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, the Ṭāhirids did not object when certain of their panegyrists, and especially those with Shu'ūbī sympathies, tried to attach them to the old Iranian past, its emperors and heroes.<sup>19</sup> The result was a certain ambivalence of outlook, reflecting the tensions existing in the Caliphate of the time, when the Persian elements who had already achieved the highest political offices within the state were now claiming social and cultural equality with the proud Arabs.

There seems little reason to doubt that within the entourage of the Ṭāhirid Amīrs, the Persian language was generally-known and its use not discouraged. When the great Arabic poet Abū Tammām aṭ-Ṭā'ī came to 'Abdallāh's court at Nishāpūr seeking the Amīr's patronage, he became enamoured there of a slave girl who used to sing in Persian (*kānat tughannī bi-l-Fārisiyya*).<sup>20</sup> A practical knowledge of that tongue might even be advantageous, and it might accordingly be learnt by Arabs and other non-Persians. We have explicit information in a revealing passage of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭāifūr's *History of Baghdad* that this was the case with the Syrian scholar and poet Kulthūm b. 'Amr al-'Attābī (d. ?220/835), of Taghlibī lineage and originally from Qinnasrīn. Al-'Attābī had been attached to the circle of the Barmakids, but after their downfall, gravitated to the side of Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain.<sup>21</sup> Ibn Ṭāifūr records thus:

"Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī related to me. He said, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Mu'ādh b. Muslim related to me. He said, 'I was at ar-Raḡqa with Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain,<sup>22</sup> sitting beside a pool, and I summoned one of my slave boys, addressing him in Persian. Al-'Attābī came forward, having been listening to our conversation, and spoke with me in Persian too. I said to him, "O Abū 'Amr, how is it that you come to know this foreign tongue?" He answered me, "I have been in your country three times, and copied out Persian books which were in the library at Merv. These books were brought there and added to the existing stock by Yazdigird,<sup>23</sup> and have remained there till this day. I transcribed those of the books which I needed, and then I journeyed on to Nishāpūr. I had travelled ten farsakhs to a village called Dh.w.d.r,<sup>24</sup> when I remembered a book that I had not finished with; so I retraced my steps towards Merv and

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, pp. 249 ff.; M. Boyce, "Middle Persian Literature", in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. IV: *Iranistik*, part ii. *Literatur* (Leiden-Cologne 1968), pp. 39 ff. I am grateful to Professor Boyce for guidance in these complex questions of later Middle Persian literature.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh 1963), pp. 186, 201-02; Frye, "Zoroastrier in der frühislamischen Zeit", *Der Islam* XL (1965), p. 199.

<sup>18</sup> See Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture".

<sup>19</sup> See *ibid.* (poetry of 'Allān ash-Shu'ūbī).

<sup>20</sup> Aḡ-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār Abī Tammām*, ed. Khalīl Maḥmūd 'Asākir et al. (Beirut N.D.), p. 213.

<sup>21</sup> See R. Blachère, *ET* s.v.

<sup>22</sup> Sc. the brother of 'Abdallāh and *mamdūh* of such poets as al-Buḥturi.

<sup>23</sup> I.e. Yazdigird III, the last Sāsānid emperor, who fled eastwards to Merv before the advancing Arabs, and was murdered there in 31/651. I follow the Cairo text here (see below, n. 25); Keller has *burud j.r.d.* and translates "alte Manteln aus gestreiftem Stoff" (?).

<sup>24</sup> Probably Dizbād or Dihbād, Arabic Qaṣr ar-Riḥ, to the south-east of Nishāpūr, where the roads for Merv and Herat bifurcated; see G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 388.

stayed there several more months." I enquired, "O Abū 'Amr, why did you copy out Persian books?" He retorted, "Are fine meanings (*al-ma'āni*) to be found anywhere except in Persian books and in eloquent expression? We have the classic language (*al-lughā*), they have the fine meanings!" After that, he used often to discuss and talk with me in Persian'.<sup>25</sup>

Our final conclusion—a tentative one, given the paucity of information—must be that the Persian language was at least tolerated in the entourage of the Ṭāhirids, and that the Amīrs were not positively anti-Iranian. Yet they were indeed highly Arabized in culture and outlook, and eager to be accepted in the Caliphal world where the cultivation of things Arabic gave social and cultural prestige. For this reason, the Ṭāhirids could not play a part in the renaissance of New Persian language and literature. The leading parts in this cultural process were to be played by such dynasties as the Ṣaffārids of Sīstān, plebeian in origin and outlook, ignorant of Arabic and contemptuous of Caliphal pretensions; and by the Sāmānids of Transoxania, who were faithful to the orthodox Sunnī aristocratic tradition and respectful of the Arabic learning which was its concomitant, but were geographically far enough away from the heart of the Caliphate not to be dominated by its culture and literary norms.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Ed. H. Keller, *Sechster Band des Kitāb Bagdād von Ahmad ibn abī Ṭāhir Ṭāifūr*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1908), vol. I, pp. 157–8, tr. vol. II, p. 71; ed. Muḥ al-Kauthari (Cairo 1968/1949), p. 87.

<sup>26</sup> This rôle of the Sāmānids is well-known, and is treated at length in the standard works on Persian literature. That of the

Ṣaffārids is less-known (though its importance was briefly referred to by Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. I, p. 347), but has now been extensively discussed by S. M. Stern in his article "Ya'qūb the Coppersmith and Persian National Sentiment", in the *Minorsky Memorial Volume* (forthcoming).

## DAILAMĪS IN CENTRAL IRAN: THE KĀKŪYIDS OF JIBĀL AND YAZD

### I

The period of the disintegration of the Caliphate in the Iranian lands, roughly spanning the third/ninth to the fifth/eleventh centuries, provides as subject-matter for the researches of the Islamic historian a fascinating mosaic of successor states. An especially interesting feature of the period in Persia is that the crumbling of 'Abbāsīd authority gave an opportunity for the resurgence of Iranian elements which had been hitherto submerged under the façade of unity within Islamic faith and culture. Amongst these elements, Dailamī, Kurdish and Lur ones from the northern and western parts of Iran, and Kufīchī and Balūch ones from the south-eastern region, are especially notable. The political domination achieved in the fourth/tenth century by the mountain people of Dailam, the region situated at the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea, led the late Professor V. Minorsky to characterize the period as "the Dailamī interlude" of Iranian history, one lying between the Arab conquest of Iran and the introduction of the Islamic faith on the one hand, and the subsequent hegemony of Turkish dynasties. Since the Dailamīs, as they first appear in Islamic history, were either imperfectly Islamized or even downright hostile to orthodox Islam, the first decades of Dailamī rule (i.e. those of the first half of the fourth/tenth century) show a certain faltering in the process of Islamic acculturation in Iran; but this soon passes, and we find the second generation of Būyīd Amīrs or the later members of the Ziyārid family, for instance, enthusiastic promoters of both the traditional Arab-Islamic culture and the nascent New Persian one.

One of the minor Dailamī dynasties which arose in the early fifth/eleventh century under the wing of the Būyīds of western Iran, was that of the Kākūyīds, whose centre of power was firstly in Iṣfahān, Hamadhān and other towns of Jibāl, and then latterly in Yazd in northern Fārs. Their period of virtual independence was not long, being cut short by the Seljuq leader Toghrīl Beg's capture of their capital Iṣfahān in 443/1051. Yet because the Seljuqs did not adopt as their model the monolithic "power state" which the Ghaznavīds had favoured and did not deliberately curb all vestiges of provincial autonomy, the Kākūyīds could survive and find a small niche within the Great Seljuq empire as local feudatories or *muqṭa*'s of Yazd. Within Yazd, the power of the Kākūyīd family endured for almost as long as that of the Great Seljuq Sultans themselves and then it merged, in a smooth transition, into the rule of a line of Atabegs of Yazd, one of the several prominent dynasties of Turkish soldiers which arose out of the decline of the Seljuq empire.

### II

The founder of the Kākūyīd dynasty in Iṣfahān, and the most outstanding figure among its rulers, 'Alā' ad-Daula Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār, was the son of a Dailamī soldier in the service of the Būyīds of Ray and Jibāl, Abū l-'Abbās Rustam Dushmanziyār b. Marzubān.<sup>1</sup> We hear of this last being granted the district of Shahriyār (apparently the Shahriyār-Kūh or Jabal Qārin lying in the Elburz Mountains near Firrīm and to the north of Ray), with the title of Ispahbadh, and of his efforts on behalf of Majd ad-Daula to protect the Būyīd position in the Caspian lands against the local Bāwandīd and Ziyārid princes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *kunya* of Abū l-'Abbas is given only in the anonymous *Mujmal al-tawārīkh wa l-qīṣaṣ*, ed. Malik ash-Shu'arā' Bahār (Tehran 1318/1939), p. 402. Regarding the name Dushmanziyār, this is the form usually, though not invariably, found in the literary sources; coins always have Dushmanzār.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān*, abridged tr. by E. G. Browne, Gibb Memorial Series, vol. II (Leiden-London 1905), pp. 228, 230-1, 238; Ṣāḥīb ad-Dīn Mar'ashī, *Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān u Rūyān u Māzandarān*, ed. B. Dorn, in *Muhammed-anische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meers*, vol. I (St. Petersburg 1850), pp. 195, 209.



Rustam Dushmanziyār's son 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad is frequently called Ibn Kākūya or Pīsar-i Kākū in the historical and literary texts. Several of these sources explain *kākūya* as a hypocoristic from the dialect word *kākū* "maternal uncle", Rustam Dushmanziyār being the uncle of the famous Sayyida, mother of Majd ad-Daula Rustam b. Fakhr ad-Daula and effective ruler of the northern Būyid amirate during the greater part of the nominal reign of her son.<sup>3</sup> Sayyida was thus 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's first cousin, and not nephew, as has sometimes been said by Western writers. It is uncertain when Rustam Dushmanziyār died, but at some time before 398/1007–08 his son Muḥammad was governing Iṣfahān on behalf of his kinswoman Sayyida, and in this way begins the Kākūyid hold on that city which was to last substantially down to Toghril Beg's conquest over forty years later.<sup>4</sup> The local historian of Iṣfahān, Mufaḍḍal b. Sa'd al-Māfarrukhī, states that 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad reigned for "forty-odd years", and since he died in 433/1041–42, this dating would push back his control of Iṣfahān to at least 393/1003.<sup>5</sup>

The internal weakness of the Būyid amirate of Ray and Jibāl, with the ineffective Majd ad-Daula dominated by his mother Sayyida, enabled 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad to extend his power westwards and northwards from Iṣfahān into areas which had never been subdued by the Būyids and which were in practice independent under local Kurdish chiefs, those of the Shādhānjān 'Annāzids being the most prominent. He also acted as the military defender of the Būyids against ambitious Dailamī adventurers from the Elburz region, who often obtained help from local dynasties of Ṭabaristān like the Bāwandids and Ziyārids. These events can be followed in considerable detail from Ibn al-Athīr's chronicle. In 411/1020–21 we find 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad intervening at Hamadhān, where Majd ad-Daula's brother and subordinate Shams ad-Daula was unable to prevent tension arising between his Kurdish officers (*al-quwwād al-qūhiyya*) and his Turkish troops.<sup>6</sup> This tension culminated in a rebellion of the Turks; 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad was called in, and managed successfully to quell it at a place called Burjīn or Burjain.<sup>7</sup> Three years later, he was provided with a pretext to intervene, with permanent advantage for himself, in Hamadhān and the Kurdish regions of Jibāl. After the death of Shams ad-Daula in 412/1021–22, Hamadhān passed to his son Samā' ad-Daula, but much of the real power seems to have been in the hands of the Kurdish Vizier Tāj al-Mulk Abū Naṣr b. Bahrām. When the Dailamī feudatory of the nearby town of Burūjird, Farhādh b. Mardāwij, fled to 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad in Iṣfahān for refuge, the latter marched towards Hamadhān with an army and eventually toppled Samā' ad-Daula's rule there, annexing Hamadhān, Dīnawar and Shābūr-Khwāst<sup>8</sup> to his own dominions; meanwhile, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's nominal suzerain, Majd ad-Daula, was impotent to intervene and save his brother.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In Kurdish we have *kāk(a)*, and in Luri and New Persian *kākā*, meaning "brother" or "uncle" in a friendly, jocular sense, something like "old fellow"; the word is certainly a baby-talk one like "dada" and "mama", and is used only as a vocative. The corresponding Tabari word is *gaga*, which is not an exact semantic correspondence with *kākū* "maternal uncle", and *kākū* with this meaning is not attested in Zaza, the only true Dailamī dialect which we have; however, the presence of *gaga* in Tabari is probably near enough for our purposes (I am grateful to Dr. D. N. MacKenzie for this etymological note). It should perhaps be further noted that H. C. Rabino di Borgomale propounded an alternative etymology for *kākūya*. He suggested that the dynasty came originally from Tunakābun on the borders of Gilān and Ṭabaristān (see his *Māzandarān and Astardābād*, Gibb Mem. Ser., N.S., vol. VII [London 1928], pp. 21–4), in the local dialect of which *kākū* means "clan" or "office". He also noted a place or mountain south of Lāhijān called Kākū, and surmised that the family name might have arisen from a place name, as seems to have been the case with the Būyids ("Les dynasties locales du Gilān et du Daylam", *JA* CCXXXVII [1949], pp. 313–14). But all in all, the explanation that *kākūya* is a hypocoristic from *kākū* seems the most probable.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-tārīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden 1851–76), vol. IX, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> *Kitāb Mahāsīn Iṣfahān*, Arabic original, ed. Jalāl ad-Dīn Tehrānī (Tehran 1312/1933), p. 100; later Persian version of Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Āwī, *Tarjama-yi mahāsīn Iṣfahān*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran 1328/1949), p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> Almost every Būyid ruler, from the time of the original three sons of Būya who established the amirates in the first half of the fourth/tenth century onwards, had to cope with dissensions within their forces arising between the Iranian, principally Dailamī, elements, and the Turkish ones; cf. Bosworth, "Military Organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq", *Oriens* XVIII–XIX (1967), pp. 153 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 226. Is Burjīn perhaps the well-known town of Burj, one of the Ighārāin, the two towns originally granted to the 'Abbāsīd general Abū Dulaf al-'Ijī? Cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), pp. 197–8.

<sup>8</sup> Shābūr-Khwāst should, in the opinion of Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, Gibb Mem. Ser., N.S., vol. XI (London 1937), p. 283, followed by G. C. Miles, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", *Iraq* V (1938), p. 103, be identified with Khurramābād in Luristān.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 232–3. Burūjird, apparently restored to its former governor Farhādh b. Mardāwij, also acknowledged Kakuyid overlordship now. Apart of course from the Iṣfahān coins (whose series begins in 407/1016–17), Burūjird is one of

Over the next few years, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad was much occupied with maintaining his new conquests in the west and with holding the Kurds in check. Elated with the Hamadhān conquest of 414/1023, he had at the same time gone on to attack the 'Annāzid chief Abū sh-Shauk Fāris b. Muḥammad, and had only desisted at the request of the Būyid Amīr of Iraq, Khūzistān and Fārs, Musharrif ad-Daula.<sup>10</sup> In 417/1026 there was sharp fighting between the Kurdish tribal group of the Jūraqān, modern Gūrān,<sup>11</sup> and the Kākūyid governor, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's cousin Abū Ja'far, who had been appointed over Shābūr-Khwāst and the Kurds in that vicinity.<sup>12</sup> In the following year, 418/1027, a Dailamī leader called 'Alī b. 'Imrān,<sup>13</sup> who had supported the Jūraqān Kurds against 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad, succeeded in provoking a conflagration which affected the whole of northern Iran. He called in the help of the Bāwandid Ispahbadh of Ṭabaristān, the Ziyārid Manūchihr b. Qābūs and another Dailamī leader, Walkīn b. Wandrīn, and aroused the Ispahbadh's hopes of overrunning the whole of Jibāl. Hamadhān was temporarily lost, but 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad eventually won a great victory at Nihāwand and captured his enemy the Ispahbadh, holding him prisoner till he died in Rajab 419/August 1028. The scene of warfare now shifted to Ray, which Manūchihr besieged without success, and in the end a general peace was made.<sup>14</sup>

In the course of all these campaignings, the inability of Majd ad-Daula to move outside his capital of Ray amply demonstrated that 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad and not the Būyid was the most forceful figure in Jibāl at this time. Nevertheless, as often happened in the Islamic world, the habit of deference to a nominal suzerain—even after the substance of power had passed elsewhere—persisted here in the case of the Kākūyid. We possess coins of 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad minted at Iṣfahān, Burūjird, Asadābād, Hamadhān, Jurbādḥqān, Qirmisīn or Kirmānshāh, Shābūr-Khwāst (probably Khurramābād, see above), al-Karaj (sc. Karaj of Rūdhrawar), al-Muḥammadiyya or Ray, Māh al-Kūfa or Dīnawar, al-Qaṣr (possibly Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ at or near Kinkawar, see above) and Yazd.<sup>15</sup> Down to the

<sup>10</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 233. For the 'Annāzids, see the excellent article by Minorsky in *EI*<sup>3</sup> s.v.

<sup>11</sup> On the phonological process connecting the names Jūraqān (originally \*Gāvbārakān?) and Gūrān, see Minorsky, "The Gūrān", *BSOS XI* (1943-46), pp. 77-8. In this same article, pp. 81-3, Minorsky surveyed the rôle of the Jūraqān in the warfare and politics of western Iran at this time. The mentions in Ibn al-Athīr of the relations of the Jūraqān (a name which the chronicler writes incorrectly as Jūzaqān) with 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad indicate that in the first half of the fifth/eleventh century, a part at least of the tribe occupied the northern fringes of Luristān, in particular, the region around Shābūr-Khwāst.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 247-8.

<sup>13</sup> Possibly this man should be identified with the otherwise unknown 'Alī b. 'Umar who in 415/1024-25 minted coins, on which he acknowledged the overlordship of both Majd ad-Daula and 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad. The two coins surviving from this date are especially interesting in that they were minted at a place with the very vague name of al-Qaṣr. Miles very plausibly identifies this al-Qaṣr with the well-

known Qaṣr al-Luṣūṣ at or near Kinkawar (see Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 188), a place known from Ibn al-Athīr's narrative to have been held by 'Alī b. 'Imrān round about this time. See the detailed discussion by Miles in his "A Hoard of Kākwayhid Dirhams", pp. 187-8.

<sup>14</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 251-2.

<sup>15</sup> The whole corpus of the then extant Kākūyid coins (amounting in number to seventy-one) was surveyed, with full reference to earlier literature and coin descriptions, by Miles in his article "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty". To the coins described there should be added a further acquisition by the American Numismatic Society, plus a few other coins and lead seals, covered by Miles in his "Notes on Kākwayhid Coins". The number of extant Kākūyid coins has now been considerably swelled by the acquisition in 1964 by the ANS of forty-five coins from a hoard of Kākūyid dirhams, dating from between 414/1023 and 418/1027 and found somewhere near Kirmānshāh. A point of particular interest is that several of the coins provide the names of local Kurdish and Dailamī chiefs ruling in the western Jibāl-Kurdistan region as subordinates of the Kākūyids, including, for instance, the 'Annāzids.

the first places known—at least on presently-available evidence—as a Kākūyid mint; a dirham of 415/1024 has on it the names of Majd ad-Daula, Samā' ad-Daula, Muḥammad b. Dushmanzār and Farhād b. Mardāwīj. The name of Samā' ad-Daula continued to appear on the coins of several mints in western Jibāl for some years after his deposition from Hamadhān, even on a coin minted at Hamadhān as late as 421/1030, indicating that he was still alive then (the date of his death does not seem to be recorded in the chronicles). See Miles, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", pp. 97-100, 102; idem, "Notes on Kākwayhid Coins" in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, vol. IX (1960), p. 235; and idem, "A Hoard of Kākwayhid Dirhams" in *ANS Museum Notes*, vol. XII (1966), pp. 168, 170-8, 181-3. As for Farhād,

there are two further dirhams of his in the hoard acquired by the ANS. Unfortunately, the mints and dates are effaced, but Miles places them as probably not later than 416/1025 ("A Hoard of Kākwayhid Dirhams", pp. 180-1, 192-3). The obvious probability is that the mint was Burūjird. The present author doubts whether this Farhād had any connection with the rulers of Ṭabaristān and Gurgān; but on chronological grounds, it is quite impossible that Farhād, who died in 425/1034, could be the son of Mardāwīj b. Ziyār, who died in 323/935.

Ghaznavid conquest of Ray in 420/1029, he generally mentions on his coins a Būyid overlord, Majd ad-Daula, Shams ad-Daula or Samā' ad-Daula, depending on the minting-place. Until 418/1027, he seems generally to have been content with his simple name of Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār, without any honorific titles.<sup>16</sup> But long before this, he had acquired an impressive string of *alqāb*, as splendid as any of the titles borne by his nominal suzerains the Būyids. His independence of action is shown by the fact that he had obtained titles in 409/1018–19 directly from the Caliph al-Qādir, without the intermediacy of the Būyids and without their being able to assert any right of control.<sup>17</sup> The *Mujmal at-tawārikh* relates in its section on the history of the Būyids that in 409/1018–19 Ibn Kākūya sent a mission to Baghdad under one Abū l-Faḍl Naṣrūya. He returned with an investiture patent for the territories which the Kākūyid had conquered, a crown, a jewelled collar and a standard, together with the titles of 'Aḍud ad-Dīn, 'Alā' ad-Daula (this becoming the *laqab* by which he is generally known<sup>18</sup>), Fakhr al-Milla and Tāj al-Umma, and the designation of Ḥusām Amīr al-Mu'minīn "Sword of the Commander of the Faithful". The same source also states that 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's second son Abū Kālījār Garshāsp became governor of Hamadhān for his father, and had the titles of al-Mu'ayyad Falak ad-Daula and Ghiyāth al-Milla; this information must, of course, relate to the post 414/1023–24 state of affairs, when Hamadhān had passed into Kākūyid hands.<sup>19</sup>

When Maḥmūd of Ghazna marched westwards into Jibāl in the spring of 420/1029, occupied Ray, carried off Majd ad-Daula and his son Abū Dulaf into captivity and initiated a purge of all the heretics and schismatics there, a totally new factor was injected into the politics of northern Iran.<sup>20</sup> It was the express intention of the Sultan and of his son Mas'ūd, to whom he entrusted these newly-subdued territories, that Ray should be the bridgehead for a great push into the heart of the Near East: the remaining Būyid amirates were to be overthrown, the 'Abbāsīd Caliph released from his tutelage under the Shī'ī Dailamīs, and a confrontation to be made with the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimids in Syria.<sup>21</sup> Whilst Maḥmūd was still at Ray, he sent out troops north-westwards towards Dailam and Azerbaijan; alone amongst local rulers there, the Musāfirid lord of Tārum, Zanjān, Abhar, Sarjahān and Shahrazūr, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, opposed him. The reduction of these outlying regions was undertaken by Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd, who after bringing the Musāfirids to obedience,<sup>22</sup> turned southwards against the Kākūyids. The Kākūyid governor of Hamadhān was driven out, and then in Muḥarram 421/January 1030, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad himself was forced by Mas'ūd to evacuate Iṣfahān and retreat to Khūzistān, where he endeavoured to secure help from the Būyid Amīrs Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn and Jalāl ad-Daula.<sup>23</sup> The news of Sultan Maḥmūd's death in Ghazna, which reached Mas'ūd in Jumādā I 421/May 1030, was 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's salvation, for Mas'ūd was now compelled to leave the west and prepare to contest the succession to the Sultanate with his brother Muḥammad, who had the advantage of being already on the spot in Afghanistan. At the instigation of Jalāl ad-Daula, the 'Abbāsīd Caliph in Baghdad had already interceded for 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad, and an agreement

<sup>16</sup> Miles, "A Hoard of Kākwayhid Dirhams", pp. 171–3, 185–6 (issues of al-Karaj and Māh al-Kūfa from 418/1027 with all four of his *alqāb*). But in "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", p. 100, n. 2, he notes that there are not really enough specimens surviving from the period before 419/1028 to make a categorical assertion about the absence of his *alqāb* from his coins.

<sup>17</sup> The right of direct access to the Caliphs was frequently withheld by powerful overlords from their governors and subordinates. Thus when in 422/1031 Sultan Mas'ūd of Ghazna was negotiating with an envoy from Baghdad over recognition of the new Caliph al-Qā'im, one of his stipulations for this recognition was that the Caliph should not have direct diplomatic relations with the Ghaznavids' enemies, the Qarakhanids of Transoxania, but that the practice of Maḥmūd's reign, that all presents, honorific titles, etc. should be sent to them only through the intermediacy of the Ghaznavids, should continue (see further on this, Bosworth, "The Imperial Policy of the Early Ghaznavids", *Islamic Studies, Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi* 1/3 [1962], pp. 64–5).

<sup>18</sup> The two honorifics 'Aḍud ad-Dīn and 'Alā' ad-Daula are those two which appear most frequently on his coins.

<sup>19</sup> *Mujmal at-tawārikh*, pp. 402–03. It should be noted that the unknown author of this history was a native of Asadābād and therefore well acquainted with the history of western Jibāl.

<sup>20</sup> Gardīzī, *Zainal-akhbār*, ed. M. Nāzim (Berlin 1928), pp. 91, 97; *Mujmal at-tawārikh*, pp. 403–04; Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Muntazam fi ta'rikh al-mulūk wa l-umam* (Hyderabad 1357–59/1938–41), vol. VIII, pp. 38–40; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 261–2; Nāzim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), pp. 81–3; Bosworth, "The Imperial Policy of the Early Ghaznavids", pp. 69–72.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Sultan Mas'ūd's declaration of future policy made to the Qarakhanid ruler Yūsuf Qadir Khan immediately after his assumption of the throne in Ghazna in 421/1030 (Baihaqī, *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Q. Ghani and 'A. A. Fayyāḍ [Tehran 1324/1945], pp. 79–80, cf. also p. 218, Russian translation by A. K. Arends, *Istoria Mas'ūda* [Tashkent 1962], pp. 98–9, cf. p. 214; Bosworth, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

<sup>22</sup> Baihaqī, p. 218, tr. p. 214; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 262–3.

<sup>23</sup> Baihaqī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 279, 284.

was now made at Ray that 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad should be Mas'ūd's representative (*khalīfat*) and tributary in Iṣfahān, paying as tribute 20,000 Harawī dīnārs per annum, plus 10,000 sets of clothing from the workshops of the Iṣfahān district, the usual Naurūz and Mihrīgān presents, Arab horses, mules with riding saddles and all sorts of travelling equipment. The covenant was sealed by the Caliph's sending 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad an investiture charter for the region of Iṣfahān, together with a robe of honour.<sup>24</sup>

On returning thus to his old capital, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad seems to have extended his authority beyond his centres of Iṣfahān and Hamadhān in Jibāl. There is extant a dirham of his struck in Yazd in 421/1030, acknowledging only the Caliph al-Qādir as suzerain; Yazd became in this way the farthest point in the east reached by the Kākūyids. G. C. Miles is doubtless correct in suggesting that Yazd was one of "the other towns" mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr as seized by 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad at this time.<sup>25</sup> Since the Ghaznavids are not acknowledged on the coin as overlords, its minting probably fell within a period when 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad withdrew his obedience from the Sultan. With Mas'ūd involved in events on the eastern fringes of the Ghaznavid empire, the Kākūyid Amīr was even able now to capture Ray and the region of Demāvand for a while, until a Ghaznavid force ejected him. In the course of the fighting, he was badly wounded, and spent a considerable time recuperating in one of his castles near Hamadhān.<sup>26</sup> It was during this brief occupation of Ray in 421/1030 that 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad issued a dirham which blazoned forth all four of his honorifics and acknowledged only the Caliph al-Qādir.<sup>27</sup>

The decade of the 1030s was one of extreme confusion in northern Iran. The central rôle played there for almost a century by the Būyid amirate of Ray and Jibāl, however shaky its authority may latterly have become, was never replaced. The region was too distant from Nishāpūr and Ghazna for the Ghaznavids to control it properly. Ghaznavid rule in Ray, at first welcomed by the populace as a relief from the excesses of Majd ad-Daula's uncontrollable Dailamī troops, soon became unpopular and oppressive, and it lasted for no more than nine years or so. The prime factor making for great instability and insecurity throughout the whole countryside was, of course, the appearance of marauding bands of Oghuz Turkmens, who ranged across northern Iran from the desert fringes of Khurāsān and the Qara Qum desert to Azerbaijan and the borders of Byzantium. 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad was quick to see how these nomads might be used as a kind of third force in his perpetual struggle to preserve Kākūyid independence against other local rivals and against the overbearing Ghaznavids. Hence Baihaqī and Ibn al-Athīr record for these years a succession of periods of warfare between 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad and the Ghaznavid representatives in Ray, Abū Sahl Ḥamdūnī and Tash-Farrāsh, each followed by a brief and uneasy peace; in all these phases of warfare, the presence of the Turkmens was an increasingly important factor.

At the end of 423—beginning of 424/winter 1032–33, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad had recovered from his wounds, and now attempted to re-establish his position in his old dominions. With the help of his former associate Farhādh b. Mardāwīj, he rebelled against the Ghaznavids. He was initially driven back to Burūjird and Shābūr-Khwāst, where the Jūraqān Kurds now sheltered him, but he was nevertheless afterwards able to re-occupy Hamadhān, Burūjird, Karaj and Iṣfahān.<sup>28</sup> The rebellion in northern India of his Turkish general Aḥmad Inaltigin compelled Sultan Mas'ūd in 424/1033 to make peace with 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad and recognize him as his tributary in Iṣfahān, on the usual terms of an annual tribute.<sup>29</sup> But in 425/1034 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad renounced his promises once again; unfortunately for his hopes of securing his independence, his ally Farhādh b. Mardāwīj was killed in battle and he himself had firstly to shut himself up in a castle between Iṣfahān and Jurbādhqān and then to flee to Īdhāj in Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn's province of Khūzistān, allowing Abū Sahl

<sup>24</sup> Baihaqī, pp. 14–17, tr. pp. 52–4; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 279.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 284–5; Miles, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", pp. 93, 104.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

<sup>27</sup> Miles, *The Numismatic History of Ray* (New York 1938), pp. 187–9; idem, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", p. 98. Miles makes the interesting point that 'Alā' ad-Daula

Muḥammad was the last person to designate this mint by the Arabic name of al-Muḥammadiyya; succeeding rulers in Ray, from the Ghaznavids and Seljuqs onwards, reverted to the old Iranian name of Ray.

<sup>28</sup> Baihaqī, p. 361, tr. p. 326; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 288 bis–290.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 291.

Ḥamdūnī's army to plunder his treasury in Iṣfahān. Amongst other things, the library of 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's protégé Ibn Sīnā (see below, p. 81) was seized and carried off to Ghazna, where it remained until the Ghūrīd Sultan 'Alā' ad-Dīn Muḥammad Jihān-sūz sacked Ghazna in 545/1150–51 and destroyed it.<sup>30</sup> For some time, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad seems to have laid low after these reverses; the Ghaznavid general Tash-Farrāsh was able in Rabī' I 426/January–February 1035 to go to Hamadhān, which was then free of all opposing forces.<sup>31</sup> Not till the end of 427/autumn 1036 do we hear of fresh fighting. 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad had obviously returned from Khūzistān some time before. Hearing of the appearance of a Ghaznavid foraging party in the vicinity of Iṣfahān, he sent a force and defeated the Ghaznavid detachment; he then tried to recapture Iṣfahān itself from Abū Sahl Ḥamdūnī, but failed because of the treachery of the Turkish element in his army. He had to flee, firstly to Burūjird and then northwards to Tārum in Dailam, whose ruler Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān was, however, too afraid of the Ghaznavids to admit him.<sup>32</sup>

'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad was at this time supplementing his armies, which normally had a Dailamī nucleus, with Turkmen auxiliaries recruited from the so-called "Iraqī" Turkmens, enemies of the Seljuq family, who had been driven westwards from the northern fringes of Khurāsān in 419/1028 by Sultan Maḥmūd.<sup>33</sup> Baihaqī reports that in Dhū l-Qa'da 427/September 1036 a force of Turkmens under their leader Maṣṣūr had turned on 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad and defeated him (presumably this refers to the treachery of the Turks mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr's account), and that a group of Turkmen cavalry, whom the Kākūyid Amīr had invited from Khurāsān and enrolled as mercenaries, had returned to Khurāsān via the southern edge of the Central Desert and Ṭabas.<sup>34</sup> In any event, the result of all this was that yet another peace was made between 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad and the Ghaznavids, who in the face of increasing Turkmen pressure on both Khurāsān and the region of Ray, could not afford to leave Jibāl in a state of suspended warfare. We possess a coin minted by 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad in Iṣfahān in 427/1036 which once more acknowledges Sultan Mas'ūd as suzerain.<sup>35</sup> The news came to Mas'ūd in Ṣafar 428/December 1036 that the Kākūyid Amīr had asked for peace and a restoration of his old tributary status, and that the Caliph al-Qā'im's Vizier Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ayyūb had also been interceding on 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's behalf, doubtless at the instigation of the Būyids in Iraq. The Sultan agreed, but swore to extirpate the whole Kākūyid dynasty if there were any further trouble.<sup>36</sup> Yet the Ghaznavids were by now in no position to enforce such blood-curdling threats, for Turkmen incursions were making the chief communications artery between northern Khurāsān and Ray, the road which runs along the southern edge of the Elburz Mountains and to the north of the Dasht-i Kavīr, increasingly difficult to keep open.

By Jumādā I 420/February–March 1037 it was clear that 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's submission was once more a sham and had merely been a ruse to gain time. Because, says Baihaqī, he had much money and extensive treasuries, he had gathered together a numerous army, which included many of the "Iraqī" Turkmens, followers of the chiefs Qizil and Yaghmur and the group known as the Balkhān-Kūhiyān, sc. those who had originally fled before Maḥmūd of Ghazna and taken refuge in the hilly Balkhān-Kūh area to the east of the Caspian and who had now moved westwards before the Seljuqs. Ibn al-Athīr mentions the figure of over 1500 men under Qizil's leadership, whilst the rest of the "Iraqī" Turkmens passed on to Azerbaijan, where they harrassed the Rawwādids and other local Kurdish and Dailamī chiefs.<sup>37</sup> It was difficult for 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad to keep discipline amongst the anarchically-inclined Turkmens in his service; they speedily turned to plundering and brigandage and were clearly an unreliable element.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, he retained some Turkmens in his service, and it was through their support that he was able to step in when the Ghaznavid garrison in Ray was at last

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., vol. IX, pp. 296–7.

<sup>31</sup> Baihaqī, p. 444, tr. p. 394.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 304.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Cl. Cahen, "Le Malik-nāmeḥ et l'histoire des origines seljukides", *Oriens II* (1949), pp. 55–8; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994–1040* (Edinburgh 1963), pp. 224–5, 234–5.

<sup>34</sup> Baihaqī, p. 501, tr. pp. 443–4.

<sup>35</sup> Miles, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", pp. 97, 101.

<sup>36</sup> Baihaqī, pp. 510–11, tr. p. 452.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 521–2, tr. p. 462; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 269–71.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., vol. IX, p. 269. The Turkmens' refractoriness is perhaps the basis of the report by Abū Sahl Ḥamdūnī to the Sultan in Dhū l-Qa'da 428/August 1037 that Ibn Kākūya's position was weak and his Turkmens unreliable—an over-optimistic appreciation of the real state of affairs, as events speedily showed (Baihaqī, p. 530, tr. p. 470).

forced to evacuate the city and retire via Gurgān to Khurāsān. The great battle which took place outside Ray between, on the one side, Abū Sahl Ḥamdūnī's and Tash-Farrāsh's army of 3000 cavalry and a column of elephants, and on the other side, 5000 Turkmens, is described by Ibn al-Athīr and placed by him in the year 427/1036, which must be a mistake for 429/1037-38. In the course of this fighting, the Kurdish troops of the Ghaznavids withdrew from the fray, Tash-Farrāsh was killed and the elephants captured. Abū Sahl Ḥamdūnī had to shut himself up for the winter in Ṭabarak, the citadel of Ray, and after the Turkmens had won a further victory over a relieving force sent from Gurgān, he finally abandoned the city. This withdrawal took place around Jumādā I 429/February-March 1038, as the news reached Mas'ūd in Ghazna during the following month of Jumādā II.<sup>39</sup>

Very soon after Abū Sahl Ḥamdūnī's departure, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad and his Turkmen auxiliaries occupied Ray.<sup>40</sup> A dīnār minted by him at al-Muḥammadiyya (= Ray) in 429/1037-38, and perhaps a dirham also, still acknowledges Mas'ūd as suzerain, although a dīnār minted by him at Iṣfahān in 428/1036-37 was an independent issue, acknowledging no overlord. This Ray issue might perhaps relate to Ibn al-Athīr's information that 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad wrote from Ray to Abū Sahl Ḥamdūnī, at that time in Ṭabaristān en route for Nishāpūr, asking for the formal grant to him of Ray, a request to which the Ghaznavid governor agreed.<sup>41</sup> There can have been little faith at this point that Ghaznavid rule would ever be re-established in Jibāl, but possibly the Kākūyid wished to retain some connection with the Sultan as a possible bargaining counter with the incoming Turkmens. He retained Ray for some time, until the Turkmens in the area combined with its former Būyid ruler Majd ad-Daula's son Abū Kālījār Fanā-Khusrau and the Dailamī ruler of Sāwa, Kāmrawā, to eject him. He fled from Ray, leaving the city exposed to a savage plundering by the Turkmens, and he reached the safety of Iṣfahān and its walls, his Oghuz pursuers now being deflected to plunder Karaj.<sup>42</sup>

The Turkmen pattern of overrunning northern Iran was not in any way one of systematic conquest, with set battles and sieges of towns and strongholds—an approach for which the Oghuz were technically and psychologically unfitted. Rather, they starved the towns into submission by devastating the surrounding countryside and pasturing their flocks on it, thus cutting off the towns from their natural hinterlands. In the course of the Seljuq conquests, it was rare for a town to be taken by storm. Hence a stout ring of walls and fortifications was still an asset in fending off marauders and preventing direct plundering of a town, and in 429/1037-38 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad constructed walls around Iṣfahān. Their circuit came to more than 15,000 paces, not including the defences of the suburbs of Kamāyān,<sup>43</sup> Barāyān,<sup>43</sup> Sunbulān, Kharjān, Farsān, the Garden of 'Abd al-'Azīz, Jarwāyān,<sup>43</sup> Ishkahān and Lunbān. The twelve gates in the walls were each provided with iron doors, through which a war elephant, fully-equipped with its howdah and battle pennants, could pass. Māfarrukhī cites some of his own Arabic verses on the wonders of these fortifications:

A wall whose battlements reach up to the height of Capella, and whose buttresses reach beyond the celestial girdle of Gemini.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 534-5, tr. p. 474; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 268.

<sup>40</sup> Baihaqī, p. 546, tr. p. 484; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 269.

<sup>41</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.; Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, pp. 192-3; idem, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", pp. 97, 98, 101, 104.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 270. The re-appearance of a scion of the Būyids is interesting. According to Gardīzī, pp. 91, 97, cf. Nāzīm, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, p. 83, the deposed Majd ad-Daula was exiled by Sultan Maḥmūd to India, but fetched back by Mas'ūd to Ghazna, where he lived a life of comfort and honour. His son Abū Kālījār Fanā-Khusrau escaped Maḥmūd's clutches and took refuge in a fortress called Qaṣrān (presumably a different place from the district near Ray of this name, and more probably the Qaṣrān of Sirajān in Kirmān, cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 216, 301). When in 421/1030 Mas'ūd left western Persia to contest the succession with his brother Muhammad, he came out from his hiding-place, collected an

army of Dailamīs and Kurds, and tried to recapture Ray; he was, however, defeated by the Ghaznavid commander or *shihna* left there by Mas'ūd, and retired from the scene (Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 284). A decade or so later, Abū Kālījār Fanā-Khusrau was set up temporarily in Ray as a puppet of the Seljuqs. A coin of his—which Miles says provides enough material for a monograph in itself—is extant from 432/1040-41, and gives him the titles of Shāhanshāh, Sharaf al-Mulūk and Fakhr Allāh (Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, p. 194). He had now clearly thrown in his lot with the Seljuqs. We last hear of him in 439/1047-48, when he is said to have seized the town of Āmid in Diyārbakr from Toghril's governor (Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 370).

<sup>43</sup> The use of *alif-madda*, as here, to indicate the spelling *yā* occurs also in the anonymous geographical treatise of the late fourth/tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*; see Minorsky, "Addenda to the *Hudūd al-'ālam*", *BSOAS* XVII (1955), p. 251 = *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 2nd edition (London 1970), p. liv.

Looking down from its towers, amongst the constellations of the revolving firmament, you can see the stars when they speed past by night.

Even if one were to bring along the giant Gog, these towers would not be conquered by day, and the excellence of the wall's construction would render useless the efforts of those trying to sap and mine it.

Moreover, there is a moat round it, whose waters have been stirred up like the swollen waves of the sea, and there is no ocean or Nile river which can compare with it.

The cost of these walls weighed heavily on the people of Iṣfahān, but in those insecure days, they must have been a worthwhile protection; unlike the other main centre of Kākūyid power at this time, Hamadhān, Iṣfahān was never sacked by the Turkmens.<sup>44</sup>

Hamadhān was during these years under severe pressure from the Turkmens. 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's second son Abū Kālījār Garshāsp had become governor of Hamadhān and Nihāwand at some unspecified date, presumably with interruptions during the intervals of Ghaznavid occupation, such as those of 421/1030, 423/1032 and 426/1035.<sup>45</sup> In 429/1037-38 bands of "Iraqi" Turkmens expelled from Azerbaijan by the Rawwādid Wahsūdān b. Mamlān and other local Kurdish leaders, moved southwards, and under their chiefs Manšūr and Gōktash, besieged Hamadhān. After fierce fighting, Abū Kālījār Garshāsp was forced to yield and make peace with the Oghuz, and to cement the agreement, he married one of Gōktash's daughters.<sup>46</sup> But in the following year, the Turkmens turned from the spoliation of Ray (see above, p. 79) to besiege Hamadhān again. Abū Kālījār Garshāsp and the chief merchants and notables withdrew to Kinkawar, and the town was now abandoned to a frightful sacking by the Turkmens of Gōktash, Qizil and Buqa, and by the Dailamis of the Būyid pretender Abū Kālījār Fanā-Khusrau; the ravages of the Dailamis are described as being worse than those of the Turkmens. The attackers were only ultimately driven off through the efforts of the Kurdish 'Annāzid chief Abū l-Fath b. Abī sh-Shauk of Dīnawar and of 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad himself, who came out from Iṣfahān with an army.<sup>47</sup>

'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad died in Muḥarram 433/September 1041, still in the battle-saddle. He had been campaigning in 432/1041 against Abū sh-Shauk, after an appeal to him by the 'Annāzid's brother Muhahlil. Abū sh-Shauk remained intransigent, and threatened to cede his lands and fortresses to the Būyid Amīr of Iraq, Jalāl ad-Daula, if ever Abū sh-Shauk himself fell into 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's hands; eventually, the two rulers made peace. It was whilst returning from the peace negotiations that the Kākūyid Amīr fell sick and died, after a life of almost ceaseless campaignings and activity, punctuated by spells of exile amongst neighbouring rulers, usually his Būyid kinsman.<sup>48</sup> To have guided the destinies of the Kākūyid principality for over forty years, at a time when these territories were occupying a somewhat precarious position between the greater powers of the Būyids, Ghaznavids and Seljuqs, was itself no mean feat, and 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad must be regarded as one of the most adroit and capable rulers of his generation. The references to "Pisar-i Kākū" in the Ghaznavid historian Baihaqī amply corroborate this judgment. Although at various points during the Ghaznavid occupation of Ray, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad made his submission to Sultan Mas'ūd, he was always regarded with distrust, as someone ready to renounce allegiance whenever occasion presented itself (*nīm-dushmanī* sc. "half an enemy", in the description of one of the Sultan's advisers)<sup>49</sup>. Especially revealing is the characterization of the Kākūyid Amīr's shrewdness, and the advantages which he derived from his strategic position and financial resources, given by Abū Sahl Ḥamdūnī, who became civil governor of Ray and 'Irāq 'Ajami for the Ghaznavids in Jumādā II 424/May 1033, and who over a period of five years had good opportunity to test 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's good faith and intentions:

<sup>44</sup> Māfarrukhī, *Kitāb Mahāsin Iṣfahān*, pp. 81, 100-01, Persian version of Āwī, pp. 51, 113, cf. E. G. Browne, "Account of a Rare Manuscript History of Iṣfahān", *JRAS* (1901), pp. 23-4, 51 of offprint. The Būyid Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn also at this time put walls round his capital Shīrāz, their construction extending over the period 436/1044-45 to 440/1048-49; see Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, Gibb Mem. Ser., N.S., vol. I (London 1921), p. 133; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Beirut 1374-76/1955-57),

vol. III, p. 351 s.v. "Shīrāz"; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 359.

<sup>45</sup> Baihaqī, p. 444, tr. p. 394; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 279, 288 bis-290.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 270.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 271.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 338; cf. Minorokny, *El' Art.* "Annāzids".

<sup>49</sup> Baihaqī, p. 263, tr. p. 253.

Pisar-i Kākū is at present [sc. in Jumādā II 424] governing Iṣfahān, Hamadhān and part of Jibāl, and must be regarded as a shrewd and slippery opponent. He has not only wealth and soldiers, but also skill, craft and deceitfulness. So long as our teeth are not bared against him, so that he may receive according to his merits and be deprived of his rule and territories [he will remain dangerous]. Or else he must submit and send his son [as a hostage] to the [Sultan's] exalted court, and become an obedient slave and pay regularly each year the substantial sum of tribute laid upon him, and then the other local rulers might look to his example and stay pacific. Unless measures like these are put in hand, Ray and Jibāl will never be peaceful.<sup>60</sup>

By the time of the Kākūyids' rise to power, the Dailamīs had, as was noted at the beginning of this article, emerged from some of their pristine barbarism and grossness. The vicissitudes of his reign and the constant struggle to maintain his position in Jibāl can have given 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad little time to assume the paternalistic duties of the typical Muslim prince, or to gather round himself a literary circle such as many of the Būyids and Ghaznavids collected. His greatest claim to fame in this direction is the fact that he gave refuge to Ibn Sīnā, after the great philosopher and scientist had been in the official service of the Būyid Shams ad-Daula of Hamadhān; he wrote his Persian encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Dānish-nāma-yi 'Alā'i*, for the Kākūyid Amīr, and he died in 428/1037 whilst accompanying his patron on a journey from Iṣfahān to Hamadhān.<sup>61</sup> In his obituary notice of Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Athīr asserts that there was a bond of sympathy between Ibn Sīnā and 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad, because the latter held unorthodox beliefs (*kāna fāsīd al-i'tiqād*) and therefore allowed and encouraged Ibn Sīnā to compose books on infidelity.<sup>62</sup> Nothing, in fact, seems to be known about the Kākūyid Amīr's religious sympathies, although the connections of his family with the Būyids make it probable that, like so many other Dailamī rulers, his inclinations were Shī'ī rather than Sunnī.

### III

'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's eldest son was Zāhīr ad-Dīn Shams al-Mulūk Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr, who on his father's death secured the allegiance of the Kākūyid troops in Iṣfahān and succeeded to his father's position there; his brother Abū Kālījār Garshāsp proceeded to Nihāwand and established himself in western Jibāl as Farāmūr's subordinate.<sup>63</sup> Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr's main task was to assert his paramountcy, as the eldest son, over other members of the Kākūyid family. When the castellan of Naṭanz refused to yield up the treasure which 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad had stored there, he was joined by Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr's discontented younger brother Abū Ḥarb, and the two rebels called in a band of Oghuz from Ray, who seized Qājān (? Qāshān) and handed it over to Abū Ḥarb. Despite help from disaffected Kurds in the region, Abū Ḥarb was defeated in battle, and fled to the Būyid court of Shirāz, where he dangled before Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn the prospect of acquiring Iṣfahān. Desultory fighting took place in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān between the forces of Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr and the Būyid Amīr, until peace was at last made; Abū Ḥarb retained control of the fortress of Naṭanz, but yielded a proportion of its treasure to his eldest brother. Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr was now free to assert his authority in the western parts of his principality. Occupying Hamadhān and Burūjird, he agreed to leave his other brother Abū Kālījār Garshāsp as governor there, with his own name acknowledged in the *khutba*.<sup>64</sup>

There remained the larger question of Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr's relations with the Seljuqs, who now controlled Ray. In the year of 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's death, Ibrāhīm b. Inal seized Ray for the Seljuqs, and in the following year, 434/1042-43, Toghril arrived and took it over from his half-brother; also, Majd ad-Daula's son Abū Kālījār Fanā-Khusrau was now removed from the fortress of Tabarak. The devastated parts of the city were restored, and for the next nine years, Ray served as Toghril's

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 392, tr. p. 352.

<sup>61</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 310; Nizāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār maqāla*, ed. M. M. Qazwīnī, Gibb. Mem. Ser., vol. XI/1 (London 1910), pp. 82-3, revised translation of Browne, Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. XI/2 (London 1921), pp. 92-3, cf. p. 163, note XXX, showing Nizāmī 'Arūḍī's errors regarding Ibn Sīnā's relationship to 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad; S. M.

Afnan, *Avicenna, his Life and Works* (London 1958), pp. 67 ff. On the *Dānish-nāma-yi 'Alā'i*, see J. Rypka et al., *History of Persian Literature* (Dordrecht 1968), pp. 150, 480.

<sup>62</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

<sup>63</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 339.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.



capital; he started minting coins there as soon as he had installed himself.<sup>55</sup> Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr had already had some contact with the Seljuqs, although the circumstances surrounding this episode are rather mysterious. He had been present with Toghril and the other Seljuq leaders on the battlefield of Dandānqān in Ramaḍān 431/May 1040, when the Ghaznavids were finally hurled out of Khurāsān, and the victorious Seljuq granted to him Ray and Iṣfahān because, so he said, "You have suffered many troubles". This must refer to the fact that Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr had been previously observed by one of the Ghaznavid side in bonds and set on a camel.<sup>56</sup> How did he come to be a captive of the Turkmens out there in the desert between Sarakhs and Merv? One can only surmise that he had been captured in Jibāl, either by the Oghuz or by the Ghaznavids before they had abandoned the province, and brought to Khurāsān, where he eventually escaped or passed into Seljuq hands. During the next eighteen months, he must have found his way back to Jibāl, for he was, as we have seen, on hand to take over in Iṣfahān at his father's death. Only five coins of Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr are extant, those three with decipherable mints all being from Iṣfahān; but the first of these, dating from 434/1042-43, shows that at the outset, he acknowledged Toghril as suzerain, for Toghril soon after his arrival in Ray sent an expedition to Iṣfahān to secure Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr's obedience and payment of tribute.<sup>57</sup> Over the next years, however, his allegiance was to oscillate between that to Toghril and that to the Būyid Amīr Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn (see below).

Hamadhān had already been a target for Ibrāhīm Inal's Oghuz once he had secured Ray in 433/1041-42. He had proceeded to Burūjird and Hamadhān, upon which Abū Kālījār Garshāsp had fled to a fortress near Shābūr-Khwāst. The population of Hamadhān expressed no enthusiasm for Kākūyid rule, and had no expectation that Abū Kālījār Garshāsp would ever return:

The people of the town said to him [sc. to Ibrāhīm Inal], "If you have come to seek our submission and that which the ruling power normally collects from its subjects, then we will hand it over to you and will observe this obligation. But first search out this fellow who was formerly over us and is now opposing you (they meant Garshāsp), for we have no confidence in his coming back to us. So if you are able either to capture him or drive him off for good, we will give our obedience to you.

They escaped a further sacking by handing over a substantial sum to Ibrāhīm Inal. The people of the Shābūr-Khwāst district suffered considerably, however, from the depredations of the Oghuz before they returned to Ray.<sup>58</sup> Abū Kālījār Garshāsp came back to Hamadhān as soon as the Oghuz had left it (it is presumably this to which Ibn al-Jauzī refers when he says under the events of 433/1041-42 that "Abū Kālījār entered Hamadhān and drove off the Ghuzz from it"<sup>59</sup>). He was there when Toghril came to Ray, and he communicated with the Seljuq leader to secure legitimation of his rule in Hamadhān. After Toghril had obtained the obedience of Abū Kālījār Garshāsp's brother Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr in Iṣfahān, he marched on Hamadhān in person. He demanded that the fortress of Kinkawar be handed over to him, but its castellan refused to surrender it, and Toghril therefore dispossessed Abū Kālījār Garshāsp of Hamadhān and appointed a governor of his own there (434/1042-43).<sup>60</sup>

It was not until 436/1044-45 that Abū Kālījār Garshāsp left the security of Kinkawar and returned to Hamadhān, expelling the representative of the Seljuqs and now giving his ultimate allegiance to the Būyid Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn and not to the Seljuq Amīr.<sup>61</sup> Toghril was now exasperated with Abū Kālījār Garshāsp, and in 437/1045-46 sent Ibrāhīm Inal against Hamadhān once more. The threat of a re-appearance of Oghuz bands in western Jibāl and Kurdistan brought Abū Kālījār Garshāsp and the 'Annāzid Abū sh-Shauk together into an alliance. Nevertheless, their Kurds and Dailamis had to fall back before the Oghuz, whose bands penetrated as far west as Kirmānshāh, Hulwān and Khāniqīn before turning southwards to Luristān and to Sirwān and Ṣaimara on the borders of Khūzistān, where their presence alarmed Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn.<sup>62</sup> Hamadhān now

<sup>55</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 339, 347; Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, pp. 196-7.

<sup>56</sup> Baihaqī, pp. 627-8, tr. pp. 553-4.

<sup>57</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 348; Miles, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", pp. 97, 99, 102.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 347.

<sup>59</sup> *al-Muntazam*, vol. VIII, p. 108.

<sup>60</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 348.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360.

passed firmly under Seljuq control, and two years later, in the autumn of 439/1047, the fortress of Kinkawar, which had long held out under Abū Kālījār Garshāsp's lieutenant 'Ukbar b. Fāris, surrendered under *amān* or 'safe-conduct' to Ibrāhīm b. Inal.<sup>63</sup> Abū Kālījār Garshāsp seems to have spent the last few years of his life mainly in exile amongst the Būyids. Unlike his brother Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz, he never became reconciled to the Seljuqs, and when occasion presented itself, he made sorties into the remaining Kākūyid territories, hoping to lead a *revanche* against the Seljuqs. Thus he was in Iṣfahān at some time before 441/1049, and was in communication with the Ghaznavid Sultan Maudūd b. Mas'ūd, who was endeavouring to organize a grand anti-Seljuq coalition in Iran and thus re-establish the former Ghaznavid position in Khurāsān; it appears that Abū Kālījār Garshāsp actually despatched a body of troops eastwards for this purpose, but that they never got beyond the Central Desert of Iran.<sup>64</sup> He died in Khūzistān in 443/1051-52, having governed that province for the Būyid Amīr Abū Maṣṣūr Fūlādh-Sutūn b. Abī Kālījār.<sup>65</sup>

Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz was as restive under Seljuq suzerainty as his brother Abū Kālījār Garshāsp, and like him, endeavoured to adopt a balancing rôle between Toghril on the one hand and the Būyid Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn on the other. At some time before 435/1043-44 he had come to an understanding with the Būyid Amīr, on a basis of mutual non-aggression, but in that year he saw a chance of personal aggrandisement and renounced the compact. He seized two Būyid fortresses on the frontiers of Kirmān, but Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn came with a superior force, captured Abarqūh from the Kākūyids and defeated Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz's army, thus regaining the disputed strongpoints.<sup>66</sup> Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz had naturally transferred his allegiance back to the Seljuqs when he had fallen out with the Būyids. But he was disappointed in his expectations of them, and when Toghril returned to Khurāsān, he deemed it prudent in 437/1045-46 to submit to the nearer potentate, Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn. In face of the threat from the Oghuz to all of them, a general peace was made between the Būyids and the local rulers of Jibāl, viz. Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn, Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz, and the 'Annāzid brothers Abū sh-Shauk and Muhalhil.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, western Jibāl remained very disturbed, with Ibrāhīm Inal's followers swarming over the countryside; and after Abū sh-Shauk's death in Ramaḍān 437/April 1046, his son Su'dā threw in his lot with the Oghuz.<sup>68</sup> Toghril appeared before the walls of Iṣfahān in 438/1046-47, and after a long siege, Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz submitted and promised to pay tribute as before and acknowledge the Seljuqs in the *khutba* of Iṣfahān.<sup>69</sup>

To fill out Ibn al-Athīr's narrative of the events of these years, on which the previous paragraphs are substantially based, we possess a small item of information from the early eighth/fourteenth century author Hindūshāh Nakhchavānī. In his general history (which is a Persian amplification of Ibn al-Tiḡtaqā's well-known *Kitāb al-Fakhrī*, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. I, pp. 81, 1233), he speaks of a Persian minister who served Toghril at this time, one Abū l-Faṭḥ Rāzī, who had been for most of his career in the service of 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad in Iṣfahān and then in that of the Kākūyid Amīr's son Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz. The latter sent him on a mission to Toghril, who was impressed by his ability and took him into his own service. Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz was incensed at this, confiscated Abū l-Faṭḥ Rāzī's possessions and allowed his house in Iṣfahān to be plundered. When Toghril came to Iṣfahān and besieged Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz there, Abū l-Faṭḥ Rāzī was eventually left as the Seljuq Amīr's agent, responsible for collecting the 100,000 dīnārs' tribute laid upon the Kākūyid, a task which he managed very successfully. However, he later left Toghril's service, with the Amīr's permission, and went to serve the Būyid Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn as Vizier, remaining in office till his dismissal in Sha'bān 439/January-February 1048.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 366.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., pp. 381-2.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 398.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., pp. 355, 361. This is the first specific mention which we have of Abarqūh as being in Kākūyid hands.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 361-2.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., pp. 362-3, cf. Minorsky, *EI*<sup>3</sup> Art. "Annāzids".

<sup>69</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 365.

<sup>70</sup> Hindūshāh b. Sanjar Nakhchavānī, *Tajārib as-salaf*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran 1313/1934), pp. 260-1. The whole episode

raises a number of interesting points, some of which are discussed by Iqbāl in his book *Vizārat dar 'ahd-i salāṭīn-buzurg-i saljūqi* (Tehran 1338/1959), pp. 37-9. Briefly, he relates Hindūshāh's mention of Toghril's coming to Iṣfahān to the year 434/1042-43, when Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz first acknowledged him as suzerain and agreed to pay tribute (see above). Abū l-Faṭḥ Rāzī is not mentioned in any of the lists of Toghril's Viziers (see H. Bowen, "Notes on Some Early Seljuqid Viziers", *BSOAS* XX [1957], pp. 105-10, to whose sources

[continued on next page

So far as we know, Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr remained faithful to the Seljuqs for the five years after 438/1046–47, the last ones of his rule in Iṣfahān; coins minted by him in 438/1046–47 and the two following years acknowledge Toghril as sovereign.<sup>71</sup> The end of Kākūyid rule in Jibāl was, however, near at hand. The tergiversations and transfers of allegiance of Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr must have exasperated Toghril, as had those of his brother Abū Kālījār Garshāsp in Hamadhān a few years beforehand. Moreover, the semi-independent position of the Kākūyid principality blocked the effective extension of Seljuq authority over the Kurdish chiefs of Kurdistan and Luristān and, above all, over the remaining Būyid territories in Iraq, Khūzistān and Fārs. The periodic alliances of the Kākūyids with their Būyid kinsmen, in face of the common Seljuq threat, meant that Toghril could never rely on an independent, completely friendly Kākūyid power. In Ibn al-Athīr's words,

Abū Maṣṣūr b. 'Alā' ad-Daula, the ruler of Iṣbahān, never kept to a single pattern of behaviour with Sultan Toghril, but was constantly changing his attitude. At one time he would show obedience to him and adhere to his cause, but on another occasion he would throw off his allegiance and transfer it to al-Malik ar-Raḥīm [sc. the Būyid Amīr of Iraq, Khūzistān and Fārs, reigned 440–47/1048–55]. Now Toghril concealed within his heart a plan of mischief against him, and when he returned this time from Khurāsān to resume the province of Jibāl from his brother Ibrāhīm Inal and assert his own rule over it, as we have related, he turned aside to Iṣbahān with the intention of seizing it from Abū Maṣṣūr.<sup>72</sup>

Toghril invaded Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr's dominions, and in Muḥarram 442/June 1050 occupied the countryside around Iṣfahān and besieged the town itself. Yet once more there was demonstrated the Turkmens' lack of aptitude for siege warfare. Iṣfahān held out for almost a year, with the population reduced to such extremities that they had to pull down the timbers of the Friday mosque and use them for winter fuel. In Muḥarram 443/May–June 1051 Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr finally surrendered. The population was favourably treated by Toghril, who now made Iṣfahān his capital, razing part of its walls,<sup>73</sup> and transferring thither his treasury and armoury from Ray. His Turkmen troops were given land grants (*iqṭā'āt*) in the countryside of Jibāl. To compensate for the loss of his ancestral territories, Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr was given the two towns of Yazd and Abarqūh in northern Fārs, both of which had at times been controlled by the Kākūyids (see above, pp. 77, 83).<sup>74</sup>

#### IV

The second phase of the Kākūyid dynasty's history, that of their rôle as local governors in Yazd and Abarqūh, now begins. We can set forth briefly what little is known about the history of Abarqūh at this time. It was noted above, p. 83, that Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr was in control of the town in 435/1043–44, in which year the Būyids of Fārs captured it from him, this being presumably a temporary conquest only. It is possible that Abarqūh had passed into Kākūyid hands as part of 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad's conquests of 421/1030, together with Yazd (see above, p. 77). Apart from Ibn al-Athīr's information about Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūr's rule in Abarqūh, the only evidence which relates to the town at this period lies in its oldest surviving monument, a mausoleum of characteristic northern Persian type, the Gunbadh-i 'Alī. The Kūfic Arabic inscription on this building records that it was

<sup>71</sup> Miles, "The Coinage of the Kākwayhid Dynasty", pp. 97, 99, 102.

<sup>72</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 384.

<sup>73</sup> An interesting indication that the Turkmens still felt uneasy about being confined by walls, for the walls of Iṣfahān would

have been a valuable protection for a town which was henceforth to serve as the Seljuq capital.

<sup>74</sup> *Mujmal at-tawārīkh*, p. 407; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 384–5; Ja'far b. Muḥammad Ja'fari, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, ed. İraj Afshār (Tehran 1338/1960), p. 19.

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should be added the *Nasā'im al-ashār* of Nāṣir ad-Dīn Kirmāni, now edited by Jalāl ad-Dīn Husaini Urmawī [Tehran 1338/1959]), but the informal nature of the office amongst the Seljuqs at this early period makes an omission not wholly surprising. Iqbāl plausibly identifies him with the man later known to us as the Būyid Vizier Dhū s-Sa'ādāt Muḥammad b.

Ja'far, called Ibn Fasānjus, whose *kunya* is given by Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 358, as Abū l-Faraj, which is near enough to Abū l-Fath. Ibn Fasānjus served Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn when the latter entered Baghdad in 436/1045, but was dismissed in 439/1047–48 (Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, pp. 358–9, 370–1). In any event, it seems that we have here a new name to include among Toghril's Viziers.

erected in 448/1056–57 by ‘Amīd ad-Dīn Shams ad-Daula Abū ‘Alī Hazārasp b. Saif ad-Daula al-Ḥasan b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Firūzān, as a burial place for himself and his mother, the Noble Lady . . . (this name is, alas, indecipherable). This ‘Amīd ad-Dīn Shams ad-Daula is the grandson of the Dailamī chief Naṣr b. Ḥasan b. Firūzān, who played an active part in the warfare of the late fourth/tenth century in the Caspian region between the Būyids and Ziyārīds. The Firūzānid family were originally lords of Ishkawar or Shukūr in the western part of Ṭabaristān, and amongst them was numbered the adventurer Mākān b. Kākī, rebel against the Sāmānīds, who was killed in 329/940–41.<sup>76</sup>

It is possible that when the Ziyārīd Qābūs b. Vushmagīr consolidated his power in Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, the Firūzānid family abandoned their old home and moved southwards to the territories of their kinsmen the Būyids and Kākūyids (Ḥasan b. Firūzān had married a daughter of the Būyid Amīr Rukn ad-Daula and Rukn ad-Daula had married a daughter of the Firūzānid, so that they were each father-in-law of the other; and Rukn ad-Daula was also the father-in-law of Sayyida, ‘Alā’ ad-Daula Muḥammad Ibn Kākūya’s cousin). Thus the family may have remained quietly in Abarqūh, acknowledging perhaps the supremacy of the Kākūyids, down to ‘Amīd ad-Dīn Shams ad-Daula’s death some time after 448/1056–57. Unfortunately, we know nothing of the subsequent history of the Firūzānīds or Kākūyids in Abarqūh; it may be that the town reverted early to the Seljuq Sultans.<sup>76</sup>

In turning to the Kākūyids of Yazd, we do not, it is true, come up against the almost complete lack of information relating to their rule in Abarqūh. Nevertheless, the history of these Yazd Kākūyids is much more obscure than that of their predecessors in Iṣfahān and Hamadhān, whose fortunes can, as has been shown above, be traced quite closely from Ibn al-Athīr, with contributory material from such sources as the Ghaznavid historian Baihaqī. For this later phase of Kākūyid history, we have only very scattered mentions in Ibn al-Athīr and in such Seljuq sources as Anūshirvān b. Khālīd, supplemented by occasional references in local histories of the adjacent province of Kirmān, but most important of all, by quite extensive mentions of them in the local histories of Yazd itself. The first of these latter works is Ja’far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ja’farī’s *Ta’rikh-i Yazd* (often referred to by the subsequent historians of Yazd as the *Ta’rikh-i qadīm-i Yazd*), written in the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century.<sup>77</sup> Not long after this, in the latter part of the reign of the Qara Qoyunlu Amīr Jahān-Shāh (841–72/1438–67), Aḥmad b. Ḥusain b. ‘Alī Kātīb wrote his *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, and in the second half of the eleventh/seventeenth century, Muḥammad Mufīd Mustaufī Bāfqī put together his *Jāmi’-i Mufīdī*, a vast compendium of historical and topographical information on his native town of Yazd; both these works draw considerably on Ja’farī’s original work.<sup>78</sup> Despite help from these sources, it is not possible to elucidate the exact chronology of the Kākūyid governors in Yazd; even the date of Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz’s death is not known. Numismatics, often so useful for these questions, provide no help; no coins of the Kākūyids are extant after one of Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz minted in Iṣfahān in 440/1048–49,<sup>79</sup> and it is possible that subsequent Kākūyids did not hold rights of minting gold and silver coinage.

We know little about Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz’s life in Yazd beyond his building activities there as described in the *Ta’rikh-i Yazd* and the other local histories (see below), supplemented by one or two mentions in the chronicles. He was obviously an honoured and respected figure in Seljuq circles. He appears in these later years with a further *laqab*, Shams al-Mulūk, which may have been acquired at

<sup>76</sup> See Ibn Isfandiyyār, tr. pp. 225–6, 228–31; Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, p. 140; and B. Spuler, *EI*<sup>9</sup> Art. “Firūzānīds”. Spuler’s statement here that the last member of the family to be mentioned is Kanār b. Firūzān b. Ḥasan, in 988/998, therefore requires modification. The Gunbad-i ‘Alī is described and discussed at length by André Godard in his article “Abarkūh (Province de Yazd)”, *Āthār-e Irān I* (1936), pp. 48–53 (I am grateful to Dr. G. Fehérvári for this reference).  
<sup>76</sup> Ibn al-Balkhī in his *Fārs-nāma* (written in the early years of the sixth/twelfth century), p. 124, mentions Abarqūh, but makes no reference to the Kākūyids as being there; on the other hand, he does not mention them either when he deals with Yazd, *ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>77</sup> Not included in Storey’s section on the local histories of Yazd, *Persian Literature*, vol. I, pp. 1293–4, but mentioned by Rypka in his *History of Iranian Literature*, p. 447.

<sup>78</sup> See Storey, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 352, 1293–4, and Rypka, *loc. cit.*. All these local histories have either been edited or are in process of being edited by the Persian scholar Īraj Afshār, who is himself a Yazdī and who promises a work on the history and topography of the town. I am most grateful to Mr. Afshār for his kindness in supplying me with copies of these texts at short notice.

<sup>79</sup> Miles, “The Coinage of the Kakwayhid Dynasty”, p. 97, no. 21.

this later period.<sup>80</sup> In 448/1056 Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd had married one of his daughters to the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Qā'im, and in 453/1061 Chaghri's brother Toghril aspired to a much greater prize, an 'Abbāsīd bride for himself. That a Caliph's daughter should be given to a rough Turkmen was an unheard-of conception for the time, and al-Qā'im objected strongly to the proposal. Hence to prepare the way, Toghril sent a delegation to Baghdad which was led by his Vizier, the 'Amīd al-Mulūk Kundurī, and which comprised some of his leading Turkish commanders and "the outstanding potentates of the Dailamis and Gīl, including Malik Shams al-Mulūk Farāmūr b. 'Alā' ad-Daula b. Kākūya, Jalāl ad-Daula Surkhāb b. Kām-rawā,<sup>81</sup> and Muntakhab al-Dīn Nāṣir al-Mulūk Manūchihr b. Asfar-sitān".<sup>82</sup> The Caliph yielded to political and financial pressure; but not till 455/1063, just before his death, was Toghril able to go to Baghdad and meet his bride. Again on this occasion, Abū Manṣūr Farāmūr was in the retinue which accompanied the Sultan, together with the Būyid Abū 'Alī Fanā-Khusrau (or Kai-Khusrau) b. Abī Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn, lord of Kirmānshāh and later of Naubandajān,<sup>83</sup> Hazārasp<sup>84</sup> and the 'Annāzid Surkhāb b. Badr b. Muhalhil.<sup>85</sup>

Abū Manṣūr Farāmūr must have died shortly after this. The next member of the family whom we know of is his son Mu'ayyid ad-Daula or 'Alā' ad-Daula 'Aḍud ad-Dīn 'Alī, who like his father was high in the favour of the Seljuq Sultans, and in particular, of Malik-Shah. These later Kākūyids all enjoyed a certain status at the Seljuq court as scions of a former dynasty of reigning princes, and regularly had marriage links with the royal family. Thus in 469/1076-77 'Alā' ad-Daula 'Alī married Arslan Khatun bint Chaghri Beg, whose first husband, the Caliph al-Qā'im, had died in 467/1075; in Anūshirvān b. Khālid's words, "She exchanged the Qurashī for a Dailamī, and the Imām for a barbarian (*ummi*)".<sup>86</sup> Yet this last sneer was far from being merited. The more leisured existence of the Kākūyids of Yazd, compared with the hectic, war-filled lives of their forefathers in Jibāl, gave them time to cultivate and encourage the arts of peace. Afdal ad-Dīn Kirmānī says in his history of his native province, the '*Iqd al-'ulā li-l-mauqif al-'alā*', that "'Alā' ad-Daula, who was the ruler of Yazd, continually sought to attract the eminent men of both Khurāsān and Iraq, encouraged them with all sorts of promises and expressions of favour, and brought them to Yazd".<sup>87</sup> 'Alā' ad-Daula 'Alā's patronage of the great Seljuq poet Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik Nishāpūrī, called Mu'izzī, is the subject of an anecdote in the *Chahār maqāla*. According to this, Amīr 'Alā' ad-Daula 'Alī, who was himself a great lover of poetry and the confidant of Malik-Shāh, introduced Mu'izzī to the Sultan and thus started him on the path to fame (the *takhalluṣ* or nom-de-plume of Mu'izzī derives from Malik-Shāh's *laqab* Mu'izz ad-Dunyā wa d-Dīn).<sup>88</sup>

The *Diwān* of Mu'izzī contains three poems dedicated to the Kākūyid prince. The first *qaṣida* is headed "In praise of Amīr 'Alā' ad-Daula 'Alī b. Shams al-Mulūk, son-in-law of Chaghri Beg", and speaks of him in these terms:

The most exalted Amīr, splendour of the world, 'Alī, who is the heart-encouraging one and the monarch who cherishes religion too.

My verse has become exalted on account of the two 'Alīs, one a leader in war, the other made great by his followers and devotees.

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in heaven, and 'Alī b. Shams al-Mulūk here below.

The first one is the son-in-law of Chaghri Beg, the other was the son-in-law of the Prophet.

One is a fountain of noble qualities, because of his exalted birth, the other is custodian of the fountain of Kauthar.

<sup>80</sup> Bundāri, *Zubdat an-nuṣra wa-nukhbat al-'uṣra*, ed. M. T. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, vol. II (Leiden 1889), p. 133; Nāṣir ad-Dīn Kirmānī, *Nasā'im al-ashār*, p. 22. None of Abū Manṣūr Farāmūr's coins bear his honorifics.

<sup>81</sup> Perhaps the son of Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn's son Abū Ṭālib Kām-rawā, see Bowen, "The Last Buwayhids", *JRAS* (1929), pp. 241-2.

<sup>82</sup> Bundāri, p. 19; Nāṣir ad-Dīn Kirmānī, p. 22.

<sup>83</sup> See on him, and his honoured position amongst the Seljuqs, Bowen, op. cit., pp. 242-5.

<sup>84</sup> Presumably the Kurdish chief Tāj al-Mulūk Hazārasp b.

Bankīr, *muqfa'* of Basra in the time of the Būyid Fūlādh-Sutūn b. Abī Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn, cf. Bowen, op. cit., pp. 242-4.

<sup>85</sup> Bundāri, p. 25. For the background to all these marriage negotiations, see Bosworth in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V *The Seljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge 1968), pp. 48-9. On Surkhāb b. Badr, see Minorsky, *EI<sup>8</sup>* Art. "'Annāzids"; he was an influential figure in the local politics of Kurdistan and Luristān down to the end of the century.

<sup>86</sup> Bundāri, p. 52; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. X, p. 72.

<sup>87</sup> Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Āmirī Nā'inī (Tehran 1311/1932), p. 102.

<sup>88</sup> *Chahār maqāla*, pp. 40-3, tr. pp. 45-8.

One of them went on the Khaibar expedition and broke down the gate of the town, the other has foes as fierce as those at Khaibar.

All that fame which an illustrious name brings, comes from the celebrity of the name 'Alā' ad-Daula.

The Caliph made his (sc. 'Alā' ad-Daula's) famous name his sword, a sword where auspicious fortune is made his servant.<sup>89</sup>

The second *qaṣīda* is headed "In praise of Amīr 'Aḍud ad-Dīn 'Alī b. Shams ad-Dīn Farāmurz-i Kākūya" and is equally fulsome:

You may ask, "What source of pride is there for me, the lover, when you, O Turk, never strike my heart and never concern yourself with such matters?"

But this is a greater source of pride for me, the fact that in the places of feasting and pleasure, all my eloquent praise is of you, Shams-i Mulūkān, 'Aḍud ad-Dīn.

The noble and free-born prince, 'Alī b. Farāmurz, the military protector and the boon-companion of the Supreme Sultan.

His grandfather and father also had the honorifics of 'Aḍud and Shams, and both these titles have acquired a new splendour and adornment because of him.<sup>90</sup>

The third *qaṣīda* is "In description of a sword and in praise of Amīr 'Alī b. Farāmurz", and eulogizes the Kākūyid prince thus:

The most exalted Amīr, 'Alī b. Farāmurz, the emperor-like one, a Rustam in his ways of action, a Ma'n in his praiseworthy qualities, and like Sām in his exalted dignity.

An Afrāsiyāb in his royal power, the Siyāvush of his age, the Isfandiyār of his time, and the Manūchihr of his house.

He is the divinely-aided one, the just monarch (or: He is the one whose kingly power is divinely-aided, the just one); because of his illustrious forebears and his monarchical power, when he wants a thing to be done, it is!

My good fortune has become highly-exalted because of the noble virtues of the two 'Alis, and by singing the praises of the two 'Alis my nature has become excited by joy.

The one chosen by the Prophet has become joyful-hearted through my eulogies, and the one honoured by Chaghri Beg has become merry because of them.

The first one became powerful against the opponent of Islam, and the second has become successful in all the regions of Islam.

The first one was skilful in warfare on the Chosen One's behalf, and the second has been a valiant hero in the affairs of the kingdom on behalf of the monarch (sc. the Seljuq Sultan).<sup>91</sup>

Noteworthy in all three extracts is the great play made with the name and titles of 'Alā' ad-Daula 'Alī,<sup>92</sup> and the emphasis on his noble ancestry and descent from a family of kings. One discerns clearly that the social position of the Kākūyids, as descendants of one of the noble houses of the Dailamīs, was high at the Seljuq court, even if their political power was now very circumscribed. Indeed, the general position at this time of the Kākūyids, of the scions of the Būyids and of various other Dailamī and Kurdish chiefs, shows that one cannot altogether consider the Seljuq conquest of Iran as marking a sharp break with the past. There is little sign of any vengeful animus on the part of the Seljuqs against the Dailamīs; the dispossessed Būyids were, on the whole, favourably treated; and Dailamī families and chiefs continued down to the second half of the sixth/twelfth century to hold positions of local importance in the fairly decentralized structure of the Seljuq Sultanate.<sup>93</sup> It may be that in the light of such facts as these, one ought to reconsider the whole of the generally-accepted view of the history of the fifth/eleventh century, that the Seljuqs came to deliver the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs from the Būyids, that the

<sup>89</sup> *Dīwān*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran 1318/1939), p. 121 ll. 2681-8.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 510 ll. 11975-8.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 522 ll. 12239-45.

<sup>92</sup> The fondness of the Kākūyids for a limited number of personal names (e.g. 'Alī, Garshāsp, Abū Kālījār) and honorifics ('Alā' ad-Daula, 'Aḍud ad-Dīn, Shams al-Mulūk) is also notable.

<sup>93</sup> Also, Dailami commanders and soldiers continued to be an important element in the military and political structures of the Iranian lands down to the end of the sixth/twelfth century; see on the diaspora of Dailamī mercenaries throughout the Islamic lands, Bosworth, "Military Organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq", pp. 158-9.

Caliphs were eager to throw off the harsh yoke of the Dailamis and that the 'Abbāsids welcomed Toghril and his Turkmens in Iraq with open arms; the need for such a revision of history has already been stressed on more than one occasion by Professor George Makdisi.<sup>94</sup>

'Alā' ad-Daula 'Alī is one of the few Kākūyids of Yazd whose date of death is known with any certainty. He espoused the cause of Malik-Shāh's brother Tutush when the latter in 448/1095 raised a rebellion against Sultan Berk-yaruq b. Malik-Shāh, and was killed in the battle near Ray which ended Tutush's bid for the throne.<sup>95</sup> His son 'Alā' ad-Daula 'Aḍud ad-Dīn Abū Kālījār Garshāsp also held Yazd and was high in the favour of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh, having married the sister of Muḥammad and Sanjar. It is recorded by Ibn al-Athīr that in 501/1108 Abū Kālījār Garshāsp b. 'Alī and also the sons of Borsuq were amongst the military leaders in the army of Sultan Muḥammad when the Seljuq marched against the Mazyadid Amīr of Ḥilla, Saif ad-Daula Ṣadaqa.<sup>96</sup> When Muḥammad died in 511/1118, 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp was at first again highly regarded, as one of the group of descendants of Dailamī rulers, at the court of his son and successor, Maḥmūd; according to Anūshirvān b. Khālid, the new Sultan treated him like one of his own brothers. This favour was, however, short-lived. 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp was aware of a group of enemies at court, and tended to stay in Yazd. His infrequent attendances at the court in Iṣfahān aroused Maḥmūd's suspicions, and he sent a military force to Yazd in order to arrest him. 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp was surprised by this force, seized and jailed at Farrazīn, a castle near Karaj in Jibāl.<sup>97</sup> Yazd was now granted to the Sultan's cupbearer Qaraja, later governor and Atabeg of Fārs.<sup>98</sup> 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp finally managed to escape from custody and returned to Yazd, where the local populace received him with joy. He sought the protection of Sanjar in Khurāsān, and played an important part in urging him to march westwards against his nephew Maḥmūd, giving Sanjar information about the roads through Iran and about the personal rivalries and dissensions in Maḥmūd's entourage. Hence in the battle which took place at Sāwa in Jumādā I 513/August 1119 between the two Seljuq monarchs, 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp was one of the five kings said to have fought in Sanjar's army.<sup>99</sup> Presumably he was restored to Yazd when the victorious Sanjar was able to impose his conditions on Maḥmūd.

There is mentioned in Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's history of the Seljuqs of Kirmān a dispute within the Kākūyid family in Yazd arising during the later years of the Seljuq Amīr of Kirmān, Arslan-Shāh b. Kirmān-Shāh (495–537/1101–42), in which Arslan-Shāh intervened to restore the dispossessed party:

In the latter part of his reign [sc. of Arslan-Shāh's] in Yazd some causes of enmity arose between him and Alā' ad-Daula. Amīr Alī b. Farāmurz fled for refuge to the court of Kirmān, and contracted a marriage alliance. Amīr Arslan-Shāh handed Yazd over to him and they sent Amīr Muḥammad b. Kai Arslan as military governor of Yazd.<sup>100</sup>

The difficulties raised by this laconic scrap of information were noted by Houtsma.<sup>101</sup> The 'Alā' ad-Daula mentioned could well be 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp b. 'Alī, but the mention of 'Alī b. Farāmurz is certainly anachronistic; unfortunately, we have no other source to throw light on it. Concerning the end of 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp's reign, we have only the information in the *Ta'rikh-i Yazd* of Ja'fari, substantially repeated by later historians of the town, that Amīr 'Alī b. Farāmurz was killed fighting at Sanjar's side against the Qara Khitai, sc. at the Battle of the Qaṭwān Steppe in 536/1141.<sup>102</sup> This can

<sup>94</sup> E.g. in his article "The Topography of Eleventh Century Baghdad: Materials and Notes (II)", *Arabica* VI (1959), pp. 297–8, and in his book *Ibn 'Aqil et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (V<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Hégire)* (Damascus 1963), pp. 77 ff.

<sup>95</sup> *Mujmal at-tawārikh*, p. 409; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. X, p. 312.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, cf. Bosworth in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, p. 115.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 198.

<sup>98</sup> He was later killed by Sanjar in 526/1132, see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 243.

<sup>99</sup> *Mujmal at-tawārikh*, p. 414; Bundārī, pp. 133–4; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. X, p. 387. The whole episode is cited by Anūshirvān b. Khālid as yet another illustration of the blunders and mismanagement of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. The *Mujmal*

*at-tawārikh*, a contemporary source, gives an exact date for 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp's arrest, Tuesday 21st Rabi' I 513, with his escape falling in Rajab of that year. If this dating is accepted, he cannot have gone to Sanjar's court and then taken part in the Battle of Sāwa, which took place in Jumādā I 513; in any case, the 21st Rabi' I 513 was a Wednesday and not a Tuesday. It would be more in harmony with the other sources to take the year in question as the previous one, 512, in which the 21st Rabi' I actually fell on a Friday.

<sup>100</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Saljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, vol. I (Leiden 1886), p. 26.

<sup>101</sup> "Zur Geschichte der Seljuquen von Kermān", *ZDMG* XXXIX (1885), pp. 374–5.

<sup>102</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Yazd*, p. 21–2.

hardly refer to the real 'Alī b. Farāmūrz who died, as we saw above, fighting for Tutush b. Alp Arslan fifty years before this. Either 'Alā' ad-Daula Garshāsp must be meant, or else the whole item of information has been confused with the death in battle of the real 'Alī b. Farāmūrz. None of the other sources dealing with Sanjar's defeat at the hands of the Qara Khitai mention the presence there of the Kākūyid prince.

## V

It is time now to look at the local histories of Yazd and see what additional information about the Kākūyids can be extracted from them. The amount of this information is quite large, but as we shall see, it is nowhere near contemporary evidence, and the problems of evaluation are considerable. We may conveniently start with the relevant section in the oldest of these texts, Ja'far b. Muḥammad Ja'fari's *Ta'rikh-i Yazd*. The passage in question runs as follows:<sup>103</sup>

[p. 19]

## Section four

*Toghrīl's grant of Yazd to Abū Maṣṣūr 'Alā' ad-Daula Farāmūrz, and the constructional works there of Abū Maṣṣūr and his descendants, down to the time of the Atabegs*

When Toghrīl came to Iṣfahān, Abū Maṣṣūr sent presents. In turn, Toghrīl sent [an envoy] to Abū Maṣṣūr with the following message: "Although you come from a family of rulers, you do not possess much of an army. I, on the other hand, have 18,000 falconers alone, and I have with me an army too great to be numbered; and Iṣfahān is now the place where my army is encamped. Hand over the city to me, and I will give you in exchange any place in 'Irāq ['Ajami] which you like". Abū Maṣṣūr replied, "Give me the city of Yazd, and let me transfer my residence thither". Toghrīl further gave his brother's daughter Arslan Khatun in marriage to Abū Maṣṣūr, and wrote out an investiture charter which stated, "We have established Yazd as Abū Maṣṣūr's centre for worship and pious exercises (*Dār al-'Ibāda*<sup>104</sup>), and have despatched him to take up residence there".

Abū Maṣṣūr came to Yazd with his retinue of Dailamīs, and they constructed there a lofty palace. His four chief commanders—Abū Mas'ūd Bihishtī, Abū Ya'qūb, Abū Ja'far and Abū Yūsuf—constructed a fortified wall round the town, with four gates, each with iron doors. The first was called the Gate of Kiyā, the second the Gate of the Qaṭariyān,<sup>105</sup> the third the Gate of Mihrjird, and the fourth the Gate of the New Palace. These walls and gates were constructed [p. 20] in the year 432/[1040-41]. The name of each of the four commanders was inscribed on the door of the gates, together with the date.<sup>106</sup> They also built the Friday mosque in the inner city.<sup>107</sup>

Arslan Khatun built a mosque and minaret in Durda. It was the first minaret ever built in Yazd, and it has remained standing till the year 807/[1404-05].<sup>108</sup> Kiyā Narsū had a qanāt dug, known as the qanāt of Narsū-ābād, and he founded the village of Narsū-ābād.<sup>109</sup> Abū Ya'qūb constructed a qanāt known as the Ya'qūbi qanāt, and founded a village, also named after himself. Kiyā Narsū also laid out a cemetery on the

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-23.

<sup>104</sup> According to Aḥmad b. Ḥusain b. 'Alī Kātib's *Ta'rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, ed. Afshār (Tehran 1345/1966), p. 59, followed by Muḥammad Mufid Mustaufī Bāfqi in his *Jāmi'-i Mufidī*, ed. Afshār (Tehran 1340-42/1961-63), vol. III, p. 735, the name *Dār al-'Ibāda* became a synonym for the town of Yazd.

<sup>105</sup> Could this name be a reminiscence of the followers of the leader of the Azraqī sub-sect of the Khawārij, the famous warrior Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'a? During the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, the Azāriqa controlled most of southern Persia, including Fārs and Kirmān, until Qaṭari was forced by internal division in his community to move northwards, via the fringes of the Great Desert, to Ṭabaristān and his final death in 78/697-98, cf. G. Levi della Vida in *EI* s.v. It would not be at all surprising if Qaṭari at some time in his career held or passed through Yazd. The name of the Gate of the Qaṭariyān was certainly long-lasting in Yazd. It is mentioned several times in the *Jāmi' al-khairāt*, the *Waqf-nāma* of Sayyid Rukn ad-Din Ḥusaini Yazdī (d. 732/1331-32), Vizier to the Il-Khanid Sultan Abū Sa'id (ed. M. T. Dāniāh-

Pazhūh and I. Afshār [Tehran 1341/1962], pp. 66-7, etc.). This work, which enumerates all the charitable works done by the minister in his home town, mentions a large number of the places, gardens, qanāts, etc., which appear in this passage by Ja'fari on the Kākūyids.

<sup>106</sup> Amending the text here from *dar* to *bar-ū*.

<sup>107</sup> This information about Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz's arrival in Yazd and the building operations of his four commanders is attributed in the two later histories of Yazd, the *Ta'rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd* and the *Jāmi'-i Mufidī*, to the Amīr Abū Ja'far 'Alā' ad-Daula b. Majd ad-Daula Abū Kālījār (sic); see further, below.

<sup>108</sup> However, Muḥammad Mufid adds that in 832/1428-29 the foundations and supports of the mosque showed signs of weakness, and the building became ruinous (*Jāmi'-i Mufidī*, vol. III, p. 737).

<sup>109</sup> According to Muḥammad Mufid, op. cit., vol. I, p. 78, in his time the village of Narsū-ābād was largely inhabited by Ḥusaini sayyids.



edge of the sandy desert,<sup>110</sup> and built a lofty mausoleum there, [at the place] which is known today as “ the highway of Fakhr-i Jallād ”. Kiyā Shujā’ ad-Dīn built a madrasa and a mausoleum, also on the edge of the sandy desert, at the side of the place where there is the cool well of the desert fringe, dug out by Amīr Aḥmad Tabrizī. Lālā Raiḥān built a cemetery and a lofty mausoleum, adjacent to the refuse-dump, and the [other] amīrs and commanders of ‘Alā’ ad-Daula for their part erected many buildings. Khwāja Ṣawāb, who was major-domo of Arslan Khatun’s palace, constructed the qanāt of Ṣawāb; the whole town of Yazd benefited from that water, and most of the buildings of the town were supplied with its waters. Two slave girls of Arslan Khatun, called Abr (? Abarr) and Mubāraka, constructed two interconnected qanāts, named after themselves.

When the office of Sultan of the Seljuq dynasty passed to Sultan Malik-Shah b. Alp Arslan, ‘Alā’ ad-Daula Abū Maṣṣūr became the Sultan’s courtier in Iṣfahān, whilst his son ‘Alī b. Farāmūrz [p. 21] went to become Sultan Sanjar’s companion in Khurāsān and became his son-in-law. When ‘Alā’ ad-Daula Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz died in Iṣfahān, the Sultan granted Yazd to the former’s son ‘Alā’ ad-Daula Garshāsp. Garshāsp brought back his father’s body to Yazd,<sup>111</sup> built a madrasa with two minarets (the one thus called “ the madrasa with two minarets ”), a lofty mausoleum with a subterranean vault, and he buried his father there. Now, his still-intact body, exactly as it was, is laid to rest on a platform in that vault. This burial-place was constructed in the year 523/[1129]. Likewise, Garshāsp built a Friday mosque in the quarter of Durda, together with a lofty assembly-hall and a library. He brought water from the stream which flows in the qanāt of Zārīch to the mosque. One has to descend about seventy steps to this qanāt.

Malik-Shah died in Baghdad. Warfare broke out amongst his sons Berk-yaruq, Maḥmūd and Muḥammad, and the fighting between them lasted for a considerable time. Muḥammad b. Malik-Shah eventually secured firm control of the kingdom. After him, power passed to his son Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd; he became involved in warfare with his paternal uncle Sanjar, and fell into the latter’s hands as a captive. Sanjar pardoned him; he gave him the hand of his daughter, together with an elephant with a golden litter; bestowed on him the town of Khuwār of Ray; and then finally sent him back to Iṣfahān. When Sultan Sanjar fought with the Khan of Khitā and the Seljuq army was defeated, about 50,000 of the Sultan’s most prominent warriors were killed, and the pagans captured Malik Tāj ad-Dīn, ruler of Sīstān, together with the Sultan’s harem, and carried them off to Khitā; it was a year later before they were sent back. ‘Alī [p. 22] b. Farāmūrz (read: Garshāsp b. ‘Alī) was killed in that battle, so Sanjar handed Yazd over to his daughters. Garshāsp had been governor of Yazd for about forty years. The Garshāspī Garden is one of his surviving monuments, together with the market running round the two opposite ends of the old Friday mosque. After that, his two daughters ruled in Yazd.

[p. 23]

#### Section five

#### *Mention of the Atabegs of Yazd, from Rukn ad-Dīn Sām and ‘Izz ad-Dīn Langar down to Yūsuf Shāh b. Salghur Shāh, and their constructional works in Yazd*

After Garshāsp’s death, and when the Seljuq Sultanate had passed to Sultan Arslan b. Toghril, Yazd remained in the hands of ‘Alā’ ad-Daula Garshāsp’s daughters. The Sultan ordered that one of the great commanders of Garshāsp’s army should become Atabeg for the two daughters and look after the safety and security of the state. So Rukn ad-Dīn Sām b. Langar was made Atabeg. He acted as Atabeg for a while, and was responsible for building a madrasa called “ the madrasa of the Atabeg ”. But he lacked the necessary competence and judgement for running the state, so the prominent commanders resolved to set up his brother ‘Izz ad-Dīn Langar (or read with *idāfat*, ‘Izz ad-Dīn-i Langar?) as Atabeg. The latter was a brave young warrior, and during the period of Seljuq dominion had exercised many positions of responsibility; he had displayed great valour in the fighting with Mengū-bars, and had stormed and captured the walls of the city of Shīrāz from him.<sup>112</sup> He now took charge of the government of Yazd. . . .

<sup>110</sup> *Sar-rīg*. This appears in the *Jāmi’ al-khairāt*, pp. 34, 37, 175, etc., as both Sar-rīg and Ra’s ar-Ramal, and is the name given to a quarter outside the town. Muḥammad Mufīd, quoting from the *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, says of the Masjid-i Jum’a of Sar-rīg (a building dating from the early eighth/fourteenth century) that there was there a caravanserai with the cemetery adjoining it (*Jāmi’-i Muftīd*, vol. III, p. 650).

<sup>111</sup> It will be remembered that ‘Alī b. Farāmūrz died in battle fighting for Tutush b. Alp Arslan, see above, p. 88.

<sup>112</sup> Mengū-bars had become ruler of Fārs after Sanjar had killed Qaracha Sāqī in 526/1132, and had secured from Sultan Toghril b. Muḥammad the position of Atabeg to his son Alp Arslan (Ṣadr ad-Dīn al-Ḥusainī, *Akhbār ad-daula as-saljūqiyya*, ed. M. Iqbāl [Lahore 1933], p. 101). In 532/1138, however, he was killed in the Battle of Panj-angusht, when the Seljuq Dā’ūd b. Muḥammad and the ex-Caliph ar-Rāshid were defeated by Sultan Mas’ūd b. Muḥammad, see Bosworth in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, p. 129.

The information in this passage—and indeed in all the local histories of Yazd—on the chronology of the Kākūyid family is clearly confused, and one does not feel much confidence in the accuracy of the dates given in it. That of 432/1040–41 for the construction of the walls of Yazd is apparently too early, since the Kākūyids did not transfer to Yazd from Iṣfahān till after 443/1051 (unless there is a conceivable explanation for this apparent anachronism in the suggestion made below, p. 93). It is otherwise unknown that Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrzu survived long enough to become the boon-companion of Malik-Shāh; at least, he is not heard of after 455/1063 (above, p. 86). It is doubtless his son ‘Alā’ ad-Daula ‘Alī who is meant here. Moving on to the dynasty’s last days, if a Kākūyid was present at the Battle of the Qatwān Steppe, it was more likely Garshāsp b. ‘Alī, and certainly not ‘Alī b. Farāmūrzu. With the confusing nomenclature of the Kākūyids, arising from their use of a limited number of names and honorifics, it is not surprising that Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, writing three centuries or so later, should have been led astray.

The local historians of Yazd who wrote after him, sc. Aḥmad b. Ḥusain b. ‘Alī Kātib and Muḥammad Mufid Mustaufī Bāfqī, drew very largely on the original *Ta’rikh-i Yazd*. Naturally, Ja‘fari’s errors and incongruities are repeated and magnified, understandably in the case of Muḥammad Mufid, who was writing two-and-a-half centuries after Ja‘fari and some six centuries after the events described. It seems that Muḥammad Mufid drew his material via Aḥmad b. Ḥusain rather than directly from Ja‘fari.

The confusing nomenclature and titlature of the Kākūyids, already mentioned above, led these later historians into errors more serious than those found in the *Ta’rikh-i Yazd* of Ja‘fari, in so far as we know the correct form of these names and titles from contemporary and near-contemporary sources like the *Mujmal at-tawārikh*, Anūshirvān b. Khālid and Ibn al-Athīr. The chronology of reigns and the dating of events become even more aberrant, and it seems that there was a distinct decline in accurate historical knowledge about the Kākūyids in the course of the generation or two separating Ja‘fari from Aḥmad b. Ḥusain.

Thus the first Kākūyid known to Aḥmad b. Ḥusain is “Abū Ja‘far ‘Alā’ ad-Daula b. Majd ad-Daula Abū Kālinjār (read Kālījār)”; the Kākūyids’ and Būyids’ common Dailamī origin and their kinship ties account perhaps for this hybrid name. In Aḥmad b. Ḥusain’s account, it is this Amīr who transfers from Iṣfahān to Yazd, where he henceforth establishes his *Dār al-‘Ibādā* and occupies himself with pious and charitable works; but the Seljuq Sultan responsible for this is transformed from Toghrīl—who is never mentioned at all in this connection—into Malik-Shāh. It seems to have been Malik-Shāh and Sanjar who, to later generations in Iran, stood out above all other Sultans of the Great Seljuq dynasty. Muḥammad Mufid follows his own account (derived from Aḥmad b. Ḥusain) of the transfer of the Kākūyids to Yazd, with a lengthy digression on Malik-Shāh’s relations with his celebrated Vizier Nizām al-Mulk, drawing on such sources as Zamakhsharī’s *Rabī‘ al-abrār*, Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī’s *Ta’rikh-i guzida*, Mīrkhwānd’s *Raudat aṣ-ṣafā’* and Khwāndamīr’s *Ḥabīb as-siyar*; this digression has no connection with the history of Yazd, but the author apparently felt that he could not pass by the Seljuq period without giving this story.<sup>113</sup> The dating of the transfer to Yazd is placed by both the later historians of Yazd well beyond Malik-Shāh’s actual death, to 504/1110–11, by which time this Sultan had been dead for almost two decades.<sup>114</sup>

‘Alā’ ad-Daula’s wife Arslan Khatun, constructor of a new mosque and minaret at Durda in Yazd, and patron and employer of various other persons active in constructional and irrigation works in the town, is identified in the two later histories of Yazd with the daughter of Malik-Shāh’s paternal uncle Sulaimān-Shāh, given in marriage at the time of ‘Alā’ ad-Daula’s transfer to Yazd as a token of the Sultan’s thanks at the Kākūyid’s complaisance in the matter.<sup>115</sup> It is conceivable that there was some liaison arranged in Malik-Shāh’s reign between a Kākūyid and a Seljuq princess, the Sulaimān-Shāh named here presumably being Alp Arslan’s brother Sulaimān b. Chaghri Beg, a nonentity whom the Vizier Kundurī vainly tried to set up as Sultan on the death of Toghrīl in 455/1063.<sup>116</sup> But it is more

<sup>113</sup> *Jāmi‘-i Mufidī*, vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

<sup>114</sup> *Ta’rikh-i jadid-i Yazd*, p. 59; *Jāmi‘-i Mufidī*, vol. I, p. 44, vol. III, pp. 734–5.

<sup>115</sup> *Ta’rikh-i jadid-i Yazd*, pp. 60, 62; *Jāmi‘-i Mufidī*, vol. I, pp. 76, 79–80, vol. III, pp. 644, 709, 712, 734–5, 737.

<sup>116</sup> See Bosworth in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, pp. 54–5.

likely that this information relates to the marriage in 469/1076–77 of ‘Alā’ ad-Daula ‘Alī b. Farāmūrz and Chaghri Beg’s daughter Arslan Khatun (who would, of course, be Sulaimān’s sister and not daughter), authenticated from its being mentioned by Anūshirvān b. Khālid and Ibn al-Athīr (see above, p. 86). Arslan Khatun’s life as consort in Yazd made a lasting impression on the historical consciousness of the Yazdīs, and her public and charitable works are described at length in all the histories of the town, with many details in the *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd* and the *Jāmi’-i Mufīdī* additional to those of the *Ta’rikh-i Yazd*. Thus it is said that she regularly distributed clothing to the indigent, and each day held two communal meals, one for the upper classes and one for the lower, the highways and byways being scoured for those in need. She constructed the mosque and minaret at Durda, as mentioned by Ja’farī (above, p. 89), and the further detail is given that she had a band of tiles inscribed with her titles placed round the minaret just below the muezzins’ balcony and chamber (the *qafāsa-yi manār*). According to Aḥmad b. Ḥusain, the minaret collapsed in 832/1429. By Muḥammad Mufīd’s time, the mosque itself was partly ruined, and another mosque built by Arslan Khatun in the inner city of Yazd had disappeared without trace.<sup>117</sup> The buildings of both Arslan Khatun and her husband are all placed by the two later historians of Yazd within the first third of the sixth/twelfth century.

Aḥmad b. Ḥusain moves on now to speak about the Amīr ‘Alī-yi Garshāsp ‘Alā’ ad-Daula, the son (understand “grandson”) of the original ‘Alā’ ad-Daula b. Majd ad-Daula Abū Kālījār and Arslan Khatun, and also about the latter couple’s daughter Ata Khatun. It is mentioned that this Amīr ‘Alī was Mu’izzī’s *mamdūh*, and it seems that the historical ‘Alī b. Farāmūrz, who was certainly the patron of Mu’izzī (see above, pp. 86–7), is meant here. Aḥmad b. Ḥusain goes on to say that Ata Khatun married Malik-Shāh’s son Maḥmūd and had a son by him called Ata Khan. Malik-Shāh’s historical son Maḥmūd was, of course, raised briefly to the throne after his father’s death in 485/1092 by Malik-Shāh’s widow Terken Khatun and her personal intendant or *wakil*, Tāj al-Mulk Abū l-Ghanā’im; but this Maḥmūd was only four years old at that time and died two years later.<sup>118</sup> It seems obvious that Malik-Shāh’s grandson, the later Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, is really intended. Aḥmad b. Ḥusain’s mysterious Ata Khan—whose existence is unattested in the more nearly-contemporary sources—is said to have resided in Yazd and to have been active as a builder there.<sup>119</sup> Also mentioned at this juncture is a Terken Khatun (not to be identified with the famous wife of Malik-Shāh, mentioned above, unless we have another conflation of persons and confusion of names, which is by no means unlikely), described as the daughter of Sultan Maḥmūd and a slave concubine; Terken Khatun’s hand was sought by one of the Seljuqs of Kirmān, but besides this marriage, she also built a madrasa, named after her, in Yazd.<sup>120</sup>

However, mention of Ata Khan and Ata Khatun fades out; the former is said to have been killed at Iṣfahān in the civil warfare between Malik-Shāh’s sons Berk-yaruq and Muḥammad.<sup>121</sup> We now have fairly extensive mention of Amīr ‘Alī’s son Farāmūrz, who must be identified with the Garshāsp b. ‘Alī of the earlier sources; confusion of the two personal names Garshāsp and Farāmūrz seems to have been chronic in the Yazd historians. Aḥmad b. Ḥusain and Muḥammad Mufīd simply repeat here substantially the information of Ja’farī, that Farāmūrz was Sanjar’s boon-companion and married one of the Sultan’s cousins (*‘ammzāda*); we know from Ibn al-Athīr that Garshāsp b. ‘Alī was actually Sanjar’s brother-in-law (see above, p. 88). There is no reference to Garshāsp’s tribulations at the hands of Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, but the information of the *Ta’rikh-i Yazd* that he died fighting the Qara Khitai is further retailed. He had, it seems, been a great builder in Yazd, laying out the Gard-i Farāmūrz or district of Farāmūrz, still thus called and still populous in Muḥammad Mufīd’s own day.<sup>122</sup> We are finally left with the story of the transition to Atabeg rule in Yazd, caused by the failure of the male line of the Kākūyids there after Garshāsp b. ‘Alī’s death, this story being given in the same words as those of Ja’farī.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>117</sup> *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, p. 60; *Jāmi’-i Mufīdī*, vol. I, p. 76, vol. III, pp. 735–6.

<sup>118</sup> See Bosworth in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, pp. 103–5.

<sup>119</sup> *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, pp. 62–6; *Jāmi’-i Mufīdī*, vol. I, pp. 80–1.

<sup>120</sup> *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, pp. 63–4; *Jāmi’-i Mufīdī*, vol. I, loc. cit.

<sup>121</sup> *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, p. 65; *Jāmi’-i Mufīdī*, vol. I, p. 81.

<sup>122</sup> *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, loc. cit.; *Jāmi’-i Mufīdī*, vol. I, pp. 81–2, vol. III, pp. 714–15. No doubt the Gard-i Farāmūrz was, in reality, named after Abū Maṣūūr Farāmūrz b. ‘Alā’ ad-Daula Muḥammad, the first Kākūyid to settle at Yazd.

<sup>123</sup> *Ta’rikh-i jadīd-i Yazd*, pp. 65 ff.; *Jāmi’-i Mufīdī*, vol. I, pp. 82 ff.

The value of the passage on the later Kākūyids cited from the *Ta'rikk-i Yazd* lies as much in the rich information it gives on the topography of the town and on building activities there, as in its purely historical information; and this topographical information is amplified by that in the subsequent local histories. Before the establishment of the Kākūyids there, Yazd had been a town of very moderate standing, making little impact on the wider scene of Iranian history. We do, however, learn from Iṣṭakhrī (wrote c. 340/951) that in the fourth/tenth century it was already a town with some fortifications and a citadel (*hiṣār*), this last having two iron gates, the Bāb Izad and the Bāb al-Masjid, this second one being adjacent to the Friday mosque. The Kākūyids were thus not the first to build protective walls round Yazd, although their ones were more elaborate than those previously existing.<sup>124</sup> Much use was also already made of qanāts to provide Yazd with a water supply and irrigate its fields and orchards, so that despite its proximity to the Great Desert, it produced fruit of excellent quality, with a surplus for export.

In his useful notes to the *Ta'rikk-i Yazd*, Iraj Afshār cites an article by Jawād Majd-zāda Ṣahbā, with a postscript by 'Abbās Iqbāl, which deals with the question of the gates of Yazd and of the four Amīrs of Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz who erected them.<sup>125</sup> Ṣahbā describes an inscription from one of the Yazd gates, that of Mihrjird; the gate itself has now been demolished, but parts of an iron plate from it have been preserved by the local authorities.<sup>126</sup> One of these fragments has on it a Kūfic Arabic inscription, which Ṣahbā gives and which may be translated into English as follows:

The Fortunate Amīr Abū n-Najm al-Bihishtī and the Victorious Amīr Abū Ya'qūb, [that is] Badr and Iṣḥāq the two sons of Yināl, clients of the Commander of the Faithful (may God prolong their existence!), ordered this to be constructed and erected in the year 432 [1040-41]. [This is] the work of Muḥammad b. Abī Iṣḥāq al-Iṣfahānī, the Blacksmith.

In regard to this, Iqbāl comments that Ja'farī's "Abū Mas'ūd Bihishtī" must be a mistake, and this seems probable; the present author suggests that *al-Mas'ūd* and *al-Muzaffar* should be taken as they are translated into English above, sc. as descriptive epithets and not as personal names, echoing the well-known practice amongst the Sāmānids of referring to the Amīrs in this fashion. Iqbāl also adduces a relevant piece of evidence from Ibn al-Athīr, who under the year 435/1043-44 describes the fighting between Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz and the Būyid Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn over the possession of two fortresses on the borders of Kirmān; in this warfare, the Kākūyid army was defeated and the commander of the forces, the Amīr Iṣḥāq b. Yināl, captured by Abū Kālījār 'Imād ad-Dīn.<sup>127</sup> One would very much like to see the inscription itself, since the text as given by Ṣahbā contains several grammatical and textual incongruities. The date in the inscription accords well—perhaps too well—with that in the literary source of the *Ta'rikk-i Yazd*. We have noted that Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz did not transfer his residence from Iṣfahān to Yazd till more than a decade after then, but it is by no means impossible that Yazd was in Kākūyid hands before 443/1051, perhaps from the time when 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad minted a coin there, sc. in 421/1030 (see above, p. 77). Unfortunately, the literary sources are wholly silent about this. For the present, the question must rest undecided, but the present author feels that more evidence is necessary before we can posit an extensive building programme like that ascribed to the Kākūyids and their servants in Yazd at a pre-443/1051 date.<sup>128</sup>

Other sections of the *Ta'rikk-i Yazd* provide a certain amount of additional information on the constructional and irrigational activities of Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz's amīrs and courtiers. Amīr

<sup>124</sup> *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik* (Cairo 1981/1961), p. 77; Ibn Ḥauqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden 1938-39), vol. II, p. 280; cf. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 285.

<sup>125</sup> The article appeared in *Yādgar* I/3, pp. 72-80. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see this article directly.

<sup>126</sup> Ahmad b. Husain says that "The names of these four commanders were incised in Kūfic script on iron plates on the four gates" (*Ta'rikk-i jadid-i Yazd*, p. 61).

<sup>127</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IX, p. 355.

<sup>128</sup> The most celebrated, and indeed, the only building which survives today in Yazd from this period is the shrine of the

Duvāzdah Imām. Schroeder says that it is "for a historian, one of the most important buildings in Persia"; its importance to the historian of Persian architecture lies in its use at an early date of squinches to carry the dome on the main walls. The Kūfic inscription on one of the building's panels shows that its date of construction was 429/1037-38, i.e. shortly before Yazd became the new centre of the Kākūyids. See A. U. Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., *Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford 1938-39), vol. III, pp. 1001-04 (E. Schroeder), 1279-80 (Pope), with plates in vol. VIII, pls. 273-4; and Pope, *Persian Architecture* (London 1965), p. 100 and fig. 351.

Bihishtī, whatever the correct form of his name may be, is obviously the constructor of the Bihishtī Garden. Ja'farī says that "In the year 747[1346-47], Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar (sc. the founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty of southern Persia and Iraq) took possession of various properties outside the town gates, such as the quarter of the chest makers, the [street of the] hyacinths, the Bihishtī Garden, the madrasa of the Atabeg Sām, the Khalaf madrasa, the street of [Muḥammad] Jalāl, the [Ṣāhibī] hospital, the [quarter of] Ilchī Khan, the quarter of the Kiyā Gate, the shrine of Sharaf ad-Dīn Khidr and the garden of the jujube trees".<sup>129</sup> In his section on the qanāt of Khwāja Ṣawāb, the author mentions that in his time, sc. the early ninth/fifteenth century, it was dried up, and most of the water which had flowed from the town to the Bihishtī garden no longer ran.<sup>130</sup> With regard to Amīr Abū Ya'qūb Ishāq, Ja'farī mentions a Ya'qūbī cemetery outside the town and devotes a section to describing the Ya'qūbī qanāt. This ran outside the town, originating from the village of Mihrijird, and supplied sweet water to the Ya'qūbī garden, orchards and vegetable gardens. These latter tracts were contiguous with other stretches of cultivated land which were used for market gardening, those of Muryābād and Salghurābād; they were supplied with streams of running water, and had many irrigation contrivances; the vegetable patches grew carrots, turnips, cotton and millet.<sup>131</sup>

Of the other qanāts built by notables of the Kākūyid ruling class in Yazd, Ja'farī speaks in detail about those of Arslan Khatun's two slave girls, and that of Abū Manṣūr Farāmūr's general Kiyā Narsū. The qanāts of Abr and Mubāraka were interconnected, and arose from the same source. The qanāt of Abr appeared on the surface in the quarter of the Zoroastrians, and this was a drawback, because the Majūs controlled the fountain-head where it rose to the surface. But the water was extremely sweet and light, and the cognoscenti of the waters of Yazd considered it to be the lightest of all. These two qanāts were still very much used in the eighth/fourteenth century, as attests the *Jāmi' al-khairāt*. Its author says that they are so well-known that he does not need to describe their courses in detail; and he also mentions a mill of Mubāraka, near the Garden of Amīr Sām.<sup>132</sup> The Narsū-ābād qanāt was built by the general Narsū; its source was in the Mihrijird district, and it ran through the town, watering a large number of vegetable gardens en route, to the quarter of Narsū-ābād.<sup>133</sup>

Lastly amongst this topographical information, one may note that the village which gave its name to the qanāt of Zārīch was one of those around which Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar built fortifications in 740/1339-40. The other villages named are those of Khātūnābād, Dailamābād and Turkābād, and the obvious inference is that these settlements date from Kākūyid times, the first being a foundation of Arslan Khatun, whose charitable and constructional activities have been extensively mentioned above, and the other two being settlements of the Kākūyids' Dailamī and Turkish troops.<sup>134</sup>

## VI

The opening sentences of Section Five of the *Ta'rikh-i Yazd* describe for us the final disappearance of the Kākūyids of Yazd in the third quarter of the sixth/twelfth century, or rather, their metamorphosis into a line of Turkish Atabegs. This last process was a familiar one all over the Middle East at this time; one might, for instance, compare it with the succession of the Aḥmadilī Atabegs to the heritage of the Rawwādids in Azerbaijan. Indeed, many Muslim historians found it difficult to separate an original family or dynasty from its Atabeg epigoni. Through the marriage of Garshāsp b. 'Alī b. Farāmūr's daughter to the first Atabeg Rukn ad-Dīn Sām, it became true that Kākūyid blood flowed in the veins of these Atabegs of Yazd; hence Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī, reporting the death in battle against the Mongols at Iṣfahān, whilst fighting at the side of the Khwārazm-Shāh Jalāl ad-Dīn, of 'Alā' ad-Daula Ata Khan Yazdī, is careful to stress his ancestry back to the founder of the line, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>129</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Yazd*, p. 33, repeated in *Jāmi'-i Muṣṣafī*, vol. III, pp. 737-8, with more exact topographical details.

<sup>130</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Yazd*, p. 154.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 148, 152.

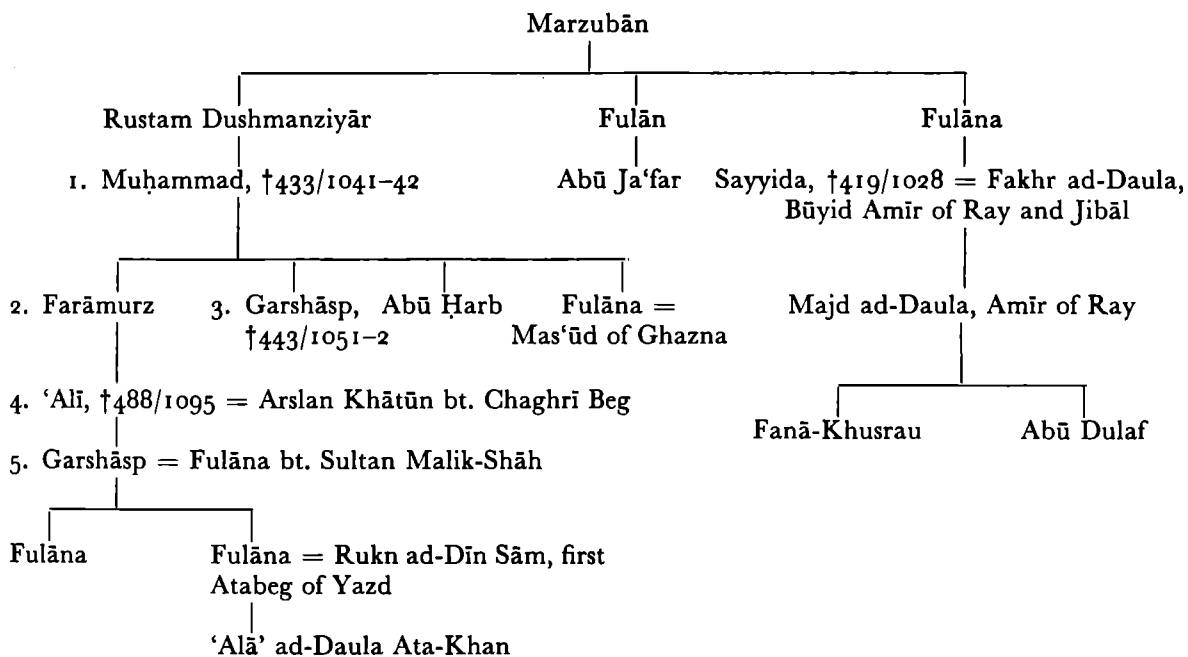
<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2; *Jāmi' al-khairāt*, pp. 14, 149.

<sup>133</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Yazd*, p. 153-4.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35. Zārīch was apparently a district as well as a village, for in *ibid.*, p. 153, we find mentioned "Firūzābād of Zārīch". Its qanāt was still used in the eighth/fourteenth century, see the *Jāmi' al-khairāt*, pp. 12, 176.

<sup>135</sup> *Ta'rikh-i guzda*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusain Navā'ī (Tehran 1339/1960), p. 499, abridged translation by Browne and Nicholson, Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. XIV/2 (London 1913), p. 118.

Genealogical table of the Kākūyids, showing their connections with the Būyids, the Seljuqs and the Atabegs of Yazd





## VI

### The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān

(320–57/932–68)

Kirmān is a somewhat isolated corner of the Iranian plateau, with its mountainous configuration and with the protective zone on the east of the Dasht-i Lūt. The main access routes from the west to Kirmān are by land through Fārs, and the province has accordingly tended to be politically dependent on Fārs and the ruling power in south-western Persia.<sup>1</sup> However, at certain times it has enjoyed a measure of political independence. This was most notable during the Seljuq and Mongol periods; for 150 years Kirmān was ruled by a separate branch of the Seljuq family, the descendants of Qāwurd b. Chaghri Beg Dā'ūd (sc. from 433/1041 to 582/1186), and then in the thirteenth century was under the rule of scions of the Qara Khitai, the Qutlugh-Khanids (sc. from 619/1222 to 703/1304). But in the tenth century also, Kirmān, poised between the empire of the Sāmānids in Khurāsān and the possessions in western and southern Persia of various Dailamī adventurers, was virtually independent under the Banū Ilyās or Ilyāsids, even though these last were nominally tributary to the Sāmānids.

The Ilyāsids have left little mark in the historiography of mediaeval Persia. The prime source is the Būyid official and chronicler Miskawaih, who refers to events in Kirmān when they impinge on the history of the Būyid dynasty; thus he gives detailed accounts of the expeditions against Kirmān by Mu'izz ad-Daula in 324/936 and by 'Aḍud ad-Daula in 357/968 and the succeeding years. This material was utilized, in a slightly condensed form, by Ibn al-Athīr, who also has additional information about the origins of Muḥammad b. Ilyās's power in Kirmān, doubtless derived from the unspecified sources for Khurāsānian history upon which he drew for the history of Sāmānid and Dailamī activity in Persia at this time. The Ghaznavid historian 'Utbī describes 'Aḍud ad-Daula's conquest of Kirmān and the deposition of Ilyasa' b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās, but only as background to the story of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's entente with Bahā' ad-Daula Fīrūz b. 'Aḍud ad-Daula after the Ghaznavid conquest of Sīstān in 393/1003. There



is a fair amount of *inshā'* literature, collections of official correspondence, surviving from the early Būyid period, and letters from the collections of 'Aḍud ad-Daula's secretary 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yūsuf ash-Shīrāzī (d. 388/998) and of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi' (d. 384/994) make reference to the Būyid expeditions of 360/970 and 364/975 against Kirmān (see below, p. 118, n. 40). Apart from one or two mentions of the Banū Ilyās in the Arabic geographers of the tenth century, this exhausts the contemporary or near-contemporary sources on the family; when the later general historians, such as Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī, Mīrkhwānd and Khwāndamīr, touch on the Ilyāsids, they reproduce information from the above historical sources.<sup>2</sup>

However, the local histories of towns and provinces often throw light on the wider historical scene. A rich genre of local historical writing, at first dealing with the *faḍā'il*, excellences, of the place in question and with the prominent scholars and religious leaders who adorned it, and then dealing with the historical events affecting the place, has flourished in Persia down to the present day (the works of Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravī on his native province of Azerbaijan and on Khūzistān can clearly be attached to this ancient tradition).<sup>3</sup> Historians of the eastern Islamic world have long recognized the richness of such sources as Narshakhī's *Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā*, the anonymous *Ta'rikh-i Sistān* or Mu'īn ad-Dīn Isfizārī's *Raudāt al-jannāt fī auṣāf madīnat Harāt*, which fill out by their intimate but significant details the barer bones of the general histories. Kirmān, culturally a region of second rank in the earlier Islamic centuries, did not apparently produce any local histories at that time; but in the twelfth century we find the commanding figure of Afdal ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī (died before 615/1218), called by Bāstānī-yi Pārīzī (see below) 'the Baihaqī of Kirmān'. Amongst his three works on the history of Kirmān is the '*Iqd al-'ulā li'l-mauqif al-a'lā*', written for the Ghuzz chieftain Malik Dīnār, who in 582/1186 seized control of the province from its last Saljuq Amīr. As well as containing a history of the Ghuzz conquest, the third *qism* or section of the book has historical material on the earlier rulers of Kirmān and on the special merits and characteristics of the province. In this section there occurs information on the Ilyāsids not found elsewhere, e.g. on Muḥammad b. Ilyās's building activities in various towns of Kirmān (see below). The '*Iqd al-'ulā*' was used by the nineteenth-century historian of Kirmān, Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Vazīrī, in his *Ta'rikh-i Kirmān*, known as the *Ta'rikh-i Sālāriyya* (thus named after the author's patron, the Sālār-i Lashkar Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā, governor of Kirmān). In his excellent edition of this text (Publications of

the Farmān-Farmāyān Memorial Library No. 1, Tehran 1340/1961), Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī-yi Pārīzī adds further citations from the *'Iqd al-'ulā* to his extensive commentary on Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Vazīrī's text.<sup>4</sup>

Numismatic evidence can often fill the lacunae of the literary sources, for coins are uniquely valuable in that they provide a direct, tangible link with the past. Unfortunately, no coins of the Ilyāsids are known to be extant, although this does not preclude the possibility that Ilyāsīd coins might yet turn up.<sup>5</sup>

In the second half of the ninth century, Kirmān, together with the neighbouring province of Fārs, was incorporated in the vast if transient military empire built up by the brothers Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. Laith. In the opening years of the tenth century, Kirmān and Fārs passed from the Ṣaffārid Amīr Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr into the hands of the Ṣaffārids' slave commander Subkarī (? Sebük-eri<sup>6</sup>), who made himself independent there until defeated by Caliphal troops in 298/911 or 299/912. Abbasid rule was thus re-established in southern Persia, with 'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Misma'ī as governor.<sup>7</sup> For the brief period between 301/914 and 304/917, when the Ṣaffārids had been temporarily crushed and the Sāmānid suzerains of Sīstān were distracted by dynastic troubles in Transoxania and Khurāsān,<sup>8</sup> the Abbasids were even able to re-assert their authority in Sīstān for a time. The then governor of Fārs, the slave general Badr b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥam-māmī, sent to Sīstān al-Faḍl b. Ḥāmid and the deputy governor of Kirmān, Abū Zaid Khālīd b. Muḥammad; the latter in 304/917 rebelled against Badr but was defeated and killed at Dārābjird in Fārs.<sup>9</sup> The governorship of Fārs and Kirmān subsequently passed to 'Abdallāh al-Misma'ī's son Ibrāhīm; during Ibrāhīm's tenure of power, an expedition was sent against the Kufichīs or Qufṣ in Kirmān, and 5,000 of that predatory race were deported to Fārs. When Ibrāhīm died in 315/927, al-Muqtadir appointed as governor of Fārs the slave general Yāqūt, with Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad as his deputy in Kirmān.<sup>10</sup> In 318/930 the Caliph appointed his son Hārūn as honorary governor of Fārs, Kirmān, Sīstān and Makrān, but in the next year Yāqūt again became executive governor of Fārs, with his son Abū Bakr Muḥammad appointed to Sīstān. However, there is no record that any representative of the Abbasids was ever able actually to establish himself in Sīstān at this time. The province was by now firmly in the control of a member of the Ṣaffārid family, the Amīr Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Laith; in 317/929 Abū Ja'far Aḥmad had been

able to send an army into Kirmān with impunity, and had collected a million dirhams there.<sup>11</sup>

It is in 317/929 that Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Ilyās is first mentioned. In that year, the Sāmānid Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad was faced with the revolt in Bukhārā of his three brothers Yaḥyā, Maṣṣūr and Ibrāhīm, whom he had until then kept imprisoned there. Discontented and turbulent elements in the capital (according to Gardīzī, *fudūliyyān* 'trouble-seekers and meddlers', and members of the army; according to Ibn al-Athīr, 'Dailamīs, 'Alids and 'ayyārs', i.e. volunteers and ghāzīs) proclaimed Yaḥyā as Amīr. Muḥammad b. Ilyās was one of Amīr Naṣr's commanders, and apparently of Iranian Soghdian origin (*aḥ maḥall-i Ṣughd-i Samarqand*, according to Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Vazīrī); the family seems to have retained property and interests in Ṣughd whilst its members ruled in Kirmān. Muḥammad b. Ilyās had incurred the Amīr's displeasure and had been imprisoned, but through the intercession of the famous Vizier Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Ubaidallāh Bal'amī, had been released and sent on an expedition to Gurgān. He now joined the rebel Yaḥyā's side. As the rebellion lost its momentum and began to collapse, Yaḥyā went to Nīshāpūr, but was barred from that city by its governor, the Dailamī Mākān b. Kākī, at that time in the Sāmānid service. Muḥammad b. Ilyās went over to Mākān's side, and took over the city when Mākān left for Gurgān, but he then admitted his former master Yaḥyā to Nīshāpūr and made the *khutba* there for him. Naṣr b. Aḥmad regained control of his kingdom and marched on Nīshāpūr in 320/932. A general scattering of Yaḥyā's former partisans ensued. The general Qaratigin Isfijābī withdrew to Bust and ar-Rukhkhaj in southern Afghanistan; Muḥammad b. Ilyās went to Kirmān and there established his authority.<sup>12</sup>

The uncertainty prevailing in Kirmān and in southern Persia in general gave Muḥammad b. Ilyās a useful opportunity. This was a time when the remnants of Caliphal authority in Persia were crumbling under the upsurge of Dailamī expansionism. In the years after 316/928 Mardāvij b. Ziyār and Asfār b. Shīrūya extended their power southwards through Jibāl towards Iṣfahān and the borders of Khūzistān. In Khūzistān and Lower Iraq, Abbasid control was only exercised through such powerful and independent-minded figures as Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad al-Barīdī and the *Amīr al-Umarā'* Muḥammad b. Rā'iq. Yāqūt remained governor of Fārs, but was under increasing pressure from Mardāvij and his associates, the three Būyid brothers. In 322/934 Yāqūt was defeated by 'Alī b. Būya, the later 'Imād ad-Daula, and his capital Shīrāz fell into Būyid hands; two years later he was killed in battle with Abū 'Abdallāh Aḥmad al-Barīdī.<sup>13</sup>

In 322/934 the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad took steps fully to restore his authority in outlying parts of his dominions, and he unleashed against Muḥammad b. Ilyās the Dailamī Mākān b. Kākī. Muḥammad b. Ilyās went to Iṣṭakhr to seek help from Yāqūt, but failed to get it, and on returning to Kirmān was defeated by Mākān and driven out to Dīnawar in western Persia. Mākān then took over Kirmān on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥtāj. In the latter part of 323/935 and the earlier part of 324/935–6, Mākān was summoned to join Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥtāj for operations in Qūmis and Gurgān against Mardāvīj's brother Vushumgīr; this departure allowed Muḥammad b. Ilyās to return, and after prolonged fighting with the Sāmānid garrisons in Kirmān, his authority was restored there.<sup>14</sup>

But before the eventual triumph of Muḥammad b. Ilyās, a new factor had appeared in Kirmānī affairs in the shape of the dynamic and aggressive Būyids. 'Alī b. Būya had seized Fārs from Yāqūt (see above), and al-Ḥasan b. Būya, the later Rukn ad-Daula, controlled Iṣfahān and much of Jibāl. The youngest brother Aḥmad, the later Mu'izz ad-Daula, was in 324/936 diverted by 'Alī towards Kirmān, at that time racked by strife between Muḥammad b. Ilyās and the Sāmānid commander Abū 'Alī Ibrāhīm b. Sīmjūr ad-Dawātī, who had been left in Kirmān when Mākān had departed. An army of 1,500 of the best Dailamī troops and 5,000 Turks was sent with Mu'izz ad-Daula,<sup>15</sup> with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ar-Rāzī, called Kūr-Dabīr, as his secretary and lieutenant. The Būyid forces reached Sīrajān in western Kirmān, where Muḥammad b. Ilyās was at that moment being besieged by Ibrāhīm b. Sīmjūr. The latter returned to Khurāsān, and Muḥammad b. Ilyās also fell back to Bam, which being on the edge of the Great Desert was strategically well situated for a swift withdrawal to Qūhistān or Sīstān. Muḥammad b. Ilyās did, in fact, flee to Sīstān without a fight. Mu'izz ad-Daula was already in firm possession of Sīrajān, from whose population he exacted a large financial subvention for his army. He now placed one of his officers in Bam and turned to Jīruft in the southern part of the province. Mu'izz ad-Daula's entry of Jīruft had to be preceded by negotiations with 'Alī b. az-Zanjī, called 'Alī K.lūya (? Gulūya), leader of the local Kufīchīs and Balūch. These dwellers in the mountains of southern and eastern Kirmān, the Jabal al-Qufṣ and the Jabal Bārīz of the geographers, had customarily paid some tribute to the ruler of Kirmān but had otherwise enjoyed virtual independence.<sup>16</sup> 'Alī Gulūya agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Būyids of a million dirhams, and an immediate, non-recurring payment of 100,000 dirhams, and to provide a hostage for good behaviour.

According to Miskawaih, the secretary Kūr-Dabīr advised Mu'izz ad-Daula to make peace and wait for a favourable opportunity to catch 'Alī unawares and then dispose of him. So Mu'izz ad-Daula tried to surprise and overcome the rival leader, but 'Alī's spies alerted him, and in the ensuing fighting, the Būyid was severely wounded in the head and trunk, losing also his left hand and several fingers of his other one. 'Imād ad-Daula had to send a new force from Fārs of 2,000 men in order to secure the withdrawal to Sīrajān of the remnants of Mu'izz ad-Daula's army. However, 'Alī Gulūya recognized the superior might of the Būyids; he tended the wounded Mu'izz ad-Daula in Jīruft and made peace with 'Imād ad-Daula. Muḥammad b. Ilyās, then in Sīstān, heard about Mu'izz ad-Daula's difficulties, and returned to Khannāb (on the road between Bam and Sīrajān), but after several days' fighting, was defeated and forced to flee. With this victory behind him, Mu'izz ad-Daula was able to wreak his vengeance on 'Alī Gulūya, whom he now defeated in battle. 'Imād ad-Daula apparently decided that Būyid resources could not at that point be diverted for the pacification of Kirmān and its unruly mountaineer and tribal elements; he recalled Mu'izz ad-Daula, who reluctantly returned to Iṣṭakhr, and 'Imād ad-Daula later sent his brother for operations against Khūzistān in 326/937–8.<sup>17</sup>

A much less detailed, but varying and anecdotal, account of Mu'izz ad-Daula's attempt to conquer Kirmān is given by Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Vazīrī, for which the only authority quoted is the late source of Khwānd-amīr's *Ḥabīb as-siyar*. He relates that Ibrāhīm b. Sīmjūr was sent by the Sāmānid Amīr in 320/932 to recover Kirmān, but when Ibrāhīm reached Rāvar, to the north of Bardasīr, he heard of Mu'izz ad-Daula's expedition from Fārs to Kirmān, and returned to Khurāsān. Muḥammad b. Ilyās's son Sulaimān, governor of Sīrajān, abandoned that town to Mu'izz ad-Daula and fled to Bardasīr. Sulaimān and Muḥammad b. Ilyās were both besieged there, but in the end, Mu'izz ad-Daula agreed to make peace, accepting tribute and the mention of the Būyids in the *khutba* before Muḥammad's own name. He then returned to Shīrāz.<sup>18</sup> The vagueness of the account, and the impossibly early date of 320/932 ('Imād ad-Daula did not conquer Fārs till two years after this, see above, p. 110), make it of dubious reliability; the mention of Sulaimān as governor of Sīrajān suggests a conflation with the events leading up to 'Adud ad-Daula's conquest. The only other possibility is that we have here the recollection of a Būyid expedition against Kirmān later in Muḥammad b. Ilyās's reign, unnoted by Miskawaih, and which led the Ilyāsids temporarily to acknowledge Būyid suzerainty (as is

pointed out just below, 'Utbī and Maqdisī say that Muḥammad b. Ilyās normally acknowledged the Sāmānids). Can this have any connection with the coin of 'Aḍud ad-Daula apparently minted at Bardasīr in 348/959–60, mentioned above, n. 5? Mu'izz ad-Daula did not die till 356/967, but after 334/945 he was established in Baghdad as *Amīr al-Umarā'* and can have had no connection with affairs in Kirmān. 'Aḍud ad-Daula, on the other hand, was ruler of Fārs from 338/949 onwards. Could Mu'izz ad-Daula's name, already connected with Kirmān through the events which took place at the outset of Muḥammad b. Ilyās's reign there, have been confused with that of 'Aḍud ad-Daula, when it was a question of events which took place much later?

Finally, we may note in connection with Mu'izz ad-Daula's attempt to conquer Kirmān that the *'Iqd al-'ulā* speaks of his clashes with the Kufīchīs,<sup>19</sup> but the only fresh detail is that his battle with 'Alī Gulūya is said to have taken place at the head of the defile of Dar-i Fārid or Dīlfārid<sup>20</sup> in the district of Sardūya (i.e. to the south-west of the Kūh-i Hazār, the highest point of the mountains of Kirmān).

For the next thirty years or so, the chroniclers record virtually nothing of affairs in Kirmān. It seems that Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned after the Būyid withdrawal and made firm his rule there for the greater part of this period. He acknowledged the Sāmānids in the *khutba*, but was regarded as *de facto* independent, and in 348/959–60 the Caliph al-Muṭī' sent him a banner and robe of honour, two of the insignia of independent political sovereignty.<sup>21</sup> Afḍal ad-Dīn Kirmānī calls Muḥammad b. Ilyās an *'ayyār* and brigand, and says that he derived a steady income from despoiling caravans travelling from Fārs to Kirmān.<sup>22</sup> Information in the accounts of 'Aḍud ad-Daula's final conquest of Kirmān certainly implies that he was in the habit of receiving a proportion of the profits from the Kufīchīs' predatory activities (see below), and it is very likely that a *modus vivendi* with these tribespeople was a prerequisite for the stability of Muḥammad b. Ilyās's rule in Kirmān.

On the credit side, the Arab geographers and Afḍal ad-Dīn Kirmānī mention considerable activity by Muḥammad b. Ilyās in the way of buildings and charitable works. In Bardasīr or Guvāshīr, the town where he kept his treasury and accumulated riches,<sup>23</sup> he built a mosque; he rebuilt the old citadel and laid out gardens there, with a deep well; and he built two new strong-points and a protective trench. There was one stronghold in the town on the summit of a hill, up to which Muḥammad b. Ilyās used to ride

each night and sleep there in the coolness. Someone is supposed to have inscribed on the doorway of one of his two new fortresses, the 'castle on the hill' (*qal' a-yi kūh*) the lines

'Ibn Ilyās built you, and then someone else came along and occupied you. But that is the way of Time: it sweeps onward and then it brings things back.

You were built by a man who, if we had said to him "You have been given eternal life", would have objected and claimed that he had been granted a further eternity after the first eternity.'

Afḍal ad-Dīn Kirmānī says that he searched for the inscription, but could find no trace of it. At Zarand, two stages to the north-west of Bardasīr, Muḥammad b. Ilyās also built a castle. At the small town of Ghubairā, to the south of Bardasīr, he built a market just outside the walls. Again, between the small settlements of Avārik and Mihrḡird, to the north-west of Bam, he built a castle. At Khabīṣ, too, on the edge of the Great Desert, he was active, and had his own name inscribed on the gates of the town; Afḍal ad-Dīn Kirmānī mentions this inscription as still existing in his own time two centuries later. Muḥammad b. Ilyās's son Ilyasa' is described as the builder of the government headquarters, the *Dār al-Imāra*, in Bardasīr.<sup>24</sup> Muḥammad b. Ilyās also achieved some favourable mention in the 'Mirrors for Princes' literature; thus Niẓām al-Mulk speaks of his nobility and merit.<sup>25</sup>

The events leading up to the end of Ilyāsīd rule in Kirmān are given by the chroniclers under 356/967 and 357/968, the latter year being that of 'Aḍud ad-Daula's conquest of Kirmān. The preliminary events to this must, however, clearly be placed at least two or three years before these dates. There had already been some ill-feeling between Muḥammad b. Ilyās and his son Ilyasa', and Ilyasa' had taken refuge with 'Aḍud ad-Daula, ruler of Fārs since his uncle 'Imād ad-Daula's death in 338/949, until the breach had been healed.<sup>26</sup> According to Miskawaih, Muḥammad b. Ilyās had over the years amassed a great quantity of wealth in his various castles scattered over Kirmān, above all at Bardasīr, this wealth being the fruits of his predatory activities; he had 'behaved just like a brigand' (*jarā majrā ba' ḍ al-mutaṣā'likin*), and had allied with the Kufīchī and Balūch bandits, dividing with them the proceeds of their depredations. Muḥammad b. Ilyās was on his way to the districts of the Kufīchīs to pocket his share of the wealth from a plundered caravan, when he was afflicted by a paralytic stroke. He was

therefore compelled to make arrangements for the succession to the amirate. Of his three sons, Ilyasa' was made commander of the army and *wali al-'ahd* or heir, with Ilyās next in line. The third son, Sulaimān, was on bad terms with Ilyasa'. Muḥammad b. Ilyās therefore decided that Sulaimān should go to their native province of Şughd, and he gave him a document listing his buried treasures and deposits there. Yet Sulaimān refused to have his rights within Kirmān set aside. He set off ostensibly for Şughd, but then turned aside to the Kufīchīs and claimed from them the plunder which his father had been in the course of collecting when the stroke had afflicted him. Having secured this, he raised a force from the Kufīchīs and marched on Sīrajān, the town where he had previously been governor. Muḥammad b. Ilyās sent against him his army, under the command of Ilyasa', with instructions either to let Sulaimān depart for Şughd or, failing that, to bring him back a captive. After stiff fighting, Sulaimān fled to Khurāsān, and Ilyasa' seized Sīrajān, plundering the town extensively until the chief Qāḍī and notables asked for pardon.<sup>27</sup>

Ilyasa' should now have been in a strong position in Kirmān, but his relations with his father were poisoned by a conspiracy of a trio of enemies at court, comprising 'Abdallāh b. Mahdī, called Busūya; the [? Jewish] physician Isrā'īl; and an architect called al-Marzubān. Muḥammad b. Ilyās's old suspicions of his son were re-aroused. He dismissed Ilyasa' from command of the army and gave the office to one of his personal ghulāms, Turmush Ḥājib; and by means of a ruse, he lured Ilyasa' unaccompanied into one of his fortresses, where Ilyasa' was seized and fettered. The mothers of Ilyasa' and Ilyās agreed that Muḥammad b. Ilyās's judgement was impaired by his illness and by the maleficent influence of his three evil counsellors. During one of the periods of unconsciousness which periodically came over Muḥammad b. Ilyās, they released Ilyasa', who was welcomed back by the army, by now weary of Muḥammad b. Ilyās's capriciousness and despotic behaviour. Muḥammad b. Ilyās had to accept this reversal of affairs, and agree to abdicate in Ilyasa' 's favour and depart for Khurāsān. Ilyasa' allowed him to take with him all his wealth and possessions, which included 100 loads of treasure, jewels and clothing, and to be accompanied by 300 of his ghulāms. The castle passed to Ilyasa'; the three conspirators were captured and handed over to Ilyasa' 's secretary and Vizier, Abū Naşr Muḥammad al-Bammī. Their wealth was extracted from them by torture and then they were put to death.<sup>28</sup>

Muḥammad b. Ilyās travelled through Khabīş and Qā'in and eventually reached the court of Manşūr b. Nūḥ at Bukhārā, where his son Sulaimān



also was. He recovered somewhat from his affliction and became one of the Sāmānid Amīr's boon-companions. He is said to have been active in urging Manṣūr to launch an offensive against the Ziyārīds and Būyīds in northern Persia. His death is then placed by 'Utbī and Ibn al-Athīr in Shawwāl 356/September-October 967, and by Miskawaih soon after Ramaḍān 357/August 968.<sup>29</sup>

The young and inexperienced Ilyasa' was not long able to hold out against the overwhelming might of the ambitious and aggressive 'Aḍud ad-Daula, fresh from his conquest of 'Umān in 356/967. According to 'Utbī, Ilyasa' was foolish enough to dispute with the Būyīd over some territory on the border of Fārs and Kirmān; 'Utbī here quotes a saying, 'The wild ass sought a pair of horns, but lost its ears in the process', referring to the dangerous situation in which Ilyasa' had now placed himself. Ilyasa' also gave refuge to certain of 'Aḍud ad-Daula's followers who had deserted their master, but he then maltreated them, believing their coming to have been a Būyīd ruse. For his part, 'Aḍud ad-Daula assiduously bought over members of Ilyasa' 's army and retinue, so that a thousand of his Dailamī troops and many of his Turkish ones deserted to Fārs. He then invaded Kirmān, occupying the capital Bardasīr and seizing the several strong points within that town (Ramaḍān 357/August 968). Ilyasa', abandoned by much of his army, could only flee without a fight to the Sāmānid territories, his arrival coinciding (according to the chronology of Miskawaih) with his father's death in Bukhārā. 'Aḍud ad-Daula made firm his power in Kirmān, which was now exhausted from all the troubles and warfare of the preceding years; according to Ibn Ḥauqal (wrote c. 366/976), the revenues of Kirmān had become reduced and scattered because of these calamities.<sup>30</sup> 'Aḍud ad-Daula also received a deputation from the Ṣaffārid Amīr of Sīstān, Walī ad-Daula Khalaf b. Aḥmad, who agreed to make the *khutba* in his territories for the Būyīds instead of for the Sāmānids, as had hitherto been the practice in Sīstān; and he received from the Caliph al-Muṭī' the formal investiture of Kirmān. He appointed his son Abū'l-Fawāris Shīrzil (the later Sharaf ad-Daula) nominal governor of Kirmān, with executive power in the hands of his general Kūrkir<sup>31</sup> b. Jastān, and returned to his capital Shīrāz. According to Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Vazīrī (with the ultimate source unspecified), the Shī'ī Abū'l-Fawāris Shīrzil made the *khatibs* of Kirmān introduce the cursing from their pulpits of the Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwiya. Ilyasa' was well received in Bukhārā, but he later began to criticize the Sāmānids for not helping him regain his principality. He was therefore expelled to

Khwārazm, and at the same time Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmjūr seized the possessions and the ghulāms which Ilyasa' had left at Khūst in Qūhistān before going on to the Sāmānid capital. In Khwārazm, Ilyasa' was stricken with ophthalmia and died there; according to Ibn al-Athīr, this was divine retribution for his rebellion against his father.<sup>32</sup>

This really marks the end of Ilyāsīd rule in Kirmān, although other members of the family continued to watch from beyond the borders of the province, hoping for a convenient opportunity to return. In 359/969–70 Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās persuaded the Sāmānid Manṣūr b. Nūḥ to give him an army so that he could raise the Kufīchīs and Balūch and other elements in Kirmān unreconciled to Būyid rule. A large force was assembled, but in a battle between Jīruft and Bam against 'Aḍud ad-Daula's viceroy Kūrķīr, the invaders were defeated. Sulaimān, two of his brother Ilyasa' 's sons, Bakr and al-Ḥusain, and a large number of the Khurāsānian troops, were killed.<sup>32a</sup> The resistance of the Kufīchīs and Balūch continued, however, into the next year; this persistent opposition was the cause in the next years of a determined Būyid onslaught on their territories and into the later Persian Makrān and Baluchistan, where Būyid authority had never been recognized and where Islam itself was not universally prevalent. The Būyid generals Kūrķīr and 'Ābid b. 'Alī marched to Jīruft, and then defeated a large concentration of the Kufīchīs and Balūch and the 'Manūjāniyya', i.e. the inhabitants of Manūjān between Jīruft and Hurmuz on the Persian Gulf coast (Ṣafar 360/December 970)<sup>33</sup>; they then proceeded eastwards into Tīz and Makrān, and imposed the prescriptions of Islam there. Finally, 'Ābid b. 'Alī turned against the the Jurūmiyya (i.e. the people of the *garmsir*, the hot regions of Kirmān bordering the Gulf)<sup>34</sup> and against an associated group, the Jāsakiyya, inhabitants of the island of Kīsh or Kishm;<sup>35</sup> these groups were notorious for banditry and piracy and had also given aid to Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās. From all these campaigns, large numbers of slaves were collected and sent to the markets of Shīrāz.<sup>36</sup>

Despite these draconian measures, the Balūch soon returned to their old activities and were terrorizing the caravan traffic across Kirmān to Khurāsān and Sīstān. Hence in Dhū'l-Qa'da 360/September 971 'Aḍud ad-Daula came himself to Sīrajān to direct operations against them. 'Ābid b. 'Alī was sent with an army of 'Dailamīs, Jīlīs, Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Zuṭṭ and sword-bearing infantrymen'<sup>37</sup> into the Jabal Bāriz region, where

the Balūch believed that the rugged terrain made the access of a hostile army impossible. 'Ābid nevertheless forced his way through, and in Rabī' 1 361/January 972 decisively defeated them, slaughtering the fighting men and enslaving the women and children. 'Aḍud ad-Daula then deported the remnants of the Balūch from the Jabal Bāriz and settled there peasants and cultivators.<sup>38</sup> An expedition against the Jurūmiyya, the inhabitants of the territories beyond the Jabal Qufṣ towards the Tiz and Makrān coast, was led by 'Ābid's brother. Supplies for this expedition were sent both by sea in ships from Sīrāf to Hurmuz and the coastland and by land on dromedaries, and a successful campaign mounted.<sup>39</sup>

It must be these series of operations which are referred to by Ibn Ḥauqal, for this information is not in Iṣṭakhrī and must, accordingly, relate to contemporary events. Ibn Ḥauqal says of the Balūch: 'The ruler has extirpated this running sore and broken their power. He searched out their dwelling-places, destroyed their lands and scattered them; then he took them into his own service and resettled them in various parts of his kingdom.' Some twenty years later, Maqdisī wrote that the Būyid campaigns against the Kufīchīs and Balūch, and the requiring of hostages from them, had had some effect, in that caravans across the Great Desert, which had long been terrorised by Kufīchī and Balūch marauders, were tolerably safe if they had an escort from the Būyid Amīr of Fārs.<sup>40</sup>

The last appearance of a scion of the Ilyāsids was in 364/974-5. Whilst 'Aḍud ad-Daula was occupied with events in Iraq and 'Umān, and Fārs was largely denuded of troops, one Ṭāhir b. aṣ-Ṣimma led a rebellion in Kirmān of the Jurūmiyya. Ṭāhir was in communication with Yuz-Temür, a Turkish commander of the Sāmānids who had fallen foul of Abū'l-Ḥasan Sīmǰūrī in Khurāsān; the two joined forces, although Yuz-Temür was soon able to set aside Ṭāhir as leader of the rebels. News of these events came to the Ilyāsīd al-Ḥusain b. (?) Muḥammad b. Ilyās,<sup>41</sup> then in Khurāsān, and he came to Kirmān and placed himself at the head of the Jurūmiyya and other malcontents. But by now, 'Aḍud ad-Daula's Vizier Abū'l-Qāsim al-Muṭahhar b. 'Abdallāh had completed his operations in 'Umān and had returned to Fārs. He was instructed by the Amīr to deal with the Kirmān outbreak, and left Shīrāz in Rajab 364/April 975. Yuz-Temür was caught unawares and defeated, and forced to flee to the citadel of Bam. He was besieged there by Abū'l-Qāsim al-Muṭahhar, and eventually persuaded to surrender. The Ilyāsīd al-Ḥusain had meanwhile assembled 10,000 men under his command, but he was defeated at Jīruft and captured by the Būyid Vizier. Nothing was subsequently heard

of him, and with his presumed death, Ilyāsīd attempts to recover Kirmān ended.<sup>42</sup>

Thus after the capture of al-Ḥusain, the Ilyāsīds disappear from history. For the next eighty years, Kirmān remained an integral part of the Būyid dominions, at times coveted by the Ghaznavids, but not finally relinquished by the Būyids until the Oghuz nomads under the Seljuq Qāwurd b. Chaghri Beg Da'ūd overran the province.

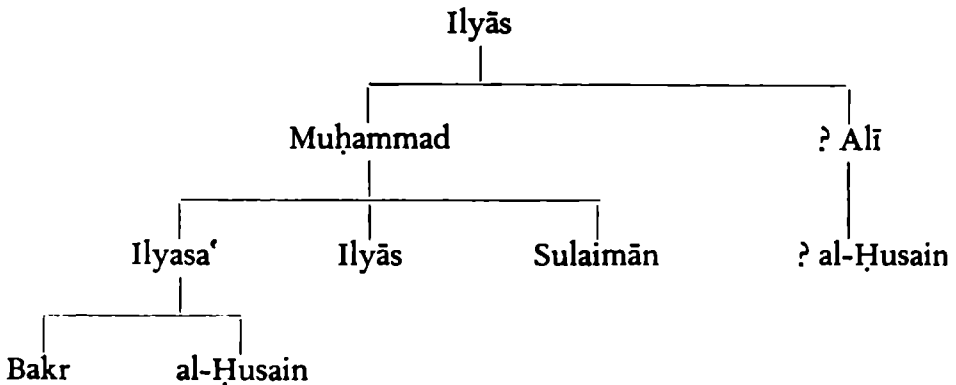
#### ADDENDA

In his *Lubāb al-albāb*, the thirteenth-century literary biographer 'Aufī has a section on the poetry of kings and great men. This includes an entry on al-Amīr Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ilyās al-Āghāchī al-Bukhārī, described as a contemporary of Daqīqī and as being the *mamdūh* of many eulogists, as well as being an able poet himself. The editor Nafīsī surmised that this 'Alī b. Ilyās was the brother of Muḥammad b. Ilyās and that the *nisba* of 'al-Āghāchī' implied that he was head of the Sāmānid palace ghulāms (in fact, from the time of Ismā'il b. Aḥmad onwards, this office seems usually to have been held by Turks). Nafīsī further surmised that 'Alī (and therefore Muḥammad b. Ilyās) was a scion of the Sāmānid royal family, Ilyās being a grandson of the Sāmān-Khudā Aḥmad b. Asad; it is certainly true that the name 'Ilyās' was found in the Sāmānid family, and is rare elsewhere.<sup>43</sup>

A source of the later eleventh century, the Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair's *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir wa't-tuḥaf*, has an interesting passage referring to the abdication of Muḥammad b. Ilyās and the assumption of power by his son Abū 'l-Muẓaffar Ilyasa'. The author seems to have written under the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustansir (427–87/1036–94), but to have had a background of earlier service under the Būyids of southern Persia, and may thus have had access to Būyid traditions concerning the Ilyāsīds whom they had supplanted in Kirmān.<sup>44</sup> In the fifth chapter of the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir wa't-tuḥaf*, that dealing with celebrated treasure hoards, is given an account of the treasures which Muḥammad b. Ilyās had amassed in the citadel of Kirmān. According to this, the deposed Amīr took away with him to Khurāsān a princely escort of 300 ghulāms, 30 personal slaves or perhaps eunuchs and 200 slave girls, and he still had, in addition to this, much property in Soghdia and treasure deposited there. Ilyasa' fell heir to a hoard of immense richness; specifically mentioned are chests full of gold and silver objets d'art, a gilded dais and a bejewelled throne. These two last were stripped of their

precious metals and jewels and burnt, together with the former Amīr's store of clothing, symbolic no doubt of Ilyasa' 's renunciation of everything connected with the old régime.<sup>45</sup>

*Genealogical Table of the Ilyāsids*



NOTES

- 1 On the province in general and its rôle in history, see J. H. Kramers, *EI*<sup>1</sup> s.v., and on the geography, ecology and demography of the region round the town of Kirmān, see P. W. English, *City and village in Iran: settlement and economy in the Kirmān basin* (Madison, Wisc. 1966).
- 2 The only relevant article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is that of Cl. Huart in *EI*<sup>1</sup> s.v. 'Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Ilyās', brief and uninformative.
- 3 See the remarks of Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Âge* (Leiden 1959) 76-7 (originally in *Arabica*, VI [1959] 250-1), who sees in the lively genre of local histories in the Islamic world a sign of the towns' vitality and independent life.
- 4 The *'Iqd al-'ulā*, known in several mss (see Storey, *Persian literature*, Vol. 1, Part 1, 357, and Part 2, 1297), has been published at least three times in Tehran; the edition cited in this present article is that of 'Alī Muḥammad 'Āmirī Nā'inī (Tehran 1311/1932).
- 5 This absence of coins has been confirmed for me by Miss Helen Mitchell and Dr George C. Miles. Miss Mitchell, has, however, drawn my attention to an interesting Būyid coin in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, dated 348/959-60 and minted by 'Aḍud ad-Daula, apparently at Bardasīr. If the mint has been correctly read (the coin has in it a hole which partly obscures the mint name), we have what can only be interpreted as a momentary extension in that year of Būyid authority over

- Kirmān, possibly the result of a Būyid raid or invasion unmentioned in the historical and literary sources (see also below, pp. 112-13).
- 6 On this name, see Bosworth, 'The armies of the Ṣaffārids', *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968) 545-6.
- 7 *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, ed. Bahār, 295-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, viii, 44-6; 'Arīb, *Tabari continuatus*, ed. de Goeje, 34-5, 69; Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical dictionary*, tr. de Slane, iv, 333.
- 8 Cf. Barthold, *EI*<sup>1</sup> Art. 'Ismā'il b. Aḥmad'.
- 9 *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 302-6; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 59-60, 77.
- 10 *Ibid.*, viii, 117, 131.
- 11 *Ibid.*, viii, 164-5; *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 313.
- 12 Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār*, ed. Nāzim, 29-30; Narshakhī, tr. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 95-6, 155; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 154-7, 207-8; Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Vazīrī, *Ta'riḫ-i Kirmān*, 59-60; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 242; Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 90.
- 13 Miskawaih, *Tajārib al-umam*, ed. and tr. Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, i, 282-4, 295-303, 339-50, tr. iv, 320-2, 333-43; 380-94; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 204-7, 235-40.
- 14 *Ibid.*, viii, 207-8, 227-8; cf. Nāzim, *EI*<sup>1</sup> Art. 'Mākān b. Kākī'.
- 15 For convenience, the three Būyid brothers are henceforth referred to by their honorifics, although these *alqāb* were not actually bestowed by the Caliph until the Būyids entered Baghdad in 334/946 (Miskawaih, ii, 85, tr. v, 88-9; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 337).
- 16 On the Kufīchīs and Balūch, whose fighting qualities are attested by more than one reference in Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma*, see Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 316-17, 323-4, and *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 65, 124, 374-5. Minorsky surmised that the Kufīchīs might possibly be of Brahui stock. It was some decades after this – apparently about the time of the Seljuq invasion of Kirmān in the mid-eleventh century – that the Balūch moved eastwards into their present home of Persian and Pakistani Baluchistan; cf. Frye, *EI*<sup>2</sup> Art. 'Balūčistan. A. Geography and history', and idem, 'Remarks on Baluchi history', *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961) 44 ff.
- 17 Miskawaih, i, 352-6, tr. iv, 396-401; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 242-4; Ibn Khallikān, tr. i, 155-6 (biography of Mu'izz ad-Daula); Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad* (Calcutta 1964) 42-3.
- 18 *Ta'riḫ-i Kirmān*, 61-3.
- 19 '*Iqd al-'ulā*, 66; *Ta'riḫ-i Kirmān*, 65-6.
- 20 There are varying spellings of this name, detailed in Iṣṭakhri, ed. de Goeje<sup>2</sup>, 165 note d.
- 21 Maqdisī, ed. de Goeje, 472; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 393; 'Utbī-Manīnī, *at-Ta'riḫ al-Yamīnī*, ii, 116; Jurbādḥqānī, *Tarjuma-yi Ta'riḫ-i Yamīnī*, ed. 'Alī Qavīm (Tehran 1334/1955), 195.
- 22 '*Iqd al-'ulā*, 67; *Ta'riḫ-i Kirmān*, 60. It is also stated in Ḥamdallāh

- Mustaufī, *Ta'riḫ-i guḫīda*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusain Navā'ī (Tehran 1339/1960), 380, that Muḥammad b. Ilyās was originally an 'ayyār, and that his tyranny eventually led the people of Kirmān to overthrow him.
- 23 Miskawaih, II, 249, tr. v, 265-6, cf. *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 374. In Maqdisī's time (c. 375/985), Bardasīr was the administrative capital of Būyid Kirmān and the place where the army of Kirmān was quartered (Maqdisī, 461); it remained the capital under the Seljuqs, acquiring, by an obvious process of identification, the additional name of '[the city of] Kirmān', which it bears at the present day (cf. 'Iqd al-'ulā, 72-4; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 302 ff.). Bāstānī-yi Pārīzī plausibly surmises that Muḥammad b. Ilyās's transfer of the capital from Sīrajān, the chief city in the early Arab period, to the newer city of Bardasīr, had the aim of removing his wealth as far away as possible from the Būyid territories (*Ta'riḫ-i Kirmān*, 62 n. 2).
- 24 Maqdisī, 461-2, 466; 'Iqd al-'ulā, 66-7; *Ta'riḫ-i Kirmān*, 60-1; cf. Le Strange, op. cit., 305, 308, 313.
- 25 *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. vii, ed. H. Darke (Tehran 1340/1962), 60, tr. idem, *The book of government or rules for kings* (London 1960), 49-50. However, the anecdote on Maḥmūd of Ghazna's punitive expedition against the Kufīchīs and Balūch (ch. x, ed. Darke, 80 ff, tr. 67 ff.) is clearly anachronistic in making the great Sultan and Muḥammad b. Ilyās contemporaries, as is noted by Darke.
- 26 Miskawaih, II, 250, tr. v, 266; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 432; cf. H. Bowen, *EI<sup>2</sup>* Art. 'Aḏud al-Dawla', and Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, 43.
- 27 Miskawaih, II, 249-50, tr. v, 266-7; 'Iqd al-'ulā, 67-8; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 432. 'Utbī-Manīnī, II, 117, and Jurbādhqānī, 195, place Sulaiman's revolt in Sīrajān after Ilyasa's replacement of his father as ruler of Kirmān.
- 28 Miskawaih, II, 251-3, tr. v, 267-70; 'Utbī-Manīnī, II, 116-17; Jurbādhqānī, 195; 'Iqd al-'ulā, 67-8; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, loc. cit. According to 'Utbī, Turmush or Tuzmush and Bishr b. al-Mahdī (? the brother of 'Abdallāh) became the young and inexperienced Ilyasa's advisers.
- 29 Miskawaih, II, 232-3, 253, tr. v, 246, 270; 'Utbī-Manīnī, II, loc. cit.; Jurbādhqānī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 429, 433; cf. Huart, 'Les Ziyārides', *Méms. de l'Acad. des Inscrs. et Belles-Lettres*, XLII (1922) 400-1.
- 30 Ibn Hauqal<sup>2</sup>, ed. J. H. Kramers 315, tr. Kramers and G. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre* (Paris 1964) II, 309. He adds that some of the local officials in Kirmān had told him that for several years, the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad had drawn half a million dīnārs annually from Kirmān (as tribute from the Ilyāsids?).
- 31 Read by Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 100, as Kōrgöz, but the combination of this Turkish name with the Iranian one of Jastān makes this unlikely.

- 32 Miskawaih, II, 253, tr. v, 270; 'Utbi-Manīnī, II, 117-19; Jurbādhqānī, 195-6; *Iqd al-'ulā*, 68; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 433-4; *Ta'rikh-i Kirmān*, 66-7; Spuler, loc. cit.; Kabir, op. cit., 43-4. Amongst the epistles of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yūsuf is one in which 'Aḍud ad-Daula acknowledges Khalaf b. Aḥmad's letter, and in turn sends a delegation to Sīstān with presents (J. C. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz 'Aḍud ad-Daulas und ihr Verhältnis zu anderen historischen Quellen der frühen Būyiden* [Wiesbaden 1965], 52 n. 1). [I now find that Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadhānī, *Takmilat ta'rikh aṭ-Ṭabarī*, ed. A. Y. Kan'ān (Beirut 1961), I, 200, gives Shawwāl 357/September 968 as the date of the coming of 'Aḍud ad-Daula's general Abū Aḥmad ash-Shīrāzī from Shīrāz.]
- 32a According to Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin as-Ṣābi', citing one 'Abdallah al-Fasawī, 'Izz ad-Daula Bakhtiyār's son Nūr ad-Daula Shāhfirūz was in 390/1000 buried under the same cupola (*qubba*) as Sulaimān b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās was buried (*Ta'rikh*, in *The eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, III, 360, tr. VI, 387).
- 33 Cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 317. These Manū-jāniyya were probably the people of the mountainous region called the Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim, cf. *ibid.*, 318, and *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 65, 124, 374-5.
- 34 According to Iṣṭakhrī, 165, Ibn Hauqal, II, 311, tr. II, 305, three-quarters of the province of Kirmān was *garmsīr*, only the mountainous region around Sīrajān being *sardsīr*. *Jurūmiyya* is ludicrously misread and misinterpreted by Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, II, 299, tr. v, 321, as *Khurramiyya*, but correctly read in *ibid.*, II, 359, tr. v, 392.
- 35 Thus according to Le Strange, op. cit., 261; unless, perhaps, the Jāsakiyya are the inhabitants of the hinterland of the modern port of Jask on the Makrān coast of the Gulf of Oman, cf. *Admiralty handbook, Persia* (1945) 507-8.
- 36 Miskawaih, II, 298, tr. v, 320-1; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 448-9, 451-2; *Ta'rikh-i Kirmān*, 68, citing the *Takmilat al-akhbār* of the Ṣafavid historian 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidīn Shīrāzī (cf. Storey, Vol. 1, Part 2, 1239); Kabir, op. cit., 44-5, who also cites the congratulatory letters received by 'Aḍud ad-Daula on his conquest of Kirmān and given in the *Rasā'il* of Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi'.
- 37 *Ar-rijāl as-saiḥiyya*. Margoliouth, v, 322, translates this phrase as 'veterans of Saif al-Daulah', and it could conceivably refer to troops who had passed from Ḥamdānid to Būyid service.
- 38 Iṣṭakhrī, 104-5, and Ibn Hauqal, II, 310, tr. II, 305, explain that the Jabal Bāriz had fertile soil and was well-forested. The region has, however, continued to be a haunt of brigands and robbers down to the present century; cf. P. M. Sykes, 'A fifth journey in Persia', *Geographical Journal*, xxviii (July-Dec. 1906) 433.
- 39 Miskawaih, II, 299-301, tr. v, 321-3; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, loc. cit.; Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 100-1; Kabir, op. cit., 45.



- 40 Ibn Ḥauqal, II, 310, tr. II, 304; Maqdisī, 489. The Būyid military operations of 360–1/970–2 are referred to in a letter of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Yūsuf; and in letters of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣābi’ there is mention of Būyid activities in Kirmān and the extension of suzerainty over the ruler of Tīz and Makrān. See Cl. Cahen, ‘Une correspondance būyide inédite’, *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (Rome 1956) I, 88, citing Shakīb Arslān’s edition of Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm’s letters and also two unpublished letters; and Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ‘Aḍud ad-Daulas*, 84–7, with a detailed account of ‘Aḍud ad-Daula’s conquest of Kirmān from the Ilyāsids.
- 41 Thus in Miskawaih, but Zambaur, *Manuel*, 216 (apparently following Sachau, ‘Ein Verzeichnis Muhammedanische Dynastien’, *APAW*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. [1923], No. 1, pp. 10–11, No. 14), makes al-Ḥusain a nephew of Muḥammad b. Ilyās. Since al-Ḥusain is nowhere else mentioned as one of Muḥammad b. Ilyās’s sons, Zambaur is probably correct here.
- 42 Miskawaih, II, 359–61, tr. v, 392–4; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 482–3.
- 43 *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Sa‘īd Nafīsī (Tehran 1333/1954), 32–3, 623–4.
- 44 See on the author and his work, Bosworth, ‘An embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghazna recorded in Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubayr’s *Kitāb adh-dhakhā’ir wa’t-tuḥaf*’, *JAO S*, LXXXV (1965) 404.
- 45 *Kitāb adh-dhakhā’ir wa’t-tuḥaf*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥamīdullāh (Kuwait 1959) 187–8.

# VII

## THE HERITAGE OF RULERSHIP IN EARLY ISLAMIC IRAN AND THE SEARCH FOR DYNASTIC CONNECTIONS WITH THE PAST

### I

The question of the continuity of rulership and governmental structures between the Sāsānid and early Islamic periods merits detailed study, but has not yet received it; yet it is evident to the most superficial observer that this continuity was in many spheres a close one. Obviously, there was a violent change in the field of established religion and cult; the state church of Zoroastrianism was overthrown and the new faith of Islam introduced. Yet even here, it is not impossible to discern some elements of continuity. Islam could conceivably be viewed as a new, purified form of Zoroastrianism brought by a new prophet. Allāh and Iblis could be equated with Ahūra Mazda and Ahriman; there was a common belief in a creation story, in a resurrection, heaven and hell, and in angels and other spirits; both religions had the practices of worship and prayer and sacred texts; and the fatalistic aspects of Zurvanism, the form that Zoroastrianism took in the later Sāsānid period, was not unlike the determinist views that became influential, if not universally acknowledged, in early Islam. In the linguistic and cultural sphere, the Middle Persian or Pahlavi language disappeared as a spoken tongue, and outside certain peripheral areas where Islam was late in penetrating, and outside the surviving Zoroastrian communities, it disappeared as a literary medium. Even amongst the Zoroastrian groups, knowledge of Pahlavi had sharply declined by the end of the tenth century; in 978 we have the composition of Kai Kā'ūs b. Kai Khusrau's *Zarādusht-nāma*, the first Zoroastrian text in New Persian. But the themes of older Persian literature, such as the heroic ones that later reappeared in the numerous poetic epics of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the themes of polite, urbane, and courtly literature, which reappeared in Arabic literature and in the Arab-Persian Mirrors for Princes, certainly survived to have a very marked influence on the whole course of Arabic and Islamic literature.

It is, however, continuity in the governmental traditions of Islamic Iran which concerns us here. The theocratic ruler, as familiar in Persia as in the rest of the Ancient Near East, certainly disappeared. The Abbasid Caliphs came to make their régime increasingly theocratic in atmosphere, assiduously cultivating the ulema as supports of their throne, and adopting honorific titles or *alqāb* which expressed their dependence on God or which grounded the stability of their rule in His guidance. This exaltation of the Caliph into an Imam or religious leader seems, however, to stem purely from an inner development within the Islamic community. The Abbasids came to power in 750 as ostensible supporters of the claims of the *Ahl al-Bait*, the Prophet's family. Very soon after the Abbasid revolution, it became clear that *Ahl al-Bait* was to be interpreted as meaning the descendants of the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās, and not those of his cousin and son-in-law 'Alī. Hence it became necessary to counteract the claims of the disappointed party of 'Alī, the Shi'a, by an equally vigorous proclamation of an Abbasid claim to divine favour. Professor Bernard Lewis has recently pointed out the messianic implications of the later application of the honorific *al-Manṣūr* to the second Abbasid Caliph Abū Ja'far.<sup>1</sup>

It is more permissible to discern Persian influence in some of the external trappings of Abbasid rule: the organization of the court on hierarchical lines, with a chamberlain or *hājib* guarding the monarch from contact with the masses; the introduction of a harem system, with eunuch attendants and with

This article is based substantially upon a paper read in June 1969 at a conference on "State and Society in Islamic Iran" sponsored by the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles, and the Society for Iranian Studies. The references have been added subsequently.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation Volume* (New Delhi 1968), pp. 16-19.

the Caliphs ceasing to contract marriages with free wives after the end of the eighth century; the formation of a regular circle of boon companions (*nudamā'*) attendant on the Caliphs in their periods of relaxation; and the requirement of the prostration or *taqbil* on all those coming before the ruler's exalted presence (though this is equally reminiscent of the Byzantine *proskynēsis* as of Persian models). Certain of these trends can be traced back in part to late Umayyad practice, and the interest of such forceful Umayyad Caliphs as Mu'āwiya, 'Abd al-Malik, Hishām and Marwān II in Persian stories and Persian practices is explicitly noted by the Islamic historians.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the most obvious sphere where continuity of tradition with the Persian past can be traced is that of the actual governmental institutions and the practices of their personnel. The institution of the Vizierate, that of the Caliph's chief executive officer, has been the subject of much discussion. An Iranian specialist like Christensen endeavoured, in the early part of this century, to find the forerunner of the Vizier in the Sāsānid chief minister, the *Buzurg framādhār*. But the subsequent researches of scholars like Goitein, Sourdél, and Bravmann have demonstrated the Vizierate to be instead a development of indigenous Arabic administrative traditions, just as the word *wazīr* itself seems to be a native Semitic one, with the basic meaning of "helper, supporter in war" and with cognates in Hebrew, rather than a derivation from Middle Persian *vičir* "decree, judgement," which does not occur at all as the title of any known Sāsānid administrative official.<sup>3</sup> In all questions pertaining to the internal organization of the Sāsānid empire, we are hampered by the paucity of contemporary Middle Persian sources, and our consequent dependence on post-Islamic Arabic ones.

Yet if the Vizier himself was not necessarily a figure transported from the Sāsānid court, the financial and administrative organs over which he presided had many clear links with the Iranian past. The term for an official register and hence for a government department, that of *diwān*, is almost certainly Persian. In the eastern lands of the Caliphate, a silver coinage on Sāsānid patterns continued to be minted by the Arabs till the end of the seventh century. Until the *naql ad-diwān* decreed by 'Abd al-Malik in 78/697, records of financial and administrative transactions in Iraq and western Persia continued to be made in the Persian language; the change was not made in eastern Persia till 124/742, in the Caliphate of Hishām. Of course, this change of language did not entail any change in personnel. The Persian secretaries and financial clerks had early adopted the language of their conquerors, and continued to stay at their posts, for it was long before the Arabs themselves acquired the expertise to cope with the complexities of administration and finance.<sup>4</sup>

The organization of the state postal service, the *Barid*, is attributed to the first Umayyad Caliph Mu'āwiya, with improvements later made by 'Abd al-Malik. Such a postal system was known to both the Byzantines and the Sāsānids, and was an obvious desideratum for a ruler trying to exert some sort of control over the peripheries of an empire composed of a loose assemblage of provinces. Karl Wittfogel has seen such a network as the concomitant of despotic, centralizing "hydraulic" societies.<sup>5</sup> Although the term *barid* is itself of late Latin-Greek origin, the technical vocabulary of the service contained several Persian terms (as is shown by the tenth century author Khwārazmī's section on the terminology of the *Diwān al-Barid* in his encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*), and the popular mind gave to the term *barid* a Persian etymology.<sup>6</sup> The postal service was to survive in the Caliphal lands and in those of the provincial dynasties ruling in Iran, until it was in the eleventh century abandoned by the

<sup>2</sup> E.g., by Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-dhahab*, ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris 1861-77), V, 77-8, VI, 83.

<sup>3</sup> The question of the origins of the Islamic Vizierate is discussed, with an analysis of the varying views, by D. Sourdél in his *Le vizirat 'abbāsīde de 749 à 936 (132 à 324 de l'Hégire)* (Damascus 1959-60) I, pp. 41-61, to which should now be added the note of M. J. Bravmann, "The Etymology of Arabic *wazīr*," *Der Islam* XXXVII (1961), 260-3, which convincingly propounds the meaning given above of "helper, supporter in war."

<sup>4</sup> The process is described in detail by M. Sprengling, "From Persian to Arabic," *American Journal for Semitic Languages and*

*Literature* LVI (1939), pp. 175-224, pp. 325-36. Sprengling's account is confused, verbose, and idiosyncratic, but has much solid information and has not yet been replaced.

<sup>5</sup> *Oriental Despotism: a Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven, Conn. 1959).

<sup>6</sup> Ed. G. van Vloten (Leiden 1895), pp. 63-4; trans. and commentary by C. E. Bosworth, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the Technical Terms of the Secretary's Art: A Contribution to the Administrative History of Mediaeval Islam," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* XII/2 (1969), 141-3.

Great Seljuqs, much to the disgust of their celebrated Vizier, Niẓām al-Mulk; and the need for accounts of routes and the positions on them of staging-posts was an important stimulus to the development of Islamic geographical literature.

## II

By the ninth century, a symbiosis of the two cultural traditions, the Arab-Muslim and the Persian ones, had been largely achieved. We may accept Gibb's thesis that the Shu'ūbiyya controversies of this century had a sociological as well as a literary aspect, and that what was really at stake was the whole direction of Islamic culture. Yet Gibb perhaps overestimated the success of the pro-Arabs' defensive reaction. The partisans of the 'Ajāmīs were successful to the extent that the resultant Islamic civilization was in many regards an amalgam of the two traditions, a coming together on equal terms, and was not entirely the absorption by the Arab-Muslim tradition of just those Persian elements that it consciously chose to accept, whilst rejecting the rest, as was Gibb's final conclusion.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the bitterness of the Shu'ūbiyya controversies, the Arabs had always recognized the grandeur and splendour of the ancient Persian civilization to which they had succeeded by conquest in the seventh century. The physical monuments of this culture, visible, for instance, in the Ṭāq-i Kisrā at Ctesiphon, in the ruins of Persepolis or Iṣṭakhr, in the Achaemenid and Sāsānid rock reliefs and in the network of fire temples which still covered much of Persia in the first three centuries or so of Islam, were impressive enough. The Arabs of the Jāhiliyya had recognized here an obvious superiority to their own degraded condition, as was likewise the case in regard to Byzantium; the external manifestations of Persian culture, such as their palaces, their weapons, their household possessions, are referred to in terms of praise by the pre-Islamic poets, and it is only the (to the Arabs) incomprehensible language of the Persians (their stuttering or *ṭumṭumāniyya*) or the mumbling (*zamzama*) of the Zoroastrian priests, which are referred to in derogatory terms. Only with the coming of Islam did the religious fervour of the Arabs create a feeling of hostility towards the Persians, their autocratic monarchy, their social system and their religion; the victory of the Arabs' Islamic religion over such a seemingly impregnable empire must surely have seemed a clear sign of the Arabs' superiority over the defeated nation.<sup>8</sup> Even so, an Arab of pure Qurashī paternal descent, but with a slave mother, like the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (reigned 126/744), could boast.

I am the descendant of the Persian Emperor, my forefather was Marwān, and both the Emperor of Byzantium and the Khāqān of the Turks were my ancestors.<sup>9</sup>

When local, autonomous dynasties arose in various parts of the Caliphate from the ninth century onwards, they often tried to establish a connection with the Arab-Islamic past by attaching themselves to some figure in the Prophet Muḥammad's entourage, or to one of the early Muslims, or to some tribe of the Arab aristocracy. The process can be traced at both ends of the Islamic world, amongst both the Berbers and the Persians. From the early decades of the Arab conquests, the subject peoples had endeavoured to acquire some of the privileges of the Arab ruling class through the institution of clientage, *walā'*, a status which gave the *maulā* little, if any, social standing, but which did afford some financial advantage, such as the possibility of registration in the *diwān*, among the Arab *muqātila*, for a pension.<sup>10</sup>

The Ṭāhirid family, who came to govern Khurasan during the years 205–259/821–873 and who also held for much longer lucrative offices in Iraq like the military governorship of Baghdad and the governorship of the Sawād, were originally Persians from the district of Herat and Pūshang in eastern Khurasan. The first known member of the family, Ruzaiq, great-grandfather of Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain, was a *maulā* of the Arab noble Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallāh, governor of Sistan from 62/681–2 till 64/683–4. He

<sup>7</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, "The Social Significance of the Shu'ūbiyya," in *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen dicata* (Copenhagen 1953), pp. 105–14, also in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (London 1962), pp. 62–73.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. I. Goldziher's chapter on "Arab und 'Aḡam," in *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle 1888–9) I, 102–4, trans. S. M. Stern (London 1967) I, 99–100.

<sup>9</sup> Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter (Hyderabad 1361/1942), p. 31; Tha'ālibī, *Lalā'if al-ma'ārif*, ed. Abyārī and Ṣairafī (Cairo 1379/1960), p. 64–5, trans. Bosworth, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information* (Edinburgh 1968), p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> On the institution of *walā'*, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, I, 104 ff., trans. I, 101 ff.

therefore became entitled to use the *nisba* of "al-Khuzā'i," from Ṭalḥa's tribe of Khuzā'a, a tribe considered more noble in some respects than Quraish itself.<sup>11</sup> Although the Ṭāhirids' claim to the designation "al-Khuzā'i" was in the early part of the ninth century attacked by an Arab poet like Di'bil b. 'Alī, himself genuinely from Khuzā'a and very proud of it, in the later years of the century the governor of Baghdad and scholar 'Ubaidallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir was known as "Shaikh of Khuzā'a" and acknowledged as the head of the tribe, because of the immense prestige of the Ṭāhirid family.<sup>12</sup>

The Ṭāhirids' connection through clientage to the Arabs was authentic enough; but the connections claimed by some other Persian ruling houses were grotesque and far-fetched.

In his panegyric on the Dailamīs and his Būyid masters, the *Kitāb at-Tāji fī akhbār ad-daula ad-Dailamiyya*,<sup>13</sup> Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣābi' (d. 387/997) repeats a story that appears in other tenth century Arabic sources, such as Mas'ūdī, Ibn Duraid, Iṣṭakhrī, and Ibn Ḥauqal. According to this story, the Dailamīs were originally from the South Arabian tribe of Ḍabba (Dailam and Jil being originally brothers), but had migrated as a result of tribal warfare in Arabia to northwestern Persia. In the course of time they had merged with the surrounding Persian population and so lost their Arabic language, but had retained their military qualities and the supreme Arabic virtues of hospitality and liberality.<sup>14</sup> The Seljuq official Abū l-'Alā' ibn Ḥassūl, hostile to the Būyids and their eulogist, rightly pours scorn on this tale: that there is no historical record of such a migration; that in the early Islamic period the Banū Ḍabba enjoyed the favour of the Umayyads and so had no reason to emigrate; and that Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm had deliberately chosen an Arab tribe whose genealogy was notoriously confused. If he had been able, Ibn Ḥassūl adds scathingly, he would have attached 'Aḍud ad-Daula to Quraish!<sup>15</sup>

The Ghūrid Sultans assembled a vast if transient empire in eastern Persia, Afghanistan, and northern India in the second half of the twelfth century and the early years of the thirteenth. It might be thought that this obscure family of mountaineers were the last Iranian dynasty to be able to forge any connection with the house of the Meccan Prophet; their homeland, Ghūr, was for long an enclave of paganism, a complete *terra incognita* to the Islamic geographers, until the Ghaznavids penetrated its fastnesses in the eleventh century and introduced Islam there.<sup>16</sup> Actually to trace a blood connection between a family from this remote corner of Afghanistan and the Arabians in their homeland was beyond the capabilities of the Ghūrids' most skilful panegyrist and court historian, Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakhshāh, who flourished in northern India under the last Ghūrids and their epigone, Sultan Iltutmish of Delhi. He had to trace the dynasty back to the tyrant of Iranian mythology, Azhd Zahāk, whose descendants were said to have entrenched themselves in Ghūr when Zahāk's thousand-year-old dominion was overthrown by Farīdūn.<sup>17</sup> It was not beyond human ingenuity, however, to devise a historical connection between Ghūr and the early Caliphate. The Ghūrid historian Minhāj-i Sirāj Jūzjānī (d. in the second half of the thirteenth century) puts forward the view, which must have been formulated as the Ghūrids emerged into history and built up their empire, that the eponymous founder of the dynasty, Shansab or Shanasb (Gushnasp), was a contemporary of the Caliph 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and received Islam from the Caliph

<sup>11</sup> Khuzā'a had ruled in Mecca after Jurhum and up to the arrival of the Kināni adventurer Quṣayy, founder of Quraish fortunes in Mecca, and had then merged with the incomers; hence the eulogists of the Ṭāhirids could, by stretching a point, attach their patrons to Quraish itself.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yan*, trans. Wm. MacGuckin de Slane (Paris 1842-71), II, 80.

<sup>13</sup> No longer extant except for an abridged section surviving in the Mutawakkiliyya Library in Ṣan'ā', Ms no. 145; see M. J. Khan, "A Manuscript of an Epitome of al-Ṣābi's *Kitāb al-Tāji*," *Arabica* XII (1965), pp. 27-44, who is also preparing an edition and translation of this fragment.

<sup>14</sup> *Tāji*, f. 2b. The fact that ad-Dailam is said also to be the name of a water hole in the territory of the Banū 'Aba in western Arabia (cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* [Beirut 1374-6/1955-7], II, 544), with a *shāhid* from 'Antara mentioning the *ḥiyād*

*ad-Dailam*) may have inclined contemporaries to give some credence to an Arab origin for the Dailamīs.

<sup>15</sup> *Kitāb tafḍil al-Atrāk 'alā sār al-ajnād*, ed. 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, *Belleletn* IV (1940), Arabic text, pp. 33-4, Turkish trans. by Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, pp. 235-49.

<sup>16</sup> For the historical background here, see Bosworth, "The Early Islamic History of Ghūr," *Central Asiatic Journal* VI (1961), 116-33.

<sup>17</sup> Fakhr-i Mudabbir, cited from various sources in *ibid.*, pp. 125-6 (including Jūzjānī's *Ṭabaqāt-i Nājiri*, ed. 'Abd al-Hayy Ḥabībī [Kabul 1342-3/1963-4], I, 318-19, trans. H. G. Raverty [London 1881-99], I, 300-9). It is pointed out in the article of Bosworth that Zahāk, though a repugnant figure in the epic tradition of the Persian lands further west, was a much more favoured and popular personage in Zābulistān and eastern Afghanistan.

in person. He received from 'Alī an investiture patent ('*ahd*) and a standard (*liwā'*), which were jealously guarded within the Shansabānī family and handed down from generation to generation. As if this were not enough, the Ghūrī Amīr Fūlād b. Shansab is made to take part in the Abbasid Revolution at Abū Muslim's side, and the Shansabānīs are later brought to the court in Baghdad of Hārūn ar-Rashīd to have their claim to the rulership (*imārat*) of Ghūr confirmed.<sup>18</sup>

Parallel with this movement to attach native Persian dynasties somehow or other to the Arab past or the family of the Prophet, with all the social and religious prestige that accrued from this linking, we can discern a much stronger trend, that of attaching Persian families to the Iranian epic past or to the more recently historical Sāsānid imperial past of their native land. The trend was stronger because it was clearly in practice much easier to adduce a plausible kinship connection. Instead of the tortuous contriving necessary to connect the distant northern and eastern fringes of the Iranian world with the Hijaz, an easy transition could be made from Sāsānid days to the time of their successors of three or four centuries later in more or less the same territory. Some of these later Persian dynasties, such as the Sāmānids of Transoxania, sprang from the *dihqān* class or landowning aristocracy and gentry, which had been influential in the Sāsānid empire as military commanders, provincial governors, and so on, and which had on occasions married into the royal house.

In the case of certain minor Caspian dynasties, which survived in a very isolated and socially conservative region to which Islam came only late, their origins can with fair plausibility be traced back to the late Sāsānid period. The Bāduspānids (45–1006/665–1599) traced their origin to Gāvbarā, who came from Armenia in the time of the last Sāsānid Emperor, Yazdigird III (632–651), and was by him appointed governor of the Caspian provinces. Gāvbarā's two sons Dābūya and Bāduspān, established lines in Gilān and Ṭabaristān respectively, the first the petty dynasty of Dābūyids (40–144/660–761).<sup>19</sup> The Bāwandids (45–750/665–1349) traced their line back to one Bāw, who was either the Ispahbadh of Ṭabaristān appointed by Khusrau Aparvīz (591–628) or a leading Zoroastrian of Ray. In the case of both these dynasties, the great length of their period of survival, most unusual for the Islamic world, is a measure of the political isolation of the Caspian region.<sup>20</sup> The Afrighid Khwārazm-Shāhs were likewise a dynasty that spanned the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, and Khwārazm was likewise a geographically isolated province, in effect an oasis of settled land within the steppes and connected with the rest of the Iranian world only by the Oxus. According to the local author Bīrūnī (d. ca. 1050) the progeny of Siyāvush b. Kai Kā'ūs had ruled in Khwārazm since their arrival there ca. 1200 B.C., and a younger line of these Siyāvushids, the Afrighids, ruled from ca. A.D. 305 till their overthrow by an internal rebellion in 995. Bīrūnī, in fact lists twenty-two rulers of the Afrighids covering these seven hundred years. Although Qutaiba b. Muslim appeared in Khwārazm in 712 and caused much destruction to the old Khwārazmian culture, the Afrighids were left to rule as loose tributaries—a unique event in this period of the Arab conquests in Iran and Central Asia, and only explicable by the eccentric geographical position of Khwārazm and Arab fears of dangerously-extended communication lines if a full military occupation of the province had been attempted.<sup>21</sup> But even where dynasties arose from comparatively humble tribal backgrounds, as in the case of the Dailamīs, or from downright plebeian ones, like the Ṣaffārīds, it was not too great a stretch of the imagination to believe that, in the chaos of the Arab invasions of Persia and the tragedy of the downfall of the Sāsānids, families having kinship connections with the royal house should nevertheless continue quietly to exist, until the inherent qualities of rulership should come to the surface and have free play once more.

On the intellectual plane, much of the Persian epic and the lore concerning the Persian emperors had, by the ninth and tenth centuries, been absorbed into the common fabric of Islamic civilization, especially when the Persian-inspired literary genre of *adab* and its principal exponents, the secretary

<sup>18</sup> Jūzjānī, op. cit., I, 319–20, 324 ff., trans. I, 311–16, cf. Bosworth, *art. cit.* Jūzjānī may be depending here on Fakhr-i Mudabbir's genealogical work, the *Shajara-yi ansāb-i Mubārak-shāhī*, on which see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature: a Bibliographical Survey* (London 1937–71), I/2, 1176.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islām*<sup>9</sup>, *Art.* s.v.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, *Art.* s.v.; J. Marquart, *Erdfahrt nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, in *Abh. der Gött. Gesell. der Wiss.*, N.F. III/2

(Berlin 1901), pp. 127–8. Marquart thought that the latter origin suggested for Bāw was the correct one, and that he came from Varznīn near Ray; the line of Bāwandid rulers does not become fully attested in the sources till the eighth century.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. E. Sachau, "Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārazm," *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., LXXIII (1873), 475–506; S. P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der althoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin 1953), pp. 207 ff.

class, had been accepted into the cosmopolitan society of the Abbasid Caliphate. Stories of the old Persian heroes and kings had long been part of the common Near Eastern stock of tales and romances even before the coming of Islam. When Muḥammad was struggling to make his fellow Meccans listen to his message, his potential audience kept being enticed away by the superior attractions of the storyteller an-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith; an-Naḍr had been in the Lakhmid capital of Ḥīra and had learnt there tales of the kings of Persia and of Rustam and Isfandiyār.<sup>22</sup> Such emperors as Khusrau Anūshirvān and Khusrau Aparvīz, and at a slightly later date, the wise minister Buzurgmihr,<sup>23</sup> begin to be familiar figures in Arabic *adab* literature; and anecdotes about their justice, magnanimity, wisdom, and so forth play an even bigger part in the Arab-Persian "Mirrors for Princes" genre.<sup>24</sup> Hence to trace one's ancestry back to these rulers did not automatically imply the adoption of an anti-Islamic stance.

Where feasible connection could be made, a Persian dynasty might attempt to get the best of both worlds and establish links with both the Arab-Islamic past and the Iranian one. This can be illustrated with especial clarity from the history of the Ṭāhirids and the Būyids.

According to Mas'ūdī, the Ṭāhirids claimed to be descendants of Rustam b. Dāstān.<sup>25</sup> That they simultaneously claimed a connection on one hand with the Arab tribes of Khuzā'a and Quraish, and on the other with the ancient Persian emperors, is expressly stated in some satirical verses of their opponent Di'bil b. 'Alī (d. 248/860), written at the death in 207/822 of Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain:

Ṭāhir has left us three marvels, which put everyone's wits into a whirl.

Three wretched ones, with a common father and mother, but with distinguishing features to set each one apart.

One group says, "My people is Quraish," but both the clients and those of pure blood refute this.

Another group traces its genealogy to Khuzā'a, [although this is] a clientship old and well-known.

A third group inclines towards the house of Kisrā, but these are considered to be vile foreigners.

We have been overwhelmed with the numbers of their genealogies; whereas, in fact, all are equally spurious.<sup>26</sup>

The Ṭāhirids found a defender against such attacks as this in the Persian Shu'ūbī poet 'Allān b. al-Ḥasan al-Warrāq, well-known as a doughty protagonist in the 'Ajāmī cause. Praising 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir for his Persian antecedents, he says:

[ 'Abdallāh is ] a descendant of Rustam, in the zenith of nobility, adorned with a diadem and crown,

With the marks of abundant nobility and approbation upon him, because of his majesty.

Our forefathers are of the royal stock of Persia (*Kisrāwīyyāt ubuwwatunā*), outstanding leaders, shining examples and generous souls.<sup>27</sup>

Culturally and intellectually, the Ṭāhirids were highly arabized; they rank amongst the most munificent patrons of Arabic learning and literature of their day, and almost every member of the family was himself a competent poet or prose stylist in Arabic.<sup>28</sup> Yet 'Abdallāh, established in his capital of Nishapur in Khurasan, a province where the older Persian social system, with its attendant heroic features of military prowess and hospitality long persisted, and where memories of old Persian glories were still fresh, cannot have been displeased to have been counted amongst the heroes and monarchs of ancient Iran; this ambivalent attitude towards the relative desirability of Arab or Persian lineage reflects the currents of thought and the uncertainties of this century of transition, in which the Persians had already reached the highest pinnacles of political influence in the state and were now challenging the social dominance of the Arabs.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ishāq, *Sirat Rasūl Allāh*, ed. F. Wūstenfeld (Göttingen, 1859-60), I, 192, trans. A. Guillaume (Oxford, 1955), p. 136.

<sup>23</sup> It is pointed out by H. Massé (*Encyclopaedia of Islām*<sup>3</sup>, Art. s.v.) that it is only in the tenth century that anecdotes about Buzurgmihr derived from popular tradition begin to appear in Islamic *adab* literature.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arabischen Fürstenspiegel* (Liepzig 1932), pp. 33 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Kitāb at-tambih wa-l-ishraf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1894), p. 347, trans. Carra de Vaux (Paris 1896), p. 446.

<sup>26</sup> *Diwān*, ed. and trans. L. Zolondek, *Di'bil b. 'Alī: The Life and*

*Writings of an Early 'Abbāsīd Poet* (Lexington, Ky. 1961), pp. 74-6, 118.

<sup>27</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (London 1907-26), V, 68.

<sup>28</sup> See, in considering the general question of the Ṭāhirids' arabisation, the article of Bosworth, "The Ṭāhirids and Arabic Culture," *Journal of Semitic Studies* XIV (1969), 45-79, and for an example of an Arabic work by the founder of the dynasty, *idem*, "An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Ṭāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain's Epistle to his Son 'Abdallāh (206/821)," *JNES* XXIX (1970), 25-41.

The fantastic story that the Dailamīs were originally Arabs of the Banū Dabba or Banū Tamīm has been mentioned above. Since it appears in sources written before the middle of the tenth century, the story must have gone into circulation at quite an early date, when the heroic age of Dailamī expansion was hardly over. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm wrote his *Tāji* for ‘Aḍud ad-Daula, aiming to justify his master’s imperial policy and to vaunt the claim of the Dailamīs, hitherto considered as crude barbarians, to be part of the comity of Islamic nations. By the time of the second generation of rulers, the boorishness of the first Būyids had largely gone; ‘Aḍud ad-Daula and his successors became warm patrons of Arabic literature and science, and it was at the Būyid court in Shiraz that the greatest of Arabic poets, Mutanabbī, spent one of the happier periods of his life. The Persian genealogy of the Būyids is given by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Birūnī in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. Birūnī quotes the lost part of the *Tāji*, that the Būyids’ genealogy extends back to the Sāsānid Emperor Bahrām Gūr (420–438). He was, however, sceptical about the Dailamīs’ care for keeping correct genealogies, and was not disposed to accept the Būyid one beyond the father of Būya, Fanākhusrau. Before they left Dailam to seek their fortunes as condottieri in the disturbed Persian countryside of the early tenth century, the three Būyid brothers were clearly of only middling status (*mutawassiṭ al-hāl*, in Ibn al-Athīr’s words), even though Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm says in the extant part of the *Tāji* that the Būyids belonged to the Shīrdhilāwand of Lāhijān, noblest of the four tribes of Dailam.<sup>29</sup>

There are certain pointers that show that the Būyids had more than a passing interest in the old Iranian past. Zoroastrianism continued in the tenth century to flourish in what had been the heart of Sāsānid Persia, Fārs. The biography of the Sufi shaikh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Kāzarūnī shows how strong the Zoroastrians were in Fārs as late as the first quarter of the eleventh century. The Zoroastrians of Kāzarūn prevented the shaikh from building a mosque, having the backing of the Zoroastrian governor of the town, Khūrshīd, himself high in the favour of the Būyid Amīr in Shiraz; they complained, too, about the shaikh’s Islamic proselytizing activities and had him arraigned before the Amīr and reprimanded.<sup>30</sup> In the course of his antiquarian investigations, ‘Aḍud ad-Daula visited the ruins of the old Achaemenid capital of Persepolis and had an inscription carved there to commemorate his visit; he also got a local Zoroastrian *mōbadh* to interpret for him the Pahlavi inscriptions there.<sup>31</sup> ‘Aḍud ad-Daula was also harking back to ancient Persia when he used the imperial title *Shāhanshāh* “King of kings,” already attested on a coin minted in Fārs in 359/970, which depicts the Amīr in a fashion resembling that of the Sāsānid emperors, and has a Pahlavi inscription “May the Shāhanshāh’s royal splendour increase!” It was only in the Arab and more strongly orthodox Islamic region of Iraq that ‘Aḍud ad-Daula’s grandson Jalāl ad-Daula ran into criticism in 429/1038 when he adopted the title, for the ultra-pious considered that such a title belonged to God alone.<sup>32</sup>

Mardāwīj b. Ziyār (d. 323/935) is one of the most flamboyant, even bizarre (in Minorsky’s description, “fantasque et barbare”), characters in the upsurge of the Dailamīs. His conquests in northern and central Persia paved the way for the more lasting successes of the Būyids, and ‘Alī b. Būya, the later ‘Imād ad-Daula, began in Mardāwīj’s service. The historians (who are, admittedly, generally hostile witnesses) allege that Mardāwīj dreamed of reviving the old Persian empire and religion, with himself as supreme ruler. At Hamadān and Dīnawar, his troops made a special point of massacring the Muslim religious classes, ulema and Sufis alike. When he had gained control of much of western Persia, including Ray and Qazwīn, he had made for himself a golden throne set with jewels, donned regal

<sup>29</sup> *Tāji*, f. 3a; Birūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqiyā*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig 1878), p. 38; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden 1851–76), VIII, 197–8; J. Marquart, “Der Stammbaum der Bujiden,” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān*, *ZDMG*, XLIX (1895), 660–1. In connection with the tracing back of genealogies to Bahrām Gūr, it is perhaps worth noting that Bahrām Gūr was considered in certain Iranian (? Zoroastrian) circles to be a figure of Messianic significance. The writer on South Arabian history and antiquities, Nashwān b. Sa‘id al-Himyari (d. 573/1178) says that many peoples expect the return of a Messianic figure (*qā’im muntazar*); and amongst these, the Magians expect the return of a descendant of Bahrām Gūr, who will restore the old Persian religion

(*ad-dīn al-abyad ya’nūn dīnahum*) (*Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwāns im Sams al-‘ulūm gesammelt . . .*, ed. ‘Azīmu ‘d-Dīn Aḥmad [London and Leiden 1916], p. 103.)

<sup>30</sup> Maḥmūd b. ‘Uthmān, *Firdaus al-murshidiyya fi as-‘ār as-ṣamadiyya*, ed. F. Meier (Leipzig 1948), introd. pp. 20–1, 40, text, pp. 29–30; cf. R. N. Frye, “The New Persian Renaissance in Western Iran,” *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb* (Leiden 1965), p. 227.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *idem*, *The Heritage of Persia* (London 1962), p. 251.

<sup>32</sup> See J. C. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ‘Aḍud ad-Daulas und ihr Verhältnis zu anderen historischen Quellen der frühen Būyiden* (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 22, 157–8; Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, IX, 312–13.



clothes, and had made for himself a golden bejewelled crown, having previously enquired about the crowns of the ancient Persians. In place of the rough familiarity and camaraderie of the Dailamī soldiery, he would have his army drawn up in ranks before him, at a distance, as if he were a monarch distantly enthroned and out of contact with the masses; only his closest officers could address him. Fired by pseudo-prophecies and the encouragement of his advisers, he is said to have dreamed of conquering Iraq, rebuilding Ctesiphon and the palace of the Kisrās, and then assuming the title of *Shāhanshāh*. If these reports be true, it is not surprising that this apparent megalomania was cut short by his assassination at the time when he was celebrating the old Zoroastrian feast of Sadhaq.<sup>33</sup>

After the meteoric rise and fall of Mardāwīj, his family, the Ziyārīds, settled for a less ambitious role in northern Persia and in particular, in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān. Bīrūnī wrote his *Chronology of Ancient Peoples* at the court of Mardāwīj's nephew Qābūs b. Vushmagīr, but he was unable to trace Qābūs' genealogy back farther than Mardāwīj's grandfather in Gilān, Wardānshāh, though he emphasizes the nobility of Qābūs' ascendants on the female side, the Ispahbadhiyya line of Bāwandīds.<sup>34</sup> A more elaborate genealogy appears, however, in the preface to the *Qābūs-nāma*, written by Qābūs' grandson Kai Kā'ūs b. Iskandar. This makes Qābūs the descendant of Arghush b. Farhādān, king of Gilān in the time of Kai Khusrau, whose story is discussed, so Kai Kā'ūs says, in the *Book of Kings* of one of Firdausī's predecessors, Abū l-Mu'ayyad Balkhī.<sup>35</sup> This genealogy must have been elaborated after Bīrūnī's time, that is, during the middle or later years of the eleventh century; it appears in later historians like Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī and Mīrkhwānd. Furthermore, in a title-less manuscript work by Abū l-Fidā,<sup>36</sup> Mardāwīj's father Ziyār is said to have belonged to the noblest of the four tribes of Jīl, the royal one called Shāhanshāh-wand.

The Sāmānīds of Transoxania and Khurasan succeeded to much of the Ṭāhirid heritage in the east, and like the Ṭāhirids, they represented the interests and aspirations of the local Iranian landed classes and also the cause of Sunnī orthodoxy and obedience to the spiritual authority of the Abbasid Caliphs. The degree of arabization amongst the Sāmānīds was less than that of the almost completely arabized Ṭāhirids. It is true that Arabic literature and the Arabic sciences flourished in the Sāmānīd dominions, and Tha'ālibī's section in the *Yatimat ad-dahr* on the poets and writers of Khurasan and Transoxania shows how brilliant this Arabic culture was. The Amīrs themselves had scholarly interests, and Aḥmad b. Ismā'il (907-914) is said to have been murdered by his Turkish ghuḷāms because of his excessive frequenting of the company of the ulema.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, Bukhara was very distant from Baghdad, and the Sāmānīds lacked the direct Iraqī connections of the Ṭāhirid family; hence the Sāmānīds were also able to play an important part in the renaissance of New Persian language and literature which is apparent in the eastern Iranian lands from the later ninth century onwards.

We know of no attempt to connect the Sāmānīds with the Arab heritage, but it was generally accepted amongst the Sāmānīds' contemporaries that the family was of aristocratic, if not royal, Iranian origin. Sāmān-Khudā, the earliest attested member of the family, was a *dihqān* from the Balkh area of Ṭukhāristān, who in the eighth century was converted to Islam and served one of the last Umayyad governors of Khurasan.<sup>38</sup> Bīrūnī, followed by subsequent sources such as Ibn al-Athīr, says that there is "universal agreement" that the Sāmānīds descend from Bahrām Chūbīn. Bahrām Chūbīn, son of Bahrām Gushnasp, led a revolt against the Emperor Hormizd IV in 590 and temporarily occupied the imperial throne himself as Bahrām VI. His family of Mīhrān claimed descent from the Arsacids, hence his bid for the throne and his displacement of the Sāsānīds. The legitimate heir to the throne, Hormizd's son Khusrau Aparvīz, regained the throne in the next year with Byzantine and Armenian help, and Bahrām Chūbīn had to flee to Turkestan, where he was soon afterwards killed. His adventurous career made a deep impression on the Persian national consciousness, and gave rise to a popular romance in Pahlavi, details of which we know through mentions in Arabic and Persian sources

<sup>33</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Muḥajj ad-dhahab*, IX, 19-30; Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., VIII, 144-5, 226; V. Minorsky, "La domination des Dailamites," in *Iranica/Bist maqāla-yi Minorsky* (Tehran 1964), pp. 17-18, 24.

<sup>34</sup> *al-Athār al-bāqiya*, p. 39.

<sup>35</sup> Trans. R. Levy, *A Mirror for Princes* (London 1951), pp. 2-3.

<sup>36</sup> School of Oriental and African Studies, London, MS 26386.

<sup>37</sup> V. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London 1928), p. 240. It was also under Aḥmad b. Ismā'il that Arabic was once more made the language of official correspondence.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

and in Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma*.<sup>39</sup> Also in the upper Oxus region, the Amīrs of Khuttal were in the twelfth century still deriving their origin from a notable figure of Sāsānid times, the Emperor Bahrām Gūr.<sup>40</sup>

It was obviously quite credible to contemporaries that a dynasty of *dihqān* origin like the Sāmānids should trace their beginnings back to the old Persian aristocracy. Of equal significance in considering the question of the need for Persian dynasties to set down roots in the past is the example of the Ṣaffārids of Sistan. Sistan and the adjacent regions of what is now eastern Afghanistan had contributed important strands to the formation of the Persian national epic, above all to those parts of the cycle connected with the hero Garshāsp and his descendant Rustam-i Zāl, the stable of whose horse Rakhsh was still shown at Qarnīn in Sistan in Islamic times.<sup>41</sup> The Ṣaffārid brothers Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. Laith were of indisputably plebeian origin; Ya'qūb had been a coppersmith and 'Amr a stonemason or mule hirer. They were proud of their origin from the people, and claimed, with considerable justice, that they had reached their position of power by their own efforts, unassisted by noble birth or official influence; and they further claimed, again with justice, that they represented the interests of the people of Sistan against past exploitation by Caliphal and Tāhirid officials and tax-collectors. Their implacable refusal to accept the norms of Sunnī orthodoxy and political practice, sc. obedience to the moral authority of the Caliphs and their legitimate representatives, exposed the Ṣaffārids to the hostility of the generality of Islamic historians; Ya'qūb and 'Amr on more than one occasion expressed their contempt for the Abbāsids and their fraudulent seizure of the Caliphate.<sup>42</sup> The Ṣaffārids had thus no incentives for claiming any connection with the Arab past; the Arab ruling institution in Sistan had typified everything that Ya'qūb had been fighting against, and Ya'qūb openly showed this contempt for and impatience with Arabic learning on one occasion.<sup>43</sup>

Moreover, it might be thought that the Ṣaffārids' frank proclamation of their lowly origins would preclude any connection being forged between them and the Iranian past, however suitable in such a deeply traditionalist province as Sistan a connection like this might seem. Yet this is what apparently happened at an early date in the circles around Ya'qūb. The anonymous *History of Sistan* gives a lengthy genealogy tracing Ya'qūb back through the Sāsānids Khusrau Aparvīz, Kawādh and Ardashīr to Faridūn and Jamshīd and the first man Kayūmarth.<sup>44</sup> The *History of Sistan* seems substantially to date from the second half of the eleventh century, so it is possible that this genealogy was invented in say the tenth century, when the Ṣaffārids had become respectable, and within their modest sphere of power in Sistan had achieved a recognized place in the Islamic states-system. Such Amīrs as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (310–52/922–963) and Khalaf b. Aḥmad (352–393/963–1003) were distinguished figures of their time, the latter being particularly famed for his scholarly interests.<sup>45</sup>

But there is a second piece of evidence which is incontrovertibly contemporary with Ya'qūb b. Laith. In Yāqūt's biographical dictionary of scholars and writers, there is a fragment of verse, totalling twelve lines. It is quoted via the historian Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, and is by a poet of Iṣfahān, Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Mamshādh, apparently one of Ya'qūb's panegyrists. The poet puts into Ya'qūb's mouth these words:

I am the son of the noble descendants of Jam, and the inheritance of the kings of Persia has fallen to my lot.  
I am reviving their glory, which had been lost and effaced by the long passage of time.  
I am openly seeking revenge for them; although men have closed their eyes to recognizing their regal rights,  
I do not do so.

<sup>39</sup> Mas'ūdi, *Murūj adh-dhahab*, II, 233; Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel and J. Roediger (Leipzig 1871), p. 305; Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāqīya*, p. 39; Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., VII, 191; T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden* (Leiden 1879), pp. 474–8, Excursus 6.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., XI, 155, cited in Barthold, op. cit., p. 234.

<sup>41</sup> See Bosworth, *Sistan under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Ṣaffārids (30–250/651–864)* (Rome 1968), pp. 2–4.

<sup>42</sup> See *idem*, "The Armies of the Ṣaffārids," *BSOAS* XXXI (1968), 535–6. The *Ta'rikh-i Sistan* (on which see n. 44, below) is an exception to the hostility of the historical sources towards

the Ṣaffārids.

<sup>43</sup> After his victories in northern Afghanistan, Ya'qūb's court poets eulogised him in Arabic verses. But Ya'qūb angrily complained that these were incomprehensible to him, and got the head of chancery, Muḥammad b. Waṣīf, to write some verses in Persian. Cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (IX<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Tehran and Paris 1964), I, 12–13.

<sup>44</sup> Ed. Malik ash-Shu'arā' Bahār (Tehran 1314/1935), pp. 200–2.

<sup>45</sup> He is said to have commissioned a grand Koran commentary, comprehending all previous ones, and running to one hundred volumes; not surprisingly, this mammoth work is no longer extant.

With me is the banner of Kāwī (*'alam al-Kābiyān*), through which I hope to rule all the nations  
 So say to all the sons of Hāshim (sc. the Abbasids), " Abdicate quickly, before you have reason to feel sorry!  
 We have gained power over you by force, with our lance-thrusts and cuts from our sharp swords,  
 Our forefathers gave you kingly power, but you have never showed proper gratitude for our benefactions.  
 Return to your country in the Hijaz, to eat lizards and graze sheep,  
 For I shall mount the throne of the kings, with the aid of my sword blade and the point of my pen!"

The poem seems to be a manifesto in verse of Ya'qūb's programme of conquest within the eastern lands of the Caliphate, a programme that was only halted by the check to his armies at Dair al-Āqūl in 262/876, when Ya'qūb was within fifty miles of Baghdad itself. Especially interesting is the reference to the ancient symbol of royal authority in Iran, the *dirafsh-i kābiyān*, the " imperial banner " of the Sāsānids, captured by the Arabs at the battle of Qādisiyya. One should note too the sharply Shu'ūbī sentiment in the allegation that it was the Persians and Khurasanians who brought the Abbasids to power, but were only rewarded by ingratitude, and also in the familiar stigmatizing of the Arabs as lizard-eating desert barbarians at the side of the ancient culture of the Iranians.<sup>46</sup> It is a pity that we have no explicit information in the *History of Sistan*, which is normally extremely detailed about the early Ṣaffārids and their campaigns, about the conscious adoption of an imperial plan of conquest; but there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity or contemporaneity of the poem. Its significance to us here lies in its illustrating the point that, at this period of Persian history, it was inevitable that a ruler who had become master of a great empire in the historically Iranian lands should be connected willy-nilly with the Iranian past and that his victories should be seen as the preparation for a reconstituting of that glorious past.

It is not particularly surprising that ethnically Persian dynasties should, whilst remaining faithful to the religious connection with Islam, seek to establish links with the Iranian heroic past; more surprising is an instance of a minor Islamic dynasty which was indisputably Arab in origin abandoning its Arab genealogy in favour of a connection with the pre-Islamic Iranian monarchs. We would expect this curious process to take place in a peripheral region of the Islamic world, one far from the Arab cultural heartland of the Fertile Crescent and the Arabian peninsula but one coming within the orbit of Iranian cultural influence. The place in question is eastern Transcaucasia, where in the early Islamic centuries more than one line of Arab governors held such bastions of Arab power as Darband and Sharvān against the indigenous Caucasian peoples, the Turkish Khazars and the Scandinavian Rūs.

In Sharvān a line of Arab governors was established in early Abbasid times, the descendants of Yazid b. Mazyad from the Bakrī tribe of Shaibān. The eastern Caucasian shores of the Caspian Sea had been controlled militarily by the Sāsānids and had been imbued with Persian cultural influences. The Yazīdīd Sharvān-Shāhs became autonomous and then independent of Baghdad, and at the same time became culturally more and more iranized. Whereas Arab names had been usual up to the reign of the Shāh Yazīd b. Aḥmad (381-418/991-1029), his sons and their descendants all took Persian names like Fariburz, Afrīdūn and Manūchihr, and memory of the family's Arab origin became obliterated. The process must have begun early. In the first half of the tenth century Mas'ūdī could state that the Sharvān-Shāh of his time, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, was " incontrovertibly " a descendant of Bahrām Gūr, as was also the Avar prince of the neighbouring Caucasian principality of Sarīr;<sup>47</sup> all later historians, such as Rashīd ad-Dīn and Mūnejjim-Bashī, were convinced that the Sharvān-Shāhs were descended from Anushīrvān the Just.<sup>48</sup> Such a process as this iranization of the Yazīdīds was, however, exceptional, outside the Caucasus-Azerbaijan area,<sup>49</sup> and is explicable by the severance of political and cultural ties with the centres of Arab traditional life and thought.

<sup>46</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, I, 322-3. We owe the unearthing of these verses, and a detailed exposition of their significance in the context of the Shu'ūbiyya controversies and the expansionist policy of the first Ṣaffārids, to the late S. M. Stern; see his posthumously-published paper " Ya'qūb the Coppersmith and Persian National Sentiment ", in *Iran and Islam, in Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth (Edinburgh 1971), pp. 535-55.

<sup>47</sup> *Murūj adh-dhahab*, II, 4.

<sup>48</sup> See Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband* (Cambridge 1958), pp. 63, 116, 129, 134.

<sup>49</sup> The Rawwādids of Azerbaijan, governors in Tabrīz during early Abbasid times, were probably of Arab origin, from the Yemenī tribe of Azd, but through the influence of their strongly Dailamī and Kurdish environment, had by the tenth century become thoroughly kurdicised; see Bosworth in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, V. *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge 1968), pp. 32-4.

Finally, it is instructive to see what happened when a ruling family of Turkish origin became established in the Iranian world and quickly became largely persianized in culture and outlook. The Ghaznavid Sultanate stemmed directly from the Sāmānid Amirate, and can in many respects be regarded as its successor state. The founder, Sebūktigin, was originally a member of the Sāmānid military slave institution, and the civil and military institutions of the Sultanate were to a considerable extent modelled on their Sāmānid forerunners. Obsequious genealogists were unable to get round the fact of Sebūktigin's pagan Turkish birth. According to his testament or *Pand-nāma*, Sebūktigin came from the tribe (properly, place) of Barskhān on the shores of the Isiq-Köl where he had been captured by a neighbouring tribe and sold into slavery at Nakhshab in Transoxania. The autobiographical preface to the *Pand-nāma* states that the Barskhān tribe was so-named because in ancient times, one of the rulers of Persia had settled in Turkestan and had become a ruler there. He was called *Pārsi-khwān*, that is, one who is literate in Persian, and this became contracted to Barskhān, which means "powerful" in Turkish.<sup>50</sup> The Ghūrid historian Jūzjānī quotes the *Ta'rikh-i mujadwal* of one Abū l-Qāsim 'Imādī (which Barthold surmised was written in the early twelfth century) as giving a complete genealogy from Sebūktigin and his father Juq or Qara Bechkem through six generations to Yazdigird III; it was supposed that Yazdigird's daughter had fled to the steppes and married a Turkish chief there.<sup>51</sup> It is possible that this genealogy was elaborated in the eleventh century, when the persianizing tendencies in the Ghaznavid empire had largely overlaid the Turkish past.

In the first years of the empire, Maḥmūd of Ghazna (388-421/998-1030) had been occasionally praised by his poets for his Turkish lineage as well as his alleged connection with the Iranian past. Thus the famous Arabic littérateur and author of *maqāmāt*, Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, addresses Maḥmūd thus:

May God exalt whoever He wills! And may He increase me in faith!  
Is it Faridūn [whom we see] with his crown, or a second Alexander?  
Or has the circle of time brought back Solomon once more?  
The sun of Maḥmūd has cast the stars of Sāmān into the shade,  
And the house of Bahrām has become subject to the son of Khāqān.  
Whenever he rides out on an elephant for warfare or for ceremonial purposes,  
Your eyes see a ruler (*sulṭān*) on the back of a demon (*shaiṭān*).  
Is it from the heart of India to the plains of Gurgān,  
From the land of Sind to the farthest limits of Khurasan,  
In the plenitude of his youthful power and in freshly displayed glory,  
That you are in the saddle, when the withers of Saturn are shrunken and emaciated?  
O Yamīn ad-Daula, the successor in time to Baghdad and Ghumdān,  
There are not two rulers in the west who do not obey you;  
If you so wish, they enjoy security, prosperity, and assured faith.<sup>52</sup>

This poem must be early in date (Badī' az-Zamān died in 398/1008). The great panegyrists of the early Ghaznavids much more frequently praise Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd as heirs of the Kistrās. Thus we find them given such titles as *Shāhanshāh-i 'Ālam* (Farrukhī), *Khusrau-i Mashriq*, *Khusrau Shāhanshāh-i Dunyā* ('Unṣurī), and *Khudāvand-i Khurāsān va Shāhanshāh-i 'Irāq* (Manūchihri).

The great dynasties of Turkish chieftains which arose contemporaneously with the Ghaznavids, like the Qarakhanids, or shortly afterwards, like the Seljuqs, had not spent a formative period within the military slave institution or the cultural ambience of an indigenous Iranian dynasty, as had the first Ghaznavids. The Qarakhanids and Seljuqs were of free Turkish and not slave origin; they depended, at least initially, on a mass Turkish tribal backing and not on a déraciné professional army; and they continuously drew fresh replenishments of manpower from the Turks remaining in the Central Asian

<sup>50</sup> Sebūktigin's *Pand-nāma* is given in the *Majma' al-ansāb* of the fourteenth-century historian Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shabānkāra'i, which has not yet been published. The *Pand-nāma* was, however, excerpted and translated by M. Nazim, "The *Pand-Nāmah* of Subūktigin," *JRAS* (1933), 605-28, see especially pp. 610-14, 621-3. Another etymology for Barskhān is given

by Kāshghari, *Diwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. B. Atalay (Ankara 1939-41), III, 417-18, facs. f. 625.

<sup>51</sup> *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, I, 225-6, trans. I, 67-70.

<sup>52</sup> Cited in Tha'ālībī, *Yatimat ad-dahr*, ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamid (Cairo, 1375-7/1956-8), IV, 296-7.

steppes. Hence it was only natural that they should seek to derive their charisma of rule from the heroic Turkish past, and not from the indigenous traditions of their newly-acquired Iranian territories, where they for a long time felt aliens, as indeed they were.

Such designations as "Qarakhanids" and "Ilek-Khanids" are, as is well known, the inventions of nineteenth-century Russian orientalists.<sup>63</sup> One of the names by which these incoming Qarluq tribal khans let themselves be known by was Āl-i Āfrasiyāb, that is, descendants of Āfrasiyāb, the king of Tūran in Iranian epic tradition and the foe of Kai Kā'ūs; Āfrasiyāb was apparently identified with the Turkish folk hero Alp Er Tonga.<sup>64</sup> The Seljuqs also soon had genealogies constructed for themselves going back to Āfrasiyāb, and their descent from the noble Oghuz clan of Qiniq was also stressed; according to Kāshgharī, this was the clan of the princes of the Oghuz.<sup>65</sup> The various sources dealing with Seljuq origins mention that the founder of the family, Seljuq b. Duqaq, known as *Temür-yaligh* "iron-bow," had connections with, or was in the service of, the Khāqān of the Khazars, to whom they give the Turkish title of *Yabghu*. The story further goes that Seljuq, the victim of envy and suspicion on the part of the Khazar king, struck the latter with his sword; this is cited to show the nobility and daring of Toghril Beg's forebears. The historicity of this Khazar-Seljuq link is not proven. The tale may have arisen in order to connect the Seljuq clan, part of a tribal group which was, amongst the Turks of Central Asia, at a particularly low social and cultural level, with a powerful and well-known group like the Khazars of South Russia.<sup>66</sup>

At all events, the era in which powers established in Iran on the ruins of the Abbasid Caliphate automatically tried to forge a connection with the glorious traditions of ancient Iran, draws to an end in the eleventh century. The Turkish dynasties, in whose hands the political destiny of Iran was to lie for some hundreds of years to come, were, it is true, gradually permeated by the superior culture of Persia; but this was a slow process, and the need quickly to find a place within the epic framework of the Iranian national tradition was no longer felt as pressing.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Bosworth, *Encyclopaedia of Islām*,<sup>3</sup> Art. "Ilek-Khāns."

<sup>64</sup> V. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945), pp. 70, 84.

<sup>65</sup> *Diwān lughāt al-Turk*, trans. I, 55.

<sup>66</sup> See the discussions of Seljuq origins in Cl. Cahen, "Le Malik-Nameh et l'histoire des origines seljukides," *Oriens*, II (1949), 41 ff., and Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh 1963), pp. 219 ff.

# VIII

## THE KŪFICHĪS OR QUṢ IN PERSIAN HISTORY

The south-eastern quarter of Persia, sc. the provinces of Kirmān, Makrān and Baluchistan, has always played a smaller part in the country's history than have other, adjacent provinces such as Fārs or Khurasan. The extreme aridity of much of this region, making agriculture difficult and generally dependent on irrigation, the comparative lack of rich pasture grounds such as one finds in Khurasan and Azerbaijan, the extensive mountain ranges rising to over 14,000 feet, and the inhospitable coastline, with no major port today between Hormuz or Bandar Abbas and Karachi,<sup>1</sup> have all combined to make it a singularly unattractive region for intensive settlement, though Makrān and Baluchistan have on many occasions in history formed an important corridor for the movement of peoples between the Iranian and Indian worlds.

Although something is known about Kirmān in early Islamic times, since it was usually a dependency of the much richer and politically more important province of Fārs, the history of the lands further east, stretching through coastal Makrān and inland Baluchistan to Sind (what is now politically Persian and Pakistani Baluchistan) is largely a blank at this time. The province of Kirmān *stricto sensu* shared in the cultural and intellectual vitality of mediaeval Islam enough to contribute significantly to the vigorous genre of Persian local historiography, from Afḍal ad-Dīn Kirmānī in the 6th/12th—early 7th/13th centuries down to Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Vazīrī in the 19th century. The extremely thinly-populated region to the south and east of Kirmān, however, evolved no traditions of urban life and consequent culture; today, Persian Baluchistan remains the most backward part of the Shāhanshāh's dominions, whilst in Pakistani Baluchistan a sense of political and cultural consciousness has only come to the surface, with attendant stresses, in the last decade or so.

The lack of material for the early political history of the region is paralleled by an even profounder dearth of information on such matters as the ethnology, demography and linguistic situation there. We clutch at straws, but it is nevertheless possible to utilize the exiguous sources in order to throw light on certain aspects of these problems, and it is with one of these problems that we shall now be concerned.

In the Arabic and Persian historical and geographical sources of the period between the 3rd/9th century and the decline of the Seljuqs in the 6th/12th century, we find scattered references to a people of south-eastern Persia designated by the simple descriptive epithet of Kūfichīs/Kūfijīs "mountaineers". The etymology is fairly clear. *Kūfij* presupposes a non-attested Old Iranian form \**kaufātiya*- "mountain dweller" (< O. Pers. *kaufa*- "mountain"), which was evidently a by-form of O. Pers. *ākau-fātiya*-, the name of a people in the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, mentioned together with the *maṭtiya*- "men of Maka" (= western Makrān?).<sup>2</sup> N. Pers. *Kūfij*/*Kūfich* (< *Kūfaj*/*Kūfach*, the unstressed, unstable *a* vowel becoming *i* before *j/ch*) was arabicized to *Qūfīs*, with the usual Arabic alternation of *k/q* for Iranian *k* and the normal Arabic rendering of the Iranian unvoiced fricative *č* by the Arabic emphatic sibilant *ṣ*; the form \**Kūfch* (where the intervocalic *a* has dropped out altogether) was arabicized to *Quṣ*. The Balūch likewise appear in the early Arabic texts as *Balūs*. \**Kūfch* also yielded, in everyday Persian, with a fairly natural absorption of preconsonantal *f* by the preceding *u*, the form *Kūch*, often in the alliterative coupling *Kūch u Balūch*. However, we have enough information to show that, in dealing with the Kūfichīs and the Balūch, we have before us two distinct ethnic and linguistic groups.

<sup>1</sup> In classical and mediaeval Islamic times, it is true, the port of Tiz, Ptolemy's Τῖζα, on the shores of the present-day bay of Chāh-bahār in Persian Makrān, was apparently a flourishing entrepôt for the trade of Kirmān and Sīstān. See on the recent site and ruins at Tiz, T. H. Holdich, "Notes on ancient and mediaeval Makran", *GJ* VII (Jan.-June 1896), pp. 396-7,

and now J. Hansman's discussion of the significance of the port in the article cited in n. 6 below, pp. 572-4.

<sup>2</sup> See R. G. Kent, *Old Persian grammar, texts, lexicon*<sup>2</sup> (New Haven, 1953), pp. 151, 165. In respect of the initial *ā*: zero, *ākau-fātiya*- seems to stand to \**kaufātiya*- as O. Pers. *āsagarta*- (Kent, p. 173a) stands to Greek *Sagartia*.

Because of the close connection of the two peoples in the sources, it is necessary to say something first about the much more studied, though hardly better-known, Balūchīs. We only know of these last in their present geographical habitat from historical and travellers' information of the last 150 years or so, whilst the equation of the homeland of the mediaeval Kūfichīs with modern Bashkardia (see below) is tentative only, though probable. To the present writer's knowledge, the mediaeval historical and geographical texts contain no more precise information about the possible migrations and movements of the Balūchīs than what was gathered together seventy years ago by M. Longworth Dames, whilst the information on the habitat and mores of the Kūfichīs is all set forth in the latter part of this chapter. With such a dearth of firm historical fact, the few scholars who have concerned themselves with these problems have tried to bridge the gap between the known, present-day position and the virtually unknown, historic past by utilising *inter alia* the indications provided by a study of the languages of the region.

Already at the beginning of this century, Longworth Dames, an Indian Civilian who had a knowledge of Baluchistan and the Baluchi language outstanding for his time, suggested that the Balūch had migrated across the central Persian deserts from northern or north-western Persia, in particular, from the Caspian region, at some time before the 4th/10th century, when we begin to hear of them in Kirmān; he noted that in Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma*, the Balūch are linked with the men of Gilān.<sup>3</sup> More recently, R. N. Frye has taken up these arguments and has suggested a migration across the northern part of the Central Desert, citing linguistic parallels between Balūchī and the Biyābānak Persian dialects.<sup>4</sup> Then, perhaps under pressure from the Dailamī Buyids, the Ghaznavids, and finally the Seljuqs and their Türkmen followers, the Balūch moved further eastwards—probably via the Kirmān-Bampur depression-Mashkel route used some 1300 years before by Alexander the Great on his way back from India—into the largely empty region of what is now Baluchistan. Here they superimposed themselves upon an indigenous stock with Dravidian ethnic and linguistic connections, represented by the modern Brahuis. In general, the Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century, and the anonymous Persian *Hudūd al-'ālam* dating from the end of that century, locate the Balūch as dwelling just to the east of the important town in eastern Kirmān of Jiruft, in the steppe land (*ṣahrā*) between the wooded Jabal Bāriz and the southern fringes of the Dasht-i Lūt; only Maqdisī mentions Balūchī-speakers much further east, at Panjgūr in what is now the eastern part of Pakistani Baluchistan (see concerning this last item of information, below). Uncertain of the ethnic affiliations of the Balūch, some sources consider them (and also the Kūfichīs) as Kurds, and their nomadic and predatory way of life must have seemed very similar to that of the Kurds of the Zagros region, whose name was a byword for violence and banditry.<sup>5</sup>

However, doubt has recently been thrown on the accepted view of Longworth Dames and Frye, that the Balūch moved southwards and eastwards from northern Persia in early Islamic times, by John Hansman in a detailed and closely-argued study which seeks to identify the Magan/Makan of the Akkadian and Assyrian texts with western Makrān (sc. that part of the coastland now falling within Persian territory) and their Meluḥḥa with eastern Makrān (sc. that part of it now belonging to Pakistani Baluchistan).<sup>6</sup> He proposes that the Balūch are the later descendants of the ancient Meluḥḥa, these last in turn to be identified also with the Mleccha, mentioned in Sanskrit texts from ca. 600 B.C. onwards as a barbarian people living beyond the Indus, i.e. to the west of the river. He cites Maqdisī's information on Bannajbūr (modern Panjgūr) in the Rakhshan valley, described as the chief town of Makrān and as being inhabited by a Balūchī-speaking people only nominally Muslim, as evidence that the Balūch were already established in eastern Baluchistan before the supposed migration eastward under Būyid and Seljuq pressure.<sup>7</sup> But Maqdisī wrote ca. 375/985 and it is quite possible that advance

<sup>3</sup> M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch race* (London, 1904), and *EI* art. "Balōčistān".

<sup>4</sup> "Remarks on Baluchi history", *CAJ* VI (1961), pp. 44-50.

<sup>5</sup> The information of the Arabic geographers on the haunts of the Kūfichīs and Balūch is subsumed in W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien. 1. Die Strassenzüge der Tabula Peuteringana", *SBWAW*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., CII (1882), pp. 189-90; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 316-17, 323-4; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen* (Leipzig, 1896-1926), pp. 261-6; and J. Markwart, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals*

*of Erānshahr*, ed. G. Messina (Rome, 1931), pp. 74-7.

<sup>6</sup> J. Hansman, "A periplus of Magan and Meluḥḥa", *BSOAS* XXXVI (1973), pp. 554-87.

<sup>7</sup> Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-taqāsim*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), p. 478. Hansman's linguistic connecting of these peoples is Meluḥḥa-Baluḥḥu-Balūč (*op. cit.*, pp. 568-70). The disparity in the vowels, *e* versus *u*, in Meleccha-Meluḥḥa is, however, unexplained by this. Also, if Baluchistan really was the homeland of the Balūch in classical times, we have the problem of accounting for the diaspora of Balūch as far north as Khurasan and the fringes of Transoxania.

elements of the Balūch could have reached the neighbourhood of Panjgūr by then. It is further dangerous to consider him as an expert on any languages of south-eastern Persia outside those familiar to the normal, bilingual Arabo-Persian scholar, sc. Arabic and New Persian (note also his information that the language of the Qufş and Balūch resembled that of the Sindis, below, pp. 12–13); his “people speaking gibberish”, *qaum ghutm*, of Banjgūr might equally well have been Brahuis.

We really know nothing of the Balūchī language before the mid-19th century, when such pioneer scholars as E. Pierce, Colonel E. Mockler and then Longworth Dames, published linguistic material. It is clear that the linguistic affinities of Balūchī are with the Parthian language of northern Persia, and that it occupies a central position between Western and Eastern Iranian. Being very conservative compared with New Persian and Pashto, it looks like an older stage of the Middle Parthian of the 3rd century A.D. There are similar sound changes between Parthian and Balūchī, and the evidence suggests that the ethnic Balūch separated from the Parthians at a stage before we know the latter, and that this separation took place in Khurasan rather than in north-western Persia.<sup>8</sup> One puzzling question, whose solution one would like to know, is when the ethnic term “Balūch” first developed; Frye cites the various attempts which have been made at supplying an etymology for it, and is justifiably sceptical about them all.<sup>9</sup> In contemporary usage in Bashkardia, *balūch*, as opposed to *Balūchi*, simply means “shepherd”, i.e. it is a common noun and not an ethnic designation.<sup>10</sup>

Returning to the Kūfichī, these are placed by those Arabic and Persian geographical sources which first mention them and the Balūch in the extensive, mountainous region lying between the Jabal Bāriz and the Gulf of Onan. Thus Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Hauqal describe the country of the Qufş as bounded by the sea on the south; the Balūch areas of Hormuz and Manūjān (sc. the basin of the Rūdkhāna-yi Mīnāb or Mīnāo, which runs down to the Gulf) on the west; the districts of Jīruft and Rūdhbār and the hill region called Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim (probably to be located in the upper reaches of the Rūdkhāna-yi Mīnāb basin, the modern Kūh-i Dashtagird) on the north; and al-Akhwāsh (the modern settlement of Khwāsh in the Sarhadd region, just to the south of the volcanic Kūh-i Taftan, the highest peak in Baluchistan) and the desert on the east.<sup>11</sup> The *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, in its introductory section (§5) on the mountains and mines of the world, is especially detailed on the orography of Kirmān province. It describes the Kūh-i Kūfij as comprising a chain of seven mountains running from the Gulf of Oman to the neighbourhood of Jīruft, each with a chief of its own and well-nigh impregnable, and distinct from such hill regions as the Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim, the Kūh-i Bārijān and the Kūh-i Sīm or “Silver Mountain”.<sup>12</sup> From all this there emerges, as Minorsky pointed out, that the Kūfichī country corresponded *grosso modo* to the ranges separating the inland basin of the Halil River, the Jaz Muryan swamp and the Bampur river from the sea, with mountains rising up to 7000 feet and including the modern district of Bashākard or Bashkardia. The *Hudūd al-‘ālam*’s mention of Khwāsh as the north-eastern limit of the Kūfichī presumably means that they controlled the steppelands of the Jaz Muryan depression and those mountains to the north of it like the Kūh-i Bazmān.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Here, as in other linguistic matters discussed in this chapter, I rely on information generously given to me by Dr Ilya Gershevitch.

<sup>9</sup> “Remarks on Baluchi history”, p. 47. Hansman’s article contains an appendix by Sir Harold Bailey in which he lists the early linguistic evidence for the term Balūch (on p. 586).

<sup>10</sup> I. Gershevitch, “Travels in Bashkardia”, *JRCAS XLVI* (1959), pp. 219–20, and cf. his n. 15, noting the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*’s statement that the Balūch are herdsmen.

<sup>11</sup> Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik* (Cairo, 1961), p. 98; Ibn Hauqal, *Kitāb Šurat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1938–9), vol. II, pp. 309–10, tr. Kramers and G. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre* (Paris, 1964), vol. II, pp. 304–5.

<sup>12</sup> Tr. Minorsky<sup>3</sup> (London, 1970), pp. 65, 124, 201, 374–5.

<sup>13</sup> There is a good description of the physical geography of this region in *Admiralty handbook, Persia* (1945), pp. 98–107, with a useful map, see also W. B. Fisher, in *Cambridge history of Iran*. Vol. I *The land of Iran*, ed. Fisher (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 81–7,

also with maps. On Bashkardia in particular, see Gershevitch, *art. cit.* (= *JRCAS XLVI* [1959], pp. 213–24), with references to the work of the very few European travellers in the region previously; and most recently, François Balsan, *Étrange Balouchistan* (Paris, 1969), which contains some excellent photographs. The pioneer traveller in Bashkardia was in fact the Englishman E. A. Floyer, who was a member of the Government Indo-European Telegraph staff stationed at Jask on the Persian Gulf, and who travelled through Bashkardia in 1876 at a time when the inhabitants were still largely untamed; see his *Unexplored Baluchistan. A survey, with observations astronomical, geographical, botanical, etc.* (London, 1882). Between Floyer and Dr and Mrs Gershevitch in 1956, there was virtually no-one who has left published material except for the traveller A. Gabriel, see his *Im welfernen Orient, ein Reisebericht von Dr. Alfons Gabriel* (Munich-Berlin, 1929), chs. “Im Herzen von Bashākard”.



Did the Kūfichīs formerly control a more extensive area to the north and west of this somewhat inaccessible and ill-favoured region? At the present time, the highland region of Bashkardia is surrounded on three sides (east, south and west) by Balūchīs, since the latter extend along the Makrān coastland as far west as Mīnāb. One might speculate that the Arab invasions of Kirmān and the migrations of the Balūch might conceivably have pushed an indigenous mountain-dwelling people out of what the geographers classified as the "cold region" of Kirmān (the *sardsir*, Arabised plural form *surūd*), sc. the extensive mountain region dominated by the peaks of the Kūh-i Hazār and the Kūh-i Lālazār, into the "hot region" (the *garmsir*, Arabised plural form *jurūm*) nearer the coast, of which modern Bashkardia forms part. On the other hand, the sketchy information which we possess on the Kūfichīs in the first century or so of Islam tends to locate them already in what are known as their later haunts, see below.

For the pre-Būyid period, data on the Kūfichīs are indeed fragmentary, but they do tend to show that they were living in south-eastern Persia well before the Balūch are known there. When in 23/644 the Persian population of Kirmān were attacked by the Companion Suhail b. 'Adī and his Arabs, they summoned the help of the Qufš.<sup>14</sup> Then in 31/651-2, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kuraiz, governor of Baṣra, Khurasan and the east for 'Uthmān, left Mujāshī' b. Mas'ūd as-Sulamī as his lieutenant in Kirmān. After Mujāshī' had subjugated the towns of Sīrajān, Hamīd, Jīruft and Kirmān/Bardasīr, he turned southwards towards Hormuz and came to the Qufš country, whither a large number of Persian refugees from the towns of Kirmān had fled; he scattered these fugitives, so that some fled along the coast of Makrān and some took to the sea.<sup>15</sup>

Then comes a lengthy silence until the time of the early Ṣaffārids (mid-3rd/9th century). The local historian of Kirmān Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī (wrote 584/1188) mentions that when Ya'qūb b. Laith occupied Kirmān, the people of Jīruft rebelled with the aid of the Kūfichīs of Kūh-i Bārījān, sc. the Jabal Bārīz; the Ṣaffārid amīr, however, managed to capture the leader of the Kūfichīs and imprison him at Bam.<sup>16</sup> It seems to have been as a result of Ṣaffārid penetration of the Jabal Bārīz region that Islam was introduced into what had been until then a redoubt of surviving Zoroastrianism, see below p. 13. After the defeat of 'Amr b. Laith in 287/900, Fārs and Kirmān returned within a decade or so to Abbasid allegiance, hence in 313/925 we learn that the caliph al-Muqtadir's governor in Fārs and Kirmān, Ibrāhīm b. al-Misma'ī, conquered the region of the Qufš and took 5000 prisoners, selling them as slaves in Fārs.<sup>17</sup> In all these instances, the vague usage of the term *al-Qufš*, both for a region and for a people, or merely as a general name for "mountain people", makes it difficult to know whether we are really dealing with the Kūfichīs of the 4th/10th century geographers and the sources on Būyid history, though this seems probable.

In so far as the Kūfichīs ever emerge into the clear light of history, it is at this point, when their activities begin to impinge on the wider policies of the great powers of the Iranian world such as the Būyids, the Ghaznavids and the Seljuqs. They appear above all as a bellicose and rapacious race of bandits, and this not only in the historical and geographical sources, but also in the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdausī, where the *Kūch u Balūch* are mentioned more than once for their hardihood and prowess in battle, e.g. as part of Kai Khusrau's forces, and for their skill in fighting with the dagger.<sup>18</sup> The geographers do, however, also mention that the Kūfichīs practiced some agriculture, and had date palms and cultivated fields. Physically, they are described as swarthy-skinned and lean in build. In regard to language, it is interesting that Iṣṭakhrī, Maqdisī and the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* attribute to the Kūfichīs, as also to the inhabitants of the Jabal Bārīz and the Balūch, a special language of their own, in addition to Persian. Maqdisī says that the language of the Qufš and Balūch resembles that of the Sindīs, a

<sup>14</sup> Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. de Goeje et alii (Leiden, 1879-1901), vol. I, pp. 2703-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi l-ta'rikh*, ed. Beirut, 1385-7/1965-7, vol. III, p. 43.

<sup>15</sup> Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), pp. 391-2, ed. Cairo, 1959, p. 383; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. III, pp. 127-8.

<sup>16</sup> *Iqd al-'ulā li-l-mauqif al-a'lā*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Āmirī

Nā'ini (Tehran, 1311/1932), pp. 65-6.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. VIII, p. 160.

<sup>18</sup> See the quotations in Markwart, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Erānshahr*, p. 77, and in B. Spooner, "Kūch u Balūch and Ichthyophagi", *Iran*, II (1964), p. 53; and see further P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Irān* (London, 1902), pp. 98-9.

comment which led Markwart, and following him Minorsky, to connect the language of the Kūfichīs with the Dravidian language of the Brahuis.<sup>19</sup>

We can only guess at the linguistic situation of the Kūfichī region at this time, but it would be very rash to build much upon Maqdisī's information. It can hardly have been based on first-hand acquaintance, for Maqdisī can have known nothing about the languages of Sind, and to posit any link with Dravidian languages is wild speculation. We can only cite what is the linguistic situation today, and here Dr Gershevitch is our sole authority; Bashkardian linguistic material was collected by Floyer in the 1870s and shipped by him from Jask to London, but totally lost in a shipwreck. Dr Gershevitch found that, apart from having absorbed a few Brahui and a great many Arabic loanwords, the dialects of Bashkardia are purely Iranian, and fall into two distinct groups. One of these has pronounced Persic traits, as if it had originated from central Fārs, and one thinks of the possibilities of a plantation or enforced migration of soldiers, frontier-guards, etc. in the south-eastern province of the empire by the Achaemenids when Alexander was overrunning their territories, or even by Alexander himself; the wholesale movement of peoples was a time-honoured practice in the Ancient Near East, and has indeed persisted till modern times. The actual name Bashākard/Bashkardia is not attested till the mid-19th century and the time of Pierce, etc., and nothing definite is known of its etymology or meaning, if such even existed. Dr Gershevitch has nevertheless speculated that the name Bashākard could come from the dominant Persian tribe (to which the Achaemenids themselves belonged) of the Pasargadae, seeing that Ptolemy, vi, 8, 12, speaks of Πασαργάδαι in the province of Carmania, sc. south-eastern Persia. Alternatively, he suggests that the latter may in reality have been Βασαργάδαι confused with the better-known tribe of the Pasargadae, thus accounting for the initial *b*-, when one would have expected the quite distinct phoneme *p* of Iranian to have maintained itself in initial position. Bashkardi has certainly retained some ancient Iranian words, not surviving elsewhere, in its lexicon. For instance, Dr Gershevitch again has identified the hardwood *jag* or *jakh* (thus in the two different dialect groups), now to be seen growing in Bashkardia, with the O. Pers. *yakā*- wood, used in the construction of Darius the Great's palace at Susa, and said to have been brought thither from Gandāra and Karmāna, sc. the Hindu Kush region and Kirmān respectively.<sup>20</sup>

The Jabal Bāriz is mentioned as being until the early Abbasid period a stronghold of Zoroastrianism, and as being only really penetrated by outsiders in the time of the Šaffārids Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. Laith (see above); the ancient inhabitants of these mountains are probably to be identified with the Παρικάριοι who paid tribute to Darius and who supplied infantry contingents to Xerxes' army, according to Herodotus, iii, 72, vii, 68, 86.<sup>21</sup> In the 4th/10th century, the Kūfichīs and Balūch seem to have been nominally Muslim, although in practice, their behaviour was characterised by a distinctly pagan savagery (see further below). Very curious is the information in Ibn Ḥauqal again about the Balūch:

They claim to be of Arab origin. Amongst all the provinces of Khurasan, they have given their allegiance to the movement (*da'wa*) of the men from the Maghrib. One group of them, basing themselves on traditions current amongst themselves, relates that there are in their territories huge sums of accumulated wealth and precious treasures, and they assert that these are being stored up in readiness for the Imām of the Age and his Master.<sup>22</sup>

Ibn Ḥauqal was himself a Fāṭimid sympathiser, and his information on communities where Fāṭimid missionaries or *dā'īs* had been at work was probably reliable. One might however surmise that these religious sympathies could more appropriately be imputed to the Kūfichīs than to the inland Balūch. The Kūfichī territories apparently stretched down to the Gulf of Oman coastal strip, and one might

<sup>19</sup> Markwart, op. cit., p. 75; Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, p. 374.

<sup>20</sup> See his "Sissoo at Susa (O. Pers. *yakā* = *Dalbergia Sissoo* Roxb.)", *BSOAS* XIX (1957), pp. 317-20, and XXI (1958), p. 174. The linguistic material collected by Dr Gershevitch in Bashkardia has as yet been only partly published by him; cf. *A locust's leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London, 1962), pp. 76-84, *Indo-Iranica, Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 78-88, and *W. B. Henning memorial volume*, ed. M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch

(London, 1970), pp. 161-74. Information is also quoted from him by Morgenstierne in the *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler, Section 1, vol. IV/1, p. 178.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal, vol. II, p. 310, tr. vol. II, p. 305; J. Marquart, *Erānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, *AGGW*, N.F. III/2 (Berlin, 1901), 31.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal, vol. II, p. 310, tr. vol. II, p. 304, cf. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides* (Leiden, 1886), p. 196.

expect Qarmaṭī or Ismā'īlī doctrines to have been carried to the Makrān coastlands, which lay on the direct sea route between the Qarmaṭī centre of al-Aḥsā in eastern Arabia and the Ismā'īlī communities of Sind.<sup>23</sup> However, all forms of religion must have sat lightly on the Kūfichīs, for it is as brigands and as harriers of the settled communities of Kirmān and the Sīstān fringes that we best know them.<sup>24</sup>

Maqdisī (who, as noted above, completed his geographical work, the *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fi ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, in ca. 375/985) has a classic description of the barbarism of the Kūfichīs and Balūch, who in his time were terrorising the caravan routes across the great central deserts of the Lūt and the Kavīr. Ibn Ḥauqal's information of a decade or two earlier that the Balūch were a pacific, pastoralist people who helped travellers rather than preyed upon them<sup>25</sup> does not accord with that of Maqdisī. The latter states, in his section on the Great Desert, which he himself had crossed

The whole of it [sc. the Great Desert] is a fearful place, because of a people called the Qufṣ, who inhabit some mountains in Kirmān which adjoin the region of Jiruft. From these mountains, they sweep down to the Desert just like locusts. They are a race with no propensity whatsoever towards goodness; they have savage faces, stony hearts, fierceness and hardness. They never spare anyone, and are not satisfied with just taking money. Nor do they put to death with their weapons anyone they get hold of; on the contrary, they pound their heads with a stone, just as one kills snakes; you see them hold a man's head down on a flat stone and pound it with a stone until it is split open. I asked them why they did this, and they replied, "In this way, we don't damage our sword blades!" Only rarely does anyone manage to escape from them. They possess places of concealment and impregnable mountains, and whenever they are cornered in one administrative region, they merely flee to another. They fight with [bows and] arrows and carry swords. The Balūṣ used to be even worse than the Qufṣ, until 'Aḍud ad-Daula destroyed them, and wrought damage amongst the Qufṣ also. He carried off as hostages 80 of their youths, and up to this present time, they are kept in imprisonment at Shīrāz; every so often these are sent back home, and another 80 taken in their place.

The regions of Dailam adjoining the Great Desert are safe from them, but the fringes of Khurāsān are liable to their depredations. However, provided that a caravan has an armed escort from the ruler of Fārs, they do not molest it. Amongst the whole of God's creation, they have the most tenacious qualities of endurance of hunger and thirst. Their staple food is only a modicum, such as nuts from the lotus tree, from which they derive nourishment.<sup>26</sup> They profess Islam, but are more savage against the Muslims than the Byzantines or Turks. When they take a man captive, they make him run with them 20 farsakhs or so, with bare feet and no food. They have no inclination for riding horses, and do not employ mounts at all; they go on foot essentially, except that sometimes they ride on swift camels. A Qur'ānic scholar who had once fallen into their hands told me that "they came across some documents, and sought out amongst their captives someone who could read them. I informed them that I could, so they took me along to their chief. When I had read the document, he summoned me to him and began asking me about various things, till he got to the point when he asked me, 'What do people say about our mode of life, our brigandage and our killing?' I replied that whoever does this, brings down inexorably upon himself the hatred of God and a painful punishment in the next world. He gave a choking gurgle, and fell down to the ground with a chalky-white face. Then he set me free, together with a group of other captives." I heard a body of merchants say that the Qufṣ have the practice of seizing only goods on which *zakāt* has not been levied; they regard what they take of these as their rightful due.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The present-day Balūchīs of Baluchistan are largely Sunni, but the people of Bashkardia are Shī'īs, see Gershevitch, "Travels in Bashkardia", p. 222. The origin of these Shī'ī sympathies is unknown, but they could well be of considerable antiquity, and not necessarily the result of the imposition of Shī'ism by the Ṣafawids as the official creed of their state, for the Ṣafawids can never have exercised any influence in this remote corner of Persia, any more than they did in the nearby district of Lāristān, very similar to Bashkardia in topography and habitat, which for long remained Sunni, see J. Aubin, "Les Sunnites du Lārestān et la chute des Safavides", *REI* XXXIII (1965), pp. 151-71.

<sup>24</sup> A Persian official who was sent to Tīz and the adjacent districts by the Qājār government in 1865 has a curious report about a tribe called the Zekerīs in Kūhwand and Kashkūr: these were said to have no religion, to permit incestuous

marriages, to have been founded by one Dāhī, and to derive their name from their veneration of the male organ (Arabic *dhakar* "penis"). See A. H. Schindler, "Notes on Persian Belūchistān. From the Persian of Mirza Mehdy Khān", *JRAS* (1877), pp. 147-54. What truth there was behind this story is hard to discern; one feels that someone was perhaps playing upon the credulousness of the man from Tehran.

<sup>25</sup> Vol. II, p. 310, tr. vol. II, pp. 304-5.

<sup>26</sup> Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 264 n. 4, suggests that there is meant here the dried berries of *Zizyphus lotus* (Persian *kundr*).

<sup>27</sup> Maqdisī, pp. 488-90, also given in the editor de Goeje's *Selections from Arabic geographical literature* (Leiden, 1907), pp. 63-5; the passage is translated into German by Schwarz, in op. cit., pp. 263-5. The text used as a basis for the translation given here incorporates several of the additions and variants from the

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In his book, Maqdisī is often slighting and contemptuous of the Būyids, and in one place attributes the general state of insecurity in the Great Desert as due to the weakness of Būyid rule and lack of control over brigands. However, it was the Būyid amīrs Mu‘izz ad-Daula and ‘Aḍud ad-Daula who took draconian measures against the Kūfichīs. Aḥmad b. Būya, the later Mu‘izz ad-Daula, was diverted from Fārs to Kirmān in 324/936 by his brother ‘Alī, the later ‘Imād ad-Daula. The northern and western parts of Kirmān province fell to his forces, but when he reached Jiruft, he had to negotiate with a messenger from the “ head of the QuḤḤ and Balūs ” ‘Alī b. az-Zanjī, called ‘Alī K. lūya (?Gulūya), who came from the family of ancestral chiefs in that region. It seems that these mountain folk had been accustomed to paying a certain amount of tribute to the ruling power in Kirmān on condition that they were left alone. ‘Alī Gulūya now offered to continue payment of tribute to the Būyids, to give presents and to provide hostages, but Mu‘izz ad-Daula treacherously attacked him. The latter was nevertheless worsted, and only subsequently did he manage to defeat the Kūfichī chief at the head of the gorge of Dar-i Fārid or Dīlfārid in the mountain zone connecting the central massif of the Kirmān *sardsīr* with the Jabal Bāriz. Even so, Mu‘izz ad-Daula realistically recognized that direct, permanent control of the Kūfichī territory was impossible.<sup>28</sup>

For the next 30 years or so, the historical sources imply that the Būyids left Kirmān alone. From *e silentio* evidence, it appears that the military commander Muḥammad b. Ilyās, whom Mu‘izz ad-Daula had temporarily expelled before he managed to defeat the Kūfichī chief ‘Alī Gulūya, returned and reigned over Kirmān as nominally a vassal of the Sāmānids, but in practice as an independent ruler. Muḥammad b. Ilyās had himself an element of the robber chief in his character, and he came to an understanding with the Kūfichīs and Balūch; he received a share of the proceeds of their depredations, and thereby amassed much treasure in his fortresses. It may be that the Būyids, and especially the powerful amīr of Fārs and Khūzistān ‘Aḍud ad-Daula, launched punitive expeditions against the Kūfichīs and Balūch in these years which have not been recorded in the chronicles. Certainly the poet Mutanabbī, who was at ‘Aḍud ad-Daula’s court in Shīrāz shortly before his assassination in 354/965, mentions in a verse of one of his *‘Aḍudiyyāt*, eulogies of the Būyid ruler, that his patron is

The one who offered cups of death and of wine [sc. to his foes on the one hand, and his intimates on the other], when he made the QuḤḤ like yesterday, which has passed away totally.<sup>29</sup>

Muḥammad b. Ilyās’s son and successor after 356/967, Ilyasa’, was improvident enough to clash with ‘Aḍud ad-Daula; a Būyid army invaded Kirmān and seized the capital of Kirmān town or Bardasīr (357/968), and ended the brief rule in Kirmān of the Ilyāsīd princelings.<sup>30</sup>

However, another son of Muḥammad b. Ilyās, Sulaimān, attempted with Sāmānid help to make a revanche, and in 359/369–70 he allied with the local Kūfichīs and Balūch. The Ilyāsīd forces were defeated, though resistance from the Kūfichīs and Balūch continued for a year or so afterwards. This resistance, whose leaders included Abū Sa‘īd the Balūchī and his sons, determined ‘Aḍud ad-Daula to take as drastic measures as possible against this running sore of the Kūfichīs and Balūch. In 360–1/970–2 two campaigns were launched against them, and as a result, Būyid authority was extended as far eastwards as Makrān. In the first campaign, the Būyid generals Kūrķīr b. Jastān and ‘Ābid b. ‘Alī marched southwards from Jiruft, defeating a concentration of the Kūfichīs, Balūch and “ Manūjā-niyya ”, i.e. the tribesmen of the Manūjān area, in Ṣafar 360/December 970; the Kūfichīs were routed, with 5000 of their number killed, and two of Abū Sa‘īd’s sons were killed also. The Būyid forces then

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Istanbul Aya Sofya manuscript given by de Goeje only in the apparatus criticus of his edition, but usually adopted for his text in his *Selections*. The same passage was also utilised over two centuries later by Yāqūt for his entry on “ al-QuḤḤ ” (*sic* with *stn*) in his *Mu‘jam al-buldān* (Beirut, 1374–6/1955–7), vol. IV, pp. 383–4.

<sup>28</sup> Miskawaih, in *Eclipse of the ‘Abbasid caliphate*, vol. I, pp. 352–6, tr. vol. IV, pp. 396–401; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. VIII, pp. 324–6; Aḥmad ad-Dīn Kirmānī, p. 66; Maḥzullah Kabīr, *The Buwayhid*

*dynasty of Baghdad* (Calcutta, 1964), pp. 42–3. For a more detailed account of all the Būyid operations in Kirmān during the middle decades of this century, see Bosworth, “ The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320–57/932–68) ”, *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minoriky*, ed. Bosworth (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 111–18.

<sup>29</sup> *Dīwān*, ed. F. Dieterici (Berlin, 1861), p. 793, but reading *aṣāra* for the incorrect *aṣāba* of the second hemistich here.

<sup>30</sup> Miskawaih, vol. II, pp. 249–50, tr. vol. V, pp. 266–7; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. VIII, p. 585; Bosworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–17.

turned eastwards through the Kūfichī country to Tiz and Makrān, establishing Islam there. In the second campaign, 'Aḍud ad-Daula came personally to Sīrajān in order to direct operations; an army penetrated into the Jabal Bāriz, defeating the Balūch, slaughtering their males and enslaving the women and children (Rabī' I 361/January 972). The remnants of the Balūch were deported from the Jabal Bāriz, and peasants and cultivators settled in their place. A further invasion of Makrān was launched, this time an amphibious operation, with ships coming from Sīrāf and Hormuz and with an army marching by the land.<sup>31</sup> Ibn Ḥauqal refers to these operations when he says that the Būyid ruler had scattered them and laid waste their lands, taking some into his own service and settling others elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> Doubtless, too, the practice of taking a periodic levy of hostages to Shīrāz as sureties for good behaviour, referred to by Maqdisī (see above, p. 14), began now.<sup>33</sup>

Although these victories of 'Aḍud ad-Daula were clearly considerable ones, the Kūfichīs and Balūch did not of course disappear. The Balūch may at this point have been impelled to move gradually eastwards from Kirmān towards what later became Baluchistan proper, pressing into what had been till then ethnically Brahui or Jhāt territory. Maqdisī's information about the two peoples indicates that their predatory activities had been reduced rather than suppressed completely. An anecdote in the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Nizām al-Mulk describes how Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna (388-421/998-1030) dealt with the spoliations of the *Kūch u Balūch*, but since it contains at least one serious anachronism, the presence as a protagonist in the story of the Ilyāsīd amīr Muḥammad b. Ilyās, who died four or five years before Maḥmūd himself was born, one can hardly treat it as serious history.<sup>34</sup> Maḥmūd did make one attempt to meddle in the affairs of the Kirmān Būyids in 407/1016-17, and his son Mas'ūd briefly seized the province from the governor there of 'Imād ad-Dīn Abū Kālījār of Fārs, only to lose it in 425/1034.<sup>35</sup> The mention in the Ghaznavid historian Baihaqī of *K.p.chī* (? Kūfichī) infantrymen in the forces of 'Isā (or Ḥusain) b. Ma'dān, who was opposing Mas'ūd's nominee on the throne of Makrān, Abū l-Mu'askar b. Ma'dān, is unfortunately somewhat dubious; the correct reading could also be *K.y.jī* "Kijī", i.e. troops from Kij or Kiz in what is now Pakistani Baluchistan.<sup>36</sup>

The Kūfichīs continued to prey upon travellers through the Great Desert, though the establishment of a strong Great Seljuq power in Khurāsān and the autonomous Seljuq amirate in Kirmān seem to have reduced their activities to more tolerable proportions. Our latest mentions of the Kūfichīs refer to events in the mid-5th/11th century, when Chaghri Beg and Qāwurd were making firm their authority. Nāšir-i Khusrau, in his Ismā'īlī theological treatise the *Kitāb wajh-i dīn*, speaks of the \*Kanjīna Turks (a bellicose people dwelling in the Buttamān Mountains to the north of Chaghāniyān and Khuttal on the upper Oxus), the *Kūfijān* and the Arab Bedouins as the peoples par excellence having no knowledge of learning and living like savage beasts. In his *Safar-nāma*, however, he relates that he crossed the Great Desert when he returned from the Pilgrimage in 444/1052, and found that the Amīr Gilakī of Ṭabas was keeping such strict order in the whole region that the Kūfijān were powerless to molest travellers.<sup>37</sup>

It must have been around this time that the Seljuq chief Qāwurd (d. 466/1074) took measures in his newly-acquired principality of Kirmān to put the Kūfichīs in their places. The historian of the Seljuqs of Kirmān Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (wrote 1025/1616) relates how Qāwurd prepared an army

<sup>31</sup> Miskawaih, vol. II, pp. 298-301, tr. vol. V, pp. 320-3; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. VIII, pp. 609, 613-14; Bosworth, op. cit., pp. 117-18.

<sup>32</sup> Vol. II, p. 310, tr. vol. II, p. 304.

<sup>33</sup> One might have imagined that the place name al-Qūfī in Iraq, lying between Baghdad and 'Ukbarā, was the result of a plantation there of Kūfichīs by the Būyids, who controlled Iraq after the middle years of the 4th/10th century, but the village is, in fact, mentioned in early Abbasid times, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, vol. IV, p. 382. It may, however, be that we have a reminiscence of an earlier, Sāsānid settlement of Kūfichīs.

<sup>34</sup> *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. H. Darke (Tehran, 1340/1962), pp. 80-8, tr. idem, *The book of government or rules for kings* (London, 1960), pp. 66-74; there are similar anecdotes in 'Aulī's *Jawāmi' al-hikāyāt*, facs. partial edn. (Tehran, 1335/1956), pp. 154-5, cf.

M. Nizāmu 'd-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u 'l-Hikāyāt of Muḥammad 'Aulī* (London, 1929), p. 168, nos. 732-3.

<sup>35</sup> See Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 90, 234.

<sup>36</sup> Baihaqī, *Tārīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Q. Ghānī and 'A. A. Fayyād (Tehran, 1324/1945), p. 244, Russian tr. A. K. Arends, *Istoriya Mas'ūda (1030-1041)*<sup>3</sup> (Moscow, 1969), p. 330. The editors Ghānī and Fayyād prefer the reading *K.y.jī*; Malik ash-Shu'arā Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*<sup>3</sup> (Tehran, 1337/1958), vol. II, pp. 67-8, followed the older Tehran lithograph of Baihaqī and read *K.p.chī*. In this particular passage, Baihaqī is speaking of "K.p.chī/K.y.jī, Rīgī and Makrānī infantrymen".

<sup>37</sup> *Kitāb wajh-i dīn* (Berlin, 1924), pp. 53-4; *Safar-nāma*, ed. Ch. Schefer (Paris, 1881), pp. 93-4, ed. Muḥammad Dabir-Siyāqī (Tehran, 1335/1956), pp. 124-5.

to overrun the *garmsir*, in which lay much of the province's resources and revenues, but which since the time of 'Aḡud ad-Daula had relapsed into anarchy under the Būyid amīr's weaker successors. Realising that the inaccessibility of the Kūfichīs' mountain haunts made direct assault difficult, he proceeded with guile and trickery. He sent an envoy to the leader of the Kūfichīs with robes of honour and presents, and formally invested him with the lands from Dar-i Fārid and Sar-i Bīzan<sup>38</sup> to the coastland, saying, "I am a Turk, and the water and the climate of the *garmsir* are uncongenial to the physical constitution of myself and my followers; I must have a viceroy there on my behalf, and what more suitable viceroy could there be than you?" The seat of the Kūfichīs is described as being in the Bārijān Mountains, sc. the Jabal Bāriz, and Qāwurd now employed one of his trusted counsellors, who had previously been on missions to the Kūfichīs, ostensibly to flee to the Jabal Bāriz from Qāwurd's supposed disfavour, and ingratiate himself with the Kūfichīs as Qāwurd's bitter foe. Having thus established a relationship of confidence, and having familiarised himself with the topography of the whole region, he then stole away to the Seljuq court, informing Qāwurd of a planned great meeting and celebration of the Kūfichī chiefs at a certain time and place. The leader of the Kūfichīs had boasted, "If he [sc. Qāwurd] harbours these suspicious plans, we shall deal with him just as we did with Mu'izz ad-Daula, and I am not less than my forefather", but Qāwurd now marched out of Jiruft, swept down on the Kūfichī chiefs at their meeting place, and massacred them to a man.<sup>39</sup>

It seems nevertheless unlikely that so tough and resilient a people as the Kūfichīs would ever be completely subdued. Regions like the Jabal Bāriz have continued to be notorious haunts of robbers down to the beginning of this century,<sup>40</sup> and since the latter half of the 19th century, there have been sporadic outbreaks of local unrest in Persian Baluchistan as the central government in Tehran has tentatively tried to impose central control.<sup>41</sup> Although the term "Kūfichīs" as the name for a specific people drops out of usage after the Seljuq period, the racial stock of these mountain people must long have continued to be an element in the demography of eastern Kirmān and Makrān.

<sup>38</sup> Thus in Bāstāni-Pārizi's text (see next note); Houtsma has *P. ch. n.*, ? Pazhan.

<sup>39</sup> Afḡal ad-Dīn Kirmānī, p. 66; Muḡammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Tārīkh-i Seljūqiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1886), pp. 5-8, ed. M. E. Bāstāni-Pārizi (Tehran, 1964), pp. 4-9, German résumé in Houtsma, "Zur Geschichte der Seljuquen von Kermān", *ZDMG XXXIX* (1885), p. 369; Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, pp. 100-1.

<sup>40</sup> As attested by Sir Percy M. Sykes, "A fifth journey in Persia", *GJ XXVIII* (July-Dec. 1906), p. 433. As recently as 1957, three USAID members were murdered by brigands whilst travelling from Iranshahr to Chabahar, to the east of Baskardia, see Balsan, *Étrange Baloutchistan*, pp. 247-50.

<sup>41</sup> See Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, pp. 105-8, and Spooner, *Kūch u Balūch and Ichthyophagi*, pp. 58-9.



# AFGHANISTAN



# IX

## THE EARLY ISLAMIC HISTORY OF GHŪR

### I

The province of Ghūr in Afghanistan has long been one of the least-known regions of the eastern Islamic world, and our knowledge about its history, its rulers and its peoples still has many gaps in it. In the 12th and early 13th centuries a local family, the Shansabānīs, spread their power beyond the confines of Ghūr and became an international force; but their florescence coincided with the appearance of two other dynasties, those of the Khwārizmshāhs and the Mongols, who proved more powerful than the Ghūrīds. Although the Ghūrīds were to leave their mark on India, Ghūr itself now lapsed into obscurity, while its originally Iranian population became increasingly diluted with Turkish and Mongol pastoralists.

### II

In 661 the Chinese T'ang dynasty organised the "Western Lands", which stretched beyond Khotan to the Persian frontier, into sixteen provinces of their empire. The Emperors regarded these lands as peripheral and as inhabited by barbarians; and although we have some Chinese material on Ṭukhāristān and on the Kabul and Gandhara areas, neither the Chinese administrative and geographical manuals nor the accounts of travellers like the Buddhist monk Huān-chuang throw any light on Ghūr at this period. The Arab and Persian geographers showed little interest in Ghūr. Until the 11th century it was a pagan land. It had no important urban centres for trade and industry, and no commercial routes crossed it, thereby necessitating the enumeration of roads and staging-posts characteristic of much early Muslim geographical literature. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (completed 982-3) lived in the ad-

joining province of Gūzgān and served its princes, the Ferīghūnids. He asserts that they exercised suzerainty over Ghūr; but he shows no special concern to elucidate its geography.<sup>1</sup> The biographers had no interest in Ghūr because it produced no Muslim scholar or religious figure of even minor fame. The most Samʿānī can do is to name three scholars of Baghdad with the *laqab* "al-Ghūrī" and suggest that they were perhaps of Ghūrī origin; since they flourished in the 4th and early 5th centuries A.H., their forefathers may have been of servile origin, for pagan Ghūr long supplied Islam with slaves.<sup>2</sup> Without the history of the Shansabānī dynasty by their eulogist Minhāj ad-Dīn Jūzjānī, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāširī*, written in 1260 for Sultan Nāšir ad-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Delhi, our knowledge of Ghūrī history in the early Islamic period would be meagre indeed. Even in the last century or so, travellers in Afghanistan have shown far less interest in the topography and antiquities of Ghūr than in those of the more accessible Sistan, Qandahar and Kabul regions. These last have the more obvious attractions of being historic corridors for the movement of peoples and ideas and of having connections with the classical Hellenistic, Buddhist and Indian worlds. Fortunately, the work of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan is now remedying this neglect of Ghūr.<sup>3</sup>

Ghūr lies in the west-centre of what is now Afghanistan, and comprises the basins of the upper Heri Rud, the Farah Rud, the Rud-i Ghor and the Khash Rud, together with the intervening mountain chains.<sup>4</sup> These

<sup>1</sup> Tr. Minorsky, *G.M.S.* (London, 1937), pp. 110, 342.

<sup>2</sup> Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, *G.M.S.* facs. (London, 1912), f. 413a; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, p. 825.

<sup>3</sup> It was not until the end of 1959, when this paper had been completed, that I was able to see a copy of A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam. La découverte de la capitale des Sultans Ghorides (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)* (= *Méms. de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan*, XVI) (Paris, 1959), in which the discovery of Fīrūzkūh is described. M. Wiet contributes (pp. 31–54) an admirable historical survey of the dynasty in Ghūr which will replace that part of M. Longworth Dames' article in *E.I.*<sup>1</sup> which deals with the main branch of the family in Ghūr. M. Maricq's researches into the topography and political divisions of mediaeval Ghūr, illumined by what most earlier European writers on the subject have lacked, i.e. personal knowledge of the terrain, now satisfy many of the questions Minorsky had to leave unresolved in his survey of Ghūr, *H. al-'a.*, 333, 342–4. In so far as the authors are primarily concerned with the political and military history of the Ghūrīd empire at the period of its greatest florescence, this present paper supplies a prolegomenon on the early history of the region and, in particular, its religious and cultural development.

<sup>4</sup> The modern district of Ghūrī on the upper Qunduz, to the south-west of Khanabad and north of the Ghorband (cf. G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, = *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F., Lund-Leipzig 1939, p. 16) is to be distinguished from the mediaeval province of Ghūr.

rise to over 10,000 feet and become considerably higher as they run eastwards to the Hindu Kush. Ghūr was difficult of access in mediaeval times and still is. The valley sides have deciduous woodlands and are often covered with mulberry and walnut trees, apricots and vines; they then rise steeply to the bare mountains. The valley bottoms are highly fertile, and already in the 10th century Iṣṭakhri stressed the region's fruitfulness, with its streams, meadows and tillage. When in 1845 the French officer Ferrier penetrated into Ghūr – the pioneer traveller from western Europe in these parts – he recorded that “In the valley of the Heri-Rood we found a succession of camps and villages and cultivation of all kinds, with cattle, horses and camels in vast numbers on the pastures”. Today wheat and barley can be grown on the higher ground, while irrigation channels in the river bottoms conserve the waters of the melting snows; here, semi-tropical crops like rice are grown.<sup>5</sup> After the Mongol invasions the pastoral element among the population increased; whereas in the Sāmānid, Ghaznevid and Ghūrid periods the Tājik inhabitants had possessed herds and had enjoyed some fame as horse rearers, they had been primarily agriculturists. It seems that the language of these Tājiks had considerable dialectical divergencies from the Persian spoken in Khurasan and from that familiar to the Ghaznevid Sultans; for his campaign of 1020 into Ghūr the Prince Mas'ūd had to employ local interpreters.<sup>6</sup>

The accounts of the Ghaznevid campaigns in the early 11th century confirm Yāqūt's information that Ghūr had no towns of note, but only agricultural settlements and – most typical feature of the landscape – fortified places and towers (*qaṣr*, *qal'a*, *hiṣār*, *kūshk*) in which a “bad-tempered, unruly and ignorant” people (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, 110) could defend themselves. Under the Ghaznevīds and Ghūrīds, the inaccessibility of these strongholds made them favoured places for immuring political prisoners.<sup>7</sup> The fortresses' commanding positions reflected the fragmentation of political power in Ghūr during this early period, a

<sup>5</sup> Iṣṭakhri, ed. de Goeje, 281; Ibn Ḥauqal, 2nd edn. of Kramers, 444; F. Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde* (Leipzig, 1871–8), I, 25–8; J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys and wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Baloochistan* (London, 1856), pp. 238 ff.; G. Le Strange, *Eastern lands of the Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 416–17. Ahmad Ali Kohzad, “Along the Koh-i Baba and Hari Rud”, *Afghanistan*, VI–IX (Kabul, 1951–4), (6 parts) gives a good modern description based on the author's journey through Ghūr on horseback.

<sup>6</sup> Iṣṭ., 281; Abū'l-Faḍl Baihaqī, *Tārīkh-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ghani and Feyyāz (Tehran, 1324), p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> Baih., 12, 70, 229; Yāqūt, III, 168, 825; *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, ed. W. Nassau Lees (Calcutta, 1864), p. 27, tr. H. G. Raverty (London, 1881), I, p. 115.

process aided by geography. There was no obvious centre from which the region could be dominated by a single ruler. Fīrūzkūh, eventually the capital of the whole of Ghūr, was originally founded by the Ghūrid ruler Quṭb ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 541/1146–7) as capital of the petty principality of Warshāda on the Heri Rud allotted to him by his father.<sup>8</sup> So before the decay of the Ghaznevids and the rise of the Shansabānīs to more than local significance, Ghūr was a land of local chieftains, *derebeys*.

The route down the Heri Rud is the most direct between eastern Afghanistan and Khurasan, but because of the wildness of Ghūr, its paganism and the predatory activities of its people, it was little used for through traffic in early Islamic times. The routes from Kabul or Ghazna to Khurasan normally made long detours, either northwards across the Ghorband and through Balkh or southwards across the rivers and plains of Sistan via Qandahar and Bust.<sup>9</sup> Under the Ghaznevids, the conversion of Ghūr began, and the military might of the early Sultans enabled them to exert considerable influence within it; but the Ghaznevid official Abū'l-Faḍl Baihaqī's memoirs show that Sultan Mas'ūd (421–32/1030–41) made his major troop movements between Ghazna and Khurasan by the "Bust road" or the "Balkh road". Indeed, the onset of winter weather made the transfer of large forces between Ghazna and Ghūr impossible.<sup>10</sup> The central route through Ghūr was used only by small detachments of troops or to convey urgent messages or when some other important reason demanded speed; such occasions became more frequent as Seljuq pressure on Khurasan increased. After the final ruin of Ghaznevid power in the west at Dendānqān in 1040, the defeated Sultan and his entourage fled through Gharchistān and Ghūr to the castle of a friendly chieftain of northern Ghūr, Abū'l-'Abbās b. Abī'l-Ḥasan Khalaf, whose father had gone over to Mas'ūd's side when that prince had as governor of Khurasan led the Ghūr expedition of 411/1020 and had subsequently fought for the Sultan against the Qarakhanids (see below).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Tab. Nāṣ.*, 48, tr. I, 339. The fact that Fīrūzkūh lies on the northern limits of Ghūr, where it adjoins Gharchistān, and not in the centre of Ghūr, is explained by Maricq and Wiet, *op. cit.*, 61 ff.; see also below, n. 45. The eccentricity of this position caused many scholars in the past to dismiss the possibility of Fīrūzkūh's lying in the Heri Rud basin.

<sup>9</sup> Kohzad, *op. cit.*, VI/1, 2–4, gives the mileage of the northern route from Kabul to Herat as 830, the southern one as 727, and the central one through Ghūr as 540 (across the Unai pass) or 628 (via Bāmiyān).

<sup>10</sup> *Tab. Nāṣ.*, 113, tr. I, 440.

<sup>11</sup> Baih., 523, 536 (where the journey between Ghazna and Nishapur via the Ghūr route is said to take 15 days), 538–9, 543–4, 626, 633.

As well as practising agriculture and banditry, the bellicose inhabitants of Ghūr specialised in the production of weapons and war equipment. The mountain massif of the Pamirs, the Hindu Kush and their outliers are all highly metalliferous, and as the name of one of Ghūr's chief fortresses, Āhengerān or Pul-i Āhengerān, "Blacksmith's boundary", implies, iron must have been readily obtainable and so worked in Ghūr. The *Ḥudud al-‘ālam* records that "from this province come slaves, armour, coats of mail and good arms".<sup>12</sup> When Mas‘ūd campaigned in Ghūr in 1020, the chieftain Abū'l-Ḥasan Khalaf brought him shields and cuirasses, and when the stronghold of the chieftain Warmesh-Pat of Jurwas was captured, a tribute of arms was levied. Later he employed Ghūrī officers in his service as specialists in siege-warfare; in 1035 two of them directed the defence of Tirmidh against the sons of the Qarakhanid ‘Alītingin with the aid of a powerful ballista (*‘arrāda*). In the next century, the Shansabānī ruler of Ghūr, ‘Izz ad-Dīn Ḥusain (493–540/1100–46) used to send the Seljuq Sultan Sanjar as annual tribute armour, coats of mail, steel helmets and other war material, together with some of the ferocious watchdogs bred in Ghūr.<sup>13</sup>

## III

The isolation and backwardness of Ghūr is seen in the persistence there of paganism long after the surrounding territories had become Muslim. Jūzjānī is certainly premature in asserting that there were already in the time of Ya‘qūb b. Laith (later 9th century) rival parties of Muslims and pagans among the chieftains of Ghūr who were continually at war. Describing it as a *dār kufr*, Iṣṭakhri says he brings it into his purview only because there are a few Muslims there and because it is the biggest pagan enclave within the borders of Islam. He adds that the regions of Baghnīn (in Zābulistān), of the Khalaj, of Kabul and [Zamīn-] Dāwar are partly

<sup>12</sup> *Ḥ. al-‘a.*, 110, 343; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, IX, 155; *Ṭab. Nās.*, 40, 356, tr. I, 321, II, 1047. The name "Āhengerān" is found in other parts of the Central Asian massif, e.g. an Āhengerān-Julgā between Tashkent and Andejān (*Bābur-nāme*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London, 1912–21, pp. 90, 152, 161) and an Āhengerān in Qūhīstān (C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh, 1900, p. 127). Togan, "Die Schwerter der Germanen", *Z.D.M.G.*, XC (1936), pp. 33–4, suggests a connection between metal-working in the Ghūr and Kabul areas and the skills of the Qarluq further north.

<sup>13</sup> *Baih.*, 115, 119–20 (= *Ṭab. Nās.*, tr. I, 325 n. ff.), 466; *Ṭab. Nās.*, 47, tr. I, 336–7. For the Ghūrī dogs, see also Niẓāmī ‘Arūḍī, *Chahār maqāla*, ed. Qazwīnī and Mu‘īn (Tehran, 1333), p. 96, E. G. Browne's Revised translation, *G.M.S.* (London, 1921), 68, and Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār at-tauḥīd fī maqāmāt ash-Shaikh Abī Sa‘īd*, ed. V. A. Zhukovsky (St. Petersburg, 1899), 237.

Islamised, and that the rest of the people are *musālimūn*, i.e. in treaty relationship with the Muslims. The *Ḥudud al-‘ālam* describes the Ghūrīs as formerly pagan but now mostly Muslim. As Minorsky has pointed out, the stubborn resistance of the Ghūrīs in the first half of the 11th century against Ghaznevid attempts to control them shows that this claim was considerably exaggerated. Until this period, Ghūr retained its reputation as a pagan land which supplied slaves, mainly to markets in Herat and Sistan.<sup>14</sup>

When in the 7th century the Arabs had secured Khurasan, they began to look northwards and eastwards. Although their main efforts were directed against Transoxania and the upper Oxus valley, the region to the east of Herat was also probed at an early date. Ṭabarī records under 47/667 that “in this year Ziyād [b. Abīhi] sent al-Ḥakam b. ‘Amr al-Ghifārī to Khurasan as Amīr. He then raided the mountainous region of Ghūr and Farāwanda, brought them into submission by force of arms and conquered them. He obtained from them captives and a large amount of plunder”. This raid was apparently made from Merv or Herat.<sup>15</sup>

The expedition of 107/725–6 was a larger-scale operation. The governor of Khurasan, Abū Mundhir Asad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī, first raided Gharchistān and received the submission and conversion to Islam of its king. Then he attacked Ghūr, *Jibāl Herāt*, the land to the south of Gharchistān; the Ghūrīs hid their possessions in an inaccessible cave, but Asad let down men in crates (*tawābīt*) on the end of chains and recovered these valuables.<sup>16</sup> This success tempted Asad to march into Ghūr a second time, and in 108–9/726–8 he turned aside from a campaign against the Turks in Khuttal and invaded Ghūr.<sup>17</sup> Sporadic raids, unnoted by the historians, no doubt continued throughout the Umayyad period. We do

<sup>14</sup> *Iṣṭ.*, 245, 272, 281; *I Ḥauq.*, 444; *Ḥ. al-‘a.*, 110, 343–4; *Ṭab. Nāṣ.*, 38–9, tr. I, 317–18.

<sup>15</sup> Ṭabarī, II, 84; Ibn al-Athīr, III, 380, under A.H. 47, quoting Ṭabarī but adding the detail, incredible for this early date, that the people of Ghūr had apostatised from Islam; cf. L. Caetani, *Chronographia islamica* (Paris, 1912 ff.), III, p. 517. Ya‘qūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, II, 264, mentions a raid of al-Ḥakam and al-Muhallab to Herat and Gūzgān, but does not assign a date to it.

<sup>16</sup> Ṭab., II, 1488–9; I.A., V, 102, under A.H. 107; cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, V, 1347.

<sup>17</sup> Ṭab., II, 1496–7; I.A., V, 103, under A.H. 108; cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 1360, 1372. In the verses of Thābit Quṭna given in Ṭabarī, *loc. cit.*, the poet speaks of this second raid by Asad as essentially one against Turks. Eulogising the Arab leader, he says: “Groups of the Turks who live between Kabul and Ghūrīn came to you, since there was no place in which they might find refuge from you.” It is thus possible that the regions of Gūzgān or Bāmiyān, rather than the purely Iranian region of Ghūr, were the scene of these operations by Asad.

know that at some time before 121/739 Naṣr b. Sayyār's commander Sulaimān b. Ṣūl raided Gharchistān and Ghūr.<sup>18</sup> But no permanent control, even of the lightest kind, was established over Ghūr at this time or in the succeeding century or so. The Arab commanders must have realised that a permanent occupation would be difficult and hardly worth the effort; there were much richer prizes to be gained in Transoxania and on the borders of India. Ghūr's value was as a reservoir of slaves, and these could best be obtained by occasional, temporary incursions.

In the Caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, it is recorded that when in 205/821 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Shubaib was appointed deputy in Sistan by the governor of Khurasan and Sistan, Ghassān b. 'Abbād, the local Khawārij were attacked and the provinces of Ghūr, Hind and Sind continually raided.<sup>19</sup> At the end of the 9th century the Sāmānids expelled the Ṣaffārids from Khurasan, made the less aggressive successors of Ya'qūb and 'Amr their tributaries and extended a tenuous suzerainty over the region to the east of Ghūr; but Ghūr itself was left untouched. We know only of one successful expedition in this period. This was led by the Amīr Abū Ja'far, who came from the prominent Baihaq family of the Ziyādīs and had been made governor of Baihaq in 364/974–5 by Abū'l-Ḥasan Sīmjūrī. He brought back many captives to Khurasan, and, like the earlier incursions, this was a slave raid in force rather than an attempt to gain a foothold in Ghūr.<sup>20</sup> Sebūktigin, when governor of Ghazna and Zābulistān on behalf of the Sāmānids, is said to have made several attacks on Ghūr across the southern frontier facing Zamīndāwar and Bust, and the existence of one punitive expedition, in which Maḥmūd took part as a boy, has been uncovered by Nazim from the poetry of 'Unṣurī and Abū 'Āmir an-Najdī. In gratitude for his victory in 384/994 over the rebellious generals Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī and Fā'iq Khāṣṣe, Sebūktigin was awarded the governorship of Balkh, Bāmiyān, Ghūr and Gharchistān by the Sāmānid Amīr Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr; and Jūzjānī's source could imply that a tribute of money and arms was already levied on the Shansabānī chieftain of Āhengerān, Muḥammad b. Sūrī, in Sebūktigin's time.<sup>21</sup> If any such control was in fact imposed, it can only have been

<sup>18</sup> Ṭab., II, 1696; I.A., V, 179, under A.H. 121.

<sup>19</sup> *Tārikh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik ash-Shu'arā' Behār (Tehran, 1314), 176–7.

<sup>20</sup> Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār*, ed. M. Nazim (Berlin, 1928), 46–7; 'Alī b. Zaid, known as Ibn Funduq, *Tārikh-i Baihaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār (Tehran, 1317), pp. 129–30. Baihaqī, *Tārikh-i Mas'ūdi*, 120, claims that Abū Ja'far made several incursions into Ghūr.

<sup>21</sup> Nazim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 35–6; the anonymous *Nasā'im al-aṣḥār, kitāb fi alqāb al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul Persian Ms., Aya Sofya 3487 (cf. Storey, 1090), f. 74b; Ibn Haiṣam, *Qiṣaṣ-i thānī*, quoted in *Ṭab. Nāṣ.*, 40, tr. I, 320.

transient; it was left to his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna to send a strong army under two of his best Turkish generals, Altuntash and Arslan Jādhīb, against Āhengerān in 401/1011, the first of at least three expeditions into Ghūr during his reign (see below p. 127).<sup>22</sup> The Ghūrīs in this period preyed on the caravans and travellers who passed just outside their frontiers, and levied transit dues on them, and it was this brigandage which enraged Maḥmūd and drove him into punitive measures.<sup>23</sup>

Yet these major efforts were only an intensification of the smaller-scale warfare which must have gone on intermittently along the frontiers of Ghūr, the activities of *ghāzīs* and *murābiṭūn*. In the 10th and early 11th centuries, all the *thughūr* facing Ghūr were ringed with *ribāṭs*: at Ribāṭ-i Karwān on the borders of Gūzḡān, at Ribāṭ-i Bazī in Gharchistān, at Bāgh-i Wazīr to the east of Herat. Maqdisī describes the southern frontier adjoining Zamīndāwar as especially strongly defended with “fully-equipped [or “permanently-stationed”?] guards” (*hurrās murattabūn*); at the *ribāṭ* of Dar-rang were kept arms, equipment and horses, and *murābiṭūn* resorted to it from all parts.<sup>24</sup>

We have no knowledge about what constituted the paganism of Ghūr. Ghūr never formed part of the Sasanid empire, whose eastern boundary, as Marquart showed (*Ērānšahr*, 64, 70), was normally at Ṭālaqān, not much beyond Merv ar-Rūdh; and the absence of any important trade route from the west militated against the religions of the Persian empire being brought to it.<sup>25</sup> In the *Shāhnāme* the forces of Ghūr are depicted

<sup>22</sup> ‘Utbī, *at-Ta’rīkh al-Yamīnī*, with commentary by Shaikh Manīnī, (Cairo, 1286), II, pp. 122–5, Persian tr. by Jurbādhqānī, ed. ‘Alī Qawīm (Tehran, 1334), 199; I.A., IX, pp. 155–6; cf. Nazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–3. This expedition may have been connected with events which were taking place in the adjoining land of Sistan. According to the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 358–9, the financial exactions of Ghaznevid officials there combined with famine and plague during the years 400–2/1009–12 to cause a rebellion against Maḥmūd. In the course of this the leaders (*mashāyikh*) of Sistan went in a deputation to Ghūr for help. So the expedition against Āhengerān may have had a further aim, to discourage the Ghūrīs from helping these rebels against the Ghaznevids.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Utbī, *loc. cit.*; I.A., *loc. cit.*; ‘Aufī, *Jawāmi‘ al-ḥikāyāt*, in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, II, pp. 195–6.

<sup>24</sup> Iṣṭ., 272; *H. al-‘a.*, 107; Baih., 115, 633, cf. Maqdisī, ed. de Goeje, 309; *ibid.*, 305–6, following Marquart’s reconstruction of “Dar-rang” from the text’s *w.r.r.n.k.* (“Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žūn vom 6–9 Jahrhundert”, *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, ed. G. Weil, Berlin, 1915, pp. 270–1).

<sup>25</sup> Jūzjānī, in his legendary account of the Shansabānī family’s beginnings, speaks of a Jewish merchant in Ghūr who made an agreement with Amir Banjī (see below, p. 126) for the settlement of Jews within Ghūr (*Tab. Nās.*, 36–7, tr. I, 313–14; cf. W. J. Fischel, “The Jews of Central Asia (Khorasan) in mediaeval Hebrew and Islamic literature”, *Historia Judaica*, VII, New York, 1945, pp. 40–2, who takes this story too seriously).



as fighting on Afrāsiyāb's side against Rustam.<sup>26</sup> Although Ṭukhāristān, Bāmiyān and Kabul were long strongholds of Buddhism, the same absence of routes and the mountainous topography prevented this faith from penetrating into Ghūr. However, the lands to the south of Ghūr, such as Zamīndāwar, Ghazna and Quṣḍār, adjoined the Indian world and until the 10th century were culturally and often politically part of it. Kabul, Ghazna and Bust were key-points in the commercial intercourse between the eastern Islamic world and India, and the geographers often designate them "the merchants' resort" or "the entrepôt" (*matjar*, *furḍa*) for India. The first two towns had in early Ghaznevid times colonies of Indian traders permanently resident there.<sup>27</sup> The Sāmānid slave general Alptigin came to power at Ghazna in 351/962 after defeating Abū 'Alī (or Abū Bakr) Lawīk or Anūk (?); but this dispossessed native ruler (who, despite the *kunya* attributed to him, can hardly have been a Muslim) was later given military help from Kabul, at that time part of the empire of the Hindūshāhī Rajahs of Waihand, and the influence here of this powerful Indian dynasty was not finally dispelled till Maḥmūd's time.<sup>28</sup> Zamīndāwar had once possessed a great shrine and pilgrimage centre devoted to the god Zūn or Zhūn, whose fame as the temple of Su-na penetrated even to China, but whose cult was clearly Hindu and not Buddhist in nature. Marquart plausibly suggested that the cult of Zūn might be connected with the famous shrine of the Sun-God Āditya at Multan, and that the temple of Zūn still existed in the latter part of the 9th century when Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. Laith conquered the region as far as Kabul and Bāmiyān.<sup>29</sup> The Arabian traveller Abū Dulaf (*floruit* mid-10th century) travelled within the Sāmānid dominions from Bukhara to Zamīndāwar and in his first *Risāla* seems to confuse reports of the House of Gold in Multan with those of the temple of Zūn.<sup>30</sup> If any outside

<sup>26</sup> Ed. Turner Macan (Calcutta, 1829), I, 296<sup>26/8</sup>, tr. A. G. and E. Warner (London, 1902-25), II, 101.

<sup>27</sup> Iṣṭ., 245, 280; I Ḥauq.<sup>3</sup>, 450; Maqd., 303-4; *H. al-'a.*, 111; Nazim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 163.

<sup>28</sup> *Ṭab. Nās.*, 7-8, tr. I, 71-4; Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shabānkāra'ī, *Majma' al-ansāb fi't-tawārikh*, Istanbul Persian Ms., Yeni Cami 909, ff. 164a ff. (an especially full account of Sebūktigin's predecessors in Ghazna); Marquart, *Ērānšahr* (Berlin, 1901), p. 298; Nazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-30, 86 ff., Appx. I, 193; M. Longworth Dames, *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, Art. "Ghaznavids".

<sup>29</sup> "Das Reich Zābul", pp. 262-8, 272-4, 288 n. 2; cf. *Alberuni's India*, tr. Sachau (London, 1888), I, pp. 116-17, and Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, (Cairo, 1348), pp. 485-6. Minorsky, *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, Art. "Zūn", summarises Marquart.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Mi's'ar ibn Muḥalhil's travels in Iran (c. 950 AD)* (Cairo, 1955), pp. 16-17. Abū Dulaf's facility in invention and in claiming to have visited places he had never really seen were notorious in his own day (*ibid.*, 12); but he must

influences affected Ghūr, we might perhaps seek a diffusion-centre here. But we have no information on whether these Hindu influences came north-wards into Ghūr. The most that can be said is that the sources do reveal certain connections of the early Shansabānīs with India. According to ‘Utbī, the chieftain Muḥammad b. Sūrī whom Maḥmūd of Ghazna defeated and deposed was a “Hindu”, but this may be merely a general term for “pagan”, especially as the majority of the heathen whom Maḥmūd came up against in his campaigns were of course Indians. However, Mustaufī and Mīrkhwānd describe at this point in their accounts of the Ghūrīds the flight of Muḥammad b. Sūrī’s grandson Sām to India, where he then took up residence in an idol-temple. His son Ḥusain became a Muslim, went on to Delhi and grew rich as a trader, carrying goods between India and Ghūr.<sup>31</sup> These points do not add up to much, and unless more specific evidence comes to light, it is safest to argue from the silence of the sources that the paganism of Ghūr was of an indigenous variety and without outside connections. It is significant that there is no mention in the accounts of the Ghaznevid campaigns in Ghūr of the religious cults of the Ghūrīs, no stories of idol-breaking or the eradication of repugnant customs, even though for one of them, Mas‘ūd’s campaign of 1020, we have an especially detailed eye-witness account. So far as we can see, Ghūrī paganism had little positive content, but expressed rather the cultural backwardness of the region and its isolation from the surrounding higher civilisations.

## IV

The Islamic history of Ghūr really begins with Maḥmūd of Ghazna (389–421/999–1030). Nevertheless, in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* and in the works of the other great eulogist of the Ghūrīds, Fakhr ad-Dīn Mu-bārakshāh, we see later efforts to give the Shansabānīs a glorious past and connect them with both Islamic religious life and history and also the Iranian pre-Islamic past. Jūzjānī first puts forward “as a great probability” that the eponymous founder of the dynasty, Shansab, was

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have heard some local reminiscences of the shrine of Zūn, and it would be interesting to know how fresh these were in the minds of his Zamīndāwarī informants. I have not been able to ascertain what conclusions, if any, the latest translator of and commentator on the first *Risāla*, A. von Rohr-Sauer (*Des Abū Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestan, China und Indien*, Bonn, 1939) has reached on this point.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Utbī, *loc. cit.*; Mustaufī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīde*, G.S.M. facs. (London, 1910), pp. 406–8; Mīrkhwānd, *Rauḍat aṣ-ṣafā*, ed. Rizā Qulī Khān (Tehran, 1270–4), IV, p. 241 (pagination supplied by me), cf. *Ṭab. Nāṣ.*, tr. I, pp. 322–3 n.

contemporaneous with the Caliph 'Alī and was converted to Islam by the Caliph personally. He received from him a *manshūr* for Ghūr, and this charter was jealously handed down within the Shansabānī family until the time of Sultan Bahrāmshāh of Ghazna (512–47/1118–52). Hence during the Umayyad period, according to Fakhr ad-Dīn, Ghūr had the proud distinction of being the only land where 'Alī's name was retained in the *khuṭba*. Jūzjānī then turns aside to trace the family's origin to the tyrant of Iranian mythology, Azhd Zahāk, whose descendants are said to have entrenched themselves in Ghūr when Zahāk's thousand-year dominion was overthrown by Ferīdūn.<sup>32</sup> Returning to the Islamic theme, the Amīr Fūlād b. Shansab is given a part in the Abbasid revolution at Abū Muslim's side, and then there comes a more elaborate tale. The two rival families of Ghūr, the Shansabānīs and the Shīthānīs (or Shīshānīs, in the pronunciation of the Ghūrīs), both resorted to the court of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, where Amīr Banjī of the first family received a robe of honour, a standard and a patent of investiture with the rulership (*imārat*) of Ghūr, while his rival Shīth b. Bahrām was awarded the military command (*pahlavānī*) of the forces of Ghūr, "an arrangement which has continued like this till the present day".<sup>33</sup>

From the religious point of view, these stories are clearly myths of a type familiar within the Islamic world. From the political one, the local origins of the Shansabānīs are quite obscure, but they cannot have elbowed aside other chieftains in Ghūr and consolidated their grip on the whole province until the second half of the 11th century at the earliest. A key to this story of the division of power may lie in events which Jūzjānī reports from Sultan Saif ad-Dīn Muḥammad's reign (556–8/1161–3). He relates how the Sultan treacherously murdered his commander-in-chief (*sepahsālār*), Warmesh b. Shīsh, but was in turn stabbed

<sup>32</sup> Fakhr ad-Dīn Mubārakshāh and a *Muntakhab-i tārikh-i Nāsiri* written in Sultan Mu'izz ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām's reign, in *Tab. Nās.*, 28–34, tr. I, pp. 300–10; Fakhr ad-Dīn and *Tab. Nās.* in Mirkhwānd, IV, 42, 241; Fakhr ad-Dīn in Mu'īn ad-Dīn Zamchī, *Rauḍāt al-jannāt fi auṣāf Herāt*, India Office Persian Ms. 195, ff. 88b (quoting six verses of his metrical history of the Ghūrīs), 99a. On the name Shansab/Shanasb (<Gushnasp), see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 282. Marquart was the first to point out the fact that the Ghūrīs, despite the frequency of the name "Sām" in their genealogy, did not derive their origin from Rustam's family, but from that of the tyrant Zahāk, a repugnant figure in the tradition of the Iranian lands further to the west ("Das Reich Zābul", pp. 289–90). Cf. Huart ("Les légendes épiques de la région de Ghazna (Afghanistan)", *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-lettres*, 1916, pp. 579–87) and Minorsky ("Gardizi on India", *B.S.O.A.S.*, XII, 1948, p. 625) have further cited the popularity of Zahāk in the region of Ghazna and Zābulistān.

<sup>33</sup> *Tab. Nās.*, 34–8, tr. I, 311–16.

in the back on the battle-field by Warmesh's brother Abū'l-'Abbās b. Shīsh, who had succeeded to the office of *sepahsālār* and is called "Pahlavān-i Ghūr and from the Shīshānī family". It was probably a desire to explain these circumstances of the 12th century which led to the elaboration of the story about a division of offices in Hārūn's reign. The Shīshānīs were obviously a powerful family in the middle of the 12th century, powerful enough through their military following and prestige to challenge the Shansabānī kings' authority in Ghūr. We do not know how old the rivalry was, but the episode illustrates how tensions arose within Ghūr as the Shansabānīs asserted their primacy and how this primacy was still being challenged at this late date.<sup>34</sup> Finally, we may note a very popular legend which historians of the Afghans set forth. As Jūzjānī does not mention it, it probably grew up after his time, but it may be read in detail in Ni'mat Allāh's *Makhzan-i Afghānī* (written 1021/1613). According to this, Islam came to the Afghans who had settled in Ghūr after the dispersion of the Children of Israel, through the agency of Khālīd b. al-Walīd. He wrote to their leader Qais announcing the appearance of the Seal of the Prophets, and Qais came with a band of fellow-chieftains to help Muḥammad at Medina. The Prophet gave him the Islamic name of 'Abd ar-Rashīd and sent him back to evangelise Ghūr.<sup>35</sup>

Let us return to fact. After the expedition of 1010-11 Sultan Maḥmūd left teachers to instruct the people of Ghūr in the precepts of Islam.<sup>36</sup> He dethroned Muḥammad b. Sūrī of Āhengerān and installed his eldest son Abū 'Alī; during Muḥammad b. Sūrī's chieftainship, explains Jūzjānī, the son had sought closer relations with the Sultan, whereas the

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 65-6, tr. I, 366-7. The name Shīth or Shīsh also appears within the Shansabānī roya! line (*ibid.*, 41, tr. I, 329). If it were possible to attach any significance to this alleged division of power, we would be reminded of the institution of double kingship found among certain Altaic peoples. Marquart did in fact suggest, on very slight evidence, that there was some such arrangement in the neighbouring kingdom of Zābulistān, whose ruler had the title of Zunbīl/Zūnbīl, before the Ṣaffārid conquest ("Das Reich Zābul", pp. 275-6). Although there were in eastern Afghanistan strong Turkish ethnic currents, such as the Khalaj and Oghuz nomads, relics perhaps of Ephthalite dominion there, Ghūr was at this time a purely Iranian land, and a division of power in a politically-unified Ghūr plays no part in Jūzjānī's narrative except in conjunction with Warmesh's murder. Maricq, *Le minaret de Djam*, pp. 61-3, has arrived at the same explanation as myself for this projection-back of the Shansabānī-Shīshānī rivalry; and he has also made the valuable identification of the Shīshānī family of chiefs with the \*Warmesh-pat of Jurwas in Baih., 116-19, thus elucidating Minorsky, *H. al-'a.*, 333.

<sup>35</sup> *History of the Afghans*, tr. B. Dorn (London, 1829-36), I, pp. 37-9; II, pp. 74 ff.

<sup>36</sup> I.A., IX, 156.

father had stood firmly for the independence of Ghūr. Abū ‘Alī reigned until some time during Sultan Mas‘ūd’s reign, when another member of the Shansabānī family set him aside. Jūzjānī praises Abū ‘Alī as the Amīr who firmly planted Islamic institutions in Ghūr: “As soon as the Amīr Abū ‘Alī became established in Ghūr, he conferred great benefits on the people and directed the erection of many buildings of public utility. He built Friday mosques and madrasas in the land of Ghūr and endowed them liberally with *auqāf*. He held the religious leaders and ulema in great respect, and considered it a duty of his rank to venerate hermits and ascetics. Thus the inhabitants of the regions of Ghūr dwelt in tranquillity.”<sup>37</sup>

During the next century, Ghūr became a buffer-state between the Seljuqs and the truncated Ghaznevid empire. Ghūr, together with Sistan, Herat and Pūshang, was allotted to Mūsā Yabghu b. Seljuq when, after the victory of Dendānqān in 1040, the Seljuq leaders partitioned the lands they had conquered.<sup>38</sup> Whether Mūsā Yabghu was in fact able to exercise any control over Ghūr and counter the influence from the east of the Ghaznevīds is dubious. The 14th century historian Shabānkāra’ī implies that it was Ghaznevid influence which continued to predominate, for he states that Ghūr fell away when Sultan ‘Abd ar-Rashīd was assassinated by a usurper in 444/1053.<sup>39</sup> This control may have been restored by the capable and energetic Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Mas‘ūd, but after his death in 492/1099, the Ghaznevīds declined and the Ghūrīds overthrew them some 70 years later.

We know nothing about the progress of Islam in Ghūr during the century or so after Amīr Abū ‘Alī’s death, but it cannot have met with any prolonged resistance; local paganism can have had small emotional appeal or intellectual content with which to oppose the new faith. Even so, the spread of Islam through this broken and isolated region must have taken a certain amount of time. I suggest that in this work of evangelism, the Muslim sect of the Karāmiyya played an unspectacular but important part.<sup>40</sup> This sect was Khurasanian in origin; its founder,

<sup>37</sup> *Tab. Nāṣ.*, 41, tr. I, 329. Already by 1032 a Ghaznevid official had possessions in Ghūr (Baih., 326).

<sup>38</sup> ‘Imād ad-Dīn in Bundārī, *Zuhdat an-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma (Leiden, 1889), p. 8; al-Ḥusainī, *Akhhbār ad-daulat as-Saljūqiyya*, ed. M. Iqbal (Lahore, 1933), p. 17. Ghūr is not mentioned as part of Mūsā Yabghu’s share in Rāwandī, *Rāhat aṣ-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbal, *G.M.S.* (London, 1921), p. 104.

<sup>39</sup> *Majma‘ al-ansāb*, f. 188a.

<sup>40</sup> The remaining part of this study formed part of a paper read at the Tenth Congress of British Orientalists, Bangor, July 1959, as “The Karāmiyya and the conversion of Ghūr”.

Muḥammad b. Karām (the correct spelling of this name seems to be without *tashdīd ar-rā'*), came from Sistan, but studied and taught for some time in Nishapur before his death in exile in 869. According to his orthodox opponents, he taught an extreme theological literalism and was guilty of anthropomorphism. After his death, the leaders of the sect appear frequently in Khurasanian political and social life as a violent and persecuting force against religious dissent; they gained the backing of many sections of the peasantry and the urban lower classes through their piety and ascetic lives. Moreover, they had some support and sympathy from Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and in the latter's reign they almost gained permanent control of Nishapur. This attempt was quashed, but the Karāmiyya remained an influential element in Khurasanian religious life down to the Mongol invasions. The Karāmiyya had an old tradition of evangelism in the lands on the upper Oxus; according to Shahrastānī, Muḥammad b. Karām's first activities after expulsion from his native Sistan had been amongst the peasants and illiterates of Gharchistān, Ghūr and the countryside of Khurasan.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore possible that the sprinkling of Muslims in Ghūr mentioned by the geographers of the 10th century were the fruits of his preaching and that in subsequent times the Karāmiyya kept up some connections with Ghūr. In his concern for the pacification of Ghūr, Maḥmūd's relations with the Karāmiyya in Nishapur may have suggested to him that here was a safe outlet for their missionary zeal. There are many parallels outside the Islamic world where an enthusiastic but doubtfully orthodox sect has been deflected to work in remote, unevangelised areas: the work of the Monophysites in Nubia, Ethiopia and South Arabia, of the Paulicians in eastern Anatolia and the Balkans under the Byzantines, and, in more recent times, of the Old Believers beyond the Urals in Siberia, comes to mind.

I have not so far found any direct evidence on the course of this activity, but the connection of the sect with the early Ghaznevid Sultans and that dynasty's concern – if only on the grounds of political stability – for the conversion of Ghūr are significant. Furthermore, we do have two interesting accounts of how the Ghūrid kings finally renounced their adherence to the Karāmiyya in favour of the more orthodox Muslim law-schools. These are given by Ibn al-Athīr under the year 595/1199 and by Jūzjānī.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Kitāb al-milal wa'n-niḥal*, ed. W. Cureton (London, 1846), p. 20, tr. T. Haarbrücker (Halle, 1850-1), I, pp. 29-30. On the origins and early history of the sect, see Bosworth, "The rise of the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan", *Muslim World*, L/1 (Jan. 1960), pp. 5-14.

<sup>42</sup> *Tab. Nāṣ.*, 77-80, tr. I, 384-5; I.A., XII, 101. The episode has been treated, in a

Jūzjānī states that Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 599/1202–3) and his brother and successor Mu‘izz ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 602/1205–6) both inherited the Karāmī tenets which their dynasty had always held and which had always been the majority faith of their subjects. The two sources relate the story of the two rulers’ conversion in different ways, but agree that the main stimulus came from the Shāfi‘ī faqīh Shaikh Wajīh ad-Dīn Abū’l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Marvar-rūdhī (Jūzjānī, 77, has Waḥīd ad-Dīn Muḥammad-i Marvazī, with the variant Marvarrūdhī). According to Ibn al-Athīr, Shaikh Wajīh ad-Dīn came to the Ghūrīd court in 1199 through the agency of the court poet Fakhr ad-Dīn Mubārakshāh, exposed the errors of the Karāmiyya and converted Ghiyāth ad-Dīn to his own rite. The Sultan then built madrasas in his dominions for the Shāfi‘īs and built a mosque for them at Ghazna (this may have been the first Shāfi‘ī one there since the destruction of Ghazna by ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn Jehān-Sūz). Then Ibn al-Athīr gives another explanation, that the two brothers were converted through the pressure of social and religious circumstances when they conquered Khurasan.<sup>43</sup> “They were told then that ‘all the people of this land [sc. Khurasan] condemn and despise the Karāmiyya. It would be advisable for you to give up their doctrines’. So they both became Shāfi‘īs.” From his Mesopotamian homeland, Ibn al-Athīr had difficulty in harmonising accounts of events in the far east of the Islamic world, and he adds yet another report, that Mu‘izz ad-Dīn became not a Shāfi‘ī but a Ḥanafī; this is confirmed by the story in Jūzjānī that he became a Ḥanafī when he began to rule in Ghazna (sc. in 569/1173–4) and saw that all the people of Ghazna and the surrounding territory were Ḥanafīs. It therefore seems that the brothers’ abandonment of Karāmī doctrines was connected with the extension of their power into the Khurasan and Ghazna regions. They burst out of the confines of Ghūr, where the Karāmī divines had had paramount authority in religion, into the wider world. They came into contact here with the two chief law-schools of Sunnī Islam in the east, and they may have felt that the Karāmī tenets were intellectually

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briefly than here, by Köprülüzade M. Fuat, “XIİnci asırda bir Türk filoloğu: Fahreddin Mübarekşah ve eseri”, *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar*, (Istanbul, 1934), pp. 132–4, and by Maricq, *Le minaret de Djam*, pp. 49–50.

<sup>43</sup> The Ghūrīds occupied Herat in 571/1175, and shortly afterwards their suzerainty was recognised in Kerman. Ghiyāth ad-Dīn began the conquest of Khurasan as soon as the Khwārizmshāh Tekesh died, and occupied Nishapur in 596/1200 and Merv and Serakhs the next year (*Tab. Nās.*, 73–5, tr. I, pp. 377–8, 380–1; cf. M. Longworth Dames, *E.I.*, Art. “Ghūrīds”, and Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam*, pp. 38–43).

somewhat disreputable and too closely linked with their backwoods origins.

Jūzjānī's account of Ghiyāth ad-Dīn's conversion is adorned with a more miraculous element: Shaikh Wajīh ad-Dīn is involved, but the immediate cause is the Sultan's vision in a dream of the Imām ash-Shāfi'ī. The change, he goes on to relate, angered the numerous ulema of the Karā-miyya. One of them, the Imām Ṣadr ad-Dīn 'Alī b. Haiṣam Nīshāpūrī, who was *mudarris* of the Karāmī madrasa at Afshīn or Bashīn in Gharchistān, censured the Sultan in some verses, and as a result, had to withdraw to Nishapur for a year before he recovered favour. This Imām's Nīshāpūrī origin, and the fact that he chose that city for his temporary exile, show that the Karāmiyya were still important and still producing their own divines there, despite the report in Ibn al-Athīr about the low prestige of the Karāmiyya in Khurasan.<sup>44</sup>

But if the Karāmī doctrines could not in Khurasan retain an intellectual repute comparable to that of the Ḥanafī or Shāfi'ī rites, in Ghūr itself their hold on both the populace at large and on other members of the Ghūrid dynasty was little diminished. Again under 595/1199, Ibn al-Athīr records a great *fitna* at Ghiyāth ad-Dīn's military headquarters and capital at Fīrūzkūh in Ghūr.<sup>45</sup> Its cause was the Sultan's favour towards the Shāfi'ī faqīh and philosopher Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī (543–606/1148–1209), who had been attracted to the court by Ghiyāth ad-Dīn's well-known munificence towards scholars and literary men. According to 'Aufī, Rāzī gained there the title *Malik al-kalām*.<sup>46</sup> The Sultan built for him a madrasa in Herat where Rāzī's teaching attracted many hearers, but drew down on his head the wrath of the Karāmiyya, who were very numerous there, and of the Ghūrīs in general, headed by the Sultan's cousin and son-in-law, Malik Ḍiyā' ad-Dīn Muḥammad (ruled in Ghūr and Zamīndāwar 599–603/1203–7 and 611–12/1214–15 with the title 'Alā' ad-Dīn). Rāzī was well-known as a bitter opponent of the

<sup>44</sup> Mīrkhwānd, IV, p. 244, merely records that Ghiyāth ad-Dīn became a Shāfi'ī because of the Shāfi'īs' purity of life and emphasis on traditions from the Prophet.

<sup>45</sup> On Fīrūzkūh, cf. *Tab. Nāṣ.*, 91, tr. I, pp. 403–4; Kohzad, *Afghanistan*, VII/1 (1952), pp. 51–3. Dames, *E.I.*, Art. "Fīrūzkōh" followed Holdich in identifying it with Taiwāra on the Rud-i Ghor in the southern part of the province. Maricq has now shown that the 200 ft. tall Minaret of Jam standing on the right bank of the Heri Rud between Chisht and Āhengerān marks the site of the Ghūrīs' fortress-capital. The neglect until now of this minaret by European travellers has arisen from the fact that in recent times the route through the Heri Rud basin has made a detour out of the river-valley and along an affluent, and has thus by-passed the site (*Le minaret de Djām*, pp. 13–20, 55–64).

<sup>46</sup> 'Aufī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, quoted by Köprülüzade, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–1.



Karāmiyya. Ibn al-Qiftī says that they threatened to have his life in revenge for his attacks on them and that it was said to be they who finally poisoned him; certainly, Rāzī left instructions that he was to be buried in his house rather than publicly, lest the Herat mob mutilate his corpse.<sup>47</sup>

Rāzī and the ulema of the Karāmiyya, Ḥanafīs and Shāfi'īs gathered at the Fīrūzkūh court. In a theological disputation, Rāzī attacked a Karāmī divine well-known for his piety and learning, the Qāḍī Majd ad-Dīn, known as Ibn al-Qudwa.<sup>48</sup> In reply, Malik Ḍiyā' ad-Dīn Muḥammad accused Rāzī of *zandaqa* and *falsafa*, and Ibn al-Qudwa denounced him from the pulpit, attacking at the same time the teachings of Aristotle, the infidelities of Ibn Sīnā and the philosophy of al-Fārābī. The population was so roused that they rose and bloodshed was only averted by the arrival of troops from the Sultan's palace. Ghiyāth ad-Dīn had to promise to remove Rāzī from their midst and send him back to Herat.<sup>49</sup> The episode probably dates from just after the Sultan's conversion to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, when he wished to encourage the great philosopher but was apprehensive lest he alienate the popular support of the Ghūrī people, upon whom the military strength of the dynasty largely depended.

In this survey of the religious history of Ghūr at this period, we may finally note that the Karāmiyya were strongly opposed to the Bāṭiniyya; it was their fervour in rooting out Ismā'īlī sympathisers in Nishapur at the beginning of the 11th century which so commended them to Sultan Maḥmūd.<sup>50</sup> Now Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* from Alamūt penetrated into Ghūr in the latter years of the Sultan 'Alā' ad-Dīn Ḥusain Jehān-Sūz's reign (544–56/1149–61), were sympathetically received by him and started to work in the countryside. But his son Saif ad-Dīn Muḥammad (556–8/1161–3) ordered on his accession a massacre of all Ismā'īlī adherents in Ghūr: "Wherever he smelt the odour of their seductions, throughout all

<sup>47</sup> *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 291–2; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyat al-kubrā* (Cairo, 1323–4), V, p. 35; cf. Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, II, p. 653.

<sup>48</sup> He is described as an adherent of the Haiṣamiyya branch of the Karāmiyya. Muḥammad b. al-Haiṣam is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar in his *Lisān al-mizān* (Hyderabad, 1329–31), V, pp. 353–6, and Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa'n-nihal*, pp. 80 ff., tr. I, pp. 120 ff., as a leader of the sect after Muḥammad b. Karām's death and as their *mutakallim*, elaborating their founder's doctrine of *tajsīm*. Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī himself in his *I'tiqādāt firaq al-muslimin wa'l-mushrikin* (Cairo, 1356), p. 67, describes the Haiṣamiyya as one of the seven branches of the Karāmiyya.

<sup>49</sup> I.A., s.v. 595/1199.

<sup>50</sup> See Bosworth, "The rise of the Karamiyyah in Khurasan", pp. 10–11.

the land he ordered the slaughter of the heretics. He despatched the whole of them to Hell, and thus by means of the sword purified the territories of Ghūr, which were a mine of righteousness and orthodoxy, from the pollution of the Qarmathian evil.”<sup>51</sup> It is in persecuting activity such as this that one would expect to find the Karāmī leaders prominent.

The silence of later sources shows that in the chaos caused by the Mongol invasions the Karāmiyya gradually lost their separate identity in Ghūr and the surrounding regions. The historian of Herat, Mu‘īn ad-Dīn Zamchī, writing in 1492, characterised the people of Ghūr as notoriously stupid but impeccably pure in their faith and hatred of innovation.<sup>52</sup> As in Nishapur two centuries previously, the sect’s appeal to the unsophisticated mountain folk of Ghūr lay primarily in the godly lives of its imāms and the straightforward literalism of its teachings; yet if, as I have suggested, it brought Islam to this remote corner, its achievement was a not unworthy one.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Tab. Nās.*, pp. 63, 65, tr. I, pp. 363, 365. The references in the *Siyāset-nāme* of Niẓām al-mulk, ed. Qazwīnī and Chahārdehī (Tehran, 1334), pp. 218, 230–1, to the activities of Ismā‘īlī *dā’is* in Ghūr at the beginning of the 10th century are too vague to be relied upon.

<sup>52</sup> *Rauḍāt al-jannāt fī auṣāf Herāt*, f. 88b.

<sup>53</sup> In an excursus, “Die Lage der Ariaspēn”, pp. 166–72 of his *Wehrot und Arang, Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran* (ed. H. H. Schaeder, Leiden, 1938), Markwart examined the information given in classical Greek sources on the geography of the Heri Rud basin above Herat. He concluded that in the last period of the Achaemenids, the population of Ghūr was largely sedentary, and that it recognised the authority of the Persian emperor or his viceroys only nominally. On p. 171 n. 1 Markwart mentioned briefly Islamic sources concerning Arab and Ghaznevid raids on Ghūr.

## THE TITULATURE OF THE EARLY GHAZNAVIDS

## I

During the course of the 4th/10th century, honorific titles became widespread in the Islamic world, not merely for independent rulers, but also for provincial governors and military commanders, and finally, for the civilian officials of the *dīwāns*. Previously, the principal honorifics known in Islam had been those adopted on their accessions by the Abbasid Caliphs, titles which usually expressed either dependence on God or else the desire for divine aid in the businesses of ruling or of war; see the interesting study of A. Abel, *Le Khalife, présence sacrée*, *Studia Islamica*, VII (1957), 29-45, in which he traces the changing pattern of Abbasid titulature as it was faced with the threats of the Ismā'īlīs and Fāṭimids. J. H. Kramers made an important study of those titles which were compounded with the element *dīn* "religion". He noted that they were especially popular in eastern Islam; that the word *dīn* is connected with Middle Persian *dēn* and ultimately, with Old Persian *daēnā* "religion"; and that the twin concept of *daula* "secular power" is also linked with the exalted ideas of kingship prevalent in ancient Persia. (Kramers, *Les noms musulmans composés avec dīn* 53-4, 56-61).<sup>1</sup>

Kramers' list here of 94 titles, drawn mainly from the period up to the 7th/12th century, has now been added to by A. Dietrich, *Zu den mit ad-dīn zusammengesetzten islamischen Personennamen*, *ZDMG*, CX (1960), 43-54, who brings 92 further titles, mainly from the period after the 7th century. See also the recent general work of Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-islāmiyya fī t-tā'rix wa'l-wathā'iq wa'l-āthār*, who gives an historical survey of Islamic titulature (with particular reference to the dynasties which reigned in Egypt) and then (Part II, 118-544) an analytical list of honorific titles and forms of address.

It is therefore tempting to see the frequent adoption in the 10th century of these honorific titles as a recrudescence of older Iranian ceremonial and titulary practices. In these last, a theocratic view of the God-Empe-

<sup>1</sup> Those works most frequently cited are usually referred to by author and/or title alone, or by abbreviations. Full bibliographical details will be found at the end of the article.

ror's power was expressed, and many of the Islamic titles likewise give their holders cosmic rôles in upholding the common fabric of religion and empire. The Sasanids had a wide variety of titles which they bestowed on particular classes of society, e.g. on those of the military commanders and the Zoroastrian priesthood. Christensen quotes Sir Aurel Stein that the title *dar-andarzbadh* "counsellor, organiser of the court" designated in the 5th century the Emperor's chief minister, and he points out that this title is analogous to the Islamic ones given to Viziers (*L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup> [Copenhagen 1944] 400 ff., 409-11; see also G. Widengren, *The sacral kingship of Iran*, in *La regalità sacra* [Supplement to Numen, Leiden 1959] 249-50). Moreover, it was the Dailamī dynasty of the Buyids who played a prominent part in the process of the adoption of honorific titles, assuming ones which were highly reminiscent of Sasanid usage like *Shāhanshāh* "Emperor of emperors" and *Malik al-mulūk* "King of kings". The former title became so intimately connected with the Buyids that Baihaqī often refers to the dynasty as *Shāhanshāhiyān* (Baih. 41, 400, 438). The Buyid family were in origin military adventurers from the geographically inaccessible and culturally backward Caspian highlands, where Islam had only recently penetrated and where Zoroastrianism and other pre-Islamic beliefs lingered on; and the Buyid period has been seen in the general context of eastern Islamic history as one in which older Iranian ways enjoyed a certain resurgence. In particular, V. Minorsky has stressed the "Dailamī interlude" in Iranian history as a distinct and important entity and as a period meriting sympathetic study.

For eastern Islam, the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad was the prime fount of honours and titles. These were granted in return for presents of cash and luxury articles, and such payments came in time to be regulated according to a definite tariff. There is a discussion in Baihaqī 293 on what was the customary rate (*rasm*) for the presents to be sent to the new Caliph al-Qā'im on his accession in 422/1031; on this occasion, Mas'ūd of Ghazna expected in return Caliphal confirmation of the lands which he held. During the 10th century, and under the tutelage first of their Turkish slave generals and then of the Buyid Amīrs, the Abbasids were reduced to the position of *fainéants*, deriving what regular income they had in the form of grants from the Amīrs, who were nominally their subjects but in fact their masters. The degradation of the Caliphate is a constant theme of contemporary writers, and Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil in his famous *qaṣīda as-Sāsāniyya* humorously enumerates the Caliph al-Muṭi' (334-63/946-74) as one of the fellowship of professional beggars (*mukaddūn*):

“Another of our members is the mainstay of religion, al-Muṭī‘, whose fame is well-known;

He begs his bread in periodic instalments from Mu‘izz ad-Daula”

(Tha‘ālibi, *Yatīma*, III, 357, 371; Mez, *Renaissance* 135-6).

Why were these titles so keenly desired? The wish to appear important in the eyes of one’s fellow-men is a universal one, and Qalqashandī traces the use of *laqabs* back to Abraham, the “Friend of God”, and the Patriarchs (*Ṣubḥ*, V, 440); but in the mediaeval Orient, in particular, the standing of a man (unless he were known to be an ascetic or Ṣūfī) was in large part judged by his outward appearance and dress, by the deference which had to be shown in addressing him and by the closeness of his relationship to higher authority. The possession of robes of honour, sonorous titles and other insignia of office or military rank became, to use a contemporary expression, status symbols, outward and visible signs of a man’s value to the state and society. These attitudes have persisted down to our own times. An English traveller in the Nishapur district towards the end of the last century relates an amusing incident in which he was asked by the headman of a village publicly and ostentatiously to present him with a robe of honour; the headman himself supplied the robe, and the whole pantomime was meant to increase his esteem in the eyes of the villagers (C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan* [Edinburgh 1900] 415). In the mediaeval Islamic east, the emphasis on publicising oneself and one’s rank clearly goes back to the Byzantine and Sasanid empires which had ruled over the region in earlier centuries, and in which ceremonial and the sense of social hierarchy had been strongly developed; and in the Islamic period, the use of *laqabs* was consciously linked with the Persianised east, as the term *al-alqāb al-mashriqiyya*, used in disparaging reference to them by Maghribī writers, shows (Goldziher, ‘*Alī b. Mejmūn al-Magribī und sein Sittenspiegel des östlichen Islam. Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte*, ZDMG, XXVIII [1874], 306-10). Thus subjects sought after respect and deference by acquiring titles, and rulers sought similarly to boost their reputations and to share indirectly in the religious and moral influence of the Abbasid Caliphs.

For the religious prestige and charismatic power of the Caliphs of Baghdad was still great, despite their reduced material circumstances. The importance of the cachet of orthodox, Sunnī approval even influenced the Buyids in their keenness to acquire their titles from the Caliphs, despite the fact that they themselves were Shī‘is. Certainly, they were usually careful not to go too far in offending the Abbasids’ sentiments; they were, for instance, careful to place the Caliphs’ names on their coinage, and avoided putting on it the common Shī‘ī formula “‘Alī is

the Friend of God" (*‘Alī Walī Allāh*). Powers newly-established on the fringes of the Islamic world, such as the Turkish Qaraxanids and Selcuqs, were also desirous of opening relations with Baghdad as soon as possible (see below, 222, 227). However, the spiritual claims of the Shī‘ī Fāṭimids, who from the time of the Mahdī ‘Ubaidallāh (d. 322/934) had arrogated to themselves the title of Caliph and whose court in Cairo came to eclipse in splendour that of Baghdad, cast a shadow over the religious authority of the Abbasids. The power of the Fāṭimids challenged that of the Abbasids in the realm of the granting of titles and honours, for the former also granted them to their clients, and it was possible for the Arab rulers of northern Syria, the Cazīra and the Arabian peninsula, strategically placed as they were between the two spheres of influence, to play off the two sides in their demands for honours and consideration.

All these factors explain the urge for titles visible during the 10th century and after, and show how they inevitably became cheapened. The poet Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās al-Xwārizmī says in a satire:

“What do I care that the Abbasids have thrown open the gates of *kunyas* and *laqabs*?

They have conferred honorifics on a man whom their ancestors would not have made doorkeepers of their privy.

This Caliph of ours has few dirhams in his hands, so he lavishes *laqabs* on people”

(Tha‘alibī, *Yatīma*, IV, 130 = Mez, *Renaissance* 87). At the opening of the 11th century, Bīrūnī moralisingly observed in his *Āthār al-bāqiya* that when the Abbasids started indiscriminately rewarding courtiers, friends and enemies with vain *daula* titles, extending even to triple ones, their empire perished: “In this way, the matter became utterly opposed to common sense and clumsy to the highest degree, so that he who mentions them gets tired before he has scarcely commenced, he who writes them loses his time and writing, and he who addresses them runs the risk of missing the time for prayer” (*Chronology* 129). Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi’ has a long passage in his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā’* (Cairo 1958) 166-74, in which he denounces the proliferation of titles and pompous forms of address, chiefly on the ground that they cause a blurring of social distinctions: “Since they became equalled out and levelled down, ranks and degrees have inevitably become debased”. He goes on to say that the Caliph al-Qā’im complained that there was no rank or designation left which could be given to a deserving person (*lam tabqa rutba li-mustahiqq*) (*ibid.* 169). By the end of the century, the process of debasement was complete, and the resulting worthlessness of titles is described scathingly by Niẓām al-Mulk: “Nowadays, the meanest person has ten titles, and

if any one of them is missed out in addressing him, he becomes angry and abusive" (*Siyāsat-nāma* 158).

## II

The Samanids of Transoxania and Xurasan, whose practices the Ghaznavids followed in many ways, observed the older custom and were abstemious in the use of titles. Normally, the Amīrs were addressed simply by their *kunyas* during their lifetimes, and after their deaths they were referred to by an epithet like *as-Sa‘id* "the Fortunate one" or *ar-Riḍā* "the Well-pleasing one". However, numismatic evidence suggests that other epithets may have been used by the Amīrs during their own lifetimes, if only perhaps for the *sikka*: on coins of Nūḥ b. Naṣr, after death called *al-Ḥamīd*, appears the legend *al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad*; on those of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ, after death called *al-Mu‘ayyad*, that of *al-Malik al-Muwaffaq*; on those of Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ, after death called *as-Sadīd*, those of *al-Malik al-Muḥaffar* and *al-Malik al-Mu‘azzam*; and on those of Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr, after death called *ar-Riḍā*, that of *al-Malik al-Maṣṣūr* (Lane Poole, *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 100, 105-6, 109-10, 115-16, Nos. 375, 391-2, 403-4, 407-9, 420, 425; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-islāmiyya* 497, quoting Dorn, *Inventaire des monnaies des Khalifes orientaux et de plusieurs autres dynasties* [St. Petersburg 1877] 123, 125). But the only fully-authenticated assumption of a *laqab* by one of the Samanids during his own lifetime was in 390/1000 when the last of the dynasty, the fugitive Ismā‘il b. Nūḥ (d. 395/1005) assumed the title *al-Muntaṣir* (‘Utbi, I, 320; Curb. 141; IA [Cairo], VII, 204, year 390 = Tornberg, IX, 111). An authority quoted by Spuler says that the Samanids used the title *Shāhanshāh*, but no verifiable reference is given by this authority (*Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* 359-60); moreover, Niẓām al-Mulk’s assertion that Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr (366-87/967-97) had this title is unconfirmed by any other literary or any numismatic evidence (*Siyāsat-nāma* 158). The Samanids were in effect independent rulers, although their nominal dependence on the Caliphs was shown in the title *Maulā Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* which appears on some of their coins (cf. *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 96, 102, 111, Nos. 352, 379, 411; Oliver, *JRASB* [1886], 129).

Nevertheless, they did award *laqabs* to their generals and governors, acting here as independent sovereigns. Hence of their Turkish military commanders in Xurasan in the second half of the 10th century, we find Abū l-‘Abbās Tāsh Ḥācib with the title *Ḥusām ad-Daula* (frequently found on Samanid coins, e.g. *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 113-14, Nos. 416, 419);

Abū l-Ḥasan Fā'iq Xāṣṣa with that of *ʿAmīd ad-Daula*; Abū l-Fawāris Begtuzun with that of *Sinān ad-Daula*; Abū l-Ḥasan Sīmcūrī with that of *Nāṣir ad-Daula*; and his son Abū ʿAlī Sīmcūrī with that of *ʿImād ad-Daula*. The Amīr Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr also gave the title *Nāṣir ad-Daula* to the commander of the ghāzīs of Buxara, Abū ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥafṣ (Bīrūnī, *Chronology* 130; ʿUtbī, I, 155, 271; Curb. 79, 121; Gard. 48-9, 53; Samʿānī, *Ansab* f. 323a; IA [Cairo], VII, 108-9, year 371 = Tornberg, IX, 8-9; Cūzcānī tr. 44-5).

Unfortunately for the Samanids, their Turkish slave generals wished to follow the prevailing trend and acquire more grandiose titles. In 381/991 Abū ʿAlī Sīmcūrī made himself master of Xurasan, appropriated all the state revenues there and assumed the lofty designation of *Amīr al-Umarāʾ*, *al-Muʿayyad min as-Samāʾ* "the Divinely-aided Supreme Commander" (ʿUtbī, I, 155; Curb. 80; Gard. 53. Barthold's statement that it was the Samanid Amīr who granted the titles [*Turkestan* 253] should therefore be corrected; ʿUtbī and Gardīzī state clearly that it was self-assumed, *talaqqaba bi-, xwīshtan-rā . . . laqab kard*). Furthermore, in return for help against the Qaraxanid invader Bughra Xān Hārūn or Ḥasan, Abū ʿAlī in 992 demanded of Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr that he be addressed as an equal, by *laqab* and *kunya*, and not as a subordinate, and he also claimed the title of *Maulā* or *Walī* of the Commander of the Faithful. The Amīr was obliged to concede this, although as ʿUtbī says, "his only relationship of dependence (*walāʾ*) was to the Samanids" (ʿUtbī, I, 173-4; Curb. 86). The local rulers in Čaghānīyān of the Āl-i Muḥtāc were vassals of the Samanids, and the last known ruler of this line, Abū l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, had in the early years of the 11th century, when the poet Farruxī was at his court, the honorific *Faxr ad-Daula*; it is unknown whether this title was acquired directly from the Caliphs or whether it was bestowed by one of the last Samanids, the nominal suzerains of the Muḥtācids (Farruxī, *Dīwān* 177, 221; cf. Nīzāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maqāla* 58-65, tr. 39-45, 122-3).

### III

The founders of the Ghaznavid kingdom, Abū Maṣṣūr Sebūktigin and his son Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, received their first *laqabs* from their Samanid masters. According to Bīrūnī, *Chronology* 130, Sebūktigin had originally the honorific of *Muʿīn ad-Daula*, but it is not known when this was conferred. The description in Baihaqī 99 of the Ghaznavid kingdom as *Muʿīnī* may be an echo of this. It is not recorded that Alptigin, Sebūktigin's old master, had any *laqabs*, and the one coin of his



whose attribution is certain (cf. Thomas, JRAS [1848], 295 ff.) gives no help here. In 384/994 Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd helped Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr score a mighty victory over the rebellious generals Abū 'Alī and Fā'iḳ. As a reward, he gave Sebüktigin the title *Nāṣir ad-Daula* and Maḥmūd that of *Saiḳ ad-Daula* (Bīrūnī, *Chronology* 130; 'Utbī, I, 193; Curb. 93; Gard. 56; IA [Cairo], VII, 164, year 384 = Tornberg, IX, 72; Cūzcānī 8, tr. 75. Baih. 200 places the Amīr's award of the title *Saiḳ ad-Daula* before the battle with Abū 'Alī, at the time when Maḥmūd was entrusted with a military command in Xurasan). The sources differ over the exact form of Sebüktigin's title; in Bīrūnī and Gardīzī it appears as *Nāṣir ad-Dīn wa'd-Daula* (and in the much later source of Cūzcānī 8, tr. 75 as *Nāṣir Dīn Allāh*).

Uncertainty such as this is, of course, of frequent occurrence from the 11th century onwards. Often the components *dīn* and *daula* seem interchangeable; the two words may be combined in a title to give a verbal effect of parallelism and alliteration, and in inscriptions, the exact form of a title may be altered to fit the space available or for artistic effect. But the *daula* titles are first in chronological appearance; it is only with the Selcuqs that the *dīn* ones become preponderant, although the Ghaznavids continued, on the whole, to favour the older, *daula* ones (cf. Kramers, *Les noms musulmans composés avec dīn* 59 ff.).

A very early appearance of a *daula* title was when the Caliph al-Muktafi honoured his Vizier Abū l-Ḥusain al-Qāsim b. 'Ubaidallāh with the title *Walī ad-Daula*, and this appears on coins from 291/904. A generation later, in 319/931, al-Muqtadir awarded the title *'Amīd ad-Daula* to Abū l-Ḥusain's son, the Vizier al-Ḥusain b. al-Qāsim, and ordered that he should be addressed by his *kunya* (F. Rosenthal, *ET<sup>2</sup>* Art. "Dawla"; Miskawaih in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, I, 223, tr. IV, 250).

With regard to Sebüktigin's title, *Nāṣir ad-Daula* is probably the original form, and the *dīn* component may have been added to it in popular usage soon after his death or even during his lifetime. A *marthiya* on Sebüktigin's death by Abū l-Faḥ Bustī, quoted by 'Utbī, begins "I said when Nāṣir ad-Dīn wa'd-Daula died, 'May his Lord bestow His favour on him when He raises him to life again!' " ('Utbī, I, 263; Curb. 118; Ibn Xallikān, III, 338). This change in the title, reflecting as it does Sebüktigin's rôle in furthering God's work, may well be an aspect of the cult of him as the *Amīr-i 'Ādil* which sprang up very early (see the anecdotes on his piety and justice in Baih. 202-4, 450-1, and those listed in Nizāmu'd-Dīn's *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-hikāyāt* 199). Echoing Sebüktigin's fame as precursor of his son in raiding India, Nizām al-Mulk gives him the title of *Nāṣir ad-Dīn* and says that it was awarded

to him by the Caliph for his exploits there (*Siyāsat-nāma* 126). Unfortunately, there is no epigraphic evidence on the exact form of the *laqab*. Sebūktigin's tomb at Ghazna has on it a Kufic inscription and its workmanship seems to be contemporary with his death, but only the *kunya* and *ism*, Abū Maṣṣūr Sebūktigin, are given, together with the military title *al-Ḥācib al-Acall* "Most exalted general", the form of address which he had had as one of the Samanids' commanders (Flury, Syria [1925], 62-5).

We have seen that Maḥmūd himself received the title *Saif ad-Daula* from Amīr Nūḥ, and this *laqab*, together with his *ism*, the name of the Caliph and that of the Samanid Amīr, appear on the coins minted by him at Nishapur during his governorship of Xurasan. A dirham from Nishapur dated 385/995 attributes to Maḥmūd, if its legend has been read aright, the title *Abū Laca'* "Father of refuge", a title otherwise unknown and probably therefore to be considered suspect (Thomas, JRAS [1848], 307, No. 8 = *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 131, No. 458). In 389/999 Maḥmūd turned against the Samanids on the double pretext of avenging the deposed Amīr Abū l-Ḥārith Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ (387-9/997-9) and of getting the Caliph al-Qādir's name placed in the *xutba* in the Samanid territories. The Samanids had refused to recognise the succession in 381/991 of al-Qādir, considering him a mere tool of the Buyids, and had continued to acknowledge his deposed predecessor aṭ-Ṭā'i' (Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi' in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, III, 340-5, tr. VI, 365-70). Despite Maḥmūd's arguments in the *fath-nāma* to al-Qādir, he had in fact been quite content to follow the lead of the Samanids in acknowledging aṭ-Ṭā'i' and not al-Qādir; the coins minted by him at Nishapur before 389 all bear at the side of the names of himself and the Samanid Amīr that of aṭ-Ṭā'i' (Thomas, JRAS [1848], 271-2 and 307, No. 8 = *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 131, No. 458; Oliver, JRASB [1886], 134).

But now, in return for his recognition of al-Qādir, Maḥmūd received a charter (*manshūr*) granting him Xurasan, a standard, a splendid robe of honour, and his first titles from Baghdad, those of *Yamīn ad-Daula* and *Amīn al-Milla*, stressing his rôle as a mainstay of the Caliphate and as a trusty defender of orthodox religion ('Utbi, I, 317; Curb. 138; Gard. 62; Ibn al-Cauzī, VIII, 53, year 421; Ibn Xallikān, III, 337, 339). The title *Yamīn ad-Daula* became the favoured one for Maḥmūd, very common on his coins and much used by the historians, from 'Utbi onwards, when referring to him. From amongst his *laqabs*, the poets 'Unṣurī and Farruxī use those of *Yamīn ad-Daula* and *Amīn al-Milla* almost exclusively in their eulogies. Farruxī addresses the Sultan only once by his later title Nizām ad-Dīn (*Diwān* 33), and may perhaps on

another occasion allude to that of *Kahf ad-Daula wa'l-Islām* (*Dīwān* 172: *Kahf-i Muslimānī*) (see for these later titles, below, 219). *Yamīn ad-Daula* and *Amīn al-Milla* were also used as *laqabs* by at least one later member of the Ghaznavid dynasty, sc. Bahrāmshāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm (512-47/1118-52) (Gulam Mustafa Khan, *A history of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin*, Islamic Culture, XXIII [1949], 79-80).

Gardīzī also adds that Maḥmūd obtained the title *Walī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and this indeed appears on a coin from Nishapur dated 389 (Aḥmed Tevḥīd, *Mūze-yi Hümāyūn, Meskūkāt-i qadīme-yi islāmiyye-yi qataloghu*, IV [Istanbul 1321/1903-4], 42, No. 70). This formula, with either the element *Walī* or *Maulā*, had already been used by the Samanids and by Maḥmūd's rivals in the dismemberment of the Samanid empire, the Qaraxanids (see above, 214, and below, 222). An anecdote given by 'Aufī purports to tell how Maḥmūd disliked being addressed from Baghdad as *Maulā Amīr al-Mu'minīn* (taking *Maulā* here in its sense of "client, dependent"), and so got the first element changed to *Walī* ("confidant, close friend"). What looks like a variant of the story appears in Daulatshāh, who quotes from the *Tāc al-futūḥ* (of 'Unṣurī? Cf. Nāzīm, *Sultān Maḥmūd* 1). In this version, the Caliph offers the title *Walī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, but Maḥmūd considers this to be ambiguous and wants it changed to *Wālī Amīr al-Mu'minīn* "Governor on behalf of the Commander of the Faithful" ('Aufī 269-70 = Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction* 181; Daulatshāh, *Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā'*, ed. M. 'Abbāsī [Tehran 1337/1958], 40). Daulatshāh's story has more circumstantial detail than 'Aufī's, e.g. that Maḥmūd's envoy to Baghdad was the author Abū Maṣṣūr Tha'ālibī, and that the Caliph was reluctant to grant the Sultan any titles because the latter was a mere *banda-zāda*; nevertheless, these stories must be treated as apocryphal, since no definitely contemporary sources mention the incident. Nor can such exact shades of meaning be read into the 11th century usage of these various derivatives of the root *walā*. Certainly, contemporary usage of *Maulā* shows that it frequently implied mastery and grandeur, and it is, for instance, used with this denotation in the titlature of Maḥmūd's coeval, the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākīm (Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-islāmiyya* 208-11, 516-22). However, because of its ambiguity, Qalqashandī recommends that the term *Maulā* is best avoided in correspondence (*Ṣubḥ*, VI, 31-2).

Further titles expressing Maḥmūd's zeal in the cause of orthodox religion, those of *Nizām ad-Dīn* and *Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq*, came to him from Baghdad in 403/1012-13 after the execution at Bust of the unfortunate Fāṭimid *dā'ī* Tāhartī (Ibn al-Cauzī, VIII, 53, year 421; IA [Cairo], VII, 271, year 404 = Tornberg, IX, 171; Cūzcānī 8, tr. 75. On the case of

Tāhartī, see Bosworth, *The rise of the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan*, MW, L [1960], 10-11). In 417/1026 Maḥmūd made his famous expedition against the idol-temple of Somnath, and was rewarded by the Caliph with fresh honours. He himself received at Balx the title *Kahf ad-Daula wa'l-Islām* (Baih. 49 gives this as *Kahf al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn*); his son Mas'ūd, those of *Shihāb ad-Daula* and *Camāl al-Milla*; his other son, Muḥammad, those of *Calāl ad-Daula* and *Camāl al-Milla*; and his brother Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Sebūktigin, those of *'Aḍud ad-Daula* and *Mu'ayyid al-Milla*. In this way each one of them had mentioned in his titles both the dynasty's secular power and also its support to the faith. In addition, the Caliph sent the Sultan a charter confirming his possession of Xurasan, India, Nimrūz (sc. Sistan) and Xwārizm, and promised to agree to the nomination of whichever heir Maḥmūd should chose (Gard. 87-8).

In later times, Maḥmūd was referred to as the great Ghāzī or warrior for the faith *par excellence*; but the evidence of contemporary official documents and of numismatics shows that *Ghāzī* was not used as an official title during his own lifetime, even though it is to a moderate extent applied to the Sultan by his panegyrists 'Unṣurī (*Dīwān* 2, 160) and Farruxī (*Dīwān* 30, 46, 149, 207, 394). The old Iranian title *Shāh-anshāh* appears in Maḥmūd's reign, but again, only in eulogistic, poetical usage as a general, regal term. Farruxī applies it not merely to Maḥmūd but also to his brother Yūsuf b. Sebūktigin; when Manūčihri describes Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd as *Shāhanshāh-i 'Irāq*, he seems to be employing the phrase to combat Buyid pretensions in western Persia ('Unṣurī, *Dīwān* 82, 96; Farruxī, *Dīwān* 2, 13, 93, 209, 258, 307, 419; Manūčihri, *Dīwān* 20, 69, tr. 170, 204). It may be briefly noted that the designation *al-Malik al-Manṣūr* appears on a *fals* of Maḥmūd minted in the region of Ghazna in 405/1014-15; this seems to be an isolated imitation of Samanid practice (see above 6), and the designation was not, so far as is known, used for any other purpose (Thomas, JRAS [1848], 333, No. 54 [incompletely described] = *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 152, No. 515).

It is perhaps appropriate to mention here that the regal inscription on the so-called "Tower of Maḥmūd" near Ghazna may no longer be adduced as evidence for Maḥmūd's titles. This inscription was first examined by the British officer J. A. Rawlinson during the First Afghan War of 1839 and published in JRASB, XII (1843), 77. Succeeding generations of scholars have depended on the transcription given there, together with the corrections of Flury in Syria (1925), 65-8; but recently, Mme. J. Sourdél-Thomine has shown clearly that the tower is to be attributed not to Maḥmūd, but to Yamīn ad-Daula Bahrāmshāh, who ruled a century later (*Deux minarets d'époque seljoukide en Afghanistan*, Syria, XXX [1953], 110-21). Thus the title *Ghāzī al-Maghāzī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, which appeared on a part of the tower which has since perished, cannot now be attributed to Maḥmūd. As Mme. Sourdél-Thomine points out, *ibid.* 113, n. 3, the formula is incomprehensible and was almost certainly wrongly transcribed.

So far we have touched only on the Islamic titulature of Maḥmūd and his father, for it is upon this that we are best-documented. The Ghaznavids' opulent court life and ceremonial and their encouragement of Islamic learning and literature, shows that they were undoubtedly, in Spuler's phrase, "kulturell iranisiert" (*Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* III. The culture of the early Ghaznavids is evaluated at length in my doctoral thesis *The transition from Ghaznavid to Seljuq rule in the Islamic East* [Edinburgh 1961, unpublished]). But they were still Turks, and the predominance of Turkish *ghulāms* in the army, especially in the higher ranks, meant that the Sultans still used their ancestral tongue in day-to-day dealings with their Turkish commanders and courtiers. Certainly Mas'ūd, and *a fortiori* his father, always used Turkish when speaking informally to these classes: cf. Baih. 163, 166, where Mas'ūd speaks Turkish to one of his *ghulam* generals in the presence of some Tācīk offenders in order to frighten them, and *ibid.* 450, where Sebūktigin speaks in Turkish when secret communication is required.

Unfortunately, the Islamic sources are rarely explicit about the Turkish side of the Ghaznavid heritage. We know that Maḥmūd was praised by his court poets for his Turkish lineage. Badi' az-Zamān Hamadhānī says:

"The sun of Maḥmūd has overshadowed the stars of Sāmān, And the house of Bahrām has become subject to the son of the Xāqān"

(Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma*, IV, 296, see also Nöldeke, *Über das Kitāb Jamīnī des Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-'Utbi*, SBWAW Phil.-Hist. Cl., XXIII [1857], 83-4). On the other hand, the fictitious genealogy elaborated for the Ghaznavids, probably during the course of the 11th century, links them with the Persian Sasanid past, and not with some ancient, princely family of the Turks, an affiliation which would have been just as easy to make and more plausible (Nazim, *The Pand-Nāmāh of Subūktigin*, JRAS [1933], 609-11, tr. 621-2 = Shabānkāra'ī, *Macma' al-ansāb* ff. 167a-167b; Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. 'Alī 'Imādī, *Ta'rix-i mucadwal* in *Cūzcānī* 6, tr. 69-70). That Maḥmūd was addressed as "the Amīr of Xurasan, Maḥmūd Qara Xān" in a letter arriving in 418/1027 from the ruler of Qitā (sc. from the dynasty in China of the West Liao, who appear in Islamic history a century later as the Qara Xiṭāy) is an interesting usage of Turkish *qara* "black" > "powerful" as a designation implying respect and honour, but it cannot, of course, reflect the practice of the Ghaznavids themselves (Gard. 87; Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* [London 1942] 19, 79; cf. O. Pritsak, *Qara, Studie zur türkischen Rechtssymbolik*, in 60. *doğum*

*yılı münasebetiyle Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan* [İstanbul 1955] 243). If the early Ghaznavids had been in the habit of using Turkish titles, it seems unlikely that the Islamic sources would be entirely silent. But the establishment of the dynasty within the borders of the Islamic world as a successor-state to the Samanids, placed the Sultans on a different footing from the Qaraxanid rulers, who remained in closer contact with the Central Asian steppes. Thus there was amongst the Ghaznavids no double system of Turkish and Islamic titlature, the system which, as Pritsak's researches have shown, existed among the Qaraxanids.

Considering the extent of Maḥmūd's achievement, the titles of which he disposed at the end of a reign of some thirty years were modest, especially when compared with those of his squabbling and often mutually hostile Buyid rivals, who felt the need to buttress their power with grandiose official titles like *Malik al-Umam* "King of the nations" and *Shāhanshāh*. It seems, indeed, that the desire for these titles and for the prestige which they gave varied inversely with the effective power of the holders.

The title *Shāhanshāh* was applied to 'Aḍud ad-Daula as early as 363/973-4 (Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-islāmiyya* 353, quoting the RCEA, V, No. 1831), and it is found on the coins of Rukn ad-Daula in 374/984-5 (Zambaur, WNZ [1904], 86-7, Nos. 104-6). Titles of this type were, however, considered by the theologians as objectionable (cf. Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, VI, 16-17 with supporting ḥadīths). When in 423/1032 the ruler of Fārs and Xūzistān, Abū Kālicār b. Sultān ad-Daula, sought to assume the titles *as-Sultān al-Mu'azzam* and *Malik al-Umam*, it was protested that such titles belonged to the Caliph alone, and the second one had to be toned down to *Malik ad-Daula*; five years later, the assumption by the Amīr of Baghdad, Calāl ad-Daula, of the titles *Shāhanshāh al-A'zam* and *Malik al-Mulūk* also met opposition (Ibn al-Cauzī, VIII, 65, 97-8, years 423, 429; IA [Cairo], VIII, 16, year 429, cf. 48, year 440 = Tornberg, IX, 312-13, cf. 374; H. F. Amedroz, *The assumption of the title Shāhanshāh by Buwayhid rulers*, Num. Chron. 4th Series, V [1905], 393-9, using Sibṭ b. al-Cauzī and Dhahabī; Mez, *Renaissance* 135-6).

Because of Maḥmūd's moderation in regard to titles, it is unlikely that the anecdote given by Niẓām al-Mulk, repeated in briefer form by 'Aufī, has any historical foundation. In it, Maḥmūd complains to the Caliph that he has only one *laqab*, whilst the Qaghan of the Qaraxanids has been given three; but the Caliph will not give the Sultan anything more than a grudging second title. His defence is that the Qaghan is an ignorant and unlettered Turk, and so needs these factitious adornments (*Siyāsat-nāma* 153-8; 'Aufī 270-1 = Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction* 181). It seems undoubtedly true that the Caliph was somewhat abstemious in granting Maḥmūd *laqabs*, even if he was not as niggardly as the above tale suggests. Some explanation for this may lie in the facts just indicated, that Maḥmūd's power was too real to require being propped up by a long

string of titles. This is what Farruxī asserts in a *qaṣīda* addressed to Maḥmūd:

“Your name drives out and overshadows the names of all other kings; after this, the *Shāh-nāma* loses its supremacy.

O noble one, Lord, you have no need for any *laqab*; your own name is greater and more exalted than three hundred *laqabs*.

Wherever one speaks the name “Maḥmūd”, people know who is meant, because of the immense scope of your activity and the nobleness of your deeds.

I am convinced that there cannot be any *laqab* better than the name “Maḥmūd”; this saying is self-evident and well-known to every person.

Your name is linked with your own nature and your nature is bound up with your name; bravo for a name and a nature coupled together and pregnant with meaning!

There is no doubt that the glory which every [ordinary] monarch derives from his *laqab* would appear mere dishonour to you”

(*Dīwān* 81-2). Moreover, the Caliphs were under close Buyid surveillance and had to be circumspect in their dealings with the Buyids’ rivals, the Ghaznavids. Yet the basic reason seems to be that the early Ghaznavids were continuing, as in many other things, the tradition of the Samanids, and were content with modest titles.

The Qaraxanid Qaghan who first moved against the Samanid empire, Bughra Xan Hārūn or Ḥasan (d. 382/992), seems to have assumed his titles of *Shihāb ad-Daula* and *Zahīr ad-Da‘wa* of his own accord; such is the assumption in Bīrūnī, *Chronology* 131, cf. Pritsak, *Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, ZDMG, CI (1951), 297-8. Soon afterwards, other members of the Qaraxanid dynasty are found with a profusion of *laqabs* which may have derived from the Caliph or may again have been self-assumed. R. Vasmer attempted to sort out the multiplicity of titles found on the coins of the early Qaraxanids in his article *Zur Münzkunde der Qarāḥāniden*, MSOS, XXXIII (1930), Westasiatische Studien 83-104. From as early as 390/1000 the family’s coinage bears the name of the Caliph al-Qādir and the legend *Maulā Amīr al-Mu’minīn* (Barthold, *Turkestan* 271-2; Pritsak, *Die Karachaniden*, *Der Islam*, XXXI [1953-4], 27).

Finally, in regard to Maḥmūd’s titles, we may mention the question of the title *Sultān*. Barthold, *Turkestan* 271, and Kramers, *EI*<sup>1</sup> Art. “Sultān”, decisively refuted the assertion of several sources (e.g. IA [Cairo], VII, 184, year 387 = Tornberg, IX, 92, and Cūzcānī 8-9, tr. 75-6, none of these, however, being contemporary) that Maḥmūd was the first ruler in Islam to style himself thus, and showed that *Sultān* was already used in the 10th century for even petty, local rulers. According to Qalqashandī, the first award of the title *Sultān*, which he says is one of the *laqabs* of the military, was to the Vizier Xālid b. Barmak by Hārūn ar-Rashīd (*Ṣubḥ*, V, 447-8). Of the contemporary Ghaznavid sources, ‘Utbi frequently refers to Maḥmūd as “the Sultan”, but this does not imply that this was an official designation; he also uses other

inflated phrases for Maḥmūd, such as *al-Amīr as-Sayyid al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad*, *Malik ash-Sharq bi-Canbaihi* and *Malik ash-Sharq wa-Sayyid al-Gharb wa-Huccat Allāh fī l-Ard*, which were not official titles in the sense that the *laqabs* from the Caliph were ('Utbī, I, 31, II, 355). In parallel with the title *Malik ash-Sharq* it is notable that *Xusrau-yi Mashriq* is a favourite title for Maḥmūd with the poets. In Baihaqī the title *Sultān* is frequently used in referring to the ruler, and extended forms like *Sultān-i A'zam*, *Sultān-i Buzurg* or *as-Sultān al-Mu'azzam* are used, for example, in the headings of official documents and treaties dating from 1029-30 and 1035, which Baihaqī quotes verbatim (2, 127, 138, 470; these phrases are often also linked with the designation *Walī an-Ni'am*). But for ordinary court and familiar usage he normally speaks of "the Amīr". In his section on the Ghaznavids, Gardīzī invariably uses the title *Amīr* when referring to Maḥmūd and other members of the royal family, and this title is generally reserved for them alone; the generals and commanders are simply called *Hācib*, except that Maḥmūd's favourite Ayāz b. Aimaq is once called *Amīr*, perhaps because of his particularly close relationship to the family. The sole time that Gardīzī uses the title *Sultān* is when he refers to the reigning sovereign, under whom he was writing, as *Sultān-i Mu'azzam 'Abd ar-Rashīd*; this is also how Baihaqī refers to the reigning monarchs, Farruxzād and Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd (Gard., 61, 93; Baih. 110, 114, 136, 178, 378, 380 and *passim*). The poets use the title *Sultān* incessantly, but in their verses it is merely one amongst other regal titles employed, like *Xudāvand*, *Xusrau* and *Shāhanshāh*.

The official adoption of the title *Sultān* may well have been prompted by the extensive use which the Selcuq Sultans made of it from 1038 onwards (see below 226 f.). The evidence from Ghaznavid coins confirms that the title did not achieve full official status till the middle of the 11th century. Thomas, JRAS (1848), 343 lists a *fals* with the name "Mas'ūd" and the titles *as-Sultān al-Mu'azzam Malik al-'Ālam*, but the coin is worn and dateless and should probably be ascribed to Mas'ūd III b. Ibrāhīm (492-508/1099-1114). According to Zambaur, WNZ (1914), 130-1, No. 454, the word appears on a coin as early as Mas'ūd's reign (421-33/1030-41), but I cannot, as does Zambaur, accept this as evidence for the early appearance of the title. The coin itself has no decipherable date or mint, and on the reverse, Mas'ūd's *kunya* Abū Sa'īd and the single *laqab* *Nāsir Dīn Allāh* appear, but not his *ism*. The word *sultān* (without the definite article) appears on the obverse above the *tauḥīd*. Surely this should be taken not as a title, but as the original sense of the word, the abstract "power, authority"? In its position on the coin



it forms an exact parallel with the term 'izz "might" on a dirham of Maḥmūd, that of *ẓafr* "victory" on a dinar of Mas'ūd, and the very common 'adl "justice" which appears, for instance, on several of Zambaur's dirhams of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd (*B. M. Catalogue*, II, 156, No. 521; *Khedivial Library Catalogue* 333; Zambaur, WNZ [1914], 128-30, Nos. 440-5, 447, 450, 453). The earliest coin known to bear the legend *as-Sultān al-Mu'azzam* as an official title is one of Farruxzād in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad; in the early part of the next reign, that of Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd, the title becomes standard (Sourdel, *Inventaire* xiii-xiv, citing Markov, *Inventory-catalogue of the Muslim coins in the Imperial Hermitage* [St. Petersburg 1896-8, in Russian] 189, No. 38).

On Maḥmūd's death in Ghazna in 421/1030, the throne passed for a few months to the less experienced and effective of his two sons, Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad. In addition to the two *laqabs* which he had received from the Caliph in 1026 (see above 218), Muḥammad is given by the *Mucmal at-tawārīx*, Mustaufi and Saif ad-Dīn Faḍli the further one of 'Imād ad-Daula (*Mucmal at-tawārīx* 428; *Guzīda* 402, tr. 80; *Āthār al-wuzarā'* f. 87b). It is uncertain whether this was acquired when Muḥammad first gained the throne or during his second brief Sultanate in 1041 (see below 230), but the latter is perhaps more probable; Farruxī, whose *Dīwān* contains 43 poems dedicated to Muḥammad and who seems himself to have died before Muḥammad's second reign, only applies the *laqabs* of 1026 to Muḥammad. The repetition of the phrase *Qutb-i Ma'ālī* in three of Farruxī's odes to Muḥammad (*Dīwān* 91, 102, 271) may conceivably point to a further *laqab* of his, but no further evidence for this exists. At some equally unknown time, Muḥammad's son Aḥmad received the title *Mu'ayyid ad-Daula* (Cūzcānī II n. 2).

In the latter part of 1030, Maḥmūd's other son Abū Sa'īd Mas'ūd came to power. A second *kunya* is attributed to Mas'ūd in a *qaṣīda* of Manū-čihri (*Dīwān* 57, tr. 196), where he describes the Sultan's palace as having "A monarch enthroned in its centre, whose beloved is victory (*ẓafr*) and whose *kunya* is Abū l-Muẓaffar", but this patronymic is not mentioned elsewhere. Already in 1026 Mas'ūd had received two titles from the Caliph, given by Gardizī 87 as *Shihāb ad-Daula* and *Camāl al-Milla* (see above 219); in Baihaqī 588 they are given as *Shihāb ad-Daula* and *Qutb al-Milla*. His father's death found Mas'ūd in the far west of the Ghaznavid empire, in the region of western Persia and its cities of Ray, Isfahān and Hamadān, which had just been conquered from the Buyid Maḥd ad-Daula and the Kākūyid 'Alā' ad-Daula. He hurried eastwards in 1030 and when at Nishapur, received the Caliph's envoy (Gard. 95-6; Baiḥ. 44 ff.). Whilst still at Isfahān, he had written to

Baghdad setting forth his claim to the throne. Now, in return for Mas'ūd's recognition of al-Qādir in the *xuṭba*, the envoy brought rich presents, together with what was to be an important ideological weapon for Mas'ūd's coming struggle with his brother, a resplendent string of fresh *laqabs*. These *nu'ūt-i sultānī* are given by Baihaqī as *Nāṣir Dīn Allāh*, *Hāfiẓ 'Ibād* (or *'Ubbād) Allāh*, *al-Muntaqim min A'dā' Allāh* and *Zahīr xalīfat Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. Mas'ūd's joy was such that he commanded that these marks of Caliphal favour, which extended to him emphatic recognition as Maḥmūd's true successor, should be extensively publicised in the region of Xurasan and Ṭuxāristān, for he was hoping to win these over to his own allegiance: "The Sultan ordered that despatches should be sent to Herāt, Pūshang, Ṭūs, Saraxs, Nasā, Abīward, Bādghīs and Ganc Rustāq announcing these latest actions on the part of the Caliphate. They put up copies of the patent of investiture and of the Caliph's letter, and set forth the Sultan's *laqabs*, so that the people might address this mighty ruler by them and proclaim them in the *xuṭba*" (Baih. 48-9).

The propaganda value of these titles and the moral advantages of possessing Caliphal favour at critical times such as in this succession dispute, are well demonstrated here, and in this instance Mas'ūd was obviously aware of the advantage which he had gained. Ibn Xallikān, III, 343 also stresses how the Caliph's favour caused people to rally to Mas'ūd's side at the expense of his brother. The news of the Caliph's awards must have travelled eastwards very rapidly, for Farruxī alludes to the *laqabs* and to the Caliph's support for Mas'ūd in an ode which he wrote whilst still at Muḥammad's court in Ghazna, inciting Mas'ūd to return and claim his father's power. He addresses Mas'ūd (who must at the time have been somewhere between Nishapur and Balx) thus (*Dīwān* 302):

*Nāṣir-i dīn-i Xudāy u ḥāfiẓ-i xalq-i Xudāy, nā'ib-i paighambar u pusht-i Amīr al-Mu'minīn*

"Supporter of God's religion and protector of God's creation, vicegerent of the Prophet and mainstay of the Commander of the Faithful"

All these *laqabs* appear frequently on Mas'ūd's coins: cf. Thomas, JRAS (1848), 335-7, 340-2, Nos. 58-60, 67-73, JRAS (1860), 167-8; *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 155-7, Nos. 520, 521, 523; *Additions to the Oriental Collection*, I, 219, No. 521<sup>r</sup>; Sourdel, *Inventaire* 52-63. Variants of the title *Nāṣir Dīn Allāh* are given in *Guzīda* 401, tr. 80 (*Nāṣir ad-Daula*) and *Āthār al-wuzarā'* f. 87b (*Naṣr ad-Daula*).

A further proof of the importance of these honours in the sphere of diplomacy occurred a year or so later, when the Caliph al-Qādir died and his son al-Qā'im bi-amri'llāh succeeded, and Mas'ūd's allegiance had to be renewed. One of the Sultan's stipulations for this renewal

was that the Caliph should not communicate directly with the Qaraxanids in Transoxania and Eastern Turkestan, and in particular, that new *laqabs* and robes of honour should not be forwarded to them except by the intermediacy of the Ghaznavids (Baih. 291; for a consideration in greater detail of this episode, and on the general topic of the Sultan's relations with the Caliphate, see the author's study, *The Imperial policy of the early Ghaznavids*, in *Islamic Studies*, the Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research [Karachi], I/3). At this time, the northern fringes of the Ghaznavid empire along the upper and middle Oxus and in Xwārizm were being strongly coveted by the Qaraxanids. It was therefore the Sultans' policy to keep the two most powerful members of the dynasty, Yūsuf Qadīr Xān of Xotan and Kāshghar (d. 1032) and 'Alī b. Ḥasan Bughra Xān, known as 'Alitigin, of Buxara and Samarqand, divided and mutually hostile, and to cut them off from direct contact with and support from the Caliphate (on the relations of the early Ghaznavids and the Qaraxanids, see Barthold, *Turkestan* 263-304 and Nāzīm, *Sultān Maḥmūd* 47-56).

After receiving the *laqabs* at Nishapur, Mas'ūd received no further ones from Baghdad; nor does it seem that he ever sought for more, although the accession of al-Qā'im would have been an appropriate time for this. Zambaur, WNZ (1914), 133, No. 458, considered that a dirham dated 423/1032 and minted at Hamadān revealed a new title for Mas'ūd, but his tentative interpretation of a somewhat unclear legend as *al-Ḥāfiẓ Ithār Allāh* "le gardien des libéralités de Dieu" is unconvincing; it is safer to treat it as being the well-known *Ḥāfiẓ 'Ibād Allāh*.

In the second half of his reign, Mas'ūd's control over the outlying parts of the empire grew weaker under the attacks of the Qaraxanid Bōritigin (the later Tamghač Xān Ibrāhīm, d. 1068), of rebellious vassals in Xwārizm, and above all, of the Oghuz in Xurasan. The power of the Ghaznavids in the west was decisively broken in 1040 by the victory of the Selcuqs at Dandānqān, and there were few successes in Mas'ūd's last years to make him rejoice or seek fresh *laqabs*. The power of the Selcuq family and their nomadic followers was in the ascendant, and the invaders themselves quickly saw the value of Caliphal support. As early as 426/1035, when large Turkmen groups crossed the Oxus into Xurasan, the Selcuq leaders Toghrīl, Čaghri and Mūsā Yabghu styled themselves *Mawālī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, perhaps not fully aware of the implications involved and yet realising that this claim brought them in some way closer into the world of Sunnī Islam which they were just entering. Furthermore, when Toghrīl first occupied Nishapur in

1038, he assumed the title *as-Sultān al-Mu‘azzam* (which does not, however, appear on his coins till after 438/1046-7, cf. Sourdel, *Inventaire* xvi-xvii), received with respect an envoy from the Caliph and sent back an envoy of his own to Baghdad (Baih. 470; Bundārī, *Zubdat an-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoukides*, II [Leiden 1889], 7-8; IA [Cairo], VIII, 25, year 432 = Tornberg, IX, 328; cf. Cl. Cahen, *Le Malik-Nāmeḥ et l'histoire des origines seljukides*, Oriens, II [1949], 57-9, 62-3). Thus began the rôle of the Selcuqs in Islamic history as liberators of the Caliphs from the Shī‘ī Buyids and as the secular arm of the orthodox Sunni revival.

## IV

Amongst the Buyids, it was the practice for Viziers and senior officials to have honorifics and titles hardly less exalted than those of the Amīrs themselves. Bīrūnī stigmatises the Buyids' excesses here as worse than those of the Caliphs whom they imitated, and calls the titles given to Viziers like *Kāfī al-Kufāt*, *al-Kāfī al-Auḥad* and *Auḥad al-Kufāt* as "nothing but one great lie" (*Chronology* 131. Cf. Mez, *Renaissance* 86-8, 96). Especially favoured were bombastic dual titles like *Dhū r-Riyāsatain* and *Dhū l-Kifāyatain*, which imputed to their holders equal prowess in the spheres of Sword and Pen, and those like *Shaix ad-Daulatain* and *Nizām al-Ḥaḍratain*, applied to officials equally in the confidence of the Buyid Amīrs and Abbasid Caliphs.

See on these dual titles, Goldziher, *Ueber Dualtitel*, WZKM, XIII (1899), 321-9 esp. 326-9, French résumé by G.-H. Bousquet, *Études islamologiques d'Ignaz Goldziher. Traduction analytique (III)*, Arabica, VII (1960), 254-5. Titles in *Ḥaḍratain* became especially common later amongst the Selcuqs, e.g. *Thiqat al-Ḥaḍratain* for a person in the confidence of both Sultan and Caliph.

The early Ghaznavids scorned such rank verbiage for their servants. Their Viziers were usually referred to simply as *Xwāca* or *Xwāca-yi Buzurg*, and in the time of Maḥmūd and Mas‘ūd, *Xwāca* was regarded as an exalted title; cf. Baihaqī 357, who complains that at the time he was writing (sc. 1059), the title had become disused. The famous Vizier Abū l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maimandī (d. 423/1032) was later frequently called *Shams al-Kufāt* because of his administrative and secretarial excellence, just as the equally celebrated Vizier of Faxr ad-Daula, the Ṣāhib Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād (d. 385/995) was called *Kāfī al-Kufāt*. The title *Shams al-Kufāt* was certainly coined during Maimandī's own lifetime, but was used as a purely informal expression of praise and not as an official designation. ‘Utbī, Gardizī and Baihaqī never attribute it to him,

but usually refer to him simply as *ash-Shaix al-Calil* or *Xwāca-yi Buzurg*. The honorific *Shams al-Kufāt* is found, as one might expect, in the panegyrics addressed to him by Farruxī (*Dīwān* 24, 155 and *passim*), but not, curiously enough, in those dedicated to him by ‘Unṣurī and Manūčihri. In the eulogies of the latter two poets, no titles more complicated than those of *Xwāca*, *Wazir* and ‘*Amīd* are given to Maimandī and to the successor as Vizier after his death, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad. Farruxī also gives the title *Sayyid al-Kufāt* to another of Maḥmūd’s Viziers, Ḥasanak (*Dīwān* 194-5).

Consequently, we do not come across any of the early Ghaznavids’ officials with formal *laqabs* such as their Buyid counterparts possessed. It is not until Maudūd b. Mas‘ūd’s reign that we have what is apparently the first example of an official receiving a *laqab* from the Caliph in Baghdad. One Bū Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, a friend and contemporary of the historian Abū l-Faḍl Baihaqī, was much employed on diplomatic missions, and after one of these embassies to the Caliph he was rewarded with the title *Ḥamīd Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* (Baih. 110). In the reign of Ibrāhīm b. Mas‘ūd we hear of a court official, a nephew of Baihaqī’s old master in the *Dīwān-i Rasā’il*, Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān, who was called Thiḡat al-Mulk Ṭāhir b. ‘Alī b. Mishkān; the adoption of such titles in the latter half of the 11th century must be attributed to the influence of Selcuḡ practice (*Čahār maqāla* 72, tr. 51).

What the early Ghaznavids did do was to single out their great commanders and governors by a form of address (*muxāṭaba*) which conveyed the idea of intimacy with the Sultan or the enjoyment of his trust. This was formally granted to the holder and used in official and personal communication with him. The Xwārizmshāh Altuntash, an old and trusted *ghulām* commander whose service to the Ghaznavids went back to Sebūktigin’s time, was addressed by Mas‘ūd as *Ḥācib-i Fāḍil*, ‘*Amm* “Excellent Commander, Uncle”. In 1032 Altuntash was killed fighting the Qaraxanid ‘Alitigin, and Mas‘ūd’s young and favourite son Sa‘īd was appointed Xwārizmshāh with Altuntash’s son Hārūn as his deputy (*xalīfat ad-dār*). In the patent of investiture, Sa‘īd was given a *laqab*, but Hārūn got the *muxāṭaba* of *Walad, Mu‘tamad* “Son, Trusted Servant” (Baih. 83, 328, 355).

Viziers and civil officials also got *muxāṭabas* indicating various degrees of honour. For his part in the battle at Dabūsiyya in 1032 against ‘Alitigin, Aḥmad b. ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was granted the *muxāṭaba* of *Shaix, Mu‘tamad*, and then when he was chosen to succeed Maimandī as Vizier, that of ‘*Amīd* “Mainstay, support” (Baih. 354). This title of ‘*Amīd* was the highest one to which a civil official in the Ghaznavid administration

could attain, being reserved for such personages as the Vizier, the 'Āriḍ, the civil governor of Xurasan and a few others in the top rank of the bureaucracy. It seems originally to derive from Abbasid practice, and often appears as an element in the nomenclature of Buyid officials. From Baghdad it passed into Samanid usage, and Narshaxī mentions the *Diwān* of the 'Amīd *al-Mulk* as one of the government departments at Buxara in the time of Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/913-43); it seems here to have been the Department of the Chief Secretary, corresponding to the Ghaznavid *Diwān-i Rasā'il* (Barthold, *Turkestan* 229-30. Schefer's text of Narshaxī is corrupt here; cf. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara* [Cambridge, Mass. 1954] 123-4. On the 'Amīd, see Cahen's article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>). The term 'Amīd *al-Mulk* is not attested in the contemporary historical sources on the early Ghaznavids, but Farruxī does use the title for two high officials to whom he addresses *qaṣīdas*, the 'Āriḍs Abū Bakr Qūhis-tānī and Abū Sahl Zauzanī (*Diwān* 197, 320). The governor of Xurasan, Abū l-Faḍl Sūri b. Mu'izz, is usually given in Baihaqī the title 'Amīd, and Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥusain Mikālī, who came from the prominent Nishapur Mikālī family of administrators and scholars and who at one time held the *riyāsa* of his home city, is given the title *Xwāca* 'Amīd. When in 1033 Abū Sahl Ḥamdawī (or Ḥamdūnī) was appointed civil governor of Ray and Cibāl, he was given the *muxāṭaba* of *ash-Shaix al-'Amīd*. The Vizier Aḥmad b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was annoyed that this high title should be given to him, but the Sultan explicitly instructed that "the form of address 'Amīd must be employed, because our power is greater than that of the Buyids, and our servant is greater than the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād" (Baih. 287, 390). It was obviously felt that an official sent to the far west of the Ghaznavid empire should have a designation which would put him at least on the same level as the officials of the neighbouring Buyids.

From citations such as these, we can see the basic simplicity of the practice of the early Ghaznavids in regard to the titles of their officials and governors, as in regard to their own titlature; and this simplicity forms a contrast to the usages of their Buyid contemporaries and Selcuq successors.

The superscription of the letter which the Selcuq leaders wrote in 1035 when they were seeking Mas'ūd's Vizier's intercession, *Ḥaḍrat ash-Shaix ar-Ra'is al-Calīl as-Sayyid Maulānā* is perhaps a foretaste of the luxuriance of later Selcuq titlature (Baih. 470: note the appearance of the characteristic Selcuq title *Ḥaḍra* "Presence").

## V

In amplification of the information on the Ghaznavid dynasty given by Zambaur in his *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire*

*de l'Islam* (Hanover 1927) 282-3, and by Halil Edhem in his *Düvel-i islâmiye* (İstanbul 1345/1927) 448-54, some further details are given here on the chronology, names and titles of the Sultans up to the reign of Ibrâhîm b. Mas'ūd. Other genealogical tables can be found in Lane Poole, *The Mohammadan dynasties* (London 1893) 285-90; in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg 1895) 444; and in *Cambridge History of India, III: Turks and Afghans* (Cambridge 1928) 688.

Abū l-Faṭḥ Maudūd b. Mas'ūd (432-41/1041-50) succeeded his murdered father and revenged his death by killing his uncle Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, who had been placed on the throne for a brief second reign by Mas'ūd's rebellious generals (Cūzcānī 15, tr. 95 attributes to Maudūd the *kunya* Abū Sa'd [? Sa'īd]; it is possible that he had two *kunyas*, as not infrequently happened). According to Gardīzī 110 (cf. *Āthār al-wuzarā'* f. 87b), Maudūd had the *laqabs* *Shihāb ad-Dīn wa'd-Daula* and *Qutb al-Milla*, and some of Maudūd's coins bring the further titles *Camāl ad-Daula* and *Faxr al-Umma*, with the variant *Qutb ad-Dīn* for the one given by Gardīzī (Thomas, JRAS [1848], 348, No. 87; *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 163-4, Nos. 536-7, 541-2; Sourdél, *Inventaire* 63-5).

Maudūd's son Mas'ūd II, a small child, reigned only for a few days in 441/1050, and then one of Mas'ūd I's sons, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī, ruled for another short period in the same year with the *laqab Bahā' ad-Daula*.

Cūzcānī 16, tr. 99-100 gives a very brief and confused account of the reign of Mas'ūd II and that of his uncle Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī. Their exact lengths and chronology are still uncertain, and no coins from them seem to be extant, at least in the British collections. In the *Mucmal at-tawārīx*'s tables of the Ghaznavid Sultans, 405, 428-9, Mas'ūd II is not mentioned. Ibn Bābā mentions the five-year-old Mas'ūd b. Maudūd as being left in Ghazna as his father's regent whilst Maudūd was away campaigning, and being set aside by Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī. Maudūd's brother 'Abd ar-Rashīd was also involved in these intrigues and was jailed when Maudūd returned and resumed power. But Ibn Bābā goes on to say that Maudūd died, at the age of 29, on Wednesday, 21st Rācab 441, and that 'Abd ar-Rashīd ascended the throne on 27th Sha'bān 441 (*K. Ra's māl an-nadīm* ff. 208a-b). On this reckoning, the ephemeral reigns of Mas'ūd II and Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī must be placed within the five weeks' interval between the two dates (Cūzcānī *loc. cit.* makes the total for the two reigns two months).

The next Sultan, Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd ar-Rashīd b. Maḥmūd (441-4/1050-3) is given by Gardīzī the titles of *Sultān-i Mu'azzam 'Izz ad-Daula wa-Zain al-Milla Saif Allah Mu'izz Dīn Allāh*. Ibn al-Athīr adds those of *Shams Dīn Allāh* and *Saif ad-Daula*, with a reported variant of the latter as *Camāl ad-Daula*; and the *Mucmal at-tawārīx*, Mustaufī and Saif ad-Dīn Faḍlī add that of *Macd ad-Daula* (Gard. 63, who is the authority for the *kunya*; IA [Cairo], VIII, 53, year 441 = Tornberg, IX, 382; Cūzcānī 16, tr. 98; *Mucmal at-tawārīx* 429; *Guzīda* 403; tr. 81;

*Āthār al-wuzarā'* f. 87b). 'Abd ar-Rashīd's reign was violently terminated in 1053 by the usurpation of a former *ghulām* of Sultan Maḥmūd called Toghrīl, usually given in the sources the epithets *Mal'ūn* "Accursed" or *Kāfir-i ni'mat* "Ungrateful". He massacred the Sultan and several other members of the royal family and ruled in Ghazna for forty days before the legitimate line was restored, the people having refused, it is said, to tolerate the rule of a non-Ghaznavid (*K. Ra's māl an-nadīm* ff. 208b-209a; IA [Cairo], VIII, 61-2, year 444 = Tornberg, IX, 398-401; Cūzcānī 17-18, tr. 99-100). A dirham coined by Toghrīl is extant, the only coin of his which seems to be known; it has no date or mint, but bears the legend "Qiwām ad-Daula Abū Sa'īd Ṭughrīl", showing that the usurper had thought it necessary to assume a *laqab* as one of the appurtenances of kingship (Sourdel, *Inventaire* 67).

Another son of Mas'ūd I now succeeded, Abū Shucā' Farruxzād, who reigned 444-51/1053-9 with the *laqabs* *Camāl ad-Daula* and *Kamāl al-Milla* (*Mucmal at-tawārīx* 429; *Guzīda* 404, tr. 81; *Āthār al-wuzarā'* f. 87b; Thomas, JRAS [1848], 353-7, Nos. 97-107; *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 166-7, Nos. 546-8; Sourdel, *Inventaire* 68). According to the *K. Ra's māl an-nadīm* f. 209b, Farruxzād died on 27th Ṣafar 451. On his death began the forty years' rule of Abū l-Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd I (451-92/1053-99), during which a *modus vivendi* was reached in the west with the Selcuqs and a period of prosperity and peace began for the Ghaznavid empire, now reduced to eastern Afghanistan and northern India. Numismatic and literary sources give his titles as *as-Sultān al-A'ẓam* (or *al-Mu'aẓẓam*), *Zahīr ad-Daula*, *Zahīr al-Milla*, *Nāṣir* (or *Naṣīr*) *ad-Daula*, *Nāṣir* (or *Naṣīr*) *al-Milla*, *Niẓām ad-Daula*, *Radī ad-Dīn*, *Sayyid as-Salātīn*, *Malik al-Islām* and *Qāhīr al-Mulūk*, to which epigraphic evidence from the region of Ghazna adds those of *Mu'ayyid ad-Dīn*, *Mu'īn al-Muslimīn* and *Malik Riqāb al-Umam* (*Mucmal at-tawārīx* 429; Cūzcānī 19, tr. 102-3; *Guzīda* 404, tr. 81; *Āthār al-wuzarā'* f. 88a; Thomas, JRAS [1848], 358-66, Nos. 108-32; *B. M. Catalogue*, II, 168-72, Nos. 550-9; *Additions to the Oriental Collection*, I, 239-40, Nos. 558<sup>d</sup>, e, f, 560<sup>k</sup>; Zambaur, WNZ [1904], 84, No. 93; Flury, Syria [1925], 70-5; Sourdel, *Inventaire* 70-80). The *K. Ra's māl an-nadīm* f. 210a puts Ibrāhīm's death in Dhū l-Qa'da 492. It thus appears that the territorial shrinkage of the Ghaznavid empire was not accompanied by any diminution in the Sultans' claims and titlature; indeed, with the successors of Mas'ūd I, these titles grow richer and more prolific.

A divergent chronology for these later rulers is found in the *Axbār ad-daula as-Salcūqiyya* of Ṣadr ad-Dīn Ḥusainī, ed. M. Iqbāl (Lahore 1933), 14-15. Maudūd's death is placed in Rabī' II 440/Sept. 1049; no mention is made of Mas'ūd II and



Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī; Toghrīl’s usurpation is placed in 442/1050-1, and his assassination and the accession of Farruxzād in Dhū l-Qa‘da 443/March 1052; and Farruxzād’s death is placed on 16th Safar 451.

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# XI

## THE IMPERIAL POLICY OF THE EARLY GHAZNAWIDS

### I

The concept of the state as a self-perpetuating organism has been familiar to western Europe since the Renaissance and the growth of nation states. The crucial factor has been the transition from the idea of a political grouping as the ruler's private patrimony, entailing the dissolution of the bonds of unity on that ruler's death, to the idea of the nation state as an entity with a political, social and cultural life of its own, able through its own momentum to survive successive changes of ruler or government. Prerequisites for this continuity are that the machinery of government, even though it may derive its authority from the ruler, should have some degree of independent life and, above all, that there should be a tradition of service and feeling of corporate loyalty amongst the personnel of the government machine, the civil service. The existence of institutions such as these has, amongst other factors, made possible the territorial empires of the European powers, which have been able, through their continuity of policy and personnel, to span all the continents of the world. The theoretical aspect of these points has also been elaborated in Europe since the Renaissance. This has been the development of one of the two strands of meaning in the old Roman concept of *imperium*, that of territorial dominion (the other being that of governmental power, the practical considerations of which have been mentioned above), into a justification for territorial aggrandisement.<sup>1</sup>

Except for Byzantium, with its traditions inherited from Imperial Rome, self-perpetuating empires such as those mentioned above could not have existed in medieval Europe. In the Islamic Middle Ages, the Caliphate of the Umayyads and the early 'Abbāsids stretched over three continents, from Spain in Europe through North Africa to the Near East and Central Asia. Since the cultural traditions of the Caliphate and the administrative personnel who ran it for their Arab masters came largely from the older civilisations of Byzantium and Persia, there is much to be said for Toynbee's view that the 'Abbasid Caliphate was a

reconstruction of what he calls the old 'Syriac society' of the Semitic and Iranian Near East.<sup>2</sup> Yet this empire was only tenuously held together through the loyalty to the Caliphs of local governors and military commanders; there is little trace of any firm community of interest between rulers and ruled or of the existence of any organic administrative institutions. Not surprisingly its unity was short-lived. It was not until fairly recent times that the Ottoman Turks succeeded in creating an empire which, again, spanned three continents and three cultural worlds: the Balkan Christian, the Perso-Turkish and the Arab ones, and which survived for five centuries before the economic and political pressures of Christian Europe brought about its collapse.

Thus if we speak of the Ghaznawid Sulṭāns as rulers over an empire, we are using the term loosely, for, except for the motive of territorial aggrandisement, this empire must in many ways be differentiated from the ones which we have just mentioned and which arose in comparatively recent times. It is certainly a convenient term for the assemblage of territories built up by Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd, and as a geographical term has something to commend it. At Maḥmūd's death in 421/1030, his possessions extended from Hamadān on the western rim of the Iranian plateau to the region of Delhi in the east, and his armies had further penetrated into India as far as Benares and Kathiawar.<sup>3</sup> These territories straddled two alien civilisations, the Irano-Turkish Muslim one and the Hindu one, and the task of welding together these two wholly disparate cultures, if it had ever been envisaged by the Ghaznawids, would have required centuries for its accomplishment.

The lands over which the Ghaznawids exercised either full control or else suzerainty may be divided into three groups. Firstly, there was the central core under direct rule by the Sulṭān or his governors, sc. Afghanistan, Khurāsān and Khwārazm. Secondly, there were several dependent dynasties on the fringes who sent tribute to Ghaznah, such as the Kākūyids of Iṣfahān, Hamadān, Dīnawar and Shābūr-Khwāst; the Ziyārids of Ṭabaristān and Gurgān; the local rulers of Chaghāniyān and Khuṭṭal on the upper Oxus; and the local ruler of Makrān in the south of the modern Baluchistan and the adjoining part of Persia. Thirdly, there was the *Dār al-Ḥarb* of India, several of whose princes paid tribute, and which was regarded by the Sulṭāns as their milch-cow,

an inexhaustible source of treasure and slaves. In sheer extent, the assemblage of so many territories compels admiration, and it was the scale of Maḥmūd's operations which struck so many contemporaries and contributed after his death to the growth of the legend of Maḥmūd as the great Ghāzī.

Yet there is little to show that the early Ghaznawids regarded their territories as anything more than personal patrimonies, conquered by their own swords and to be enjoyed as much as possible whilever they lived. That they should be passed on intact to their successors was desirable but not a prime consideration. For indeed, there was insufficient continuity of administration and the *dīwāns* or departments of state lacked sufficient independent life for a firmly-established, permanent empire to hold together of its own momentum. The death of the sovereign was inevitably a critical juncture, for any uncertainty about the succession meant a weakening of control at the centre and a chance for ambitious local governors or commanders to assert themselves.

Although Sebūktigin had made considerable conquests of his own on the north-west frontier of India from the Hinduśhāhī Rājā Jaypāl, and had annexed the regions of Bust and Quṣḍār (Khuzdār) to the south-west of Ghaznah, he had continued to regard himself as a governor on behalf of the Samanids, and not as an independent sovereign.<sup>4</sup> Sebūktigin died in 387/997, and despite the evident decay of the Sāmānids under the double pressure of their own rebellious generals and of an external enemy, the Qarākhānids, it does not seem that he envisaged his heirs setting up as an independent dynasty. He did not bequeath his lands as an undivided inheritance, but as governorships to be held by various members of his family, continuing the practice of the last years of his lifetime, and thereby implying that an at-least nominal dependence on the Samanids should continue. His brother Bughrāchuq was to remain governor of Herat and Puṣhang. Of his sons, Abū'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd was to continue as military commander in Khurāsān; Abū'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr was to remain at Bust; and a younger one, Ismā'il, was to have Ghaznah and Balkh. Maḥmūd, the most experienced and capable of the sons, was dissatisfied with his share, and as events fell out, was able to establish his primacy and secure his father's capital Ghaznah. Even so, he had at one stage been quite willing to leave Balkh or Khurāsān to Ismā'il.<sup>5</sup>

A similar situation arose on Maḥmūd's death in 421/1030.

During his thirty years' reign, the Ghaznawid empire had expanded enormously. His son Mas'ūd had for long been official *walī-'ahd*, but shortly before his death, Maḥmūd had transferred the succession to his other son Muḥammad. Muḥammad had a powerful group at court to forward his interests, and Bayhaqī also speaks of the physical deterioration and declining powers of judgment then visible in the Sultan, the results of advancing age and a lifetime of furious activity: "His constitution gave way and in the greatness of his nature a weakening faculty of judgment was apparent".<sup>6</sup> The decision to change the succession puzzled many contemporaries, for Muḥammad had little military skill and had had no administrative experience beyond governing the province of Guzḡān; whereas Mas'ūd had fought in places like Ghūr and had recently been left in the newly-conquered provinces of western Persia as governor. It was inevitable that Mas'ūd should prove the stronger and establish his rule over the whole of the empire; but in the course of the process he was quite ready for a division of power with his brother, himself to have the new conquests in the west and the title of Sultan, and Muḥammad to have Ghaznah, Khurāsān and India.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, expecting a struggle, Mas'ūd was also prepared to cede the province of Khuṭṭal on the upper Oxus to the Qarākhānid 'Alī b. Ḥasan Bughrā Khān, known as 'Alītigin, in return for military help.<sup>8</sup>

Towards the end of Mas'ūd's reign, the Seljūqs overran Khurāsān, Sīstān and much of what is now western Afghanistan. The Ghaznawids were still left with their Indian possessions and much of northern and eastern Afghanistan, the provinces of Tukhāristān, Badakhshān, Kabul and Zābulistān and Balkh did not fall to the Seljūqs till 1059. Nevertheless, Mas'ūd's nerve failed completely, and in 432/1040 he decided to cede Balkh and Tukhāristān to the Qarākhānid Bōritigin (the later Tamghach Khān Ibrāhīm), hoping that he would thus clash with the Seljūqs, and then the Sultan planned to abandon Ghaznah altogether, retiring to India.<sup>9</sup> Thus he was ready to sacrifice much of what remained of the Ghaznawid edifice of power, which was still an impressive one, leave the ancestral capital of Ghaznah and turn to *ghazw* in India, hoping to expand his power in the turbulent and uncertain conditions obtaining there. Mas'ūd's successors did manage to retain Ghaznah and eastern Afghanistan as well as India, and after a *modus vivendi* had been achieved with

the Seljuqs, the truncated Ghaznawid empire settled down to a period of moderate prosperity.

The attitudes described here of the early Sultans towards the fate of their possessions hardly seem to be those of the empire-builder who wishes to leave his gains intact for his successor and ensure that they pass into the most capable hands. One aspect of the climate of opinion in the Islamic world emphasised the transience of human affairs: according to this, the true believer was he who lived each day as if it were his last.<sup>10</sup> The imperfection of human creation was exemplified in the ups-and-downs of political and military power, the very word *dawlah* implying changes of fortune. The acquisition of political power had in it an element of luck, as the maxim *al-dawlah ittifāqāt ḥasanah*<sup>11</sup> implied, and might as inexplicably be taken away. It was not safe to count upon the preservation of anything beyond one's own lifetime; moreover, it was felt that a man had a responsibility to carve out a stake in life for himself, and ought not to expect to step straight into a handsome inheritance from his father.

One must further remember that Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd were ethnically Turks, and for Sebüktigin at least, the memory of his early life in the Central Asian steppes amongst his people of the Barskhān must have been still fresh.<sup>12</sup> Turkish was the language which they used for conversation with their Turkish slave commanders and soldiers, and at the court of Mas'ūd, Turkish poetry, probably poetry of popular origin rather than the product of literary circles, was known and recited.<sup>13</sup> The Islamic sources for the early Ghaznawids are rarely explicit on the Turkish background of the Sultans, but this influence cannot have been negligible. The attitude of Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd, that their conquests had been won by their own military skill alone and might not be lasting achievements, may also have been influenced by conditions amongst the Altaic peoples of the Central Asian steppes, where nomadic empires of immense breadth might be constituted through the energy of an outstanding leader, an Attila or Chingiz Khan. Such empires might then collapse utterly on the death of their founders. Alternatively, they might be divided out among several sons, each retaining a share of the paternal inheritance, but with the responsibility of building it up by his own dynamism into a further steppe empire; the classic example of this is the division of Chingiz Khan's empire among his four sons.<sup>14</sup>



In the light of these considerations, it is proposed in this article to use "empire" as a geographical term, denoting the assemblage of territories under the rule of one man, and not as a political term denoting a grouping which is self-perpetuating over a considerable period of time and whose component parts have an organic community of interest. Similarly, "imperialism" is used to denote the aggressive policies of the Sultans and their use of orthodox religion and the moral authority of the Caliphate as a justification for these, so that orthodoxy in religion becomes identified with loyalty to the dynasty.

## II

Much of the energies of Sebüktigin, of Maḥmūd and, to the extent that distracting conditions in the rest of the empire allowed him, of Mas'ūd, were directed towards expansion into northern India. The driving factor here was financial gain, the tribute to be taken from the native princes and the spoils of war. Religious zeal, the urge to implant Islam in pagan lands, was not a dominant motive; indeed, it was not a noticeable motive in the Indian campaigns as a whole. There were no serious attempts to convert forcibly the Indian population at large, whose overwhelming numbers, compared with those of the Ghaznawid invaders, would have made any such endeavour hopelessly impracticable; and the Ghaznawid armies contained large contingents of Indian troops who were allowed to retain their own Hindu religion.<sup>16</sup>

It is true that Maḥmūd led his expedition of 396/1006 against Multan in the name of religion and the re-establishment of Sunni orthodoxy. The long-established Muslim colonies in Sind and Multan had at an early date been the scene of a successful Ismā'īlī *da'wah*, and towards the end of the 10th century, the ruler of Multan recognised not the Abbasid Caliph but the Fāṭimids of Cairo.<sup>16</sup> Although the local ruler Abū'l-Futūḥ, Dāwūd b. Naṣr had had friendly relations with the Ghaznawids, Maḥmūd nevertheless marched against him. In 'Utbī's words, "He [sc. Maḥmūd] was unable, in the interests of religion, to endure that he should remain in power, seeing the vileness of his evildoing and the abomination of his affair".<sup>17</sup> But the fact that the inhabitants of that prosperous city had to pay a heavy fine, allegedly of 20 million dirhams, to save it from being sacked, indicates that enforcement of orthodoxy could also be highly profitable.<sup>18</sup> Nāẓim and Ḥabīb are basically correct when they say that Maḥmūd was

no fanatic in religion ;<sup>19</sup> but in some ways, the absence of a motive of burning religious zeal makes his cold-blooded manipulation of religion for pure reasons of state all the less excusable.

It is thus impossible to see in the Ghaznawid raids into India, at least in the early period, any planned policy of colonisation and settlement. Provided that the stipulated tribute of bullion, slaves, elephants, fine textiles and valuable commodities like indigo came in regularly, northern India was left to its indigenous Rajput rulers and the population left freely to exercise their own religion. Only the most important centres, such as Lahore, had permanent garrison forces, comprising some regular Turkish troops, but mainly ghāzīs, attracted to India from all parts of eastern Islam by the prospects of plunder. The turbulence and indiscipline of these garrisons was a perpetual source of worry to the Sulṭāns, but in the absence of any permanent civil administration, they were the only fixed *points d'appui* for Ghaznawid power in India.

Towards the end of his reign, Maḥmūd tried to establish a more permanent form of control over the Panjāb, with a division of responsibility there. The military command remained in the hands of Turkish ghulām generals, based on Lahore ; but at their side was set up a civil administration under a Persian official, the Qāḍī Bū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Shīrāzī, for whose capabilities the Sulṭān had a high regard. The intended division of functions was clearly laid down in the instructions sent out early in Mas'ūd's reign from Ghaznah to the Qāḍī: "Your job is management of the finances there (*katḡhudā'ī-i mā'ī*) and you have nothing to do with the military command or the army. [The new Commander-in-Chief] Aḥmad [Yinaltigin] will himself carry out the duties required of him ; he will exact the stipulated taxes and tribute from the native princes [*mālḡā-yi takkurān (t'hākurān نھا کران) ba sitānad az kḡharāj u muwāḡa'āt*] and then go out on plunder raids and bring back large sums to the treasury". But it soon became clear that northern India was insufficiently pacified for this rudimentary civil administration to function, nor were there adequate means of controlling personnel there. The Qāḍī and the Commander-in-Chief were unable to agree over the demarcation of their respective spheres. Aḥmad Yinaltigin used the ghāzīs of Lahore and the money which he had kept back from the princes' tribute and from the plunder of his raid on Benares to rebel against the Sultan in A.C. 1033. The rebellion was suppressed, but northern India

remained in a turbulent state and the experiment of dual administration was abandoned for the rest of the reign.<sup>20</sup>

It may well be argued that expansion into India was the true historical mission of the Ghaznavids, for the seat of their power at Ghaznah was on the eastern rim of the Hindu Kush mountain massif, overlooking the plains of India, and the Arab geographers describe its strategic and commercial rôle as the merchants' resort and *entrepôt* (*matjar, furdah*) for the Indian trade.<sup>21</sup> When they lost their lands in the west, the Ghaznavids were able to exist for a further century as a power turned purely towards India; and their neighbours and rivals in Afghanistan, the Ghūrids, established through their slave commanders a Muslim dominion in India of an extent hitherto unknown.

### III

From the time when Maḥmūd became Commander-in-Chief for the Samanids in Khurāsān, the Ghaznavids were also attracted westwards and felt a rival pull in that direction. India was viewed as a source of money and manpower, and as such, not designed for permanent occupation. It was otherwise with the lands in the west. Such regions as Khurāsān, Khwārazm, Sīstān and Jibāl were lands of long-established Muslim settlement and culture. They were crossed by some of the arterial trade routes of Asia, such as that one running from Baghdād through Rayy and along the southern edge of the Elburz to Khurāsān and Transoxiana, that one connecting the Siberian and Russian steppes with Khwārazm and Khurāsān and that one connecting Khurāsān with Kirmān, the Persian Gulf and Oman. They were regions of long urban tradition, with cities made prosperous by their own crafts and industries or by the caravan transit trade; often these cities were set in rich agricultural oases which had complex systems of land division and irrigation. India might provide spectacular, if erratic, hauls of treasure, slaves and elephants, of a richness which dazzled contemporary Islam; but the riches of the Iranian lands gave a steady and substantial taxative yield which was very necessary for the Ghaznavids, keeping up as they did a large standing army.<sup>22</sup> It is these considerations which explain the Ghaznavid policy of swallowing up or reducing to tributary status lesser Iranian dynasties, such as the Ma'mūnid Khwārazmshāhs, the Šaffārids of Sīstān, the Ziyārids of the Caspian coast, the Būyids of Kirmān and Rayy, and the Musāfirids, Rawwādids and other petty Daylamī

and Kurdish dynasties of Jibāl.

Whether the Sulṭāns themselves consciously assigned priorities to the two spheres of expansion for their empire is difficult to say. Mas'ūd regarded the carrying-on of *ghazw* in India as one of the main duties laid upon him as his father's heir (see below, 20-21). In 425/1033-4 he led an army against the fortress of S.r.s.tī\*, a stronghold which his father had been unable to take, and captured it; and he unsuccessfully besieged another one.<sup>83</sup> In the winter of 429/1037-8 Mas'ūd insisted on personally leading an expedition to the so-called "Virgin Fortress" (*Qal'at al-'Adhrā'*) of Hānsī, some 70 miles to the north-west of Delhi, in fulfilment of a religious vow he had made, even though the situation in Khurāsān and the west was highly menacing. The discussions between the Sultan and his ministers concerning the advisability of this expedition, as reported by Bayhaqī, show clearly how a cleavage of views existed between the Sultan, heir to the *ghāzī*-tradition of his father, and his advisers from the Persian bureaucracy, highly conscious of the age-old task of Iran to preserve its north-eastern frontier, Khurāsān and the Oxus, against the barbarians of the steppes, in this case, the Öghuz.<sup>84</sup> Some indication of the royal family's own views is given in what Mas'ūd's aunt, Hurra-yi Khuṭṭalī, wrote to him when her brother Maḥmūd died: that Ghaznah, commanding as it did the Indian plain, was the core (*aṣl*) of the empire, and next in importance came Khurāsān; all the rest was subsidiary (*far'*). Shortly afterwards, Maḥmūd himself said that he regarded the central lands of the empire, Khurāsān, India, Sind, Nīmruz (sc. Sīstān) and Khwārazm as the core, and the recent conquests in central and western Persia as of secondary importance.<sup>85</sup>

It is the Ghaznawid attitude towards expansion in the Islamic lands of the west which may be regarded as the expression of imperialism proper, for the aim, so far as can be seen, was a permanent occupation and the diversion of the financial yield of these provinces to the Ghaznawid exchequer. The pursuit of this policy brought the Sulṭāns geographically nearer to the seat of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs in Baghdad, and their attitude towards the Caliphate elucidates much of their policy in this direction.

Like their predecessors the Sāmānids and their fellow-Turks, the Qarākhānids and Seljuqs, the Ghaznawids were staunch Sunnis of the Ḥanafī rite. The 'ulamā' of Khurāsān and Transoxiana were

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\*Srsyati or Sarsūtī (?), modern Sarsāwah, near Sahāranpūr in India (Ed.).

leading exponents of Sunnī orthodoxy, and from these regions—whose cultural and intellectual vitality may perhaps have resulted from their contiguity with pagan Central Asia—came some of the most learned theologians, traditionists, jurists and philosophers of Islam. But whereas it is recorded that on certain occasions, rulers from the Sāmānid and Qarākhānid dynasties were attracted by the doctrines of the extremist Ismā'īlī Shī'ah (e.g. the Sāmānid Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad, who in 331/942 was forced to abdicate, and the Qarākhānid Aḥmad b. Khidr Khān, who in 488/1095 was executed through the efforts of the orthodox 'ulamā')<sup>26</sup>, no such breath of scandal was ever linked with the Ghaznawid Sultans, and the whole dynasty, down to its extinction by the Ghūrīds, presented a solidly anti-Shī'ī front.

From the general attitude of orthodoxy which characterised these Turkish dynasties, it seems that these steppe peoples, coming freshly into the Islamic world, tended to identify themselves with the orthodox religious and political institutions, *i.e.* Sunnī Islam and the Baghdād Caliphate, as speedily as possible.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the traditional zeal of the convert helped them to find a certain moral justification for clashing with older-established dynasties nearer the heartland of the Caliphate (e.g. the Būyids) whose Islam was tinged with Shī'ism or some other suspicious colour. These Turkish dynasties of the 11th century, together with succeeding ones, adopted the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, which was particularly influential in the eastern Islamic world, where it was often allied with the Māturīdī *kalām*. It is often asserted that the Ḥanafī school was the most liberal of the *madhāhib* and as such commended itself to the Turks and Mongols;<sup>28</sup> but whilst the Ḥanafīs were on some points less strict than the other law schools, this assumption should not be taken as proven.

The Ghaznawids' orthodoxy showed itself in three directions:

- (i) in the suppression of heterodoxy within their own dominions;
- (ii) in the maintenance of friendly relations with the 'Abbasid Caliphs; and
- (iii) in the use of the advancement of the true religion and the liberation of the Caliph as motives for imperialist expansion westwards.

These three strands are to some extent interwoven, but we shall now examine them separately, in particular the second and the third ones.

## IV

Within their dominions, the Ghaznawids were prepared to leave the 'Alids and the moderate, Ja'farī Shī'ah, those to whom the theologians ascribed *tashayyu' ḥasan*, in peace, provided that they never meddled in political affairs. On these terms, the Sultans would treat the leaders of the Shī'ī community with respect.<sup>29</sup> But towards the extremist Shī'ah, the *Rawāfiḍ*, and the Ismā'ilīs or *Bāṭiniyyah*, the Sultans were implacably hostile. In the course of the 10th century, Ismā'ilī dā'īs had made considerable progress in Khurāsān and Transoxiana, taking advantage of social discontent and of older, anti-Islamic currents of protest. These Ismā'ilīs owed allegiance to the Fāṭimid Caliphs in Cairo, and although the political pretensions of the Fāṭimids were hardly a practical threat in the distant dominions of the Ghaznawids, this allegiance to an outside power, and one, moreover, hostile to the Baghdād Caliphs, gave the Sultans adequate motive for repressive action (see below, 26 ff.). Within Nīshāpūr, Maḥmūd used as a weapon against the *Bāṭiniyyah* the leaders of the Karāmiyyah, a sect accused by their theological opponents of anthropomorphism, and characterised by their intolerance and fierce persecuting zeal.<sup>30</sup> Eventually, later in his reign, Maḥmūd was compelled to take action against the Karāmī leaders and deprive them of the power which they had been abusing, but until that time, he had encouraged their harrying of Ismā'ilī sympathisers.<sup>31</sup>

Because of their support for the orthodox ulema, the Ghaznawids did not generally look with much sympathy on the dervishes and the Şafīs. Whilst they were not insensible to the appeal of saintly men, as the visits to Maḥmūd of the Nīshāpūr shaykh Abū Sa'id Muḥammad al-Khargūshī (d. 406/1015-16) show,<sup>32</sup> they were suspicious of Şufī shaykhs who collected round themselves large bands of followers from the artisan and lower classes, fearing that they might provoke social unrest. Thus in one episode from the life of the famous mystic Shaykh Abū Sa'id b. Abī'l-Khayr al-Mayhanī (d. 440/1049), the orthodox 'ulamā' accuse him of fomenting *fitnah* in Nīshāpūr, and secure the Sultan's permission to inflict the ultimate penalty of the Sharī'ah, the hanging of the Shaykh and his followers.<sup>33</sup>

## V

From the outset, the Ghaznawids had a tradition of friendly relations with the 'Abbasid Caliphs. Whereas both the Sāmānids

and the Qarākhānids at times harboured pretenders to the Caliphate, the Ghaznawids never did this : when the fugitive pretender Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Wāthiqī, who claimed to be a descendant of the Caliph al-Wāthiq, came to his dominions, Maḥmūd imprisoned him till he died.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the Sāmānids had refused to recognise the accession in 381/991 of the Caliph al-Qādir, regarding him as a tool of the Būyids, and they continued till the end to recognise his deposed predecessor al-Ṭā'ī'. After his great victory in Khurāsān in 389/999, Maḥmūd claimed in his *fath-namāh* to the Caliph that it had only been the Sāmānids' refusal to recognise al-Qādir that had led him reluctantly to take up arms against them.<sup>35</sup> Despite Maḥmūd's arguments to the Caliph, he had in fact been content until then to follow the Sāmānids' lead in acknowledging not al-Qādir but al-Ṭā'ī', as the coins minted by him up to 389 A.H. all show.<sup>36</sup>

The subsequent course of Maḥmūd's relations with the Caliph has been outlined by Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 164-5, who has discerned a pattern of great respectfulness in the early years, which, however, became less marked as the Sultan's reign progressed. This change, he says, is seen in his increasing slowness in forwarding *fath-nāmahs* and presents after his victories. Nevertheless, the Sultan was usually respectful.

The 'Abbasids were especially sensitive where their great rivals, the Fāṭimids, were involved. They must have felt the contrast of their own miserable state, reduced as they were to Baghdād and its environs, eking out an existence on the pensions allowed them by the Būyid Amīrs, at the side of the splendour of Fāṭimid Cairo and the flourishing economic and cultural life of the Fāṭimid empire. Hence when in 403/1012-13 the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim sent an envoy to Maḥmūd's court, one Tāhartī, Maḥmūd had him arrested and executed, even though the wretched man had come openly and pacifically. As a result, in Jurbādhqānī's words, "When the news of the execution of the envoy from Egypt reached Baghdād and the firmness of the Sulṭān's faith became known, the tongues of calumniators and the reproofs of censorious ones were silenced, and his name was always mentioned with praise and honour at the court of the Commander of the Faithful".<sup>37</sup>

Maḥmūd again gave full satisfaction over the affair of Ḥasanak's robe of honour. Ḥasanak was a member of the prominent Nishāpur family of the Mikālīs, and had been from boyhood a high favourite

at court. After the disgrace of Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī, he was appointed Vizier. The year before he was invested with the Vizierate, he had gone on the Pilgrimage, and because of the unsettled state of the bandit-infested routes across the Nejd, he had returned through the Fāṭimid territories of Palestine and Syria. Whilst there, he had been injudicious enough to accept a *khil'ah* from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Zāhir and to accept letters of friendship for conveyance to Maḥmūd. The possibility of diplomatic exchanges between the Ghaznawids and his Fāṭimid enemies alarmed the 'Abbāsīd Caliph, and in 414/1023 he accused Ḥasanak of Karmathian, i.e. Ismā'īlī, sympathies. The Sultan regarded the charge as ridiculous, and privately called the Caliph a doting old fool (*khariḥ-shudah*), but to appease him, the offending *khil'ah* was sent back to Baghdād for burning.<sup>38</sup> The charge of Karmathian sympathies was revived in the next reign, that of Mas'ūd, and obedience to the Caliph's demand for Ḥasanak's head was the ostensible reason for his eventual hanging. In reality, Ḥasanak's death was in retribution for the support which he had given to Mas'ūd's brother and rival, Muḥammad, and came immediately from the conspiracy of his enemies at court; if the Sultan had wanted to save Ḥasanak from the wrath of the Caliph, he could certainly have done so, just as his father had done.<sup>39</sup>

The political and military enfeeblement of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate was such that there were no material reasons why so powerful a dynasty as the Ghaznawids should defer to it at all. Contemporary literature is full of this theme, that the Caliphs are now reduced to the status of pensioners of the Būyids, with their very lives threatened by the turbulence and anarchy of their own capital.<sup>40</sup> After the death of al-Muṭī' in 363/974, the Caliphs even ceased for 170 years to mint their own coins.

However, the moral authority of the Caliphs as Imāms of the Sunnī community was still great, and it survived this period of material degradation, until under the later Seljūqs, the Caliphate gradually acquired once more an appreciable degree of political influence. It was the Caliph who had the power to legitimise *de factop* over by the award of a patent of investiture. In the Islamic world, power was usually acquired by force of arms or other violence. Although from the time of the Ṣaffārids it had lost its validity, the fiction was still maintained in the eastern Islamic world that all lands were held of the Caliph and that all local rulers were



his vassals. In practice, this had become reduced to the recognition of the Caliph in the *khutbah*, the Friday sermon made in the joint names of the Caliph and the local ruler, and on the *sikkah*, the coinage, and the *ṭirāz*, the embroidered textiles produced in the official workshops, on which the Caliph's name preceded that of the local ruler or governor. With those rulers who were Shī'ī in religion, even these marks of respect might be absent. Many of these Shī'ī powers recognised the Fāṭimids as their spiritual overlords, and it was a supreme indignity for the 'Abbāsīd Caliph when in 450/1058 he was compelled to abandon his capital to the Turkish general Basāsīrī, who then pronounced the *khutbah* at Baghdād in the Fāṭimids' name.<sup>41</sup>

The Caliphs gave the seal of Sunnī orthodoxy and legitimacy to the secular rulers of Islam by sending them a formal document granting them their lands (*'ahd, manshūr*). Usually, such a grant was also accompanied by the other insignia of royalty, a standard (*liwā'*), robes of honour (*khil'ah, tashrifāt*), and above all, by an award of honorific titles (*alqāb*). In the 10th and 11th centuries there was a rising tide of demand for these titles, until title was piled on title and they became inevitably cheapened. Nizām al-Mulk denounces the working-out of this historical process, attacking the frenzied demand for honorifics on the ground that their indiscriminate use blurs social distinctions and degrees: "Nowadays, the meanest person has ten titles, and if any one of these is missed out in addressing him, he becomes angry and abusive".<sup>42</sup> It was the Caliph who had the right in the first place to grant these titles, which were normally compounded of the elements *-dīn, -dawlah, -millah, -ummah* or *-dunyā*. Such honours had, of course, to be paid for, and the income from their sale made up an important part of the Caliphs' finances at this time.<sup>43</sup> The prestige of the Caliphs as grantors of these titles was such that the Daylamī Būyids, although Shī'ī in faith, always sought their honorific titles from the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, and even when they assumed titles which were, to the pious, theologically objectionable, such as *Shāhan-shāh*, "Emperor of emperors", sought Caliphāal approval for this.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, they always placed the Caliphs' names on their coinage, and avoided putting on it the 'Alid formula "'Alī is the Friend of God" (*'Alī Walīy Allāh*) which less-inhibited Shī'ī princes often employed.<sup>45</sup>

The early Ghaznawids cultivated the Caliphs in order to secure the latter's moral support and approval. After his victory

in 389/999 in Khurāsān, when the *khutbah* was at last made in al-Qādir's name, the Caliph sent Maḥmūd a *manshūr* for Khurāsān and the titles of *Yamīn al-Dawlah wa Amīn al-Millah*, expressing Maḥmūd's rôle as champion both of the Caliphate's secular interests and of the faith, and of *Walīy Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.<sup>46</sup> In 392/1001 the Caliph, fearing the ambitions of the rival claimant to the Caliphate, al-Wāthiqī (see above, p. 12), nominated his son Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad as his *walīy-ahd*, with the honorific *al-Ghālib bi'llāh*. He wrote to Maḥmūd announcing this decision and enjoining him to include his heir's name in the *khutbah* and on the coinage after his own, and Maḥmūd's coins show that this was in fact done.<sup>47</sup> After the execution of Tāhartī, a grateful Caliph sent Maḥmūd the further titles of *Niẓām al-Dīn and Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq*.<sup>48</sup> In 417/1026 Maḥmūd made his expedition across India into the Kat'hiawār peninsula to the idol temple at Somnath. The deed fired the imagination of the Islamic world, and the Caliph sent Maḥmūd the titles of *Kahf al-Dawlah wa'l-Islām*, with further *laqabs* for his brother and two sons, each of them receiving one title stressing the dynasty's secular power and another one stressing its upholding of orthodox religion. In addition, the Caliph sent Maḥmūd a *manshūr* confirming his possession of Khurāsān, India, Nīmrūz and Khwārazm, and promised to agree to the nomination of whichever heir the Sultan should choose.<sup>49</sup>

The succession crisis on Maḥmūd's death in 420/1030 brought the importance of Caliphal backing to the forefront. Muḥammad, the official *walīy-ahd*, succeeded in Ghaznah with the support of the military commanders and civil officials. Mas'ūd was far away in western Persia, having been left there by his father to govern the provinces newly-conquered from the Būyids of Rayy, the Kākūyids of Iṣfahān and the Musāfirids of Ṭārom. He was remote from the centre of power in the Ghaznawid empire, and it was not surprising that Muḥammad should have resisted all attempts at a compromise and division of power (see above, pp. 3-4). To redress this geographical disadvantage, Mas'ūd attempted to secure recognition from the Caliph as his father's true heir; his brother does not seem to have had time to make any diplomatic approaches to Baghdād. Before leaving Isfahan, Mas'ūd wrote to the Caliph asking for this recognition, a patent of investiture and the insignia of royalty, sc. a standard and honorific titles. The Caliph's favourable reply brought great joy to Mas'ūd at Rayy: "He

commanded that they should blow trumpets and beat drums, and read it out in the public gatherings. They took copies of that reply and sent them to Isfahan, Ṭārom, the region of Jibāl, Gurgān, Ṭabaristān, Niṣhāpūr and Herat, in order that the people might be convinced that he was the Commander of the Faithful's deputy and his father's heir."<sup>50</sup>

The Caliph's envoy Bū Muḥammad Hāshimī made contact with Mas'ūd at Niṣhāpūr in Sha'bān 421/August 1030, where a splendid reception was arranged for him. He brought rich presents, including robes of honour, one being in the 'Abbāsīd colour of black, pieces of unsewn cloth and ten richly-caparisoned horses. But it was the patent of investiture (*manshūr nāmah*) and the honorific titles which most delighted Mas'ūd. These last are given by Bayhaqī as *Nāṣir Dīn Allāh, Ḥāfiẓ 'Ibād Allāh, al-Muntaqim min A'dā' Allāh, Zahīr Khalīfat Allāh Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. Mas'ūd regarded these awards as important weapons in the struggle against his brother, giving him, in the eyes of the pious, a moral advantage. He, therefore, again ordered that copies of the *manshūr* and details of the *laqabs* should be sent to the cities of Khurasān and Bādghīs and publicised there, so that the people might rally to his side.<sup>51</sup>

A year later, in 422/1031, the Caliph al-Qādir died and his son al-Qā'im succeeded. By now, Mas'ūd was firmly on the throne, and had removed by exiling or execution many of the *Maḥmūdiyān*, those who had been his enemies under the old régime. He felt himself to be in a strong position, and this is reflected in the terms which he imposed in return for recognition of the new Caliph. When he first heard of al-Qādir's death, he decided to keep the news quiet and to continue the *khutbah* in the dead Caliph's name, and this seems to indicate that the Sultan was delaying full recognition of the new Caliph and using this as a negotiating weapon. The reception of the envoy, the Faqīh Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sulaymānī al-Ṭasī, was made as magnificent as possible in order to impress the Caliph's representative with the power and might of the Ghaznawid Sultans.

Mas'ūd made three conditions in return for his recognition of the new Caliph :

- (1) that he should receive a fresh *manshūr* for all his territories ;
- (2) that the Caliph should not have direct diplomatic relations with the Ghaznawids' enemies, the Qarākhānids, and in

particular, that he should not send them honorific titles and robes of honour except through the intermediacy of the Ghaznawids ; this demand would continue the practice which had obtained during Maḥmūd's reign ;<sup>52</sup> and

- (3) that the Caliph should agree to Mas'ūd's plans for imperialist expansion in the west (see below, p. 26 ff.).

These stipulations show that the Sultan regarded his empire as the dominant power in the eastern Islamic world, for the claim to act as channel of communication between Baghdād and the Qarākhānids was a bold one, dictated by his fear of such shrewd and capable rivals as 'Alitigīn of Samarqand and Bukhārā and Qadīr Khān Yūsuf of Kāshghar and Khotan. The sonorous list of territories which Mas'ūd enumerated in his request for a patent of investiture was doubtless designed to impress the Caliph with the extent of his empire : "Khurāsān, Khwārazm, Nimrūz, Zābulistān, the whole of India, Sind, Chaghāniyān, Khuttalān, Qubādhiyān, Tirmidh, Quṣḍār, Makrān, Wālishtān, Kikānān,<sup>53</sup> Rayy, Jibāl, Isfahan, the whole of the territory as far as the upland of Ḥulwān, Gurgān and Ṭabaristān."

Finally, a dazzling array of presents was sent back to the Caliph. According to the Vizier Maymandī, the customary scale (*rasm*) for presents to the Caliphate was 20,000 *mans* of indigo for the Caliph personally and 5000 *mans* for his court circle, together with all the presents of cash given by the great men of the Ghaznawid state on the day when the *khutbah* in the new Caliph's name was first made, and any other precious articles which the Sultan might like to add. There was also a recognised tariff for envoys, and the Vizier suggested 100,000 dirhams and a robe of honour. Mas'ūd exerted himself in displaying to the Caliph the extent of his wealth, and in the end sent to Baghdād 100 pieces of cloth, 10 of them woven with gold ; 50 vesicles of musk ; 100 cakes of camphor ; 200 pieces of finest muslin veiling ; 30 Indian swords ; a robe of gold 1000 *mithqāls* in weight, embroidered with many pearls, 10 jacinths and 20 Badakhshān rubies ; 10 Khuttalī horses caparisoned with silk and 5 Turkish slaves. The envoy received from Mas'ūd a gold-embroidered robe of honour weighing 500 *mithqāls*, of the type usually given to *fuqahā'* ; a mule ; 2 horses ; 100,000 dirhams, and 20 valuable robes. To this, the Vizier personally added a mule, 500 dinars and 10 robes.<sup>54</sup>

This display had its intended effect, and in 424/1033 the envoy

al-Sulaymānī came to Mas'ūd at Nīshāpūr bringing presents of robes of honour and horses, together with the requested *manshūr-nāmah* in the customary black silk pouch. Mas'ūd's rule over the provinces inherited from his father, acquired by himself or whose conquest was being planned (*malakathā-yi mawrūth-u munkasib-u ānchih ba-tāzagī gīrad*) was confirmed, and Mas'ūd made a declaration of policy emphasising his rôle as the defender of religion against heretics and Ismā'ilīs: "They brought forward the turban and sword and the Sultan declared, 'This turban which I am about to put on with my hand must be wound on by the Supporter of Religion (*Nāṣir-i Dīn*)'. He put it on his head after the crown. He drew the sword and said, 'The *Zanādiqah* and *Qarāmiṭah* must be uprooted, and the *sunnah* of my father Yamīn ad-Dawlah wa'l-Dīn thereby observed; moreover, other regions which are in the hands of enemies must be seized by the might of this sword."<sup>55</sup> This episode marks the zenith of Mas'ūd's power, before the threat from the Turkmens had begun to cloud the latter half of his reign.

One problem remains to be resolved. The Austrian numismatist Zambaur noted that coins were minted by Mas'ūd at Nīshāpūr and Hamadān as late as 424/1033 which still bore the name of the Caliph al-Qādir, who had died at the end of 422/1031. He could only suggest that some reason indiscernible to us lay behind it: "Le fait qu'il y a dans le lot présent trois pièces avec al-Qādir, émises après sa mort, nous force à y reconnaître aussi une intention politico-religieuse qui nous reste cachée?"<sup>56</sup> The only solution seems, indeed, to be that Mas'ūd, although he had placed the new Caliph al-Qā'im in the *khutbah*, nevertheless deliberately refrained from placing his name on the coinage, whilst awaiting the favourable outcome of his demands on the Caliph. That the trust between Mas'ūd and Baghdād was far from complete is shown by the Sultan's parting action when the two Caliphal envoys left for home in Muḥarram 423/December 1031-January 1032; he sent a secret agent (*munhī*) with them to report "everything that happened, great or small."<sup>57</sup> The Caliph's envoy did not return to Mas'ūd till Rabi' II 424/March 1033,<sup>58</sup> and it may be that only then, when the Sultan was assured of his desires, did he let al-Qā'im's name appear on the coinage; other Ghaznawid coins known from 424 A.H. and thereafter bear al-Qā'im's name.<sup>59</sup>

## VI

We have seen that the Ghaznawids assiduously cultivated good relations with the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, seeking the moral advantages which came from Caliphal support. It is true, as we have observed, that there were few concrete military or political benefits to be gained from this policy, for the Caliphate's material power was at this time negligible. The Shī'ī Buyids had the substance of power in most of Iraq and western Persia. Consequently, they were, for instance, able to encourage the public celebration, even in the Caliph's own city of Baghdād, of such Shī'ī festivals as the 10th of Muḥarram mourning for al-Ḥusayn and the Ghadīr Khumm commemoration.<sup>60</sup> They were able to impose public officials on the Caliph, although the Caliph might at times rebel against this.<sup>61</sup>

On the other hand, there were limits to the pressure which the Buyids could exert on the Caliphs and to their interference in their few remaining functions. It was not in their own interests to reduce the Caliph to utter abjectness. In the first place, it would have aroused too much sympathy from the Sunnī powers, and perhaps actual intervention by them; and secondly, the 'Abbāsīds were needed by the Buyids for their anti-Fāṭimid policy. Although the Buyids and the Fāṭimids had some Shī'ī tenets in common, the clash of political interests in the area of Syria and al-Jazīrah overshadowed this. Hence the Caliph was able in 401/1010-11 to persuade Bahā' al-Dawlah to send an army against the 'Uqaylid ruler of Mosul, Qirwāsh b. al-Muqallad, who had declared his allegiance to the Fāṭimids; and several prominent 'Alids were among the 'ulama' of Baghdād who in 402/1011-12 signed the famous manifesto against the Fāṭimid claim to descent from the Prophet's daughter.<sup>62</sup> In fact, the Caliph al-Qādir did not find the Būyid yoke totally intolerable. After 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, the old Daylamī fierceness of the dynasty mellowed somewhat, and the family became increasingly fragmented and rent by internal quarrels. Whereas in the middle years of the 10th century, several Caliphs had died violent deaths and had followed each other in quick succession, al-Qādir and al-Qā'im had a combined reign of 84 years and died in their beds. A major reason for the Caliphs' insecurity now was not so much the threats from outside forces, but the social and sectarian turmoil within Baghdād itself, arriving from the rival factions of Sunnīs and Shī'īs, the Turkish and

Daylamī soldiery, and the *'ayyārs*, ruffians and mobsters; and it is an unusual year in which the historians do not record a disturbance of some kind in the capital.<sup>63</sup>

Nevertheless, it was an undisputable fact that the Caliph was not a free agent and was to some extent under the tutelage of the Shī'ī Būyid Amīrs. This fact meant that there was always some sort of pretext ready to hand for the Būyids' Sunnī enemies, who could claim that there was a need to "liberate" the Caliph. Maḥmūd's relations with the Būyids were generally correct, if not cordial. Until the last year of his reign, he had only one serious clash with them, that is, in Kirmān. He had been unable to resist meddling in a succession dispute there. When in 407/1016-17 the governor of Kirmān, Qiwām al-Dawlah Abū'l-Fawāris, had unsuccessfully rebelled against his brother Sulṭān al-Dawlah, ruler of Fārs, he had fled to Bust and sought Maḥmūd's help. Maḥmūd sent an army, but had no immediate success in reinstating his protégé.<sup>64</sup> Apart from this, relations with the Būyids went tolerably smoothly, and in Mas'ūd's reign, the Amīr of Iraq, Jalāl al-Dawlah, claimed that Maḥmūd had tacitly renounced his ambitions in Kirmān (see below, 31-32), and indeed, Maḥmūd made no attempt to intervene there when, towards the end of his reign, warfare again broke out in Kirmān over a succession dispute.<sup>65</sup>

Kirmān was cut off from the Ghaznawid dominions by the deserts which adjoined its eastern and northern frontiers, and it was not a province of outstanding richness. Central Persia offered much more glittering prizes for a determined aggressor, since it held cities of great economic and commercial importance such as Rayy, Isfahan and Qazwīn. Access to it from Khurāsān was not difficult, especially as the Caspian provinces of Gurgān and Ṭabaristān were in friendly hands, those of the Ghaznawids' tributaries, the Ziyārīds. The region between the provinces of Khurāsān and Jibāl had been the scene of much fighting between the Būyids and Sāmānīds, the latter of whom had expended much treasure in trying to capture Rayy.<sup>66</sup>

If further pretext were required for intervention in the Būyid provinces, the Sultans could not only cite the position of the Caliph in Baghdād but also their interests in keeping open the route across Persia and Iraq for the Pilgrimage. Each year, Khurāsān and the east sent a large concourse of pilgrims to the Hijaz, for the leadership of which the Ghaznawid ruler usually nominated one of the prominent figures of his kingdom. The

internecine strife among the Būyid family caused frequent warfare and unrest within their own lands. Also, as a result of their weakness, they were unable to assert their authority over the rapacious Bedouins of the desert adjoining Iraq, who regularly preyed on the pilgrims' caravans across the Nejd; the chroniclers frequently report that the pilgrimage to Iraq and Khurāsān could not be made that year.

Complaints were made to the Ghaznawid Sultans about this, with the aim of recalling them to their responsibilities in this direction. Ibn al-Jawzī records under 412/1021 that

“The Pilgrimage of Iraq had been held back in the years 410 and 411. When the year 412 came round, a group of people sought out Yamīn al-Dawlah Abū'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin and said to him, ‘You are the Sulṭān of Islām and the most powerful of the monarchs of the earth. Every year you conquer a fresh portion of the territory of the unbelievers; but the divine reward for opening up the road to Mecca would be greater, and this affair has greater claims on your attention. Badr b. Ḥasanūyah (Ḥasanawayh) [sc. the Kurdish ruler of the district of Hamadān and Dīnawar, reigned 369-405/979-1014] has for twenty years facilitated the pilgrims' caravan by giving money and counsel, and each single person of your entourage is greater than him in prestige. So attend to the interests of God, He is exalted, and devote some part of your attention to this topic’.”<sup>87</sup>

Three years later, the Pilgrimage of Khurāsān had to return by a roundabout way through the Fāṭimid territories of Syria and al-Jazīrah (see above, p. 13). In 419/1028 some of the Khurāsān pilgrims made the journey to Mecca by travelling through Kirmān to Makrān and the Persian Gulf and taking ship for Jeddah from there, because the landroute across northern Persia was blocked.<sup>88</sup> Such considerations as these could well furnish occasions for the Sulṭāns to intervene further west, and it is specifically recorded that in 424/1033 an army sent by Mas'ūd captured and executed the Daylamī local ruler of the region of Sāwah and Qum, Shahrnūsh b. Walkīn; he had rebelled, and had also illtreated the pilgrims of Khurāsān, taking from them transit dues above the recognised level.<sup>89</sup> On at least two occasions Mas'ūd further adduced the necessity of opening up the Pilgrimage route when he boasted of projected conquests in the west (see below, p. 27).

Towards the end of his life, in 420/1029, Maḥmūd departed from his general policy of non-intervention in the Būyid lands by



his expedition to Rayy, which ended in the deposition of its ruler, Majd al-Dawlah Abū Ṭālib Rustum b. 'Alī. Until the previous year, Rayy had been effectively ruled by Majd al-Dawlah's mother Sayyidah, who had kept her son away from actual power. When called upon by her death to assume direct authority, Majd al-Dawlah was unable to keep order. The Daylamī troops got out of hand, so that he very foolishly called in Maḥmūd's help. Previously, Maḥmūd had been content that the strategically important and economically valuable city of Rayy should remain under the rule of Sayyidah. When asked by the Vizier Maymandī why he had not intervened there before, Maḥmūd had smiled and said that if a man had been ruling there, he would have had to keep an army permanently stationed at Nishāpūr; whereas, whenever a woman ruled there, he did not regard the Būyids of Rayy as a threat to Khurāsān.<sup>70</sup>

Although Maḥmūd came to Rayy at Majd al-Dawlah's invitation, it seems that he was already meditating an attack on the city during Sayyidah's lifetime.<sup>71</sup> The invitation gave him the opportunity of sacking the city, slaughtering large numbers of its citizens and carrying off rich treasures. Even Maḥmūd felt that some justification was required for this frightfulness, and that justification was found in religion: the need to cleanse Rayy and Jibāl of the heresies of the Bāṭiniyyah. Mu'tazilah and Mazdakites, whose growth there had been encouraged by Majd al-Dawlah's own laxity of belief and practice. Whereas Maḥmūd had during the course of his reign grown more and more dilatory in sending presents and accounts of his victories to the Caliph, a *fath-nāmah* now came directly from the Sultan's camp near Rayy, giving an extensive analysis of Maḥmūd's motives and the justification for his actions. The document is here quoted in full, for it shows to perfection how skilfully the Sultan could utilise the excuse of religion for what was an act of naked aggression:

"A letter reached the Caliph from the Amīr Yamīn al-Dawlah Abū'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, with the contents as follows:—

'Greetings to our lord and master, the Imām al-Qādir bi'llāh, Commander of the Faithful. The letter of the slave has come from his military camp on the outskirts of Rayy, 1st Jumādā II, [4]20. God has cleared away from this region the hands of the oppressors and has cleansed it of the activity of the infidel Bāṭiniyyah and the evil-doing innovators (*da'wat al-Bāṭiniyyat al-kafarah wa'l-mubtadi'at al-fajarah*). The

sacred presence has already received news about the exact nature of that upon which the slave has been concentrating his efforts, his struggle in carrying on warfare against the infidels and those who are in error, and his subduing of the sect of the evil-doing Bāṭiniyyah which had grown up in Khurāsān. The city of Rayy was their particular place of refuge and the place where they openly preached their infidelities. Also, they were linked up with the innovating Mu'tazilah and the extreme Shī'ah, who controverted God's Word and the *Sunnah*. They openly revile the Companions and hold infidel and antinomian doctrines. Their leader was Rustum b. 'Alī the Daylamī [sc. Majd al-Dawlah].

The slave got his armies ready and appeared in Gurgān, halting to spend the winter there. Then from there he moved slowly to Dāmghān, and sent the general 'Alī with the vanguard of the army to Rayy. Rustum b. 'Alī came forth from his lair, seeing no way out but to surrender. He and the leading figures among the Bāṭiniyyah, who were his military commanders, were seized, and then the banners [of the Sultan], following after the vanguard, appeared in the neighbourhood of Rayy on the morning of Monday, 26th Jumādā I. The Daylamīs came forth, acknowledging their misdeeds and themselves bearing witness to their unbelief and extremist Shī'i tenets. The *fuqahā'* were approached for a ruling (*fatwā*) on their position, and they all agreed that they had gone outside the sphere of obedience and had joined the ranks of the malefactors, remaining stubbornly in their refractoriness; hence it was licit to kill, mutilate and banish them, according to the degree of their offences. And if they were not to be ranked among the heretics (*ahl al-ilḥād*), what were they then, considering that their doctrines and beliefs comprised three types, the adherents of each of which will have blackened faces on the Day of Resurrection—that is, ordinary Shī'ism (*al-tashayyu'*), extremist Shī'ism (*al-rafḍ*) and Ismā'ilism (*al-bāṭin*)?

These *fuqahā'* alleged that most of the people did not perform the Muslim worship nor pay the poor-tax, nor did they acknowledge the prescriptions of Islamic law, making no distinction between what was lawful (*ḥalāl*) and what was forbidden (*ḥarām*). Indeed, they openly proclaim insulting accusations and revile the Companions, and profess all these as a veritable religion. The best of this bad lot are the Mu'tazilah. Those of them who are Bāṭiniyyah do not believe in God, He is exalted and praised, His angels, His scriptures, His prophets, nor the Last Day. They consider all religions as fabrications (*makhārīq*) of the learned men (or, "of the philosophers", *al-ḥukāmā'*), and believe in the doctrines of antinomianism, considering licit the community of goods and women.

The *fuqahā'* considered that Rustum b. 'Alī had been comparatively restrained, and in this direction was to be

distinguished from his predecessors, except that he had under his care over 50 free women as wives, who had borne him 33 children, boys and girls. When he was being questioned and reproached about this state of affairs and was told that anyone who allowed practices like this was going far beyond what was lawful, he replied that all these women were considered as his legal wives, and their children as his children, that it was traditional and customary amongst his predecessors to marry this number of women, and that in this respect he was simply following their practice.<sup>72</sup>

A certain district of the countryside around Rayy harboured a number of the Mazdakites, who ostensibly profess Islam, but nevertheless openly reject the Muslim worship, the poor-tax, fasting and ritual ablutions, and who eat the flesh of dead beasts.<sup>73</sup> It was decided that the interests of godly religion would best be served by distinguishing the Bāṭiniyyah from them. So in a burst of violence, they were crucified along the main street of the city, remaining there whilever they [sc. the Ghaznawid army] were in occupation there, and their property was divided up as plunder. They had previously offered an immense sum of money as a ransom for their safety, but they were told that it was their lives which were going to be taken, and that they were not to be bargained for. Rustum b. 'Alī, his son and a group of the Daylamīs were carried off to Khurāsān, together with the leaders of the Mu'tazilah and extremist Shī'īs, so that the people might be free of their disruptive influence.

Then Rustum b. 'Alī's treasure-houses were examined. They brought to light nearly 500,000 dīnārs' worth of jewels, over 260,000 dīnārs in coinage and 30,000 dīnārs' worth of gold and silverware. There were over 5,300 pieces of cloth and 20,000 dīnārs' worth of sets of woven and regal clothes. Fifty loads of books were carried off, but as for the books of the Mu'tazilah, the philosophers and the extremist Shī'īs, they were all burnt underneath the scaffolds of the people who had been crucified, because they were the basic works of heresy.

Hence this region has been cleansed of the Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* and the Mu'tazilī and extremist Shī'ī leaders, and the cause of the *Sunnah* has been helped to victory. The slave has carefully set forth exactly what God gave him the power to do, in making the cause of the conquering dynasty [sc. the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate] victorious'".

## VII

At the outset of his reign, Mas'ud owed a particular debt of gratitude to the Caliph al-Qādir for the latter's prompt recognition of him as his father's heir. Moreover, the acquisition of Rayy, the subjugation of various lesser Kurdish and Daylamī chieftains in Jibāl and the tributary status imposed on 'Alā' al-Dawlah b. Kākūya, made the Ghaznawids a real power in western Persia, holders of a salient driven up against the Buyid dominions. The

new Sultan was not a man of his father's calibre, and this soon became a topic of conversation amongst his advisers.<sup>74</sup> His ambitions were as great as his father's had been, but he lacked some of Maḥmūd's strength of will and execution, and had an inferior sense of judgment. The Ghaznawid empire was by now too big for one man effectively to control, and there were disruptive elements loose in it: a first wave of the Öghuz, the so-called "Irāqī" ones, had already burst across Persia, and a second wave, that of the Seljuqs and Ināliyān, was pressing hard on the Ghaznawid defences in northern Khurāsān. The new conquests in the west could only be held whilever the communications between Khurāsān and Rayy remained in the Ghaznawid hands, and by the middle of Mas'ūd's reign, the Turkmens were making the journey exceedingly hazardous.

Nevertheless, in the early part of his reign, Mas'ūd seems to have entertained grandiose hopes of further expansion westwards. The Caliph was to be freed from Būyid control; a grand attack was to be launched against the Fāṭimids; and the offensive was to be resumed in the holy war against the Byzantines, who, under the energetic Macedonian emperors, had been pushing back the frontier of Islam in northern Syria. When at Nīshāpūr the Caliph recognised Mas'ūd's claim, he confirmed to him the lands newly-conquered in western and central Persia and any other lands of the east and west which he might conquer in the future.<sup>75</sup> In his letter to Qadīr Khān Yūsuf explaining the events which led to his seizure of power, Mas'ūd said that after his father's death, the Caliph was writing to him continually, urging him to hasten to Baghdād and free him from the abasement to which the "base-born rabble" (literally, "crowd of tails, rumps", *gurūh-i adhnāb*) had reduced him. Furthermore, he continued, the *divisio imperii* which he had suggested to his brother was intended to free him for warfare in the west against Rūm and Egypt, a task which the Caliph had expressly laid upon him.<sup>76</sup>

As soon as he was firmly established on the throne, Mas'ūd adopted a threatening attitude towards the Būyids. The old arguments about the need to clear the Pilgrimage route were raised, but it was Kirmān, where his father had already interfered, that presented an obvious point of attack. Mas'ūd voiced his threats thus:

"Let him [sc. the Caliph's envoy al-Sulaymānī] com-

municate [to the Caliph] that an attack on Kirmān is going to be made from the direction of Sīstān, and on Oman from the direction of Makrān, and the Qarāmiṭah overthrown. An army of unlimited size has already been gathered together ; we need more territory, and the army must willy-nilly be used for this purpose. Were it not out of respect for the seat of the Caliphate, Baghdād would certainly have been attacked and the Pilgrimage route cleared. For my father, when at Rayy, had to leave this task unfinished ; and after his death, if I had not been compelled to return eastwards to Khurāsān, I would today undoubtedly be in Egypt or Syria. Also, my children have arrived at the age when they need employment, and another one will soon reach this ; it is necessary to find them some official position.

We have friendly relations with the Būyids and do not seek to harm them in any way ; but they must be more careful and must restore the Caliphal presence to its rightful position of respect. Further, they must open up the Pilgrimage route, since the people under my rule have been enjoined to fulfil their obligations properly in accomplishing the Pilgrimage, and for this reason, they will be going under the leadership of one of my commanders. So take note, we have come to this decision, and if they do not make an effort in this direction, we shall use force ! For God, His name is exalted, will ask us about this [on the Last Day], because we have at this moment not only the prestige but also the complete equipment and armaments, and an army without number".<sup>77</sup>

The pretexts were thus the supposed weakness of the Buyid rule in Kirmān and the consequent sufferings of the population. Abū'l-Fawāris Qiwām al-Dawlah's nephew Abū Kālijār had now succeeded to the united rule of Khuzistān, Fārs and Kirmān, with the *laqab* 'Imād al-Dīn. Mas'ūd now hoped to take advantage of disorder in Kirmān and also to revenge himself on 'Imād al-Dīn for his help to and sheltering of the Kākūyid 'Alā' al-Dawlah. His plan also envisaged an attack across the Persian Gulf from the coast of Makrān to Oman. Oman had been under Buyid rule or suzerainty since the time of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and his nephew 'Aḍud al-Dawlah.<sup>78</sup> At the beginning of Mas'ūd's reign it was governed by a local leader, Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mukram (or Mukarram), as a vassal of the Buyids, but the region was much troubled not only by the Karmathians whom Mas'ūd mentions in his letter to the Caliph, but also by the Khawārij of the Ibādiyyah sect in the Jabal Akhḍar.<sup>79</sup> Mu'izz al-Dawlah's army took over Oman by sailing down the Persian Gulf from Ubullā and across from Sīrāf on the coast of Fārs ; but the ethnic and economic connections of the Makrān coast with Oman have

always been close, and it was not impossible that the Ghaznawids should successfully mount an expedition from there against Oman, even though they were essentially a land power with little maritime experience.<sup>80</sup> That the Ghaznawids might have ruled in Arabia remains, however, one of the unfulfilled possibilities of history.

A Ghaznawid army, the one that had been previously used to set Mas'ūd's nominee Abū'l-Mu'askar on the throne of Makrān, did successfully occupy Kirmān in 424/1033. Jalāl al-Dawlah wrote to Mas'ūd protesting against this aggression and complaining that it was a breach of the non-aggression policy which had tacitly existed between himself and Maḥmūd:

"The Amīr of Baghdād, who had been in friendly relationship with the late Amīr [sc. Maḥmūd], undertook a lengthy correspondence and exchange of views on this topic, sending a messenger and speaking reproachfully. The reply came back that 'that province [sc. Kirmān] adjoins my own territory on two sides; it was in a neglected state and the subjects were complaining volubly about the evildoers. It was a duty incumbent upon me to deliver the Muslims, and, moreover, the Commander of the Faithful sent me patent of investiture. This patent recommended that since the province in question was in a miserable condition and without a ruler, we should annex it.'

The Amīr of Baghdād spoke reproachfully about this affair to the Caliph, and became desperate. The Caliph replied, 'There is no need to speak at length about this. Baghdād, Kūfah and the Sawād, which come under my responsibility, are not kept in a peaceful enough state for you to be able to speak about Kirmān. Thus this matter was cut short, and a state of emergency and distress remained. They [sc. the Buyids] were afraid that they would not be able to recapture Kirmān, because our armies in the region of Hamadān were gathering strength, and they were in fear and trembling lest even Baghdād should slip from their hands'.<sup>81</sup>

As events turned out, the Ghaznawid hold on Kirmān only lasted a few months. Their rule and, in particular, their financial exactions, speedily became odious to the local people. They called in the Buyids again, and an army under 'Imād al-Dīn's vizier Abū Manṣūr al-'Ādil b. Māfinna expelled the Ghaznawid forces.<sup>82</sup> Only in regard to the complaints about the Pilgrimage route did Mas'ūd gain some satisfaction: the Caliph wrote back that he had ordered (!) the Būyids to put the route in order and to repair the cisterns along it, and that the caravan from Khurāsān and Transoxiana could now proceed. Mas'ūd thereupon appointed one of his leading officials, Khwājah 'Alī Mīkālī, as *Sālār* of the Pilgrimage

(*Amīr al-Hajj*).<sup>83</sup>

## VIII

Our sources on the relations between Ghaznah and Baghdād become silent in the latter half of Mas'ūd's reign, that is, after 1034. Diplomatic exchanges may have continued on a reduced scale, but the major issues of the earlier part of Mas'ūd's reign, the succession question and the recognition of Ghaznawid ambitions in the west, had now been settled. The Sultan became increasingly preoccupied with the ravages in Khurāsān of the Seljūqs. Through the combined pressure of Ibn Kākūya's resurgent power and of the Turkmens, the Ghaznawids were gradually squeezed out of Rayy and western Persia; communications between Khurāsān and the west and between Khurāsān and Khwārazm became hard to maintain, and this must have made direct relations with Baghdād more difficult.

The picture built up by the Sultan of himself as a just ruler and as protector of the Muslims must also have been somewhat tarnished in the Caliph's eyes by an episode like Mas'ūd's sack of Āmul in Gurgān in the winter of 426/1034-5. Bayhaqī says that Mas'ūd made the paradise of Āmul into a hell, and that a stream of people went from there to Baghdād and to Mecca to complain of the Sultan's tyranny.<sup>84</sup>

We do not have any record in Bayhaqī of a communication from Mas'ūd to the Caliph after his decisive defeat by the Seljūqs at Dandānqān, although he did write to the Qarākhānid Arslān Khān Sulaymān b. Qadīr Khān Yūsuf explaining the circumstances of the disaster and seeking help against the Seljūqs.<sup>85</sup> The loss of Khurāsān meant that Mas'ūd's grandiose plans, his dreams of conquests in the west and liberation of the Caliph, were now irretrievably lost. There were no longer any pressing reasons for either party to seek close relations with the other; for the next century or so, the future of the Iranian world lay essentially with the Seljūqs.<sup>86</sup>

## NOTES

## I

1. See on these general considerations, R. Koebner's recent study, *Empire* (Cambridge 1961).
2. See his *Study of history* (Oxford 1934-54), I, 72 ff., and G. Wiet, "L'empire néo-byzantin des Omeyyades et l'empire néo-sassanide des Abbassides", *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, I (Paris 1953), 63-71.
3. See the map at the end of M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd*

- of *Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), and that in R. Roolvink, *Historical atlas of the Muslim peoples* (Amsterdam 1957), 15.
4. This is seen in the inscription on his tomb at Ghaznah, *al-Ḥāḥib al-Ajall*, "Most exalted commander" [S., Flury "Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna", *Syria*, VI (Paris 1925), 63], and in the fact that his coins bear the name of his masters, the Sāmānid Amīrs [cf. E. Thomas, "On the coins of the Kings of Ghazni", *JRAS*, IX (1848), 303-5, Nos. 2-6, and S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum* (London 1875-90), II, 128-30, Nos. 450-6].
  5. 'Utbī, *at-Ta'riḫ al-Yamīnī*, in margin of Shaykh al-Manīnī's commentary *al-Faḥ al-Waḥbī* (Cairo 1286/1869), I, 255 ff.; Jurbādhqānī, *Tarjamah-i ta'riḫ-i Yamīnī*, ed. 'Alī Qawīm (Tehran 1334/1955), 119, 123-6; Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 38-41.
  6. Bayhaqī, *Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyād (Tehran 1324/1945), 80.
  7. Bayh., *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Aḥīr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'riḫ* (Cairo 1348-53/1929-34), VII, 347, s. v. A.H. 421=ed. Tornberg (Leiden 1851-76), IX, 282 (the first page of this numbering).
  8. Bayh., 68, 283, 338; cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*<sup>2</sup>, *Gibb Memorial Series* (London 1928), 295.
  9. Bayh., 659-61. The policy of stirring up trouble for the Seljūqs by rallying the opponents of the latter, such as the Qarākhānids and the Kākūyids of Iṣfahān, was continued by Mas'ūd's son Mawdūd, but without success [Ibn al-Aḥīr (Cairo), VIII, 52, s. v. A.H. 441=Tornberg, IX, 381-2].
  10. Cf. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Mediaeval Islam* (Chicago 1946), 240-1. This attitude to life was probably encouraged by Ṣūfī doctrines, especially by that of *tawakkul*, dependence on God for the satisfaction of all daily needs; see, on this, I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg 1910), 153-4.
  11. Quoted by Rāwandī, *Rāḥat aṣ-Sudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl, *GMS* (London 1921), 95.
  12. Cf. M. Nāẓim, "The Pand-Nāmah of Subuktigīn", *JRAS*, (1933), 610-14, tr. 621-3=Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shabānkāra'i, *Majma' al-Ansāb fi'l-Tawārīḫ*, Istanbul Persian MS. Yeni Cami 909, ff. 167a-168a.
  13. Köprülüzade M. Fuat, "Gazneliler devrinde türk şi'ri", in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar* (Istanbul 1934), 26-32, quoting A. de Biberstein Kazimirsky, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du 11<sup>ième</sup> siècle* (Paris 1886), Persian text, 148, French tr., 261.
  14. See R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*<sup>4</sup> (Paris 1952), *passim*; O. Pritsak, "Titulaturen und Stammesnamen der altäischen Völker", *Ural-altäische Jahrbücher*, XXIV (Wiesbaden 1952), 50-6; the editor's excellent chapter on "Central Eurasia" in *Orientalism and history*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge 1954), 82-103; K. Groenbech, "The steppe region in world history III", *Acta Orientalia*, XXV (Copenhagen 1960), 1-14.

II

15. Cf. M. Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 161-4; C. E. Bosworth, "Ghaznevid military organisation," *Der Islam*, XXXVI (Berlin 1960), 54-5.
16. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, ed. V. Minorsky, *GMS* (London 1937), 89; cf. S. M. Stern,



"Ismā'īlī propaganda and Fāṭimid rule in Sind", *Islamic Culture*, XXII (Hyderabad 1949), 299-300.

17. 'Utbī, II, 72.
18. 'Utbī, II, 75 ; Jurb., 180 ; Gardīzī, *Zain al-Akhhbār*, ed. M. Nāẓim (Berlin 1928), 67-8 ; Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 97. However, Ibn al-Aṭhīr (Cairo), VII, 228, s.v. A.H. 396=Tornberg, IX, 132, has the more feasible figure of 20,000 dirhams.
19. Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 160 ; M. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin<sup>2</sup>* (Delhi 1951), 63-4.
20. Bayh., 266-71, 400-2, 404-6, 423, 433-5 ; Gard., 102-3 ; Ibn al-Aṭhīr (Cairo), VIII, 8-9, s. v. A.H. 426=Tornberg, IX, 300-1 ; Habib, *op. cit.*, 94 ff.
21. Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden 1927), 280 ; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Arḍ<sup>2</sup>*, ed. Kramers (Leiden 1938-9), II, 450 ; Maqdisī, *Aḥsan at-Taqdsīm*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden 1906), 304 ; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut 1374-6/1955-7), IV, 201.

III

22. See Bosworth, "Ghaznevid military organisation", 74-7, for some estimates of the size of the army.
23. Ibn al-Aṭhīr (Cairo), VIII, 5-6, s. v. A.H. 425=Tornberg, IX, 295.
24. Bayh., 530-4 ; Gardīzī, 103-4.
25. Bayh., 13, 20.
26. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 242-5, 318 ; O. Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CI (Wiesbaden 1951), 297-8.
27. This can be seen very clearly in the case of the Seljūqs, who as early as 1035, when they crossed the Oxus into *Khurāsān*, styled themselves *Mawālī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, and when two years later they temporarily occupied *Nishāpur*, they were in touch with *Baghdād* negotiating for Caliphal recognition [Bayh., 470 ; cf. Cl. Cahen, "Le Malik-Nāmeḥ et l'histoire des origines seljukides", *Oriens*, II (Leiden 1949), 57, 62-3].
28. See, for example, B. Spuler, *Die goldene Horde, die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502* (Leipzig 1943), 219.

IV

29. Thus when Mas'ūd returned to Rayy in 1030, he gave the Qāḍī, the Ra'īs and the Naqīb of the 'Alids more expensive robes of honour than those which the rest of the notables received (Bayh., 23).
30. The theologians differed on whether the Karāmiyyah should be treated as heretics or as being still within the orthodox Sunnī fold ; see C. E. Bosworth, "The rise of the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan", *Muslim World*, L (Hartford, Conn. 1960), 6-7.
31. See on this episode, Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 10-12.
32. Ibn al-Aṭhīr (Cairo), VII, 324, s. v. A.H. 416=Tornberg, IX, 247.
33. Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār at-tauḥīd fī maqāmāt ash-Shaykh Abi Sa'id*, ed. V. A. Zhukovsky (St. Petersburg 1899), 84-91 ; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge 1921), 28-33.

V

34. *Hilāl al-Ṣabī'*, in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth (Oxford 1921-2), III, 393-7, tr. VI. 420-4, on the authority of

- al-Tanūkhī and others ; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (Hyderabad 1357-9/1938-41), VII, 215 ; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 210, s.v. A.H. 391=Tornberg, IX, 117-18. The Sāmānids sheltered a descendant of al-Ma'mūn, one Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Salām al-Ma'mūnī [Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Cairo 1375-7/1956-8), IV, 161 ff., French tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique*, series 5, Vol. III (Paris 1853), 333-9], and the Qarākhānids the above-mentioned al-Wāthiqī (Hilāl al-Ṣābī', *loc. cit.* ; *Yatīmat al-Dahr*, IV, 192-3, French tr. 339-41 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.* ; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 258).
35. Hilāl al-Ṣābī', in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, III, 340-5, tr. VI, 365-70.
36. Thomas, *JRAS* (1848), 271-2, 307, No. 8=B. M. *Catalogue*, II, 131, No. 458 ; E. E. Oliver, "The decline of the Sāmānīs and the rise of the Ghaznavīs in Māwarā-un-Nahr and part of Khurāsān (With some unpublished coins)", *JRASB*, LV/2 of 1886 (Calcutta 1887), 134.
37. 'Utbi, II, 237-50 ; Jurb., 237-9 ; Gard., 71 ; Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, GMS facsimile edn. (London 1912) f. 102b ; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyat al-Kubrā* (Cairo 1323-4/1905-6), IV, 16, quoting the lost history of Herat by Qāḍī Abū Naṣr Fāmi.
38. Bayh., 181-3 ; Gard., 96-7 ; *al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, 16, 21-2 ; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 318, 323-4, s.v. A.H. 415, 416=Tornberg, IX, 239, 246.
39. Bayh., 178-89 ; Gard., 96-7. It is suggested by R. Gelpke in his inaugural dissertation, *Sulṭān Mas'ūd von Gazna, Die drei ersten Jahre seiner Herrschaft* (421/1030-424/1033) (Munich 1957), 107, that the sacrifice of Ḥasanak may have been a secret condition of the Caliph's early recognition of Mas'ūd as his father's heir (see below, 18).
40. Cf. A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, English tr. (Patna 1937), 8-12, 15-24, 140-1.
41. *al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, 192 ; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VIII, 83-5, s.v. A.H. 450=Tornberg, IX, 440-3. There is extant a dīnār coined by Basāirī at Baghdād in Ramaḍān 450 in the name of the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustanshir (E. von Zambaur, "Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale", *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, XLVII [Vienna 1914], 164-71, No. 505).
42. *Siyāsat-nāmah* ed. Qazwīnī and Chahārdihī (Tehran 1334/1956), 158.
43. See Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, 135-6 ; and on the general topic of honorific titles, J. H. Kramers, "Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn", *Acta Orientalia*, V (1927), 53-67, and Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alqāb al-Islāmiyyah fi'l-Ta'rikh wa'l-Wathā'iq wa'l-Āthār* (Cairo 1958).
44. Cf. H. F. Amedroz, "The assumption of the title *Shāhanshāh* by Buwayhid rulers", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, Vol. V (London 1905), 393-9 ; Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, 135-6.
45. See for the coinage of the Būyids, the coin catalogues, e.g., B. M. *Catalogue*, II, 194-220, and Zambaur, *WZ* (1914), 134-6. Nos. 460-71.
46. 'Utbi, I, 317 ; Jurb., 138 ; Gard., 62 ; *al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, 53. See also the author's forthcoming general study, "The titlature of the early Ghaznavids,"
47. 'Utbi, II, 111-12 ; Jurb., 190 ; *al-Muntaẓam*, VII, 215 ; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 210, s.v. A.H. 391=Tornberg, IX, 117 ; Thomas, *JRAS* (1848), 273-5, 309, 311-12, 315, Nos. 12, 19-20, 26 and B. M. *Catalogue*, II, 133-5, Nos. 463-5, 467-8, showing that al-Ghālib was recognised as heir in the period

- 399-409/1008-18. Al-Ghālīb died in 409/1018, and in 421/1030 another son, Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh, was made *walīy-'ahd* with the title al-Qā'im bi-amr Allāh, *al-Muntaẓam*, VII, 292, VIII, 47-8; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 302, 351, s.v. A.H. 409, 421=Tornberg, IX, 219, 289 (the first page of this numbering).
48. *al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, 53; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 271, s.v. A.H. 404=Tornberg, XI, 171.
49. Gard., 87-8.
50. Bayh., 17-18.
51. Bayh., 44-9. Gard., 95, names the Caliph's envoy as Abū Sahl Mursal b. Manṣūr b. Aflaḥ Gardīzī (a descendant of the Amīr of Gardīz in Ṣaffārid times, Abu Manṣūr Aflaḥ b. Muḥammad b. Khāqān, cf. Gard., 11 ?).
52. When the Caliph al-Qādir had sent directly to the Ma'mūnid Khwārazmshāh Abū'l 'Abbās Ma'mūn b. Ma'mūn a patent of investiture, a robe of honour, a standard and the honorifics 'Ayn al-Dawlah wa Zayn al-Millah, the Shāh had not dared to receive these publicly in his capital Gurgānj for fear of provoking Maḥmūd's anger (Bayh., 669; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 275, Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 57).
53. Both Wāliḡhtān or Balis and Kīkānān were towns of Quṣḡār or Tūrān, sc. northern Baluchistan; Kīkānān was the seat of the king of Tūrān, and Le Strange identifies it with the modern Kalat [*Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 111, 123; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), 332-3, 347].
54. Bayh., 286-94. On the general topic of the presents given by rulers, see B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1953), 367-9.
55. Bayh., 369-72.
56. Zambaur, *WNZ* (1914), 129-30, 133, Nos. 449-50, 458.
57. Bayh., 294-5.
58. Bayh., 369.
59. E.g. B. M. *Catalogue*, II, 157, 160, Nos. 524, 530; Zambaur, *WNZ* (1914), 130, No. 451.

## VI

60. Cf. *al-Muntaẓam*, VII, 7-8, 15, 19; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 4, 7-8, 12, s. v. A.H. 352, 352, 353=Tornberg, VIII, 403, 407, 413.
61. Cf. *al-Muntaẓam*, VII, 226-7, and Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 225, s. v. A.H. 394=Tornberg, IX, 129, when al-Qādir refused to accept Bahā' al-Dawlah's nomination of an 'Alid as Qāḡī al-Quḡāt of Iraq.
62. *al-Muntaẓam*, VII, 248-51, 255-6; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 253-4, 263, s.v. A.H. 401, 402=Tornberg, IX, 156-7, 166.
63. On the 'ayyārs, who appear very frequently in the pages of history, see F. Taeschner, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Art. s. v., and Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge* [Leiden 1959, originally in *Arabica*, V-VI (Leiden 1958-9), 36-53].
64. 'Utbī, II, 206-15; Jurb., 231-2; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 294, s.v. A.H. 407=Tornberg, IX, 207-8; Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 192-3; Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 116.
65. Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 328-9, 333, s.v. A.H. 418, 419=Tornberg, IX, 253, 259; Nāẓim, *loc. cit.*; Spuler, *op. cit.*, 117. There is a general survey of the position of the Būyids c. 1030 in H. Bowen, "The last Buwayhids", *JRAS* (1929), 225 ff.

66. Cf. Bayh., 262-3.
67. *al-Muntaẓam*, VIII, 2; cf. Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 310, s.v. A.H. 412=Tornberg, IX, 229. As a result of this plea, Maḥmūd appointed his *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, Abū Muḥammad al-Nāṣihī, to lead the Pilgrimage, giving him 30,000 *dīnārs* to expend among the Bedouins as protection money.
68. *al-Muntaẓam* VIII, 16, 36; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 318, 334, s.v. A.H. 415, 426=Tornberg, IX, 239, 261.
69. Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VIII, 4, s.v. A.H. 424=Tornberg, IX, 292. On the form and meaning of this Daylamī name, see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg 1895), 277, 347, 355-6.
70. Bayh., 263.
71. Bayh., *loc. cit.*
72. This seems to be an echo of looser marriage arrangements which probably persisted in backward parts of Persia, like Daylam and the Caspian provinces, where looser, pre-Islamic Iranian ways long survived. A system of polygamy, in which a man took a number of wives according to his social status, had prevailed in Sāsānid Persia, as had marriage between very close degrees of relationship. Muslims later considered these practices as promiscuous and incestuous, and the Zoroastrians were often reproached with such crimes as *nikāḥ al-ummahāt*. These customs did not disappear with the coming of Islam, but constantly reappear in heretical Iranian socio-religious movements, and in the literature of the *Shu'ūbiyyah*, they are frequently quoted amongst the *mathālib* of the Persians.
73. These must be the *Khurramdīnān*, descendents of Bābak al-Khurramī's *Muḥammirah*, "those who wear red", who were neo-Mazdakites and who certainly survived in the countryside of Persia long after Bābak's execution in 838; many of them were subsequently caught up by the propaganda of the *Ismā'īlī dā'īs* [cf. G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens* (Paris 1938), 107-10, 187-228; Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 200-6].

## VII

74. Cf. Bayh., 399-400.
75. Bayh., 49.
76. Bayh., 79-80.
77. Bayh., 291-2.
78. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 15, 17, 57, s.v. A.H. 354, 355, 363=Tornberg, VIII, 417, 419, 474, and R. Vasmer, "Zur Geschichte und Münzkunde von 'Omān im X. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXXVII (1927), 274-87 (not accessible to me).
79. Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VIII, 14, 20, s. v. A.H. 428, 431=Tornberg, IX, 310, 318. On the Mukramids, see A.D.L. Bivar and S. M. Stern, "The coinage of Oman under Abū Kālījār the Buwayhid", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th Series, Vol. XVIII (1958), 147-56.
80. Maḥmūd's punitive expedition of 418/1027 against the Jāts of Sind does show that the Ghaznawids could effectively mount a naval force on inland water at least. On this occasion, the Sulṭān assembled 1400 boats to carry his soldiers, archers and naphtha-throwers, and these boats were armoured with three projecting spikes (Gard., 88-90; Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 121-2).

# XI

82

81. Bayh., 430-1.

82. Bayh., 423, 429-32 ; Ibn al-Athīr (Cairo), VII, 353-54, s.v. A.H. 422=  
Tornberg, IX, 282 (the second page of this numbering).

83. Bayh., 356-7.

## VIII

84. Bayh., 462.

85. Bayh , 630-4.

86. The letter of al-Qā'im given in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo 1331-40/  
1913-22), VI, 404-9, allegedly to Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd and announcing the  
defeat of al-Basāsiri (in 451/1060) is obviously addressed in reality to Ibrāhīm  
b. Mas'ūd.

## XII

### A TURCO-MONGOL PRACTICE AMONGST THE EARLY GHAZNAVIDS?

#### I

In the last decade of the 10th century, the Sāmānid empire in Transoxania and Khurasan was *in extremis*, weakened by incursions of the Qarakhanids from the direction of the Syr Darya basin and by the strife of rebellious slave generals in Khurasan. The Amīr Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr (366-87/976-97) had in 384/994 been obliged to call in Sebūktigin, the Turkish slave governor of Ghazna, to intervene in Khurasan against the rebels Abū ‘Alī Sīmjūrī and Fā’iq Khāṣṣa; and after his victory over them, Sebūktigin had been rewarded with the governorship of Balkh, Ṭukhārīstān, Bāmiyān, Ghūr and Gharchistān, while his son Maḥmūd had been given Abū ‘Alī’s old position as commander-in-chief of the Sāmānid armies in Khurasan.<sup>1</sup>

Sebūktigin died in 387/997 and left the provinces of Ghazna and Balkh to his younger son Ismā‘īl. Sebūktigin had six sons, of whom the two eldest, Maḥmūd and Naṣr, were by a different mother from that of the third son, Ismā‘īl. A fourth son, Yūsuf, was only a child when his father died and was later brought up by Maḥmūd together with his own children. Of two other sons mentioned by Jūzjānī, only the names, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, are known, and presumably they failed to reach adulthood.<sup>2</sup> Thus in effect, Ismā‘īl was the youngest adult son. Judging by Sebūktigin’s last wishes, he did not envisage that his family should set up at this point as an independent dynasty, despite the Sāmānids’ evident decay. He did not leave his territories as an undivided inheritance, but as governorships to be held by various members of his family, continuing the practice prevalent during the last years of his life. His brother Bughra-

<sup>1</sup> For these events, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*,<sup>3</sup> GMS (London, 1928), 261–6, and M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), 38–45.

<sup>2</sup> Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. H. G. Raverty (London, 1881–99), I, 75; Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Shabānkāra’i, *Majma’ al-ansāb fi’-t-tawārikh*, Istanbul Persian Ms. Yeni Cami 909, f. 170b.

chuq was to remain at Herat and Pūshang. Of his sons, Maḥmūd was to command the army in Khurasan, Naṣr to have Bust and Ismā'īl to have Ghazna and Balkh.<sup>3</sup> In allotting Ghazna to Ismā'īl, Sebūktigin may have been influenced by the fact that Ismā'īl was his son by a daughter of his old master and predecessor in Ghazna, Alptigin, and so felt that it was more fitting that a descendent of Alptigin should rule there; and no specific overlordship was given to Ismā'īl. Nevertheless, the apparent preference for Ismā'īl over the much more experienced Maḥmūd, puzzled Muslim historians of the Ghaznavids. In the event, Maḥmūd was able to defeat and depose Ismā'īl, becoming undisputed master of all the Ghaznavid territories.

In similar fashion, Maḥmūd in his own last days nominated as his successor in Ghazna his son Muḥammad, governor of Gūzgān, to the exclusion of the other brother Mas'ūd. Unfortunately, it is not clear which of the two sons was the elder, or whether they were born from the same mother. However, it was as a scholar and patron of the arts that Muḥammad impressed contemporaries; 'Utbī praises his literary attainments and says that it was Prince Muḥammad who encouraged him to use Arabic as the language of the *Yamīnī*.<sup>4</sup> Mas'ūd was the soldier and man of action, accompanying his father on many of his expeditions. One of Baihaqī's informants, for instance, describes the bravery of the "lion-hearted youth" in Ghūr in 405/1014–15, when a single arrow of his killed the commander of a tower whose defenders had been causing the Muslims much trouble, thereby demoralising the pagan Ghūrīs and driving them to surrender.<sup>5</sup> Maḥmūd had made him governor of Herat and *walī-'ahd* or heir, but towards the end of his life, relations between the Sultan and Mas'ūd deteriorated, and the succession was transferred to Muḥammad. When Maḥmūd died in 421/1030, Muḥammad succeeded in Ghazna, whilst Mas'ūd was left in the far west of the empire, in Jibāl. However, he came westwards, and his superior military reputation caused all support for Muḥammad to evaporate, so that he was forced to abandon the throne to Mas'ūd.

Towards the end of his life, Maḥmūd's powers were failing,<sup>6</sup> yet there

<sup>3</sup> 'Utbī, *at-Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī* (Lahore, 1300/1883), 110 ff.; Jurbādhqānī, *Tarjuma-yi ta'rikh-i Yamīnī*, ed. 'Alī Qawīm (Tehran, 1334/1955), 119; Ibn Bābā al-Qāshānī, *Kitāb ra's māl an-nadīm*, Istanbul Arabic Ms. Turhan Valide 234, f. 204b.

<sup>4</sup> 'Utbī, with commentary of Manīnī (Cairo, 1286/1869), II, 233–7; cf. Jūzjānī, tr. I, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Baihaqī, *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ghānī and Fayyāḍ (Tehran, 1324/1945), 114.

<sup>6</sup> Baihaqī, 80, says that towards the end of Maḥmūd's life, "his constitution gave way and in the greatness of his nature, a weakening faculty of judgement was apparent".

is no reason to doubt that he fully intended Muḥammad to succeed him in the heartlands of the empire, Ghazna, Khurasan and India. To contemporaries, the decision seemed mystifying, for Mas‘ūd was so obviously the superior in the political and military capability. According to Jūzjānī, the Chief Secretary, Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān, showed bewilderment, but the Sultan told him, “I am aware that in every respect Mas‘ūd excels Muḥammad, and that after my time the sovereignty will fall into the possession of Mas‘ūd; and I use so much ceremony now that this poor Muḥammad may during my lifetime experience a little honour and gratification, which, after I am gone, will not be left to him”.<sup>7</sup> Maḥmūd was no sentimentalist, and this explanation is feeble and unconvincing; the decisions of both Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd to leave the central lands of their empires, assembled by so much military effort and expertise, to the obviously weaker of the possible heirs, is not easily explicable in either case.

## II

I suggest that a possible explanation may be found in the Turkish past of the Ghaznavids. The Ghaznavids became speedily Persianised, and readily adapted themselves as monarchs in the traditional Perso-Islamic mould. Furthermore, the written sources for their history are all Arabic and Persian Muslim ones, and are largely silent about the Ghaznavids’ Turkish steppe origins. Yet the legacy of this steppe background cannot have been negligible; the early Sultans all spoke Turkish as the language of ordinary intercourse with the Turkish soldiers and courtiers who surrounded them. According to his own words in his *Pand-nāma*, Sebūktigin originated from the region of Upper Barskhān (or, as Kāshgharī spells it, ed. Kilisli Rif‘at Bey, III, 308<sup>14</sup>, Barsghān), on the shores of the Īsiq-Göl.<sup>8</sup> The *Ḥudud al-‘ālam*, 98, places it in the Khallukh country, so it is probable that Sebūktigin himself was of Qarluq origin.

In this pagan steppe past may perhaps be found a clue to the succession arrangements of Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd. In ancient Mongolian customary law, a system of ultimogeniture prevailed: the major part of the paternal inheritance went to the youngest son, who was guardian of the domestic hearth, the *otchigin*, “prince of the fire” (*chigin/zhigin* < Turkish. *tigin*), and the older sons were entitled to indemnities during their

<sup>7</sup> Jūzjānī, tr. I, 92–3; cf. Shabānkāra’ī, ff. 182a–b.

<sup>8</sup> Nazim, “The *Pand-Nāmah* of Subuktigin”, *JRAS* (1933), 610, tr. 621; this origin from the Barskhān region is confirmed in Ibn Bābā, f. 203b.



father's lifetime. A classic instance of this procedure occurred in the 13th century when the inheritance of Chingiz Qa'an was divided among his four sons: the youngest, Tolui, was the *otchigin*, and received the family's ancestral lands in the Onon and Kerulen valleys in Mongolia, whilst Jöchi, Chaghatai and Ögedei received appanages in the more distant, recently-conquered territories.<sup>9</sup>

The institution seems also to be found in Turkish life. Kotwicz suggested that the Turkish name "Kültigin", familiar from the Orkhon inscriptions and from later usage, is not a personal name but a title, and he connected it with *kül* "ashes", giving the complete meaning "prince of the ashes" = "guardian of the hearth in the Qaghan's family, the younger son". He also saw the first element in the Turkish tribal title or office of *külärkin* (the *küdhärkin* of the Oghuz whom Ibn Faḍlān met).<sup>10</sup> Dr. J. A. Boyle has reminded me (11.7.61) that 'Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm, the last of the Qarakhanids (d. 609/1212-13) had a brother (presumably a younger brother) with the name or title Otigin/Ot-tigin, referring to his translation of Juwainī, *History of the World-Conqueror* (Manchester 1958), II, 395; and the Qarakhanid confederation arose originally out of the Qarluq from whom, as we have seen, Sebüktigin probably came. Dr. Boyle also observes that "the fact that *ot-tegin* itself is a Turkish expression would seem to indicate that the practice also is Turkish, in origin at any rate". Certainly, the transmission of an inheritance undivided to the eldest son was little familiar to Central Asian peoples; chiefs often took the view that leadership should come through personal merit and not through birthright, and that all children should have a chance to achieve success. It is possible that the memory of steppe custom may have remained in the minds of Sebüktigin and Maḥmūd, even though the sources provide no direct evidence for this surmise.

<sup>9</sup> B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols*, French tr. (Paris, 1948), 60-1, 72; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1945), 129; R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*<sup>4</sup> (Paris, 1952), 316-19. In the bibliography of H. F. Schurmann's recent book, *The Mongols of Afghanistan* (The Hague, 1962), on p. 413, appears an article by T. Aoki, "Ultimogeniture in ancient Mongolia" [in Japanese], *Nairiku Ajiya no Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1955), 167-216; this has not been accessible to me. Schurmann also notes traces of ultimogeniture among the present-day Hazāras of the Hazārajāt and of Yäk-Auläng (*op. cit.*, 147, 157, 207, 243-4), but these practices must date from Mongol ethnic movements into the region from the 13th century onwards.

<sup>10</sup> W. Kotwicz, "Contributions à l'histoire d'Asie Centrale, ii. La signification du titre *Kül-tägin*, iii. Titres *ärkin* et *tägin*", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XV (1939-49), 185-90. The element *kül* also occurs as the *laqab* of a Qarakhanid ruler in Bukhārā, Qadr Khan Jibrā'il Külärtigin (492-5/1099-1102), see Narshakhī, *Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā*, ed. M. Riḍawī (Tehran, 1939), 16, tr. Frye, *The history of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), 14-15, 114 n. 66, cf. also 72, 146 n. 259.

# XIII

## EARLY SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST FOUR GHAZNAVID SULTANS (977—1041)

### I

IT is proposed here to deal with the chief literary historical sources for the reigns of Sebüktigin, Maḥmūd, Muḥammad, and Mas'ūd (366–432/977–1041), in particular, the histories of 'Utbī, Gardīzī, and Baihaqī, all three of whom were to a considerable extent eyewitnesses of the events they recorded. Some attention is then given to later works and compilations which clearly incorporate contemporary materials. It is not intended to consider here the poetry of the period, although this contains many historical allusions. Poets and literary men either like Abū'l-Faḥ Bustī worked in the bureaucracy and were thus in the centre of things, or else like 'Unṣurī were attached to the court circle as official panegyrists and thus followed the sultans round on their progresses and campaigns. Muḥammad Nāzim used the Diwāns of 'Unṣurī and Farrukhī in his book, *The Life and Times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), and, more recently, Ghulam Mustafa Khan has used the early Ghaznavid poets and the later, court poet of Bahrāmshāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm, Sayyid Ḥasan, to most useful effect in his exhaustive article, 'A History of Bahramshah of Ghaznin', *Islamic Culture*, xxiii (1949), 62–91, 199–235. Certainly, the verses of writers like Badi' az-Zamān Hamadhānī, 'Unṣurī Balkhī, Farrukhī Sistānī, and Manūchihrī Dāmghānī merit serious study by historians, especially now that most of them are available in Persian printed editions. Unfortunately, the Diwān of 'Unṣurī, as we at present have it, is far from complete, and the verses of other prominent contemporary poets, such as 'Asjadī Marvazī, Ghaḍā'irī Rāzī, Manjīk Tirmidhī, Labībī, Zainabī 'Alawī, and a host of lesser writers mentioned in the *tadhkirat ash-shu'arā'* literature, are almost entirely lost.

A fair amount has been written in the past about the literary historical sources for the Ghaznavids. The pioneer conspectus is in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. ii, *The Muhammadan Period* (London, 1869, reprinted with commentary, Aligarh, 1952). Elliot introduced his translated extracts with some comments on the

author and his work, in which his critical attitudes are at times aberrant. He states that a knowledge of the *Yamīnī* was at one time considered a great desideratum in Europe, 'but it is now found to contain but little which is not accessible through other channels'. Later Muslim historians, he says, have extracted all the meat from it, although he concedes that 'it must continue a work of authority and an object of curiosity [*sic*], as the original source from which later writers have drawn much of their information respecting Mahmūd's campaigns' (p. 15). His judgement on Baihaqī is rather patronizing: 'Although tedious, the work is eminently original, and it presents such a reflex of the doings and manners of the time that its minutiae and trifles frequently constitute its chief merit. The writer may not inaptly be described as an oriental Mr. Pepys' (p. 57). But he did recognize the great value of the *Mujalladāt* and the attractiveness and judiciousness of Baihaqī as an historian. In addition to these comments, Elliot devotes a special appendix to the historians of the Ghaznavids, concentrating here on the later, derivatory writers like Rashīd ad-Dīn, Mīrkhwānd, Khwāndamīr, the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Alfī*, Firishta, &c. (pp. 429-33).

Barthold's bibliographical introduction to his *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*<sup>2</sup>, G.M.S. (London, 1928), remains, of course, a model of its kind. In pp. 18-24 he deals with the Ghaznavid sources succinctly but thoroughly. Nāzīm's chapter on 'Authorities' (*Sultān Mahmūd*, pp. 1-17), is especially full on the non-contemporary, later works which deal with the Ghaznavids, most of them written in India; and he also has a useful survey of the authorities now lost or only known in brief citations. Finally, the excellent annotated bibliography at the end of B. Spuler's *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1953), pp. 532-94, and those in Z. V. Togan's *Tarihde usul* (Istanbul, 1950), pp. 203-4, and J. Rypka and others, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1959), pp. 565-641, contain much information relevant to the study of the early Ghaznavids.

## II

It is regrettable that much of the rich historiography of the Būyid period has perished, since the histories of the Būyids, Sāmānids, and Ghaznavids in the eastern Iranian world were in the last decades of the fourth/tenth century and the opening ones of the fifth/eleventh one considerably interwoven.<sup>1</sup> However, we possess the great general history of the Būyid official Abū 'Abdallāh Miskawaih (d. 421/1030), the *Tajārib al-umam wa ta'āqib al-humam* (the last part, dealing with the Būyids, ed. and

<sup>1</sup> On the historians of the Būyid period, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 7-8, 32; Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (Calcutta, 1930), pp. 128-48;

and Cl. Cahen, *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Buwayhids', bibliography.

tr. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth in *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate* [Oxford, 1920-1], i-ii, iv-v), and some citations from other works. 'Utbī and Tha'ālibī quote from the *K. at-tāj fī daulat ad-Dailam* of Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi' (d. 384/994), written for the Būyid Amīr Tāj al-Milla 'Aḍud ad-Daula Fanākhusrāu.<sup>1</sup> Its exaggerated, eulogistic style provided a model for the *Yamīnī* (see below, p. 6), and stimulated the official of the Ghaznavids at Ray, and later of the Seljuqs there, Abū'l-'Alā' b. Ḥassūl (d. 450/1058), to write a refutation of aṣ-Ṣābi's propaganda for the Būyids.<sup>2</sup> Another member of the Ṣābi' family, Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin (d. 448/1056), wrote a continuation of his uncle Thābit b. Sinān's history, but only the part dealing with the years 389-93/999-1003 is extant.<sup>3</sup> However, this short section contains important information on how Maḥmūd gained power in Khurasan and includes the text of his *fath-nāma* to the Caliph al-Qādir after his great victory in 389/999 over the Sāmānid Amīr and his Turkish *ghulām* generals.<sup>4</sup> The anonymous author of the *Mujmal at-tawārīkh wa'l-qīṣaṣ* (wrote 520/1126) cites for his account of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's conquest of Ray from Majd ad-Daula the work of that latter ruler's last vizier, Abu Sa'īd Mansūr al-Ābī, possibly a *Ta'rikh ar-Rayy* or else a continuation of the *Tājī*.<sup>5</sup>

## III

The importance of the *Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī* of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbī has been recognized in Europe since the end of the eighteenth century when Silvestre de Sacy analysed its contents, using the Persian version of Jurbādhqānī (see below) (*Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, iv [1798], 325-411). The Arabic original was not widely known in the West until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Sprenger published a lithographed text at Delhi in 1847, and Nöldeke used four Vienna manuscripts to examine the relationship between the Arabic and Persian versions ('Über das Kitāb Jamīnī des Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-'Utbī', *Sitzungsber. Wiener Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, xxiii [1857], 15-102).

<sup>1</sup> According to Cahen, loc. cit., the beginning of the *Tājī* has recently been discovered in the Yemen.

<sup>2</sup> This refutation is his *Tafḍīl al-Atrāk 'alā sār al-ajnad*, Arabic text and Arabic introd. by 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, together with a Turkish translation by Şerefeddin Yalçakaya in *Bellefen*, iv (1940), 235-66 + 51 pp. Arabic text. There is a biography of Ibn Ḥassūl in Tha'ālibī's *Tatimmat al-yatima*, ed. Abbas Eghbal (Tehran, 1353/1934), i. 107-12, under the heading al-Ustādh Abū'l-'Alā' Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain Ṣafī al-Ḥaḍratāin.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Amedroz, *The Historical Remains of Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi'* (Leiden, 1904), and again in *Eclipse of the*

*Abbasid Caliphate*, iii. 334 ff., tr. vi. 359 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. iii. 341-5, tr. vi. 366-70. The text of another important *fath-nāma*, this time announcing Maḥmūd's victory at Ray over the Būyid Amīr Majd ad-Daula Rustam in 420/1029, occurs in the general history of Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rikh al-mulūk wa'l-umam* (Hyderabad, 1357-9/1938-41), viii. 38-40.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. M. S. Bahār (Tehran, 1318/1939), pp. 403-4. Yāqūt mentions al-Ābī in his entry on Āba (in north-western Persia) in the *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Beirut, 1374-6/1955-7), i. 50-51.

The exact date of 'Utbī's birth is not known, but he came from an Arab family settled in Ray. The connexions of the 'Utbī family with Khurasan and Transoxania and the opportunities for employment in the Sāmānid empire attracted him eastwards. He entered the Sāmānid bureaucracy, where his relatives were well entrenched, becoming *Ṣāhib-Barīd* of Nishapur; then he served as secretary first to the general Abū 'Alī Sīmjūrī and then to the Ziyārid Qābūs b. Wushmagīr. When the Sāmānids were patently in decline, he transferred to the service of Sebūktigin, where he worked alongside Abū'l-Fatḥ Bustī and enjoyed the patronage of the vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maimandī. He became *Ṣāhib-Barīd* of Ganj-Rustāq in Bādghīs for Maḥmūd, but was dismissed through intrigues by the local governor. He remained in retirement till his death in the latter half of Mas'ūd's reign.<sup>1</sup> Thus, like Baihaqī, 'Utbī brought with him into the Ghaznavid empire a rich background of administrative experience in Khurasan and the old Sāmānid lands.<sup>2</sup>

The *Yamīnī* covers the reign of Sebūktigin and that of Maḥmūd up to 411/1020. For the remainder of the reign, we have to rely on Gardīzī, supplemented by backward glances from Baihaqī's *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī*. 'Utbī used Arabic for his book, at the request of Prince Muḥammad (whose scholarly interests and attainments are emphasized in the *Yamīnī*) and so that Maḥmūd's exploits might be publicized in the Arabic-speaking lands of the Caliphate. It will be remembered, too, that Maimandī was at this time promoting the official use of Arabic rather than Persian. The florid (according to Storey, 'turgid') style of the book is freely interspersed with verses from the Arabic poets and by 'Utbī himself. The style of historians of the preceding two generations, such as Miskawaih, al-Jahshiyārī, and aṣ-Ṣūlī, had still been comparatively simple, but 'Utbī used for his book the epistolary style favoured by writers like the Ṣāhib Ismā'il b. 'Abbād and Abū'l-Fatḥ Bustī. He says explicitly that the *Tājī* of Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣābī' was his model, but 'Utbī carried the euphuistic style to a new peak. His book was as much admired in the eastern Islamic world for its style as for its subject-matter, and according to aṣ-Subkī, in Khwārizm and the frontier lands of the east it was held in higher esteem than were al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* in Egypt and Syria. 'Utbī must therefore be considered as a pioneer exponent of the *inshā'* style which became all but universal in the official chanceries and in literary circles in general in Seljuq times and after.

The *Yamīnī* is a panegyric, yet as Barthold noted (*Turkestan*, p. 19),

<sup>1</sup> Thus in Storey, *Persian Literature*, p. 250; according to aṣ-Ṣafadī in *G.A.L. Suppl.* i. 547, 'Utbī died in 413/1022.

<sup>2</sup> We depend for knowledge of 'Utbī's life largely on his autobiography at the end of the *Yamīnī*, ed.

*Manīnī* (see below), ii. 356 ff.; see also the section on him in Tha'ālībī's *Yatīmat ad-dahr* (Cairo, 1375-7/1956-8), iv. 397-406, and Nazim, *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, art. 'al-'Utbī'.

'Utbī does not gloss over the darker sides of Ghaznavid rule: the exactions in Khurasan of the Vizier Isfarā'inī; the ravages there of famine, which were aggravated by fiscal oppression; the reign of terror set up in Nishapur by the Sultan's protégé and head of the Karāmiyya sect, Abū Bakr Muḥammad. It is thus not true, as Nāẓim asserts (*Sultān Maḥmūd*, p. 5), that 'Utbī tells us nothing of the 'dumb million' of subjects, but his information here must be integrated with scattered items from other sources. The greatest handicap in using the *Yamīnī* lies not in any bias, which can be detected and controlled, but in the inexplicitness arising from the author's aim at literary effect rather than at the conveyance of information. 'Utbī is very sparing with dates and with geographical and other details of Maḥmūd's wars. The accounts of the Indian campaigns are especially vague. He does not seem ever to have visited India himself, and the freshness of first-hand experience which we find in Baihaqī is quite absent. Nöldeke pointed out that 'Utbī is more interested in events in the western parts of the empire than in those on the other side and that later historians like Mīrkhwānd and Firishta are often fuller on the Indian campaigns.

The literary excellence of the *Yamīnī* ensured a wide diffusion of the work, and manuscripts of it are accordingly numerous.<sup>1</sup> Several commentaries on it were also written, but it seems that they all dealt with the text from a linguistic and philological point of view rather than from an historical one. That of Majd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī is extant in an Istanbul manuscript, Lâleli 2068. There are several manuscripts of the long and detailed commentary by Ḥamīd ad-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh an-Najāti, the *Basātin al-fudalā' wa-rayāḥīn al-'uqalā'*, completed in 721/1321. This last formed the basis for the Azharī shaikh Aḥmad al-Manīnī's commentary *al-Fath al-wahbī 'alā ta'rīkh Abī Naṣr al-'Utbī*, which was printed at Cairo in 1286/1869.<sup>2</sup> A Persian version was made as early as c. 1206 by Abū'sh-Sharaf Nāṣiḥ Jurbādhqānī (Persian, 'Gulpāyagānī'), probably for one of the Atabegs of Azerbaijan. Jurbādhqānī's simplified version retains some of the florid metaphor of the original, including the Arabic poetry quoted therein, but he omitted the autobiography which 'Utbī appended to the original. The *Yamīnī* was extensively for Maḥmūd's reign by later historians such as Ibn al-Athīr, Mīrkhwānd, and Khwāndamīr; Rashīd ad-Dīn's section on the Ghaznavids is lifted almost verbatim from Jurbādhqānī's translation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *G.A.L.* i. 382-3, Suppl. i. 547-8.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥājji Khalifa, ed. Flügel, vi. 514-15, lists five commentators; on the manuscripts of those commentaries now extant, see *G.A.L.*, locc. cit. The Istanbul manuscript Nuru Osmaniye 3357 is an autograph of Najāti; two further Istanbul manuscripts of the *Basātin al-fudalā'*, Veliyettin 2432 and

Fatih 4410, are not given by Brockelmann, and should be added to his entry.

<sup>3</sup> See the Introduction by Ahmed Ateş to his edition of the *Jāmi' at-tawārīkh*, vol. ii, pt. 4, 'Sultan Mahmud ve devrinin tarihi' (Ankara, 1957); the borrowing ends on p. 211 of this edition.

The *Zain al-akhbār* of Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. ad-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Maḥmūd Gardīzī, a general history of Persia from legendary times onwards, is a valuable authority for the history of Khurasan down to the eleventh century and for the history of the early Ghaznavids. The author must have been connected with the Ghaznavid court or administration (see below), although the extant portion of Baihaqī makes no mention of him. His dates are unknown: all that can be said is that he was a native of the Ghazna-Gardīz area, as his *nisba* and perhaps the name 'Ibn ad-Ḍaḥḥāk' show;<sup>1</sup> that during Maḥmūd's reign he was usually close to the sultan; and that he dedicated his history, being probably an old man at this time, to Sultan Zain al-Milla 'Abd ar-Rashīd b. Maḥmūd (441-4/1050-3).

Only part of the *Zain al-akhbār* is extant—the work seems to have had little influence on later historiography, and citations from it in later writers are infrequent—but we do possess, in addition to the historical narrative, chapters on the festivals and eras of various peoples, on classical scientists and philosophers, and on the sciences, customs, and beliefs of the Turks, Greeks, and Indians. The sources used by Gardīzī for pre-Ghaznavid history and for his accounts of non-Muslim practices and cultures have attracted the attention of scholars, in particular of Barthold (cf. *Turkestan*, pp. 20-21; 'Zur Geschichte der Šaffāriden', *Nöldeke-Festschrift* [Giessen, 1906], i. 171-6; *E.I.*<sup>1</sup>, art. 'Gardīzī') and of Minorsky (cf. *Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* [London, 1942], introd.; 'Gardīzī on India', pp. 625-7). Most important is Gardīzī's use of the lost *Ta'rikh wulāt Khurāsān* of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad as-Sallāmī, an historian and poet of Baihaq who flourished in the middle of the tenth century and whose fortunes were connected with those of the governors of Khurasan Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥtāj Chaghānī and his son Abū 'Alī.<sup>2</sup> Gardīzī also refers to the work of the Sāmānid vizier Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad Jaihānī (flourished early tenth century), whose lost *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik* has been extensively quoted by later writers. According to Minorsky, Gardīzī's chapter on the sciences and customs of the Indians has Jaihānī as its source; Gardīzī refers to his work as the *Kitāb-i tawārīkh* of Jaihānī. In the course of his narrative of Sāmānid history, Gardīzī refers in glowing terms to Jaihānī's capability as a vizier

<sup>1</sup> On the popularity of the name 'Zahāk/Ḍaḥḥāk' (< Azhi-Dahāk) in the region of Zābulistān, see Cl. Huart, 'Les Légendes épiques de la région de Ghazna (Afghanistan)', *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* (Paris, 1916), pp. 584-6, and V. Minorsky, 'Gardīzī on India', *B.S.O.A.S.* xii (1947-8), 625.

<sup>2</sup> Tha'ālībī, *Yatimat ad-dahr*, iv. 95, tr. Barbier de Meynard, 'Tableau littéraire du Khorasan et de la Transoxiane au iv<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire', *J.A.*, sér. 5,

no. 1 (1853), p. 212 (cf. also Tha'ālībī, *Tatimmat al-yatima*, ii. 108-9); Ibn Funduq, *Ta'rikh-i Baihaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār (Tehran, 1317/1938), p. 154. Fragments of Sallāmī's work have been found in Manīnī's commentary on the *Yamīnī*; cf. O. B. Frolova in *In Memory of Academician I. J. Kratchkovsky* (Leningrad, 1958), pp. 36-43 [in Russian], described by M. Canard in his review in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 105-6.

and to his great learning; he relates a story of how he allegedly inquired about administrative practices in all parts of the world, from China to Rūm and the land of the Zanj, and then adopted the best of them for use at Bukhara. Furthermore, Gardīzī knew Bīrūnī personally, and his chapter on the festivals of the Indians is demonstrably based on Bīrūnī's *India* ('Gardīzī on India', pp. 626–7).

Gardīzī's account of the Ghaznavids goes down to Maudūd b. Mas'ūd's seizure of the throne from Muḥammad in 433/1041. His information on the origins of Ghaznavid rule in Ghazna is very sketchy; observations on the rise of Alptigin and Sebūktigin (the intervening governors are not mentioned) occur in the narrative of the history of the later Sāmānids. His connected account of the Ghaznavids begins only with Maḥmūd's investiture in 391/999 with the governorship of Khurasan by the caliph al-Qādir (p. 62 of Nazim's text). In his preface to the account of Maḥmūd's reign, Gardīzī describes his qualifications for the task, in that he had been a first-hand observer of many of the events involved:

I propose to begin now on the history of Yamīn ad-Daula, may God have mercy on him, in a brief and concise manner. For, in comparison with all the other reports I have read about, a new factor comes into consideration when I treat of his reign. I have derived knowledge about the previous events either by hearsay or by reading books; and it may well be that the authors and relaters of these compositions and accounts have made omissions or have inserted extra matter. They may have been out to secure an unusual effect by their words or to make the book sought after. But in regard to the greater part of these events which I am about to relate, I can say that I witnessed them personally—what Amīr Maḥmūd did in India, how he conquered fortresses in Sistān, Khurasan, and Iraq, what fearsome deserts, mountains and passes he traversed, what battles he fought, what mighty rulers he humbled. No one has ever witnessed or heard about the like of these campaigns and stratagems, for indeed they were superhuman feats. . . . Out of all the reports about the rule of this dynasty, may God establish it for ever, I have selected the most attractive and memorable parts and set them down here. So far as possible, I have condensed them; if I had explained them at length, the work would have grown too big (pp. 61–62).

We are not therefore surprised that the account of the Ghaznavids is a chronicle of bare events, without the analyses of motive and the critical comments on events which we find in Baihaqī; nowhere does the author's personality or attitude to events come through. However, the narrative is often quite detailed. It supplements 'Utbī, who does not deal with the last decade of Maḥmūd's reign. His accounts of the two short reigns of Muḥammad are the only contemporary ones we have, and the only other source with substantially new material here is Shabānkāra'i's *Majma' al-ansāb* (see below, pp. 18–20). Gardīzī is careful to give dates for the events he records (not always accurately, however; cf. p. 108, where the



date 430 for Mas'ūd's winter stay in Nishapur should be 431). He writes dispassionately, without fulsome praise of the sultans and without savage condemnation of the Seljuqs and their ravages. The Persian style is usually simple, though not without difficulties, in part caused by the lacunae of the two manuscripts. Bahār calls the style 'mature and flowing', and attaches the work to the oldest period of Persian prose, with stylistic affinities to the Sāmānid vizier Bal'amī's translation of Ṭabarī.<sup>1</sup> The *Zain al-akhbār* has thus an honoured place as an example of straightforward historical style of the eleventh century.

We possess various partial printed editions of Gardizī, including that of Nazim (Berlin, 1928), who only, however, includes the chapters on the Ṭāhirids, Ṣaffārids, Sāmānids, and Ghaznavids, and the edition is in many ways unsatisfactory (e.g. he makes little sense of many of the names, especially Turkish ones). An edition of the whole is to be desired, even though we depend on what is in effect a unique manuscript; it seems unlikely now that further ones will turn up.<sup>2</sup>

## v

The *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī* of Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusain Baihaqī (385-470/995-1077) gives us a unique insight into the working of the Persian bureaucracy which ran the Ghaznavid empire. None of the compilers of biographical dictionaries deals with Baihaqī, for he spent most of his working life on the periphery of the Islamic world in Ghazna, but considerable biographical details can be gleaned from his own writings. Moreover, since he came from the oasis of Baihaq (modern Sabzawār), Ibn Funduq in his *Ta'rīkh-i Baihaq* devotes some space to this illustrious son of his home town.<sup>3</sup>

After an education in Nishapur, Baihaqī entered the Ghaznavid administration during Maḥmūd's reign. He began in the Correspondence Department (*Dīwān-i Risālat*) and remained there, first as assistant to the chief secretary, Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān, and then after his death in 1039, to the new head of the department, Abū Sahl Zauzanī. Finally, in 'Abd ar-Rashīd's reign, he himself became head of the *Dīwān*. Soon afterwards he fell from grace, and in the end retired after some forty years of active service. He was thus one of the many Khurasanian civil servants whom the Ghaznavids attracted to their capital and who gave the administration there such a strong Khurasanian and Sāmānid imprint.

Baihaqī put together his experiences and memories in a series of volumes called collectively the *Mujalladāt*. According to Ibn Funduq,

<sup>1</sup> *Sabk-shināsī yā ta'rīkh-i taḥawwūr-i nathr-i Fārsī*<sup>2</sup> (Tehran, 1337/1958), ii. 50-52.

<sup>2</sup> See Storey, pp. 65-67, for a description of the

manuscripts and for the work so far done on Gardizī's text.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 20, 175-8.

there were originally over thirty volumes. During the course of his career, Baihaqī took copious notes and often made copies of official and diplomatic documents for his own purposes. These papers went back as far as 409/1018-19, and he began in his retirement to put them in order and write them out properly. Baihaqī's own, original work in the *Mujalladāt* accordingly covers forty-two years, down to 451/1059. Events down to the year 409 had been dealt with by another historian in Ghazna contemporary with Baihaqī, Maḥmūd Warrāq, whom he calls 'trustworthy and authoritative', but on Maḥmūd Warrāq's death his sons prevented Baihaqī from using their father's work more extensively, on the pretext that it had not yet been copied and made widely enough known (*Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ghani and Fayyād [Tehran, 1324/1945], pp. 261-2). Whether this work of dissemination was ever done seems dubious, for the history has been lost without trace.

Nevertheless, Baihaqī's intention was to produce a history of the whole Ghaznavid dynasty down to the accession in 451/1059 of Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd, as the general title *Ta'rikh-i āl-i Sebūktigin* implies; so he borrowed from Maḥmūd Warrāq for the reign of Sebūktigin and for the earlier part of Maḥmūd's reign. The divisions dealing with the various reigns seem to have had separate names, e.g. *Ta'rikh-i Nāsiri*, *T.-i Yamīnī* (cf. *T.-i Mas'ūdi*, p. 26), *T.-i Mas'ūdi*. Only the section dealing with the reign of Mas'ūd, i.e. part of vol. 6, vols. 7-9, and part of vol. 10 (so Morley in the title of his *Bibliotheca Indica* edition [Calcutta, 1862], Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 22, and Storey, p. 253; according to Sa'id Nafisi, *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, art. 'Bayhaqī', vols. 5-10 complete) are extant. The last year of Mas'ūd's life is not treated in them, and there is a lacuna covering several months in the years 424-5.<sup>1</sup> At least twenty-five volumes of the *Mujalladāt* have therefore been lost. This probably happened fairly quickly. Ibn Funduq, pp. 20, 175, saw various volumes in a library at Sarakhs, in the library of the Khātūn Mahd-i 'Irāq madrasa in Nishapur and in private libraries, but not a complete set. The lack of incentives for copying such a gigantic work, whose subject-matter was in any case of comparatively local interest, and the destruction of books in Khurasan and Afghanistan by such vandals as the Ghuzz of Sanjar's reign, the Ghūrīds, the Khwārizmshāhs, and the Mongols, amply explain this regrettable loss.<sup>2</sup>

Baihaqī was also the author of a work on the secretary's art, the *Zīnat al-kuttāb*. Ibn Funduq is the sole author who mentions it, and it is probably from this work that he quotes in his biographical notice of Baihaqī several

<sup>1</sup> On the exact extent of this lacuna, see two different views in S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939), pp. 161-2, and Sa'id Nafisi's edition of Baihaqī (Tehran, 1319-32/1940-53), i. 512.

<sup>2</sup> The surviving manuscripts of the *Ta'rikh-i*

*Mas'ūdi* are almost all of Indian provenance, and many of them seem to come from a common original. Cf. Sa'id Nafisi in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>; Storey, pp. 252-4; and the introductions of Fayyād and Nafisi to their editions of the text.

interesting reflections on the position and obligations in the state of the secretary class. 'A. A. Fayyāḍ mentions some leaves of a *majmū'a* in a private library in Tehran, giving definitions of terms of *kitāba*, and attributed to Baihaqī; these leaves may have come from the *Zīnat al-kuttāb*. Baihaqī seems also to have been the author of the *Maqāmāt-i Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān*, a collection of reminiscences and episodes which he took down from his old master in the *Dīwān-i Risālat*. These *Maqāmāt* are explicitly quoted by later writers such as 'Aufī and Saif ad-Dīn Faḍlī (see below, pp. 16, 21–22). It is perhaps this work which Baihaqī refers to in his *Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdi*, p. 154, as the *Maqāmāt-i Maḥmūdi*.<sup>1</sup>

The uniqueness of Baihaqī's work has been rightly insisted on by earlier authorities like Elliot and Dowson (*History of India*, ii. 56–57) and Barthold (*Turkestan*, pp. 22–23); a comparison of its style and structure with that of other contemporary sources, 'Utbī's inflated periods and Gardīzī's jejune chronicle, immediately shows this. Baihaqī wrote with an eye on posterity. He anticipates criticism of the work's excessive size by asserting the paramount claims of completeness and of justice to all concerned in the events: 'I want to bring this history to a satisfactory conclusion and to bring out all the curious and obscure points, so that no aspect of events may remain hidden. If this book becomes long, and my readers grow weary, then I crave their indulgence not to consider me as a tiresome person' (p. 11). The freshness of his ideas on historiography is seen in the contempt which he expresses for the arid chronicles which are, in Collingwood's phrase, mere 'scissors-and-paste history', where 'so-and-so king sent so-and-so general to some war or other; on a certain day they gave battle or made peace; this one beat that one or that one this; they proceeded there' (p. 354).

Baihaqī's work is a dynastic history because the Ghaznavid sultans and their empire provided him with a satisfactory chronological and territorial framework; it is not a panegyric. When he wrote, he was a retired civil servant, enjoying his old age and without material reasons for writing exaggerated praises of his old masters. Hence in the *Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdi* he states that his aim is not to praise the greatness and courage of Amīr Mas'ūd, since these are well known and contemporaries have been able to witness it for themselves; instead, 'my aim is to write a history which will be of permanent value, and to raise up a mighty monument, whose fame will endure till the end of time' (p. 96). He does not fail to record Mas'ūd's obstinacy and errors of judgement in dealing with the Seljuqs in Khurasan. He knows that his account of the sultan's avarice at Āmul

<sup>1</sup> On the fragments of Baihaqī extant in other works, see Nafisi in *E.I.*; the present writer has not been able to see the work of Nafisi listed in his

bibliography, *Āthār-i gumshuda-yi Abū'l-Faḍl-i Baihaqī* (Tehran, 1315/1936).

in Gurgān in 426/1035 is very unflattering: 'It comes very hard for me to let my pen set down such words, but what can I do? One must not show partiality in writing history' (p. 462). It was alien to Baihaqī's nature to be unfair, even to his opponents. Although he had suffered personally at the hands of Abū Sahl Zauzanī and his partisans, and says that 'evil and malevolence were engrained in his nature', he wanted to be fair to him and avoid charges of prejudice and *parti-pris* (*ta'aṣṣub u tarabbud*) from readers who might think him a vindictive and cantankerous old man (pp. 154, 178-9, cf. 109).

In laying down his principles of historiography, Baihaqī shows an insight into historical method and *Quellenkritik*; his attitude testifies to the high level of Khurasanian culture at the time, in that it produced so judicious a scholar. Baihaqī enunciates these principles at the beginning of the tenth volume of the *Mujalladāt*. The thirst for historical knowledge, knowledge about the past, is a universal one, he says. But this knowledge can only be acquired by personal effort, entailing much travel *fī ṭalab al-'ilm*, or else by reading it in books. Man's wisdom and critical faculties are therefore most important:

Your informant must be a trustworthy and veracious person, but your own wisdom must also testify that the statement is true and must give sanction to that saying of God's which they speak about, 'Give no credence to any reports which offend against your judgement.' A book should be such that the reader's intelligence does not reject the reports set forth in it; that anyone who hears it credits it; and that wise men, when they hear it, should accept it.

Unfortunately, he continues, the majority of common people are stupid, and, instead of the truth, prefer incredible nonsense, stories about demons, fairies, evil spirits of the desert, hills, and seas, fishes as big as islands, and the turning of men into animals:

The number of people who can distinguish the truth and reject the false is very small. . . . In undertaking to write this history, I have laid down for myself as a guiding principle that whatever I write shall be based either on personal observation or on reliable informants known to me personally (*yā az mu'āyana-yi man yā az samā'-i durust az mardī thiqa*) (pp. 666-7).

Baihaqī was a personal witness of many of the sultan's campaigns, for the *Dīwāns* were peripatetic and accompanied the court. Where he had no first-hand knowledge, he could often find someone else in the bureaucracy with the requisite information; thus he got an eyewitness account of Prince Mas'ūd's youthful bravery in Ghūr from the *dabīr* 'Abd al-Ghaffār fifty years after the event (pp. 109-10). In the course of his duties, Baihaqī had frequently to make copies of official documents and communications to outside powers, and was thus well placed for giving the exact texts of these in his history. His work is, indeed, most valuable as

a source for Ghaznavid external relations, in particular those with the Qarakhanids, Ziyārīds, and the Baghdad caliphs. Unfortunately, when Baihaqī fell from favour during the reign of 'Abd ar-Rashīd, he was deprived of his official records, so that in some cases he was unable later to quote texts verbatim. If he had been able to keep his own exact copies of state papers, his history, so he says, would have had a different complexion. He had to spend years searching for the text of Mas'ūd's *bai'at-nāma* to the new caliph al-Qā'im (422-67/1031-75) before he came across it in the hands of Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān's children (pp. 287, 294). When he was dealing with regions of which he had no direct knowledge, he was careful to go to the best sources; the account of Khwārizm in vol. 10 of the *Mujalladāt* is taken from Bīrūnī's history of his native province (p. 667).

The style of the *Mujalladāt* is difficult. At this time, Arabic influences were penetrating into Persian prose. The strongly orthodox Sunnī policy of the Ghaznavid sultans was bringing them into contact with the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad and with their culture, and embassies were often exchanged between the two dynasties. It is well known that when Maimandī became Maḥmūd's vizier in 405/1014, he reintroduced the use of Arabic into the *Dīwāns*, whereas his predecessor Abū'l-'Abbās Faḍl b. Aḥmad Isfarā'inī (whom 'Utbi stigmatizes as *qalīl al-biḍā'a fī ṣ-ṣinā'a*, 'poorly-endowed with secretarial skill') had made Persian the administrative language.<sup>1</sup> Baihaqī's style is perceptibly more complicated than that of earlier prose writing, and gives the impression of being the technical and erudite Persian of the *Dīwān*-personnel. Syntax and word-order are loose but complex, with frequent ellipses and parentheses and much subordination. There are many Arabisms and sometimes even the word-order is reminiscent of Arabic. Baihaqī often adorns his narrative with verses or anecdotes from the pre-Islamic or Muslim Persian past, and these add to the prolixity of his style. But the *Mujalladāt* are an interesting example of what Bahār calls the second great period of New Persian prose writing, in which the works of Baihaqī and his master Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān, the *Qābūs-nāma*, and the *Siyāsat-nāma* are outstanding.<sup>2</sup>

## VI

Abū'r-Raiḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (362-c. 442/973-c. 1050) was the most distinguished scholar of the early Ghaznavid period, in Barthold's view perhaps the greatest Muslim scholar ever. He came from Khwārizm and was born in the environs (*rabad*, *bīrūn*) of

<sup>1</sup> 'Utbi, ii. 170-1; Jurbādhqānī, *Tarjuma-yi ta'rikh-i Yamīnī*, ed. 'Alī Qawīm (Tehran, 1334/1955), p. 219; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 291, and

Nazim, *E.I.*, art. 'al-Maimandī'.

<sup>2</sup> *Sabk-shināsī*, ii. 62-95.

its ancient capital Kāth. Despite modern Turkish attempts to claim him as a Turk, he was almost certainly an Iranian. His early life was unsettled. He seems to have been first connected with the ancient Afrīghid dynasty of Khwārizmshāhs. When they were overthrown by the Ma'mūnids, he moved to Gurgān for a while, and there wrote his *al-Āthār al-bāqiya* for Qābūs b. Wushmagīr. Returning to his homeland, he served the new dynasty of Khwārizmshāhs in several diplomatic missions. After Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 408/1017 dispossessed this dynasty, Bīrūnī was carried off by the acquisitive sultan to his capital. According to Yāqūt's biography of him, he was saved from death at Maḥmūd's hands as a suspected heretic by his great knowledge of astronomy, and it was probably as court astrologer that he spent the remaining thirty-odd years of his life at Ghazna.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Bīrūnī was no sycophant. His dedications to Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd are couched in what for the age are reasonable terms (the dedication of his *Kitāb al-jamāhir* to the later sultan Maudūd b. Mas'ūd is, however, more fulsome). Maḥmūd's role as the great Ghāzī does not seem to have impressed him; no doubt he had seen enough of the wastefulness of militarism. Of the sultan in India he says: 'Maḥmūd utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people.'<sup>2</sup>

Bīrūnī's *al-Āthār al-bāqiya 'an al-qurūn al-khāliya*, 'Chronology of ancient nations', as Sachau called it, was written before Bīrūnī came into contact with the Ghaznavids; its information on the eastern Iranian world relates chiefly to his native Khwārizm. The *Taḥqīq mā li'l-Hind* was the outcome of his visits to India in the wake of Maḥmūd's armies. Its section on the Hindūshāhī rulers of Kabul (tr. Sachau [London, 1879], ii. 10-14) is a precious source on the history of this area before it was annexed by the first Ghaznavids, and has been much used by historians to elucidate the history of this important Indian dynasty.<sup>3</sup> We would very much like to have in our hands two other works of Bīrūnī listed by Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vi. 311, the *Ta'rikh ayyām as-Sultān Maḥmūd wa akhbār abīhi*, and the *Kitāb al-musāmara fī akhbār Khwārizm*. The latter is the history of Khwārizm which Baihaqī used extensively for his account of Maḥmūd's conquest of the province (*Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdī*, pp. 665-80).

<sup>1</sup> On Bīrūnī's life, see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, vi. 308-14; S. P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953), pp. 253, 287-91; D. J. Boilot, *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, art. s.v.

<sup>2</sup> *Alberuni's India*, tr. Sachau (London, 1910), i. 22; see also his Introduction, pp. viii-xvi.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. by E. Thomas, 'On the Coins of the

Dynasty of the Hindū Kings of Kābul', *J.R.A.S.* ix (1848), 177-96; by Sir M. A. Stein, 'Zur Geschichte der Śāhis von Kabul', *Festschrift Rudolf von Roth* (Stuttgart, 1893); and by H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India* (Calcutta, 1931-6), i, ch. 2, 55-106.

The investigation of the citations from contemporary sources in later works is less straightforward. Nāẓim has noted many of these borrowings in his bibliographical introduction to *Sultān Maḥmūd*, and this may form a basis for further research. Some individual works have been examined from this point of view. M. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn's *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-ḥikāyat of Muḥammad 'Aufī*, G.M.S. (London, 1929), examines the sources of 'Aufī, who wrote this work of his under Sultan Iltutmish<sup>1</sup> (? Iletmish) of Delhi (reigned 607-33/1211-36), in a most exhaustive way. Special note should be taken of his borrowings from the lost parts of Baihaqī's *Mujalladāt* and from the *Dastūr al-wuzarā'*, a manual for viziers allegedly composed by Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd; this last work is not mentioned in any contemporary source, but Ibrāhīm's known interest in administration and just rule makes his authorship of it not impossible.<sup>2</sup>

The several anecdotes on the Ghaznavids in Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh's *Ādāb al-mulūk wa-kifāyat al-mamlūk* (thus in the India Office manuscript; in those of the British Museum and the R.A.S. Bengal, *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa'sh-shajā'a*)<sup>3</sup> have been translated and annotated by Miss I. M. Shafi in her article 'Fresh Light on the Ghaznavids', *Islamic Culture*, xii (1938), 189-234. Like 'Aufī, Fakhr-i Mudabbir wrote under Sultan Iltutmish; but he claimed personal descent from the Amīr Bilgetigin, one of Sebūktigin's predecessors in the governorship of Ghazna and father-in-law of Maḥmūd, and therefore a connexion with the Ghaznavid dynasty. According to Nāẓim, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, p. 9, the anecdotes relating to Maḥmūd seem to have been taken from Baihaqī or from some similar contemporary source; but the military nature of these episodes may point to an origin outside the civilian Baihaqī's work.

Minhāj ad-Dīn b. Sirāj ad-Dīn Jūzjānī also came from a family connected by marriage to the Ghaznavids. He wrote his *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* in 657-8/1259-60 for Sultan Nāṣir ad-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Iltutmish. An especially valuable feature of his account of the Ghaznavids (tr. H. G. Raverty, *Bibliotheca Indica* [London, 1881-99], i. 67-115) is the relation he gives of the early Turkish *ghulām* governors in Ghazna and of Sebūktigin's antecedents. Jūzjānī quotes here from the part of Baihaqī's *Mujalladāt* which dealt with Sebūktigin, the *Ta'rīkh-i Nāṣirī*, in which Baihaqī

<sup>1</sup> Dr. J. A. Boyle has reminded me (11 July 1961) that the spelling Iletmish or Il-Etmish now seems likely, and quotes Hikmet Bayur in *Belleten*, xiv (1950), 567-88; for the older view, see Barthold, 'Iltutmyš', *Z.D.M.G.* lxi (1907), 192-3.

<sup>2</sup> See the laudatory obituary notice of Ibrāhīm in Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x. 110-11 (= Cairo, 1348-53/1919-34, viii. 147-8), and the many anecdotes about his justice in the various Persian *adab* and *naṣīhat-nāma* works.

<sup>3</sup> There appear to be some differences between the India Office Persian MS. 647 (= Ethé 2767, cols. 1493-6) and the British Museum one (Rieu, ii. 487-8). The I.O. one lacks Shafi's anecdote No. 17 (p. 231 = B.M. MS. f. 184b), but elsewhere has additional sections, and on ff. 30a-31a an anecdote absent from the B.M. text on the Sharīf Abū'l-Faraj Ṣiddīqī, minister to Sultan Ibrāhīm and the author's great-grandfather on his father's side.

claimed to have been given information by Maḥmūd himself on his father's steppe origins, and from the *Ta'riḫ-i mujadwal* of the Imām Abū'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. 'Alī 'Imādī; both these works are now lost. When dealing with the succession to the throne on Maḥmūd's death, he quotes from Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān, presumably via his *Maqāmāt* (tr. i. 67-69, 92). The author 'Imādī seems to be identical with the Amīr Maḥmūd 'Imādī b. al-Imām as-Sanjārī al-Ghaznawī quoted in the section on the Ghaznavids in the anonymous *Mujmal at-tawārīkh*.<sup>1</sup>

In many ways, Maḥmūd of Ghazna, with his system of government, is the hero of the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Nizām al-Mulk (408-85/1018-92), but in contrast to the works previously mentioned in this section, none of the great vizier's sources for the Ghaznavids are discernible. Indeed, the sources as a whole for this important work have not yet been properly investigated, and we lack even a good critical text, even though translations have been made into at least five modern languages.<sup>2</sup>

It is proposed to deal finally with four lesser-known works, none of them available at present in printed editions, which contain information on the Ghaznavids apparently deriving from contemporary or near-contemporary sources: Ibn Bābā's *Kitāb ra's māl an-nadīm*; Shabānkāra'i's *Majma' al-ansāb*; the anonymous *Nasā'im al-aṣḥār*; and Saif ad-Dīn Faḍlī's *Āthār al-wuzarā'*.

## VIII

Little is known about Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Bāba al-Qāshānī except that he wrote his book in Arabic, the *Kitāb ra's māl an-nadīm*, 'the boon-companion's stock-in-trade', during the reign of the caliph al-Muqtafi (530-55/1136-60).<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i. 230-2, has an entry on him, calling him a grammarian (*lughawī*) and saying that he was known as Lawah or Ibn Lawah (? *l.w.h*); but he knows nothing about him except a few of his verses and an anecdote of his quoted at third-hand. Ibn Bāba seems to have been more a *nadīm* himself than a grammarian pure and simple. V. A. Hamdani says: 'It seems that the author belonged to the class of professional entertainers in Iraq, whence he travelled to Khurāsān where he had cause to deplore the prostitution of his profession.'<sup>4</sup>

As might be expected from its title, the *K. ra's māl an-nadīm* is a work containing material useful for *nudamā'* and *musāmīrūn*: the names of famous

<sup>1</sup> *Mujmal at-tawārīkh*, p. 405; see the editor Bahār's Introduction, pp. *lām-hā'*, and Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> On the various editions we possess of the *Siyāsat-nāma*, see I. Kafesoğlu, 'Büyük Selçuklu Veziri Nizāmü'l-Mülk'ün eseri *Siyāsetnâme ve türkçe*

tercümesi', *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, xii (1955), 231-56.

<sup>3</sup> See *G.A.L.* i. 420, Suppl. i. 586; Brockelmann calls him 'Ibn Bābā' in the first entry and 'Ibn Bānī' in the second.

<sup>4</sup> 'Some Rare Manuscripts in Istanbul', *J.R.A.S.* (1938), p. 563.



horses and swords, people who were buried alive but escaped, men who in the Jāhiliyya had the name 'Muḥammad', the lives of famous grammarians, &c. The last part of the book, however, is a history of the Caliphate and the provincial dynasties of Islam down to the fifth/eleventh century (ff. 166a–210a of the autograph manuscript of Istanbul, Turhan Valide 234. Cf. Hamdani, op. cit., p. 562, for a brief analysis of this manuscript; two others are known). Ibn Bāba closes by saying that he has decided to devote a special work to his contemporaries, the Seljuqs, 'which will describe how their power originated, how their followers conquered Khurasan, Iraq, Rūm, Syria, the land of Fārs and the Hijaz, and how their dominions expanded stage by stage and year by year. Because of this intention, we have not mentioned it [sc. the Seljuq dynasty] here' (f. 210a).

The section on the Ghaznavids (ff. 203a–210a) goes up to the reign of Mas'ūd III b. Ibrāhīm (492–508/1099–1114). The only authority which he mentions here (specifically, for Maḥmūd's birth-date) is Baihaqī, *Ṣāhib ta'rīkhihim* (f. 204b). He gives a succinct account of Sebūktigin's origins and of the Turkish governors who preceded him in Ghazna, with the dates of their death or deposition. He is the only authority who corroborates Sebūktigin's *Pand-nāma* (see below, pp. 19–20) concerning the latter's origin from the Barskhān region of the Semirechye. This account of the Turkish governors is the earliest we possess. Ibn Bāba seems to have been especially interested in political and constitutional aspects. He is particularly full on the relations of the early caliphs with the Abbasid caliphs; with the succession disputes on the deaths of Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd; and with the murder of 'Abd ar-Rashīd and the usurpation of power by the slave Toghril (444/1053). His mention of the legitimist feeling which this last episode provoked is interesting (f. 209a). It seems unlikely that Ibn Bāba, who was probably an 'Irāqī, could have had access to the originals of Baihaqī's *Mujalladāt*. It is possible that he took his information from an intermediate work which had utilized Baihaqī and which could also provide some material on the Ghaznavid sultans of the latter half of the eleventh century. 'Imādī's *Ta'rīkh-i mujadwal* must be considered a likely source here, especially as the *Mujmal at-tawārīkh*, as we have seen above, p. 17, quotes 'Imādī for the Ghaznavids, and its anonymous author came from Jibāl, the part of Persia adjoining Iraq, Ibn Bāba's probable homeland.

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad Shabānkāra'ī (d. 759/1358) was a poet and littérateur of Kurdish origin. He wrote under the patronage of Ghiyāth ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd ad-Dīn, vizier to the Īl-Khānid

sultan Abū Sa'īd, and in 733/1332-3 dedicated to him the first version of his *Majma' al-ansāb fi't-tawārikh*. This is a general history in Persian, beginning with the Creation; the author prefixes to it (ff. 15a-18b of the Istanbul manuscript Yeni Cami 909<sup>1</sup>) a 'description of the various human races', including the Chinese, Turks, Indians, Ḥabasha, and Zanj. He gives especial prominence to the history of his native region, southern Persia, with sections on the rulers of Kirmān, Hormuz, and Yezd, the rulers of the Shabānkāra'ī Kurds and the Atabegs of Fārs (ff. 20a, 212b-239a). It is thus to some extent a special history of this region.<sup>2</sup>

Morley considered the work of little value, except where the author dealt with events near his own time (*Catalogue of the R.A.S. Arabic and Persian Manuscripts*, p. 29), but the section on the Ghaznavids (= ff. 164a-189a of the Istanbul manuscript) is certainly of importance. It begins with Alptigin and ends with the deposition of Khusrau-Shāh by 'Alā' ad-Dīn Ghūrī, after which comes an appendix on the Slave Kings of Delhi. Shabānkāra'ī is important for giving the fullest account which we possess of the period between the governorships of Alptigin and Sebūktigin in Ghazna. Jūzjānī has a certain amount on the Turkish governors during this period, but many sources jump directly from Alptigin to Sebūktigin without mentioning the three governors who came between them.

Shabānkāra'ī also gives the only text *in extenso* which we possess of Sebūktigin's *Pand-nāma* (ff. 167a-169a). This is a brief 'Mirror for Princes', in which Sebūktigin first tells of his steppe origins and early life, and then passes on to giving advice for his son Maḥmūd on the business of kingship. It was allegedly written for Maḥmūd when, at the age of seven, he was appointed governor of Ghazna whilst his father was away attacking Bust. That a Turkish barbarian could have put together this sophisticated little epistle, which contains so many of the aphorisms and counsels of the longer and more elaborate Persian 'Mirrors for Princes', is most unlikely. Either it was composed for Sebūktigin by one of his Persian advisers, or, more probably, it was composed after his death, perhaps during the course of the eleventh century, and retrospectively attributed to him. This process has frequently happened where the counsels or opinions of a prominent figure are involved; the *Siyāsat-nāma* was, at the very least, 'edited' after Nizām al-Mulk's death, and his so-called *Waṣāyā* or *Naṣā'ih* are clearly not from his own mouth and were only compiled in the ninth/fifteenth

<sup>1</sup> Analysed in F. Tauer, 'Les Manuscrits persans historiques des bibliothèques de Stamboul', *Archiv Orientalní*, iii (1931), 95-96. Several of the extant manuscripts, which are not numerous, are defective and, in particular, lack the section on the Ghaznavids (see Storey, pp. 84-85, and Nāzīm, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, p. 11). For his book, Nāzīm consulted the Paris Bibl. Nat. MS., Supplément persan 1278 (= Blochet, i. 269), but complained that its defec-

tiveness and confusion made it impossible to use extensively. However, the Istanbul manuscript, which dates from the fifteenth century, is an excellent one and probably the best of those in existence.

<sup>2</sup> There is an analysis of the subject-matter in Rieu's *Catalogue of the B.M. Persian Manuscripts*, i. 83-84, but the manuscript he is describing is a very confused and chaotic one.

century, although the subject-matter seems to come from genuine family tradition and near-contemporary written materials. The elaboration of the *Pand-nāma* may thus be part of the growth of the legend of Maḥmūd as the great Ghāzī and of his father as the *Amīr-i 'Ādil*, showing that their comportment as rulers accorded with the ideal of Perso-Islamic kingship.<sup>1</sup>

Shabānkāra'ī further describes such interesting episodes as Sebūktigin's regulation and reform of the *iqṭā'*-system among the Turks in Zābulistān (discussed in the present writer's 'Ghaznevid Military Organisation', *Der Islam*, xxxvi [1960], 72-73). He gives accounts of the campaigns of Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd in Khurasan, Transoxania, Sīstān, and western Persia, but India is given little attention; the author is not interested in the Ghaznavids as an Indian power. Particularly noteworthy is the long section on Muḥammad's short sultanate of 421/1030, the intrigues leading up to it, and the vengeance later taken by Mas'ūd on those involved in it. The motives of the generals and courtiers who manipulated events at this time are skilfully analysed (ff. 181b-185a). Apart from a brief account of the Seljuq irruption into Khurasan, the reigns of Mas'ūd and his successors are only cursorily treated.

Shabānkāra'ī does not in this section name any sources, but the detail on the succession dispute after Maḥmūd's death, the analyses of the rival sides' motives, and the descriptions of correspondence which passed between them, all show that Shabānkāra'ī was using a source well based on official records and knowledge from bureaucratic circles. It could be from the lost part of the *Mujalladāt* which dealt with the end of Maḥmūd's reign and the ensuing one of Muḥammad. The hostile attitude towards the *Mas'ūdīyān*, those who gained ascendancy in the state after Mas'ūd's accession, and the friendly one towards the old, trusted counsellors like the Khwārizmshāh Altuntash, reflect clearly the sympathies of the established bureaucracy as we know them through Baihaqī and his master Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān. The account of Sebūktigin and his predecessors may be from Maḥmūd Warrāq's history (see above, p. 11) or from 'Imādi's *Ta'rikh-i mujadwal*.

## x

It is convenient to consider together two Persian biographical works on the lives of viziers, the anonymous *Nasā'im al-aṣhār* (? *iṣhār*), 'Breezes of relationship', and the better-known *Āthār al-wuzarā'* of Saif ad-Dīn Ḥājji b. Nizām Faḍlī. The first of these bears the sub-title *Kitāb fī alqāb al-wuzarā'*. It was written in 725/1325 and is known in the unique manuscript of Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3487, where it is bound together with a *Kitāb fī'l-*

<sup>1</sup> The text of the *Pand-nāma* (from the Paris manuscript), together with a translation, is given by Nazim in *J.R.A.S.* (1933), pp. 205-28.

*mawā'iz* and forms ff. 54a-111a of the whole volume (20 × 14.5 cm.; black ink with red headings; spidery *naskhī* with sparing consonant points; 15 lines per page).<sup>1</sup> After an introduction of generalities on the vizierate, the biographies proper begin with those of the viziers of the Orthodox Caliphs [*sic*]. The viziers of the Abbasids end on f. 71b (where nearly three blank pages follow) with the vizier Mu'ayyid ad-Dīn b. al-Qaṣṣāb, who held office in the period 590-2/1194-6 under an-Nāṣir. Then come the viziers of other dynasties, beginning with those of the Sāmānids (f. 73b ff.). The section on the Sāmānid viziers deals with the last years of the dynasty, the Qarakhanid invasion, and the rise of Sebūktigin's power in Khurasan (ff. 73b-75a). That on the Ghaznavid viziers treats at some length of Isfarā'inī, Maimandī, and Ḥasanak, with shorter notices on the viziers after Maḥmūd's death (ff. 75b-79b). No sources are mentioned in this section, but the account of the arguments set forth when Ḥasanak was chosen to succeed Maimandī is very similar, in parts word for word, to that in Baihaqī, pp. 366-7, and must be taken from there or from a common source.

We have more explicit information in the *Āthār al-wuzarā'* about a connexion with first-hand Ghaznavid sources. Saif ad-Dīn Faḍlī was an official of the Timūrids in Khurasan during the latter half of the fifteenth century; for one period he acted as vizier to Sultan Abū'l-Ghāzī Ḥusain Bāyqarā. His work is conceived on a larger scale than that of the *Nasā'im al-aṣhār*, with a long section on the Ghaznavid viziers (ff. 87b-115a of India Office Persian MS. 1569 [= Ethé 621, cols. 252-3]). He begins with Abū'l-Faṭḥ Bustī and ends with the minister of Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd I and his son Mas'ūd III, 'Abd al-Majīd b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad. The fullest treatments are those given to the great Maimandī (ff. 89a-111a) and to Ḥasanak (ff. 111a-114a). In the section on Maimandī, the author quotes specifically from the *Maqāmāt-i Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān* on the vizier's disgrace and dismissal, and the language, style, and treatment are similar to those of Baihaqī. As in the *Nasā'im*, the story of Ḥasanak's rise to office is related at length. Faḍlī gives it on Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān's authority, but his version is fuller than that of the *Nasā'im* or Baihaqī (ff. 112a-113b).

V. A. Hamdani has pointed out the close dependence of the *Āthār* as a whole on the *Nasā'im*, extending at times to verbal quotation.<sup>2</sup> This may be clearly seen by comparing the respective sections on the Sāmānid viziers (*Āthār*, ff. 85b-87b), where Faḍlī is the briefer of the two; but in his section on the Ghaznavid viziers he has added much fresh material, apparently from contemporary sources which were still available to him

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript was briefly noted by P. Horn in his 'Persische Handschriften in Constantinopel', *Z.D.M.G.* liv (1900), 505, no. 991, but without

analysis.

<sup>2</sup> 'Some Rare Manuscripts in Istanbul', p. 563.

in the fifteenth century. It may also be noted that Khwāndamīr (d. ? 942/1535-6) drew heavily on the *Nasā'im* for his own book on the lives of viziers, the *Dastūr al-wuzarā'*; judging by the extracts on the Ghaznavid viziers translated in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, iv. 148-53, the borrowing was verbatim.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the *Nasā'im* and the *Āthār*, see Storey, p. 1090, and on the latter of the two, Nāzīm, *Sultān Maḥmūd*, pp. 11-12.



## NOTES ON THE PRE-GHAZNAVID HISTORY OF EASTERN AFGHANISTAN

### I

**T**he pre-Islamic and early Islamic history of what is now eastern and southern Afghanistan contains many obscurities. Literary sources are sparse. The pre-Islamic confederations and empires which ruled over the region have left no royal annals in literary form, although it is true that they have left us valuable epigraphic and numismatic material. The eastern region of Afghanistan, or at least the Kābul valley, was until the seventh century A.D. strongly Buddhist, and this and the more southerly province of Zābulistān, the region around Ghazna, were visited by the Chinese Buddhist monk and traveller Hiuen-Tsang in the early seventh century.

Accordingly, we have in the account of Hiuen-Tsang's journeyings a first-hand source on the region.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the difficulties of applying information in Chinese sources to the study of the non-Chinese parts of Asia are notorious; they are the exasperation of the student of early Central Asia and Siberia, another region where literary sources, apart from the Chinese annals and a few references in Byzantine and other western Asiatic sources, are almost wholly lacking. To the Sons of Heaven, all the lands to the west and north of their empire were an outer darkness. The annalists doubtless made an honest attempt to render non-Chinese names and terms into their own language, but the nature of the Chinese ideograms and our imperfect knowledge of the pronunciation of earlier Chinese make the interpretation of Chinese sources very speculative.

Eastern Afghanistan was geographically much closer to the Indian than to the Chinese world, and we have much evidence of Indian religious and cultural influences penetrating the Kābul valley and Zābulistān until as late as the tenth century, when Alptigin and the first Ghaznavids overthrew the Hindūshāhī Rājās of Kābul and Waihind.<sup>2</sup> But again, there are

<sup>1</sup> Tr. Stanislas Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales* (Paris, 1857). The section relating to Afghanistan is examined by A. Foucher in his "Notes sur l'itinéraire de Hiuen-tsang en Afghanistan", *Études asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient par ses membres et ses collaborateurs* (Paris 1925), i.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, ed V. Minorsky (London

1937), p. 91 (written in 982), on Nangrahār, the modern region of Jalālābād, showing that its ruler was ostensibly Muslim, but had over thirty wives, and that the rest of the people were idol-worshippers; and *ibid.*, p. 111, on Kābul and its importance as a pilgrimage centre for Indians. For the Hindūshāhis, see H. C. Ray, *The dynastic history of northern India (early mediaeval period)* (Calcutta 1931-6), i. 55 ff.

difficulties of interpretation for the modern student. The Hindus showed little intellectual curiosity in the lands outside their own sub-continent; their historical sense was deficient, and the historian of early India faces basic problems in the construction of a satisfactory chronological framework for events.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the historian of eastern and southern Afghanistan must rely essentially on gleanings from two major groups of source-material. The first group is that of the Islamic literary sources, which give us information about the state of affairs on the eve of the Arab raids north-eastwards from Sīstān. These sources are by no means numerous. The Arab chroniclers concerned with the Iranian east were primarily interested in Khurāsān proper, the north-eastern corner of modern Persia, together with Transoxania and the lands along the upper Oxus (Chaghāniyān, Khuttal, Wakhs, and Ṭukhāristān), i.e. those lands which had been an integral part of or in close relationship with the Sāsānid empire to which the Arabs had fallen heir. The main early Arabic source giving detailed information on the Arab raids of the Umayyad period into ar-Rukhkhaj and Zamīndāwar (sc. the region of Qandahār) and into Zābulistān, is Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-buldān* (ninth century), and additional material can be found in the histories of Ya'qūbī (end of the ninth century) and Ṭabarī (early tenth century).<sup>2</sup>

Of Persian histories, Gardīzī's *Zain al-akhbār* (mid-eleventh century) has a considerable amount of unique information on the Ṣaffārid campaigns in eastern Afghanistan and on the Turkish slave governors in Ghazna a century or so later; as a local man, we may attach particular credence to Gardīzī's information on affairs in the Ghazna-Gardīz area. A source which has become utilizable by orientalists only in the last three decades is the anonymous *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān* (basically stemming from the later eleventh century);<sup>3</sup> this gives valuable information, probably from local traditions, on southern and eastern Afghanistan from the first Arab invasions to the middle Ghaznavid period. Were it not for this work, the events in this region during the two centuries between the early Arab invasions and the rise of the Ṣaffārids would be almost wholly veiled from us. The dynamism of the two Ṣaffārid brothers from Sīstān, Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. Laith, brought them almost to Baghdad in the west, and in the other direction, eastwards through Afghanistan along the historic route

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Basham notes that 'It is perhaps unjust to maintain that India had no sense of history whatever, but what interest she had in her own past was generally concentrated on the fabulous kings of a legendary golden age, rather than the great empires which had risen and fallen in historical times' (*The Wonder That Was India* [London, 1945], p. 44).

<sup>2</sup> J. Marquart has conveniently pieced together

the information of the Arabic sources in his sections on Zamīndāwar and Zābulistān in *Erānsāhr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i, Abhandlungen der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Kl., n.s. iii/3 (Berlin, 1901), 37-40.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Malik ash-Shu'arā' Bahār (Tehran, 1314/1935).



taken by the modern Lashkargāh-Qandahār-Ghaznī-Kābul road<sup>1</sup> to Kābul itself. Their campaigns in the east are documented in the Arabic sources of Mas'ūdī's *Murūj adh-dhahab* and Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī't-tārīkh* and in the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, but the picture is not as complete as we should like. The history of the region becomes reasonably well-known only in the second half of the tenth century, when first Alptigin, slave governor for the Sāmānids, and then Sebūktigin and the Ghaznavids, became established in Ghazna.

The other group of source-material holds perhaps the greatest hope for future revelations of Afghanistan's early history. It comprises the material evidence of the past in the shape of archaeological discovery. The French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan (D.A.F.A.) has now been working in the country for some forty years, and within the last decade the Italian Archaeological Mission has also begun work; both groups have so far worked mainly in eastern Afghanistan. The results already achieved in such places as Bāmiyān, Begrām, Surkh Kotal, Hadda, Ghazna, Mundigak, Lashkar-i Bāzār, &c., show that the country offers remarkable treasures for the general archaeologist and for such specialists as epigraphists and numismatists. The Afghans themselves are commendably aware of their country's potentialities for the scholar and archaeologist, and the Afghan authorities do much to facilitate research and exploration.<sup>2</sup> Hence through the disciplines mentioned above, a beginning has been made on the reconstruction of important periods in Afghanistan's pre-Islamic past.

The inscriptional discoveries of recent years have been particularly significant. They have come both from the northerly Hindu Kush region and from the more southerly one of Zābulistān and Zamīndāwar. Many of these are in Greek characters or in scripts clearly deriving from the Greek alphabet, testifying to the spell which the post-Alexandrian Hellenistic civilization of Bactria and Arachosia still exercised on the waves of invaders from the Central Asian steppes. These recent discoveries include the inscriptions of Surkh Kotal or Baghlān, near the modern town of Pul-i Khumrī in northern Afghanistan, which were found in the nineteen-fifties by D.A.F.A. (see below); the bilingual Greek and Aramaic inscription of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka found just outside Qandahār in 1958;<sup>3</sup> and the Hephtalite one of Uruzgān in western Zābulistān found by Dr. A. D. H. Bivar in 1953.<sup>4</sup> It is clear that a scholar

<sup>1</sup> Accepting the arguments of A. Bombaci that this was in fact the historic route, against the view of A. Foucher that it went up the Arghandāb river valley and across the Hazārajāt mountains to Kābul; see Bombaci, 'Ghazni', in *East and West*, n.s. viii/3 (Rome, 1957), 254, and also A. J. Toynbee's chapter, 'The Arachosian corridor', in *Between Oxus and Jumna* (London, 1961), pp. 53 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The present writer would like to place on record his own gratitude to Kābul University and its staff for the help and facilities extended to him during a visit to Afghanistan in May-June 1964.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. D. Schlumberger, &c., 'Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka', *J. A.* ccxvi (1958), 1-48.

<sup>4</sup> See the account in his article 'The Inscriptions of Uruzgan', *J.R.A.S.* (1954), pp. 112-18.

travelling in Afghanistan who keeps his eyes open and who takes advantage of scraps of local information, has a good chance of making valuable discoveries.

For the linguist, the most exciting of these inscriptional discoveries comes undoubtedly from Surkh Kotal. During 1957, D.A.F.A. discovered in the excavated ruins of a Kushan religious sanctuary there a monolithic inscription in a script derived from the Greek cursive used in Iran during the Parthian period. Surkh Kotal, in fact, lies in what was the classical Bactria and the later Islamic province of Ṭukhāristān. The sanctuary was begun apparently by the Kushan king Kanīška, who reigned probably in the second century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The language of the inscription gives us the first text in a new Middle Iranian language, called by the inscription's discoverer, the late André Maricq, 'étéo-tokharien', and by Professor W. Henning 'Bactrian'; it seems that the latter term is most likely to become the established one. According to Henning, the language occupies an intermediate position, linguistically as geographically, between Pashto and Yidgha-Munji (languages still spoken today in Chitrāl and on the other side of the Pakistan border in the extreme north-east of Afghanistan respectively) on the one hand, and Soghdian, Khwārazmian, and Parthian on the other.<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen that we are therefore getting a certain amount of light thrown on the history of pre-Islamic Afghanistan, but much remains obscure. The successors of the Kushans in eastern Afghanistan were the Hephtalites, called in Indian sources by the misleading name of Sveta Hūṇas, 'White Huns'. For the history of this confederation of peoples, which was probably Indo-European in leadership but which may well have contained ethnically Turkish elements, we possess the monograph of R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*,<sup>3</sup> which he based on the literary sources for Sāsānid history and for the Arab invasions of Khurāsān and Ṭukhāristān, on some Chinese information and on the important numismatic evidence on their rulers and their chronology. The power of the Hephtalites in the upper Oxus valley and in northern Afghanistan

<sup>1</sup> Such is the traditional dating, accepted by Bivar in his 'The Kaniska dating from Surkh Kotal', *B.S.O.A.S.* xxvi (1963), 498-502, the latest contribution to the topic; but the whole question of the placing of the Kanīška era is extremely complex and difficult.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on this inscription, its historical significance and its language, is already quite extensive. The works of salient importance are those of Maricq, 'Inscriptions de Surkh-Kotal (Baghlān). La grande inscription de Kanīška et l'éteo-tokharien, l'ancienne langue de la Bactriane', *J.A.* ccxlv (1958), 345-440; of Henning, 'The Bactrian inscription', *B.S.O.A.S.* xxiii (1960), 47-55; and of E. Benveniste, 'Inscriptions de Bactriane', *J.A.*

ccxlix (1961), 113-52. The speculations of H. Humbach in his monograph *Die Kanīška-Inschrift von Surkh Kotal: Ein Zeugnis des jüngeren Mithraismus aus Iran* (Wiesbaden, 1960) are effectively disposed of by I. Gershevitch in his review in *B.S.O.A.S.* xxvi (1963), 193-6, itself an important contribution to the solution of problems raised by the inscription. Further material in the Bactrian language is at present held by Henning, but has not yet been published.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires de la D.A.F.A.*, vol. xiii (Cairo, 1948). Ghirshman argues convincingly that the Hephtalites were in fact only one element of the Chionite confederation, perhaps the ruling house.

succumbed to the Arab invaders of Khurāsān in the latter half of the seventh century, but a southern kingdom, based on Zābulistān, lasted much longer than this. It probably dissolved into a network of local chiefs and rulers, *epigoni* of the Hephtalites in south-eastern Afghanistan, and the history of these local chiefs merges into that of the first Muslim raiders into the region, the sources for which were outlined above, pp. 13–14. The Arabs' raids were aimed more at exacting tribute, plunder, and slaves than at establishing a permanent military occupation, and in general, the local rulers preserved their authority. It was these same rulers whom the Ṣaffārids in the later ninth century, and then in the next century, the Turkish ghulām commanders of the Sāmānids, Qaratigin Isfijābī, and his successors at Bust<sup>1</sup> and then Alptigin and his successors at Ghazna, faced with their troops.

## II

We have some scraps of information about the immediate predecessors of the Ghaznavids in those sources describing the dynasty's rise in eastern Afghanistan. The dynasty's founder Sebūktigin, father of the great Sultan Maḥmūd, was of course only the last of a series of Turkish slave governors who had for fifteen years ruled in Ghazna, nominally on behalf of the Sāmānid Amīrs of Khurāsān and Transoxania. But whom did these incoming Turks displace at Ghazna? It seems that the indigenous local ruler there was one Lawik. Of the authorities either themselves of early date or enshrining early information, the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Nizām al-Mulk (end of eleventh century—beginning of twelfth century), the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* of Jūz-jānī (thirteenth century) and the *Majma' al-ansāb fi' t-tawārīkh* of Muḥammad Shabānkāra'ī (fourteenth century)<sup>2</sup> mention Lawik, and Jūz-jānī gives him the Islamic *kunya* or patronymic of Abū Bakr; however, Shabānkāra'ī says he was a pagan. In the manuscripts of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, a variant of the name appears as Anūk, but this is probably a scribal error. One can make sense only by equating it with Turkish *enūk*, 'cub of a lion, hyena, wolf or dog' (Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt at-Turk*, tr. Atalay [Ankara, 1939–43], i. 72; Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wörterschatz* [Budapest–Leipzig,

<sup>1</sup> Two of these, Baituz and Toghan, were in Bust during the middle years of the tenth century. Baituz was the original patron of the celebrated stylist and littérateur Abū'l-Faṭḥ Bustī, but was displaced from Bust by Sebūktigin; a coin of Baituz dated 359/970 has now been found at Lashkar-i Bāzār. See J.-C. Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar. II. Les trouvailles, céramiques et monnaies de Lashkari Bazar et de Bust*, Mémoires de la D.A.F.A., vol. xviii (Paris, 1963), pp. 170–1, and Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994–1040* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 37, 100–101.

<sup>2</sup> On Shabānkāra'ī (d. 759/1358) and his book,

see Bosworth, 'Early Sources for the History of the First Four Ghaznavid Sultans (977–1041)', *Islamic Quarterly*, vii/1–2 (1963), 18–20. The text of Shabānkāra'ī's section on Sebūktigin and his predecessors is now printed by Sa'īd Nafīsī in his *Dar pīrāmūn-i Ta'rikh-i Baihaqī* (Tehran 1342/1963), i. 20–35, from a manuscript of unspecified provenance. A further source, the *Kitāb ra's māl an-nadīm* of Ibn Bābā al-Qāshānī (written in the middle years of the twelfth century, see Bosworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–18), deals briefly with the predecessors of Sebūktigin in Ghazna, but does not specifically mention Lawik.

1928], p. 22), as in fact A. Bombaci has recently done, taking Anūk to be a local Turkish chief.<sup>1</sup> Since we do know of the presence of Turkish nomads in eastern Afghanistan in pre-Ghaznavid times, the suggestion is not impossible, but it is improbable; Lawīk seems to be the more likely form. According to Ḥabībī, *Pashto wa Lowīkān-i Ghazna*, p. 38 (see on this work, below, pp. 18 ff.), there was a Persian poet at the court of the Delhi Sultan Nāṣir ad-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh (644–64/1246–66) who held the position of *Mustaufī* or Accountant-General and who was called Malik al-Kalām Fakhr al-Mulk ‘Amīd ad-Dīn Lawīkī. Ḥabībī surmises that this man might possibly be a descendant of the Lawīk of Ghazna and his family.

Nizām al-Mulk, Jūzjānī, and Shabānkāra’ī relate how Alptigin, when he first arrived at Ghazna from Khurāsān in 351/962, clashed with Lawīk, besieging him in the citadel of the town for four months before capturing the fort. The *Siyāsat-nāma* then says that Lawīk withdrew to Sarakhs (sc. to northern Khurāsān), which is patently absurd; possibly we should read something like the Jurwas mentioned in Baihaqī, *Ta’rīkh-i Mas’ūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyād (Tehran, 1324/1945), p. 116, and in Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān* (Beirut, 1374–6/1955–7), ii. 130, a place in Ghūr. According to Shabānkāra’ī, Lawīk drew military aid from the direction of India. It seems, however, that the family had popular support within Ghazna. Lawīk or his son returned (the sources imply that there were during this period two Lawīks, father and son, and Jūzjānī gives the latter the *kunya* Abū ‘Alī) during the governorship of Iṣḥāq, Alptigin’s less capable son, and in 353/964 recovered Ghazna, holding it for a year until Iṣḥāq came back with help from the Sāmānids. A decade or so later, the people of Ghazna were chafing under the rule of a drunken and obnoxious Turkish governor, Böri or Bōritigin (the texts have the orthography Pīrī or Pīritigin for this name), and they invited Lawīk or his son to return. He came with an army which included the Hindūshāhī Kābul-Shāh’s son (according to Nizām al-Mulk, this last was Lawīk’s son-in-law), but was defeated at Charkh in the Lōgar valley between Kābul and Ghazna by Sebūktigin, who put both of the attacking leaders to death (366/977).<sup>2</sup> It is abundantly clear that Lawīk and his family had much influence in Ghazna, and possibly in nearby Gardīz also; Gardīz did not fall to the Turkish incomers till 364/974–5 or thereafter, for the governor Bilgetigin, Böri’s predecessor, was killed during the siege of it,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ‘Introduction to the Excavations at Ghazni’, *East and West*, n.s. x/1–2 (1959), 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. H. Darke (Tehran, 1340/1962), pp. 145–7, tr. idem, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings* (London, 1960), pp. 116–17; *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, ed. Ḥabībī (2nd edition, Publications of the Afghan Historical Society No. 76, Kābul, 1342–3/1963–4, 2 vols.), i. 226–7, tr. H. G. Raverty (London, 1881–99), i. 71–73; *Majma’ al-*

*ansāb*, Istanbul Persian MS. Yeni Cami 909, ff. 164a et seqq.; cf. M. Nāzīm, *The Life and Times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 25–27, and Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 37–39.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Bābā, op. cit., Istanbul Arabic MS. Turhan Valide 234, ff. 203b–204a; Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-mulūk wa kifāyat al-mamlūk*, India Office Persian MS. 647, f. 75a.

and the town could conceivably have been used by Lawīk and his son as a base for their *revanches*. The existence of what might be termed a 'legitimidist' feeling in Ghazna certainly creates a predisposition in favour of our regarding Lawīk as a member of a local family of standing and perhaps of some antiquity.

As for Gardīz, we hear about its local ruler in Ṣaffārid times. According to Gardīzī, ed. Nazim (Berlin, 1928), p. 11, Ya'qūb b. Laith in 256/870 or just before that year marched from Sīstān to Panjwāy and Tiginābād (in the region of Qandahār),<sup>1</sup> and defeated and killed the ruler of Zamīndāwar, the Zunbīl or Ratbīl. He then took Ghazna and demolished its *shahrastān* or citadel,<sup>2</sup> and besieged Gardīz. The ruler of Gardīz is named as Abū Maṣūr Aflaḥ b. Muḥammad b. Khāqān; he eventually surrendered, giving pledges for good behaviour and promising a tribute of 10,000 dirhams per annum. Ya'qūb then carried on to wrest Bāmiyān from its ruler, the Shēr, and plunder its idol-temple.

From the early Ghaznavid period we have a further piece of information about the rulers of Gardīz, again in Gardīzī's *Zain al-akhbār*, pp. 95–96. In 421/1030, Maḥmūd of Ghazna's son Mas'ūd was disputing the succession with his brother Muḥammad, and at this time one Abū Sahl Mursil b. Maṣūr b. Aflaḥ Gardīzī brought from Baghdad for Mas'ūd an investiture patent and the insignia of Caliphal recognition. This Abū Sahl Mursil was a member of the court circle at Ghazna, and it seems likely that the descendants of the Gardīz family mentioned in Ṣaffārid times had rallied to the side of the Ghaznavids and had become influential in their service. The chronological gap between the mentions of Abū Maṣūr Aflaḥ and Abū Sahl Mursil is one of 160 years, which seems an excessive distance for three generations alone to span, but it is not impossible that one or more names have dropped out of the chain of filiation, or perhaps that we should read 'Abū Sahl-i Mursil' with an *idāfa* of relationship. The occurrence of the elements 'Maṣūr' and 'Aflaḥ' in both names and the common connexion with Gardīz can hardly be fortuitous.

An interesting new piece of evidence which would connect this local family of Gardīz with the Lawīk of Ghazna has recently been brought forward by the well-known Afghan scholar, historian, and poet, 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī Qandahārī in his monograph *Pashto wa Lowīkān-i Ghazna, yak taḥqīq-i jadīd dar ta'rīkh-i adabiyat-i Pashto wa ta'rīkh-i Ghazna/Pashto and Loyaks of Ghazna* (Publications of the Afghan Historical Society

<sup>1</sup> See on the first of these two places, Mīr Ḥusain Shāh, 'Panjwayee-Fanjuwai', *Afghanistan*, xvii/3 (Kābul, 1962), 23–27; the site of Tiginābād, still mentioned in the early 13th century (cf. Juwainī, *Ta'rīkh-i Jihān-Gushāy*, tr. J. A. Boyle [Manchester

1958], ii. 462) remains to be identified.

<sup>2</sup> According to Baihaqī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdi*, p. 261, quoting the historian of Ghazna Maḥmūd Warrāq, Ya'qūb and 'Amr afterwards rebuilt the *qal'a* and *shahrastān* of the town.

No. 69, Kabul, 1341/1962), although it must be stressed at the outset that there is now no means of controlling or checking this evidence, as will appear from what follows.<sup>1</sup>

When Ḥabībī was in exile in Pakistan in the nineteen-fifties, there were in a Ṣūfī *khānqāh* in Karachi some Balūchī *murīds* who came from the district of Dēra Ismā'īl Khān. Amongst these *murīds* there appeared a small manuscript in Persian containing several tales revolving round the miracles (*karāmāt*) of Shaikh Sakhī Surūr of Multān. This Shaikh lived in the sixth/twelfth century, and was an acquaintance in Baghdad of 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī and Shihāb ad-Dīn Suhrawardī; he was buried at Dēra Ghāzī Khān in the Panjab, where his tomb became a celebrated pilgrimage place. Ḥabībī was able in 1957 to examine the manuscript. He concludes that the paper and the calligraphy point to a date of c. 900/1500 for the copying of the manuscript; the literary style points to the Ghaznavid or Ghūrid period for the date of composition. Since both the beginning and end of the manuscript were missing, the names of neither author nor copyist could be ascertained. After handling it in 1957, Ḥabībī lost track of the manuscript; the head of the *khānqāh* died, and Ḥabībī's own transcripts and photographs were confiscated by the Pakistani police and thereby lost to him. Although the work was primarily hagiographical in tone, the anecdotes in the manuscript also contained material of historical interest. Of one of these anecdotes, on f. 15b, Ḥabībī did manage to retain a record, and on p. 46 of his monograph he gives the text of it, with his own corrections to the original:

In the history of Ghazna by Ḥasan-i Ṣaghānī is a story from Abū Ḥāmid az-Zāwulī. According to this, there was a great mosque (*masjid*) in the town of Ghazna, by the Bāmiyān, gate, which was known as the mosque (*mazgīt*) of Aflaḥ Lawīk. This had been a great idol-temple (*but-khāna*), which Wujwīr Lawīk had erected in honour of the Ratbīl and the Kābul-Shāh.

When his [sc. Wujwīr Lawīk's] son Khānān was converted to Islam, he was nevertheless disinclined to destroy the idol of Lawīk, so he buried it beneath the ground in the temple, placing it in a silver casket. The Kābul-Shāh sent the following line of poetry, in the Khalajī language (*lisān-i Kh.l.jiyya*) which the Lawīk had spoken.

[Here follows a line of verse in an apparently unknown language, which Ḥabībī, however, reads as very archaic Pashto, yielding the following meaning:]

'Alas! The idol of Lawīk has been interred beneath the earth of Ghazna, and the Lawīyān family have given away [the embodiment of] their kingly power. I am going to send my own army; do not yourself follow the same way of the Arabs [sc. the religion of Islam].'

Khānān later reverted to the faith of the Hindūyān-Shāh. When his grandson

<sup>1</sup> Orientalists are in Ḥabībī's debt not only for the edition of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* mentioned above, p. 17, n. 2, but also for an excellent edition of the

important *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyya* of Khwāja 'Abdillāh Anṣārī Harawī (Publications of the Afghan Historical Society No. 72, Kābul, 1341/1962).

Aflaḥ succeeded to power, he demolished the idol-temple of Lawīk and built a mosque there instead.

The story continues in this wise. When Sultān Sakhī Surūr arrived at this mosque, he exclaimed, 'I smell an idol!' He looked diligently and eventually uncovered the idol of Lawīk, still laid in its silver casket. He smashed it to pieces and gave the precious metal for building a mosque. Thus by means of this miracle by that Saint of God, the smell of unbelief and Hindu idolatry passed from the town of Ghazna.

Ḥabībī supplies a copious commentary to this story, the salient features of which are as follows.

Ḥasan-i Ṣaghānī is the famous Indian traditionist and lexicographer, Raḍī ad-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252), author of two important dictionaries, the *Majma' al-bahrain fī'l-lughā* and the unfinished *al-'Ubāb az-zākhir wa'l-lubāb al-fākhir*, which was much used by later Arabic lexicographers (and also by Lane for his *Arabic-English Lexicon*).<sup>1</sup> According to Ḥabībī, an Istanbul manuscript of the *'Ubāb* contains marginal glosses in Persian dialect, the *lisān-i Ghaznawiyya*, words and expressions which Ṣaghānī himself had heard in Ghazna.<sup>2</sup> The Bāmiyān gate of Ghazna is one of the four gates mentioned by Maqdisī in his *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), p. 304.

It is the designation of Aflaḥ (the text writes Aflakh) with the title, presumably a dynastic one, of *Lawīk* that enables Ḥabībī to connect these two names which are mentioned in connexion with the early history of Gardiz and Ghazna respectively. The title *Lawīk* occurs again as part of the designation of Aflaḥ's grandfather Wujwīr, a name which Ḥabībī connects with the district to the west of Ghazna, on the borders of Zābulistān and Ghūr, and which is known variously as Wujūr/Wujīristān (cf. Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, i. 333, 346, 351, 353, tr. i. 334, 357, 366, 369) or Hujwīr (cf. the name of the author of the *Kashf al-mahjūb*, the biographer of the Ṣūfīs of Khurāsān and the east, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Hujwīrī), modern Wajīristān.<sup>3</sup> Ḥabībī regards *Ratbīl* as the correct form and not *Zunbīl* (as is maintained by Marquart in his article 'Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žūn vom 6–9 Jahrhundert', *Festschrift Eduard Sachau* [Berlin, 1915], pp. 248–92, connecting the title with the god Zūn or Zhūn whose shrine lay in Zamīndāwar in pre-Islamic times); he cites Arabic poetic and lexicographical *shawāhid* and gives an etymology from Indian Prākṛits

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden, 1937–49), i. 444, Supplement, i. 614.

<sup>2</sup> According to *ibid.*, i. 444, there are two manuscripts of the *'Ubāb* in Istanbul, Aya Sofya 4702–4 and Köprülü 1551–3; Ḥabībī does not specify which of the two he means.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. D. N. McKenzie, who was kind enough to read through the draft of this article with the

expert eye of an Iranian linguistic scholar, suggests the possibility of this region Wujūr/Hujwīr, &c., being connected with the modern Wazīr Pathans. In favour of a possible migration of the Wazīrs to the Tōchī valley, he cites the fact that Wazīrī Pashto is a fairly aberrant dialect, but the whole of the early history of the Pathan tribes is too shrouded in mystery for any firm conclusions to be reached.

languages.<sup>1</sup> *Khānān* he links with the element *Khāqān* in Gardizī's name Abū Maṣṣūr Aflaḥ b. Muḥammad b. Khāqān, taking the form *Khānān* as the correct one. The mention of the idol-temple being erected in honour of the Ratbīl and the Kābul-Shāh, and the existence of an idol of Lawīk himself, point, he says, to a cult of these local rulers as divinely appointed. The title *Sultān* here given to Shaikh Sakhī Surūr is an honorific one, indicative of the great fame he enjoyed in his day.

One of the most intriguing features of the anecdote is undoubtedly the line of verse in the *lisān-i Kh.l.jiyya*, which Ḥabībī interprets as very early Pashto. The present writer has no linguistic competence to comment on this, but it does raise some historical questions, in particular, the question of the Khalaj. These are mentioned in several early Islamic sources (e.g. in Ibn Khurrādādhbih, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal, the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 'Utbi's *Yamīnī*, and the *Siyāsat-namā*) as pastoral nomads in eastern Afghanistan; often they are coupled with the Oghuz Turks. In early Ghaznavid times these tribesmen were recruited into Maḥmūd's armies. Information about the Khalaj has been gathered together by Professor V. Minorsky in his commentary on the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, pp. 347–8, and in his article 'The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, x (1940–2), 417–37. This is not the place for considering whether the Khalaj really were Turks; the question is examined by the present writer and Sir Gerard Clauson in their article 'Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia', to be published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1965). The authors here incline to the view that the Khalaj were not ethnically Turks, but were débris left by such earlier invasions as those of the Sakae, the Kushans, and the Hephtalites.<sup>2</sup> It would thus be perfectly feasible for the Khalaj to have spoken a basically Indo-European and not a Turkic language at this time. Unfortunately we do not know with certainty what stage of its evolution Pashto had reached in the eighth and ninth centuries. Also, there must have been other Iranian languages still flourishing in eastern Afghanistan at this time. The last millenium has seen the spread of New Persian and Pashto at the expense of other Iranian languages, but we still have today remnants of two languages of the South-East Iranian group, Parāchī in a few villages to the north of Kābul, and Ōrmuṛī in the Lōgār valley and at Kāñigurām in Wazīristān. It seems to the present writer quite feasible that the *lisān-i Khalajīyya* mentioned in the anecdote should be some Iranian language other than Pashto, but the difficulties of identifying a language from a single line of poetry,

<sup>1</sup> Against the form *Ratbil*, it should be noted that the manuscript of the *Tā'rikh-i Sistān* consistently spells *Zunbil*, often with full consonant pointing; see Malik ash-Shu'arā' Bahār's edition, pp. 213–14, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> An additional piece of evidence comes from *ibid.*

p. 215, where in an account of Ya'qūb b. Laith's campaigns against the Zunbil in Zamīndāwar, the opposing Turks and Khalaj seem to be considered as two distinct groups.



whose text has doubtless been much corrupted in its transmission, are obvious.

From this story, Ḥabībī reconstructs the picture of the coming of Islam to the Ghazna region. It was first accepted by Khānān as a result of the Arab raids from Sīstān, but when the raiders returned to their base, Khānān apostasized. His son Muḥammad permanently accepted the new faith, and the latter's son Aflaḥ is the Amīr of Gardīz in Ṣaffārid times mentioned by Gardīzī. *Lawīk* is a general designation or title of the family, borne by all its members, and the family must have had links with the adjacent regions of Kābul and Zamīndāwar and their rulers the Kābul-Shāhs and the Ratbīls or Zunbīls.

## III

Undoubtedly, Ḥabībī's account fits in with many of the tantalizing fragments of information on the Ghazna region which we possess. It means that the coming of Islam to eastern Afghanistan must have been quite early, even if it took a long time for the new faith to vanquish the indigenous beliefs and customs and secure a firm hold on the population. Certainly, the region of Ghūr to the west of Zābulistān remained a pagan enclave until the Ghaznavid campaigns of the fifth/eleventh century; see Bosworth, 'The early Islamic history of Ghūr', *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961), 123 ff. When in 255/869 the son of the Zunbīl escaped from his captivity in the citadel of Bust, he fled first of all to the region of ar-Rukhkhaj and Zamīndāwar, and quickly collected a large force against Ya'qūb b. Laith; sympathy for the local dynasty was obviously strong there.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, we have seen that popular sympathy and support for Lawīk lingered in Ghazna during the time of Alptigin's successors (above, p. 17).

On the other hand, the detailed narrative of the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān* for events in the eighth and ninth centuries shows the vigour and dynamic of the Arabs in Sīstān, whose ambitions reached northwards into Khurāsān and eastwards into Zamīndāwar and beyond. The driving force behind much of this activity was supplied by the local Khārījī elements in Sīstān, for when the Khawārij of Iraq, Ahwāz, and Fārs were scattered in the time of the Umayyad viceroy al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, many of them withdrew eastwards to Kirmān, Sīstān, and Sind. Thus the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, pp. 156 ff., documents the career of the Khārījī leader Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh, who rebelled in 181/797 and eventually compelled the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd to recognize him as local governor in Sīstān. As is well known, the Ṣaffārid brothers themselves arose from the ferment of Khārījī and orthodox Sunnī elements clashing in Sīstān during the early and middle

<sup>1</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, pp. 214-15.

years of the third/ninth century, and Ya'qūb and 'Amr seem originally to have had Khārijī sympathies.<sup>1</sup> Now the Khawārij were religious radicals and very active propagandists for their sectarian beliefs. We know that they early passed from Kirmān into Sind, where the Muhallabīs fought them, and their route may have been either through what is now Baluchistan or through southern Afghanistan. It would in any case not be strange if Khārijī zealots carried their faith northwards into eastern Afghanistan in the pre-Šaffārid period.<sup>2</sup>

In the Peshawar Museum (Inscription No. 49) is an inscription of very early date attesting the presence of Islam in the Tōchī valley of Wazīristān (in modern Pakistan, but with easy access across the present Afghan border from the direction of Khōst and Gardīz). It is in two languages, with the upper text in Arabic and the lower one in Sanskrit written in the Śāradā script. The Arabic text records the construction of a building—presumably a mosque—in Jumādā I 243/September 857, but what looks like the name of the builder and dedicator cannot easily be deciphered. This must without doubt be one of the earliest Islamic inscriptions known in the sub-continent. Since it was first published by M. H. Quraishi in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, ed. G. Yazdani (Calcutta, 1925–6), pp. 27–28, no satisfactory rendering of the crucial part of the inscription, the dedicator's name, has been made.

Some time ago, Dr. A. D. H. Bivar suggested to the present writer that part of the yet undeciphered text should be read as *fī barr 'Umān* 'in the land of Oman'. The connexion between Oman and Wazīristān is not an immediately obvious one, but Dr. Bivar's view becomes perfectly intelligible if we take into account the widespread activities of the Khawārij as discussed above. Being remote from the central government of the Caliphate in Damascus or Baghdad, parts of the Arabian peninsula like Oman were obvious places of refuge for the Khawārij. To this day, the Ibādiyya, lineal descendants of the early Islamic sect of the Khawārij with the same name, are a substantial element of the population of Oman. The relations, political and economic, of Oman and the opposite Persian coast of Makrān have always been close. Until 1958, when it was ceded to Pakistan, the little port of Gwādar on the coast of Baluchistan was under Omani sovereignty. That there should be contact between Khārijī elements on both sides of the Persian Gulf, perhaps entailing some coming and going of personnel, would not be strange and would account for the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Barthold, 'Zur Geschichte der Šaffāriden', in *Orientalistische Studien zu Th. Nöldeke gewidmet* (Giessen, 1906), i. 171–91. Barthold makes good use of Gardīzī (parts of whose work he had already published in the volume of texts accompanying the original Russian version of his *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*), but could not of course take into

account the copious material in the *Ta'rikh-i Sistān*, unpublished till after his death; a modern synthesis of what is known about the early Šaffārids is very much a desideratum.

<sup>2</sup> The *Hudūd al-'ālam*, p. 91, notes that the inhabitant of Gardīz were adherents of the Khawārij.

mention of Oman in the inscription. However, this inscription has by no means yielded up all its secrets. The present writer's colleague Dr. M. A. Ghul has suggested that the phrase interpreted by Dr. Bivar as [*fī*] *barr 'Umān* might be part of a personal name, perhaps that of the erector of the inscription, . . . *ibn 'Ammār*, and this looks palaeographically quite possible. But in whichever way we read the phrase, the whole inscription testifies irrefutably to the presence of Islam on the North-West Frontier at least one or two decades before the appearance of the Ṣaffārids in eastern Afghanistan.

The story on the Lawīks of Ghazna communicated by Ḥabībī would, if it could be further authenticated, carry our knowledge of the coming of Islam to eastern Afghanistan a considerable step further; it is unfortunate that the manuscript in question has now been lost sight of. In default of the appearance of some lucky literary find of the same nature as Ḥabībī's discovery, and its examination by experts on the languages and history of the region, it would seem that the archaeological researches of the French and Italians hold out most promise of further contributions to our knowledge of the early history of eastern Afghanistan.



**An Embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghazna Recorded in Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubayr's  
Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir wa't-tuḥaf**

I. THE FIRST VOLUME in the "Arab heritage" (*al-Turāth al-'Arabī*) series of texts, published under the auspices of the Kuwait government, is the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir wa't-tuḥaf* of the Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubayr, expertly edited by Professor Muḥammad Ḥamīdallāh.<sup>1</sup> As its name implies, this work discusses the presents exchanged by rulers, and also other topics, such as wedding and circumcision feasts which were celebrated on a munificent scale; famous discoveries of treasure; the wealth left as inheritances by prominent leaders and rulers; etc. Most of the incidents and examples cited come from 'Abbāsīd, Būyid or Fāṭimid history. At the end of the book are a few additions (*ziyādāt*) by a Mamlūk author, Shihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408-9, according to Ibn al-'Imād and Sakhāwī), mainly culled from Mas'ūdī's *Murāj adh-dhahab*.

Virtually nothing is known of Qāḍī Abū'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. az-Zubayr, and what little information we can gather comes from internal evidence in his book. It seems that he was a Shī'ī, and was first of all in the service of the Būyid Amīr of 'Irāq, Fārs and Kirmān, 'Imād ad-Dīn Abū Kālījār al-Marzubān (415-40/1024-48). Then after the overthrow of the Būyids by the Seljuqs, he migrated to the more congenial atmosphere of Egypt and entered the service of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustansīr (427-87/1036-94). From his official and diplomatic experience, Ibn az-Zubayr must have had extensive knowledge for writing about the exchange of presents between rulers,<sup>2</sup> and when he deals with events of his own time, much of his material is clearly first-hand. The *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir* must have been written in the middle decades of the 5th/11th century; Ḥamīdallāh suggests a date around 463/1070-1.

<sup>1</sup> Kuwait 1959, pp. 25 + 367.

<sup>2</sup> For a general treatment of this topic in early Islam, see Bosworth, *Encycl. of Islam*<sup>2</sup> Art. "Hiba. iii. The Caliphate to 1258".

The book is explicitly cited by such later Egyptian authors as Maqrīzī in his *Khīṭat*, and by Ghuzūlī in his *Maṭālī' al-budūr*, ch. xxxviii, "Rare and costly presents and luxury articles", but does not otherwise seem to have achieved much renown.

Despite a similarity of title, Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubayr's work is clearly not identical with the anonymous work, known only in a Gotha MS., called the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir wa't-tuḥaf fī bi'r aṣ-ṣanā'i' wa'l-ḥiraf*, described by Goldziher in his *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*. II. *Das Kitāb al-Mu'ammārīn des Abū Ḥatīm al-Siḡistānī* (Leiden 1899), LXXVII-LXXIX, cf. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, II, 384; Goldziher placed the composition of this work in the time of the Ottoman occupation of Egypt. Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubayr's book does not in fact appear in Brockelmann. The unique MS. of it, from which Ḥamīdallāh worked, is in the library at Afyon Karahisar in Turkey, and he surmises that it may originally have been part of the library there of Gedik Aḥmad Pasha, Vizier to Meḥmed the Conqueror from 878/1473 to 887/1482; it was copied by the well-known Mamlūk historian Ibn Duqmāq.<sup>3</sup>

II. Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubayr's fourth chapter is headed *al-Ayyām al-mashhūda wa'l-ijtimā'āt fī'l-awqāt al-ma'hūda wa'l-mahāfil al-mahshūda*, and describes the lavish receptions and celebrations staged by rulers for the benefit of important ambassadors. On pp. 151-3 he cites an embassy from the Caliph al-Qādir (381-422/991-1031) to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna (388-421/998-1030); a translation of this passage is given below.

151 "Abū'l-'Abbās at-Tūsī relates: al-Qādir bi'llāh once sent me on an embassy to Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin at Ghazna. This was so that al-Ḥalīb bi'llāh

<sup>3</sup> On whom see J. Pedersen in *Encycl. of Islam*<sup>1</sup>, s.v., and E. Ashtor, "Some unpublished sources for the Bahri period", in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization*, ed. U. Heyd (Jerusalem 1961), 27-30.

might be proclaimed heir to the Caliphate (*walī al-ʿahd*), and took place in the year . . . [here a lacuna amounting to four words].

"When I approached the town where the Sultan was, I encountered a vast body of his troops, too numerous to be counted, and all fitted out with the most splendid uniforms and outfits, and the finest weapons and equipment, that I have ever seen. I entered the town itself, and found the army drawn up on parade. I came to a big group of elephants, and around them were Indian troops whose number, I was told, was 30,000. I passed through them and met a large number of young Turkish slave troops (*ghilmān*), employed as guards in the halls of the palace (*bi-rasm al-ḥujar*), all fully equipped and carrying arms; I was informed that there were some 10,000 of them.

152 "On reaching the gate [of the palace], I noticed two great dragons (*tinnīnāy*), the biggest known of their kind, each guarding one of the halves of the gate, and held there by iron chains. I entered, and found the forecourt thronged with wild beasts, chained up on both sides in lines facing each other. I made my way through them, noting first of all lynxes in their natural state, and then panthers likewise, all in great numbers. Finally, I reached Maḥmūd himself, a fine figure to see, installed in his full court, in a hall richly furnished and equipped. He was seated on his throne with all the great men of state standing before him in two ranks, all in their finest clothes.

"I handed al-Qādir bi'llāh's letter to him. Then he got up ready to ride to the place where the proclamation of the Caliph's message was to take place, and he ordered me to ride with him. His horse was brought to the door of the throne room, and he mounted. When he rode through the midst of those wild beasts, they all roared and rubbed their faces in the dust, abasing themselves before him. The two dragons became restive, the soldiers shouted out, the elephants knelt down in obeisance and the horses neighed. It was just as if the Day of Resurrection were suddenly upon us, and I felt the ground tremble! We rode along together. The troops, meanwhile, had split into two detachments, one in front of us and one behind, the distance between the two groups being more than a bowshot. The Sultan therefore rode separately from his courtiers, and only I accompanied him.

153 "When we were some way along the road, a woman stopped him and petitioned him for help. He looked her up and down and asked her what the trouble was. She told him that she was the daughter of one of his respectable, modest-living subjects (*mastūrī ra'yyatī*). She had gone out on some errand and had been accosted by one of the Sultan's

men, who overpowered her and raped her. The Sultan made enquiries about the man in question and then summoned him. When confronted with the woman's accusation, the man—who had the legal status of *muḥṣan*<sup>4</sup>—admitted to the fact. The Sultan thereupon ordered him to be stoned and then burnt alive, and he waited till this was really done. Then he ordered the man's possessions to be sold off and the money given to the woman in compensation for the crime which he had committed against her. When all this was over, he rode on."

III. Several points are involved in the question of the historicity of this account. We know that Maḥmūd was very keen to maintain close relations with the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. Their spiritual authority, as heads of the Sunnī world, was required by the Sultan to give legitimacy to his sovereignty over the great empire which he had built up, and to provide moral and diplomatic support against hostile powers like the Qarakhanids north of the Oxus and the Būyids in western Persia. For his part, al-Qādir was anxious to cultivate relations with the great Ghāzī-Sultan, whose victories in heathen India were resounding throughout the Islamic world and whose political support might be a useful lever against the Būyid Amīrs who controlled 'Irāq and held the Caliph in tutelage.<sup>5</sup>

The year in which al-Qādir proclaimed his

<sup>4</sup> The relevance here of the phrase *wa-kāna muḥṣan*<sup>an</sup> is connected with the doctrine of the *Sharī'a* on *zinā'*, for rape is counted as *zinā'*, and punishment for this depends on whether the *zānī* is *muḥṣan* or not. The latter term is explained by J. Schacht in his *Encycl. of Islam*<sup>1</sup> Art. "Zinā'" thus: "By *muḥṣan* the law means in this case every individual who has reached years of discretion, is in possession of his faculties, is free and has had sexual intercourse in a legal marriage". *Fiqh* and many traditions distinguish between stoning and flogging as the appropriate penalty for the *muḥṣan* and the *ghayr muḥṣan*, but there are variations amongst the different *madhāhib* concerning the applicability of these penalties.

<sup>5</sup> The course of Ghaznavid-'Abbāsīd relations is examined in detail by Bosworth in his article "The imperial policy of the early Ghaznavids", *Islamic Studies, Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research*, I/3 (Karachi 1962), 49-82, see also *idem*, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh 1963), 46, 51-4, and M. Nāzīm, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), 160-1, 164-5.

eldest son al-Ghālib bi'llāh as his heir is recorded in the general historians under 391/1001. In this year, they say, al-Qādir took from the notables and religious leaders of Khurasan, as the Pilgrimage of Khurasan and the east passed through Baghdad, a pledge of allegiance (*bay'a*) for his son Abū'l-Faḍl Muḥammad, then eight years old. The stimulus to this action was the pretensions of one 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān al-Wāthiqī, who claimed to be a descendant of the Caliph al-Wāthiq, and who had been flitting around the courts of the eastern Islamic world boasting that he was going to raise an army, march on Baghdad and overthrow al-Qādir; eventually, Maḥmūd of Ghazna imprisoned him till he died. Maḥmūd now agreed to place al-Ghālib in the *khurba* of his dominions, and he also acknowledged him on his coinage. Al-Ghālib died eighteen years later, and another son, Abū Ja'far 'Abdallāh, eventually succeeded as al-Qā'im bi-amri'llāh.<sup>8</sup> The embassy described in the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir* must therefore be presumably placed in or shortly after 391/1001, and must represent the formal approach to the Sultan for recognition of al-Ghālib as *walī al-'ahd*; it is unfortunate that there is a lacuna in the MS. at the point where the date is mentioned. None of the specifically historical sources seems to mention this embassy. However, the name of the envoy, Abū'l-'Abbās aṭ-Ṭūsī, is reminiscent of that of an envoy employed some thirty years later by the 'Abbāsids in an embassy to the Ghaznavids. In 422/1031 the new Caliph al-Qā'im sent an envoy to Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd, seeking to have his own succession to the Caliphate recognised and proclaimed in the Ghaznavid territories. This man, who was given a spectacular reception well calculated to impress him with Ghaznavid might, was called the Faqīh Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad as-Sulaymānī aṭ-Ṭūsī. The *nisba* aṭ-Ṭūsī common to both men suggests the possibilities either

<sup>8</sup> 'Utbi-Manīnī, *at-Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī* (Cairo 1286/1869), II, 110-12; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, IX, 117-18, 220 = ed. Cairo 1348-53/1929-34, VII, 210, 302; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (Hyderabad 1357-9/1938-41), VII, 215, 292; cf. Bosworth, "The imperial policy of the Ghaznavids", 60, 63.

that one person only was in fact involved, or that we have here father and son, both employed in the diplomatic service of the Caliphs.<sup>7</sup>

The actual description of Maḥmūd's court, the thronging of the Indian troops, the richly-equipped Turkish palace guards, the pomp and protocol involved in the envoy's reception by the Sultan, all accord well with what we know of the sumptuous court life and cultural splendour of the early Ghaznavids. Bayhaqī's work contains several very detailed descriptions of the receptions of envoys, and his verbal delineations of the palace *ghulāms'* uniforms and equipment, and the spacious lay-out of the reception halls and courts of the royal palaces, have recently received striking confirmation in the investigations of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan at Lashkar-i Bāzār and Bust and of the Italian Archaeological Mission at Ghazna.<sup>8</sup> Thus Bayhaqī describes the reception by Mas'ūd in Muḥarram 423/December 1031 of the Caliphal envoy at the 'Abd al-A'lā palace at Balkh, in which 4,000 palace guards lined the way to the Sultan's throne, all in uniforms of Shushtarī brocade and with maces as weapons.<sup>9</sup> Qādī Ibn az-Zubayr's mention of the palace *ghulāms* as specially detailed for duty in the halls (*hujar*) of the Sultan's palace is reminiscent of 'Abbāsīd terminology; the *Hujariyya* were *ghulāms* recruited by al-Mu'taḍid for service in the audience halls of the Caliphal palace at Baghdad.<sup>10</sup>

The mention in the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir* of the dragons guarding the gate, and the wild beasts lining the forecourts, would seem to introduce an element of the traveller's romance, and this may well be so. But that we have a substratum of truth here is not unlikely. Elephants were certainly regularly stationed at court on ceremonial occasions. Bayhaqī mentions the large number of

<sup>7</sup> See Bayhaqī, *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāq (Tehran 1324/1945), 286-94, 369-72; Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 64-6; R. Gelpke, *Sultan Mas'ūd von Ghazna, Die drei ersten Jahre seiner Herrschaft (421/1030-424/1033)* (Munich 1957), 107-15.

<sup>8</sup> See Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 135 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdi*, 287 ff. = Gelpke, 108 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. D. Sourdél, *Encycl. of Islam*<sup>3</sup> Art. "Ghulām. i. The Caliphate".

elephants at the reception of the Faqih Abū Bakr Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭūsī, and speaks of the tremendous din at that time, "The sound of trumpets and drums and brass plates hung from the elephants bursting forth, just as if it were the Day of Resurrection". That there were other wild beasts at court is also probable, for the Sultans regularly used panthers and lynxes for hunting, and amongst the presents given to Mas'ūd in 427/1035 by his son-in-law the local ruler of Chaghāniyān were panthers.<sup>11</sup>

The episode which concludes Qādī Ibn az-Zubayr's account, that of the outraged woman appealing to Maḥmūd for redress, is, of course, reminiscent of the stories about the rigorous justice of Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd which grew up very early around these two personages. Such stories appear in Kay Kā'ūs's *Qābūs-nāma*, in Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma*, in 'Awfi's *Ja-wāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, etc., but this must be one of the earliest recorded ones; whether it contains some nucleus of fact is impossible to verify.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdī*, 288-9, 495.

<sup>12</sup> See Bosworth, "Mahmud of Ghazna in contemporary eyes and in later Persian literature", *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, IV (London 1966).

The whole of this account of the embassy to Maḥmūd in the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir*, whilst it cannot be checked in the historical sources, would appear to enshrine a genuinely historical episode. When Qādī Ibn az-Zubayr composed his book, he was writing only sixty years or so after the events allegedly described, although he was, it is true, writing in distant Egypt, and the somewhat incredible details about the wild beasts may reflect this remoteness, together with the general tendency to attribute wonders to the Indian world and its fringes. Apart from this story of the embassy, there is only one other reference to the Ghaznavids in the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir*, on pp. 191-2, where is mentioned a priceless mirror-stand made from rubies captured in 407/1016-17 from an idol temple at Mat'hūra (Muttra) in India; the immense booty of jewels, etc., taken from here is described in detail by 'Utbī in his *Yamīnī*.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Nūẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 107-8; the Muttra expedition actually took place in 409/1019.





## MAHMUD OF GHAZNA IN CONTEMPORARY EYES AND IN LATER PERSIAN LITERATURE

*The following is a slightly condensed version of a lecture given at the British Institute of Persian Studies in Tehran on May 6th 1964; the references have been added later.*

### I. Maḥmūd and His Empire in the Contemporary Sources

Although the chief authorities for early Ghaznavid history, 'Uṭbī, Gardizī and Baihaqī, were contemporaries of Maḥmūd (reigned 998–1030) and his son Mas'ūd (reigned 1030–41) and although they were in the official service of the Sultans, they show a considerable degree of objectivity and impartiality.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, they stress the undoubted magnificence of the Sultans' court and their way of life: the concourse of scholars and literary men surrounding the monarchs, with such poets as 'Unṣurī, Farrukhī and Manūchihri, and a polymath like Bīrūnī; the fine palaces and gardens laid out at Ghazna, Bust, Balkh and Herat; the wonderful 'Arūs al-Falak mosque and madrasa built by Maḥmūd in Ghazna from the spoils of India; and so forth.

But they also allow us to see a darker side to this. The Ghaznavid empire was essentially a military machine, geared primarily to the exploitation of India. Even though the Seljuqs in the middle decades of the eleventh century stripped the Ghaznavids of their possessions in Persia and western Afghanistan, the empire was still able to survive for over a century as a power in eastern Afghanistan and northern India, with twin capitals at Ghazna and Lahore. However, this military machine required immense amounts of money to keep it going. According to Gardizī's *Zain al-akhbār*, Maḥmūd once reviewed 54,000 regular troops at the parade-ground or *lashkar-gāh* of Shāh-Bahār just outside Ghazna, and it is recorded that the elephant-stables or *pil-khāna* at Kabul housed 1,670 elephants of war. In addition to the regular troops, there were the *ghāzis*, the volunteers and fighters for the faith, who did not receive regular pay but were entitled to shares in the plunder. But all the professional, salaried soldiers, together with their mounts, elephants and equipment, had to be maintained in times of peace as well as war. The booty of precious metals, weapons, slaves, etc., which was brought back from India was immense in quantity, but it came in erratically. Hence the central administration had to rely also on the taxation of the settled lands in Afghanistan and Khurasan, and the sources show us how hard the incessant demands for money pressed on the local populations.<sup>2</sup>

Yet before detailing some of the information in the sources concerning financial oppression, it is necessary to make some qualifications. The Islamic historian is incessantly confronted with accounts of the devastation and ruin of some town or region by trampling armies, oppressive taxation or natural calamities like famine, plague or earthquake. Nevertheless, we often find that a few years later, these places are flourishing once more, with walls rebuilt and inhabitants returned and agriculture and commerce resumed. This can be in part explained by the great resilience of Islamic society; only disasters of the first magnitude, such as the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century and the campaigns of Tīmūr a century and a half later, seem to have inflicted lasting damage on Islamic society. It is also probable that the habit of outwardly living near the subsistence level and of concealing true wealth and prosperity from the government and its agents, was widespread; thus people may have had some reserves with which to start life again after a major disaster. Finally, one must take into account fatalistic religious views on the impermanence of worldly wealth and success, and a feeling that government was necessarily harsh yet preferable to mob-rule or anarchy.

<sup>1</sup> On these writers, see Bosworth, "Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid Sultans (977–1041)", *Islamic Quarterly* VII (1963), pp. 3–14.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *idem*, "Ghaznavid military organisation", *Der Islam* XXXVI (1960), pp. 37–77.

Concerning the attitudes of the ruler and the ruled, Sir Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen have made some pertinent remarks here. They refer specifically to Ottoman Turkish administration in the eighteenth-century Arab world, but their judgement has validity for other parts of the Islamic world and for other periods:

“The conception of authority implied in the minds of the subjects themselves an assertion of power accompanied by a certain measure of harshness and violence. . . . The prevalence of such a conception of authority may, at first sight, be put to the account of long centuries of misrule and oppression, supplemented by the tradition of quietism which was inculcated by the religious authorities and, by an acquired habit of stoicism, passing into fatalism. But this explanation by no means covers all the facts. It seems rather to be a development of the basic idea that authority confers privilege, and three elements in particular may be discerned as contributing to its general acceptance. One was the purely selfish element of material ambition, common to men in all grades of society. . . . There was none so low as might not hope, by some turn of fortune’s wheel, to be set in a position of authority, however subordinate, and so to share in its perquisites. A second element was derived from the unstable and transitory nature of most forms of authority. Those whose turn had come enjoyed an opportunity which would probably be brief and therefore to be made the most of. The victims of their extortions would be the first to exclaim at their folly if they neglected to do so, and the demands of equity were met when the deposed tyrant was called to account and deprived of his wealth and sometimes of his life by his successors or superiors. Yet public opinion recognized certain limits to tyranny and exploitation. One may even speak of ‘permissible extortions’ or ‘recognized abuses’ . . . in the sense that they had become traditional usages. Moreover, public opinion required the abuse of authority to be offset by other qualities, such as liberality, accessibility, bravery and a certain magnanimity. When these qualities were lacking, or when tyranny violated the unwritten laws which governed the exercise of authority, the limits of quietism were reached, and vengeance was demanded and exacted.”<sup>9</sup>

Whilst the prevalence of oppressive rule in the Islamic world may accordingly be an extenuating factor, the exploitation of the population of the Ghaznavid empire seems to have been carried to an extreme degree. In the earlier part of Maḥmūd’s reign, Khurasan, which had not long passed out of the hands of the Sāmānids of Bukhara, was ruled with great harshness by the Vizier Abū’l-Faḍl Isfarā’inī, who was, it is true, being continually pressed by the Sultan for money to finance the Indian campaigns. ‘Utbi records in his *Ta’rikh al-Yamīnī* that Isfarā’inī extracted continuously and put nothing back: “[Affairs in Khurasan] were characterized by nothing but tax-levies, sucking dry and the lust for increased revenue, without any constructive measures”. After some years of this, there was nothing further to be got, “Since in Khurasan, after water had been thrown on her udders, not a trickle of milk could be extracted, nor any trace of fat”. Land went out of cultivation, peasants fled from their villages to the mountains and a life of banditry, and the officials were unable to collect the required amount of taxation. When in 1006 the Turkish Qarakhanids invaded Khurasan from Transoxania, Nishapur raised no resistance, and a considerable group of the notables of the province actually favoured the invaders. Natural catastrophe followed. In 1011 there was a terrible famine, and people were reduced to cannibalism; ‘Utbi says that it was unsafe for people to go outdoors singly or after dark, lest they be attacked, killed and eaten.

During the reign of Mas‘ūd, Ibn al-Athīr records that the Ghaznavid military commander and civil governor at Ray in northern Persia so exasperated the people there by their confiscations and illegal levies, that they became strongly anti-Ghaznavid, whereas only a short time previously they had welcomed deliverance from the turbulent soldiery of the Būyids: “Tāsh-Farrāsh had filled the land with injustice and tyranny, until the people prayed for deliverance from them and their rule. The land became ruined and the population dispersed”. Khurasan under Mas‘ūd was ruled from Nishapur by the civil governor or ‘*Amīd*, Abū’l-Faḍl Sūrī, and Baihaqī comments unfavourably on his exactions: For the Mihrghān festivities of 1031 Sūrī brought to the court such fabulous presents that the Sultan exclaimed how he wished for a few more servants like him. But the head of the Correspondence Department, Abū Naṣr-i Mishkān, denounced Sūrī as a tyrant, who only handed over to the Sultan a half of what he took from the people. As a result, Abū Naṣr went on to say, the notables of Khurasan were corresponding with the Qarakhanids in Transoxania with the aim of diverting the Seljuq nomads

<sup>9</sup> *Ottoman Society and the West*, vol. I, i (Oxford 1950), pp. 205–6.

into Khurasan. Baihaqī himself voices the opinion of the high officials in Ghazna when he insists that Sūrī's policies were a direct cause of the loss of Khurasan to the Seljuqs; the people there were ready for any change of government, in the hope that it might prove less harsh<sup>4</sup>.

## II. Maḥmūd's Reputation in the Islamic World of His Time

The Sultan nevertheless achieved a great contemporary repute in the Islamic world at large. This came primarily from his Indian campaigns, which accorded well with the Islamic ideal of the ruler who carries *jihād* into the pagan lands, the *Dār al-Kufr*. During the two and a half centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate, the boundaries of the Islamic world had expanded comparatively little in comparison with the initial vitality of the new faith under the Orthodox Caliphs and the Umayyads. It is true that Islam was making important gains in the steppes of Central Asia and South Russia. Early in the tenth century, the kingdom of Bulghār on the middle Volga became Muslim and thus came to form the northernmost outpost of the Islamic world. During the middle years of that century, the Qarakhanids, who probably belonged to the Qarluq branch of the Turks, became Muslim; their leader Satuq Boghra Khan adopted the Islamic name of 'Abd al-Karīm. At the end of the century, the Oghuz tribes in the region stretching from the lower Syr Darya to the Volga, gradually adopted Islam, so that the Seljuqs, when they entered the Muslim lands of Khwārazm and Transoxania, were at least nominally Muslim. All this work of evangelism was done peacefully and unobtrusively by dervishes and other religious enthusiasts, and did not accordingly catch the imagination of the Islamic world as a whole.<sup>5</sup>

To offset these successes, the central lands of the Caliphate were in the latter part of the tenth century and the early part of the eleventh one under considerable pressure. The energetic Byzantine emperors of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1057) began to recover ground lost to the Arabs three centuries before: Cyprus, Crete and much of northern Syria were recaptured, and Greek armies almost reached Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> The blows inflicted on Muslim confidence in these regions are reflected in the pessimistic and troubled atmosphere of the blind poet Abū'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī's work, and the picaresque hero of al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāmāt*, Abū Zaid as-Sarūjī, is depicted as a refugee from his home town of Sarūj in northern Syria, whence he had fled before the advancing Byzantines.

To balance the reverses in Syria, there came the news of spectacular victories in the Indian sub-continent by Maḥmūd and his father Sebūktigin. Maḥmūd built up an image of himself as the faithful supporter of the Abbasid Caliphs. Like most of the Turkish dynasties which came into the Islamic world, the Ghaznavids were orthodox Sunnis of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* or law school. It must be conceded that the first Ghaznavids showed a certain eclecticism here; the anonymous *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān* describes Sebūktigin as favouring the conservative, literalist Karrāmiyya sect, and Maḥmūd himself showed some sympathy for it.<sup>7</sup> There are also accounts in later sources, *sc.* the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Khallikān and Tāj ad-Dīn as-Subkī, of how Maḥmūd, under the influence of the Shāfi'ī scholar al-Qaffāl ash-Shāshī, later became a Shāfi'ī, but the dynasty as a whole favoured the Ḥanafī *madhhab*.

At the beginning of his reign, Maḥmūd was especially needful of Caliphal support to legitimize his power, secured only after a succession dispute with his brother Ismā'īl. He also needed Caliphal confirmation of the *status quo* in the north-east of the Iranian world, where he had divided with the Qarakhanids the former Sāmānid dominions. Although in this age of Būyid domination in Iraq, the direct political authority of the Abbasids was small, their moral and spiritual influence was still great. They could legitimize power by sending to a newly-established ruler an investiture patent (*manshūr*) and the insignia of royalty, which included honorific titles (*alqāb*, *sing. laqab*). Thus after his victory in Khurasan in 999, Maḥmūd received from Baghdad the titles *Yamīn ad-Daula* "Right Hand of the State", *Amīn al-Milla* "Trusted One of the Religious Community" and *Walī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*

<sup>4</sup> Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994–1040* (Edinburgh 1963), pp. 85–8.

<sup>5</sup> W. W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London 1928), pp. 254–7.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire 324–1453* (Oxford 1952), pp. 303 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik ash-Shu'arā' Bahār (Tehran 1314–1935), p. 339; cf. Bosworth, "The rise of the Karrāmiyyah in Khurasan", *Muslim World L.* (1950), pp. 8–9.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, tr. M. G. de Slane (London 1842–71), vol. III, pp. 342–3; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā* (Cairo 1323–24/1905–06), vol. IV, pp. 14 ff.

“ Confidant of the Commander of the Faithful ”; and after the Indian campaign of 1026, which culminated in the sack of Somnāth, he received the further one of *Kahf ad-Daula wa'l-Islām* “ Refuge of the State and of Islam ”.<sup>9</sup>

For his part, Maḥmūd was careful to send presents to the Caliph from the plunder which he had gained, and it was from this source that elephants were once again seen in Baghdad for the first time since the Ṣaffārīds had in the later ninth century sent thither beasts captured in eastern Afghanistan. He also forwarded regularly proclamations of his victories (*fath-nāmas*); the texts of two of these, the first describing Maḥmūd's victory of 999 in Khurasan and the second his conquest of Ray in 1029, are extant in the surviving fragment of Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣābi' 's chronicle and in Ibn al-Jauzī's *al-Muntazam* respectively. Moreover, the Sultan ostentatiously avoided all dealings with the Abbasids' great rivals, the Fāṭimid Caliphs of Egypt and Syria, and in 1013 he summarily executed an envoy sent peacefully to him by the Caliph al-Ḥākīm in Cairo.<sup>10</sup>

But it was the victories in India which blazed forth the fame of Maḥmūd throughout the Islamic world, so that crowds of *ghāzis* and volunteers flocked to his banner from all parts of the eastern Islamic world, eager to share in the fabulous plunder of India. Almost every winter, the Sultan led an expedition down to the plains of India, and in the course of these his armies penetrated as far down the Ganges as Benares and as far south as Kathiawar and Gujerat. From the temple of Somnāth alone, Maḥmūd is said to have carried off 20 million dinars' worth of plunder, and the precious metals thus gained were used to beautify the palaces and public buildings erected in the capital Ghazna and elsewhere. They also enabled the Sultans to maintain a high standard of gold and silver coinage, thereby facilitating trade and commerce across the Ghaznavid empire. In regard to slaves, 'Utbī says that they were so plentiful after the Kanauj campaign of 1018, when 53,000 captives were brought back, that slave merchants converged on Ghazna from all parts of eastern Islam and slaves could be bought for between two and ten dirhams each.<sup>11</sup>

There is no doubt that in the eyes of contemporaries, Maḥmūd's empire was the greatest in extent and power known since the early Arab Caliphate, and his hammering of the infidels was accounted supremely worthy of such a great Islamic ruler. We see the Sultan's fame displayed in a curious episode recorded by Gardīzī under the year 1026:

“ Ambassadors came from the Qitā Khān and the Uighur Khān to Amīr Maḥmūd and brought good messages and reported readiness to place themselves at his service. They prayed, saying, ‘ We want good relations between us ’. Amīr Maḥmūd gave orders that they should be received honourably, but then he answered their messages, saying, ‘ We are Muslims and you are unbelievers; it is not seemly that we should give our sisters and daughters to you. If you become Muslims, the matter will be considered ’. And he dismissed the ambassadors honourably.”

These embassies and the letters which they brought are described at greater length in Marvazī's *Ṭabā' i' al-ḥayawān* (early twelfth century), with a reference in the letters to Maḥmūd's Indian conquests. The Qitā are of course the K'i-tan or Liao dynasty of northern China, who were probably of Mongol stock, and the Uighur Khan would be one of the Turkish rulers of what is now Sin-kiang or Chinese Turkestan; clearly, Maḥmūd's fame had penetrated as far east as the borders of China.<sup>12</sup>

In the west, the Ghaznavids appear to have harboured grandiose dreams of marching on Baghdad, liberating the Caliph from the tutelage of the Būyids, of extinguishing the rule of that Shī'ī dynasty and then of preparing an attack on the Abbasids' rivals, the Fāṭimids. This was not an entirely vain project for the campaign undertaken by Maḥmūd during the last year of his life (*sc.* in 1029) brought Ghaznavid arms to the borders of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan and compelled several Dailamī and Kurdish local rulers to acknowledge temporarily the suzerainty of the Sultans. Indeed, Mas'ūd, who was continuing the campaign in the west, asserted that if his father had not died at this point and if he had not been

<sup>9</sup> See further, Bosworth, “ The titulature of the early Ghaznavids ”, *Oriens* XV (1962), pp. 211 ff., 217–8.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *idem*, “ The imperial policy of the early Ghaznavids ”, *Islamic Studies, Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi* I (1962), pp. 60, 63, 70–2.

<sup>11</sup> Muḥammad Nāzim, *The Life and Times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), pp. 108–9, 115–20.

<sup>12</sup> Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār*, ed. Nazim (Berlin 1928), p. 87; V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭahir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India* (London 1942), pp. 19–21, 76–80.

compelled to march eastwards and wrest the throne in Ghazna from the hands of his brother Muḥammad he would have penetrated into Iraq to Baghdad and beyond.<sup>13</sup>

### III. Maḥmūd in Later Persian Literature

In general, it was the popular impression of Maḥmūd as a great fighter for the faith and as the despotic ruler of an immense empire, which came to the forefront in literature and legend after his death. In those Arabic and Persian historical sources of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries which emanate from the Seljuq lands of Iraq and Persia, *sc.* the works of 'Imād ad-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, Zāhīr ad-Dīn Nishāpūrī, Rāwandī and Sadr ad-Dīn al-Ḥusainī, we predictably find a hostile picture of the Sultan, as the enemy of the Seljuqs when first they entered Khurasan in the last years of his reign. All these sources cite as a particularly treacherous act Maḥmūd's inviting Arslan Isrā'īl b. Seljuq to his court and then seizing and imprisoning him in a fortress in India.<sup>14</sup>

However, outside this sphere of pure historiography, a generally favourable view of Maḥmūd prevailed. He even appears as a scholar; it is said that he composed Persian poetry, and 'Aufī quotes specimens of this in his anthology the *Lubāb al-albāb*. Also, Ḥājji Khalifa lists in his *Kashf az-zunūn* a book on Islamic law, *at-Tafrīd fi'l-furū'*, which is attributed to Maḥmūd.<sup>15</sup> The Sultan is frequently cited in the *Naṣīhat-nāma* or "Mirrors for Princes" genre of Islamic literature. Thus the *Qābūs-nāma* of Kai Kā'ūs (1082) has three relevant anecdotes, including one about the Būyid Queen-Regent of Ray and Jibāl, Sayyida, who refuses to pay tribute to Maḥmūd. She warns him that he will suffer a catastrophic loss of prestige should his expedition, directed as it is against a mere woman, fail. Another story concerns a tyrannical governor of Nasā in northern Khurasan, who is denounced to the Sultan by one of the women of that town; the moral here is that Maḥmūd should only claim authority over those regions which he can personally control.<sup>16</sup> The several anecdotes in the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk (end of the eleventh century—beginning of the twelfth one) already show that legends were growing up round Maḥmūd as the ideal of a pious, just Sunnī ruler. This conception of the Sultan harmonises with the policy of the great Seljuq Vizier, who was concerned to buttress the fabric of the orthodox Sunnī state against Ismā'ilism and radical Shī'ism, and who desired to model the Seljuq empire on the centralized, authoritarian Ghaznavid one. Hence Niẓām al-Mulk's heroes and exemplars are forceful monarchs like the Būyid 'Aḍud ad-Daula (949–83) and Maḥmūd of Ghazna. As a parallel to Kai Kā'ūs's anecdote on the woman of Nasā, there is one in the *Siyāsat-nāma* concerning a complaint to Maḥmūd about the brigandage of the Qufṣ and Balūchīs and the consequent punitive expedition by the Sultan.<sup>17</sup>

In the *Chahār maqāla* of the Ghūrīd writer Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī Samarqandī (1177) we find the earliest version of the story about Maḥmūd's relations with Firdausī. The tale runs that Maḥmūd and his Vizier Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maimandī wished to reward Firdausī handsomely for his supreme achievement in the *Shāh-nāma*; but Maimandī's enemies at court persuaded the Sultan to give a present of a mere 10,000 dirhams for the epic, on the grounds that Firdausī was a Shī'ī and a Mu'tazilī. The disappointed poet thereupon departed for the court of the Bāwandids in Tabaristān, where he began to compose satires about Maḥmūd and his parsimony. In the end, the Sultan relented and sent a fitting gift of 60,000 dinars' worth of indigo; but by the time that the caravan bearing this reached Tūs, Firdausī was already dead.<sup>18</sup> A considerable number of the anecdotes in 'Aufī's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* (early thirteenth century) likewise revolve round Maḥmūd and his father Sebūktigin and their ministers; amongst other things, the impartial justice of Maḥmūd, extending even to reproof of his own family, is emphasized.<sup>19</sup> One would expect that stories about Maḥmūd would figure prominently in the work of the poet Sanā'ī, coming as he did from Ghazna, but the early manuscripts of the *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqīqa*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Bosworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.

<sup>14</sup> The attitudes of the various groups of sources to the question of Ghaznavid-Seljuq relations are exhaustively examined by Cl. Cahen in his "Le Malik-Nameh et l'histoire des origines Seljukides", *Oriens II* (1948), pp. 31–65.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (London and Cambridge 1902–24), vol. II, pp. 117–9; and J. Rypka, etc., *Iranische Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig 1959), pp. 171–2.

<sup>16</sup> *Qābūs-nāma*, tr. R. Levy, *A Mirror for Princes* (London 1951), pp. 133–5, 226–7.

<sup>17</sup> *Siyāsat-nāma*, tr. H. Darke, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings* (London 1960), pp. 67–74.

<sup>18</sup> *Chahār maqāla*, revised tr. E. G. Browne (London 1921), pp. 54–9.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. M. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-ḥikāyāt of Muḥammad 'Aufī* (London 1929), index.

(completed 1131) have very little mention of him. Such stories only appear in later manuscripts; they include the one about the oppressed woman of Nasā, obviously taken either from the *Qābūs-nāma* or from some common source.

It is in the poetry of Farīd ad-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (died between 1210 and 1230) that we have the most detailed and the most clearly-delineated picture of Maḥmūd as a despotic ruler and fighter for the faith. The theme of Maḥmūd in 'Aṭṭār's poetry has recently been skilfully treated by a Swiss scholar, Dr. Gertrud Spiess, and the following analysis is based essentially on her dissertation.<sup>20</sup> By 'Aṭṭār's time we are far from the historical Sultan. In his work, historical correspondences are very slight, and only a limited range of historical figures appear. These include Maḥmūd's favourite Ayāz; one Ḥasan, probably the minister Ḥasanak Mikālī, who also appears in some of 'Aufī's anecdotes; the religious ascetic Kharagānī; a Zoroastrian called Pīr; an unknown scholar called Sadīd 'Anbarī; and the famous Ṣūfī Shaikh Abū Sa'īd b. Abī'l-Khair Maihanī.

Following Spiess, one may consider 'Aṭṭār's treatment of the Sultan under two headings, the first concerned purely with Maḥmūd himself, the second with his relationship to Ayāz.

#### 'Aṭṭār's picture of the Sultan as despotic monarch

In the formation of this picture, several component motifs can be distinguished.

Firstly, Maḥmūd is reproached for his pride and ambition and his reliance on military might; the conclusion from these reproaches is that, whatever pretensions to greatness a ruler might make, true sovereignty belongs to God alone. Thus in the *Ilāhi-nāma*, Maḥmūd is reproached by an old peasant woman in whose hut he rests during hunting. There is a play here on the two meanings of *mulk*, the Arabic one of "kingly power", and the Persian one of "a variety of pea" (still used in some modern Khurasanian dialects), for the old woman is cooking peas; she asserts that her *mulk* is a hundred times better than Maḥmūd's, as it excites no enemies or complaints of oppression. There is a parallel to this motif in the first book of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, where it is said that a certain ruler saw Maḥmūd in a dream, his corpse decayed and eaten away, but his eyes ceaselessly rolling round in their sockets because he is unable to endure the thought that others are now ruling over his empire.

Secondly, Maḥmūd is reproached for his tyranny and injustice, and we may compare here the strictures of the contemporary sources mentioned in the first section of this paper.

Thirdly, Maḥmūd is reproached for fanaticism. In the *Ilāhi-nāma* again, this fanaticism is depicted as being so great that he refuses to recognize any merit in a pious, charitable act done by a non-Muslim; he tries to buy from the Zoroastrian Pīr the bridge which the latter has built, unwilling that a non-Muslim should have done this.

Fourthly, and *pace* the previous motif, Maḥmūd is highly praised as a leader of *jihād* and as the destroyer of idols in India, his rôle here being compared with the Prophet's cleansing of the Ka'ba after the conquest of Mecca. The idol at the shrine of Somnāth is equated in many sources with the pagan Arabian goddess Allāt; this equation is made, for instance, in the *Waṣlat-nāma*, which is probably attributable to 'Aṭṭār. It should be noted, however, that 'Aṭṭār also puts forward the view that some non-Muslims are as willing to sacrifice their lives for their faith as are the Muslim warriors, and that Muslims can learn from their constancy.

Finally, Maḥmūd is praised as a just and benevolent ruler. In the *Muṣibat-nāma* there is the story of a captured Hindu boy who is brought to Maḥmūd and highly honoured by him; the boy is consequently reduced to tears, because previously he had had a false idea of the Sultan. In this episode, 'Aṭṭār compares Maḥmūd to God, who dispenses grace and becomes beloved of mankind. In this same poem too, an old woman offers a cow to Maḥmūd; he miraculously makes it flow with unceasing milk, and this symbolizes divine power, for when man is ready to offer all to God, he is richly rewarded.

#### 'Aṭṭār's picture of the relationship of Maḥmūd to Ayāz

The mentions of Ayāz amount to approximately half of all 'Aṭṭār's material on the Sultan. In later Persian literature, Ayāz is made into an idealized or symbolical figure, e.g. in Sa'dī's *Gulistān* and

<sup>20</sup> *Maḥmūd von Gazna bei Farīdu'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār* (Basel 1959).

*Bustān* he is the symbol of true love; in 'Aufī's *Jawāmi' al-hikāyāt*, especially rich in material on Ayāz, he is the model of loyalty and wisdom; in the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī he is the Perfect Man. There arose special romances woven round the lives of the Sultan and his catamite, like the *Maḥmūd u Ayāz* of Abū'l-Ḥasan Zulālī (died 1615), and in the work of the same title by Fakhr ad-Dīn 'Alī Ṣafī (died 1532) we have a full-scale epic about the two.<sup>21</sup>

The historical Abū'n-Najm Ayāz b. Uymak is known mainly from Gardizī, from Baihaqī and from Shabānkāra'ī's *Majma' al-ansāb*. He seems to have been of humble Turkish origin, from the Yimek tribe, although nothing is known of his beginnings. According to Ibn al-Athīr, he died in 1057. He seems to have played some political rôle in the troubled events after Maḥmūd's death in 1030, when the succession was disputed between Maḥmūd's two sons Mas'ūd and Muḥammad. He espoused the former's cause, and left Ghazna to join him at Nishapur. In 1031 the Vizier Maimandī thought Ayāz a fit person to be governor of Ray, but the Sultan thought him too inexperienced as a commander and administrator. However, a *qaṣīda* or ode of Farrukhī's praises Ayāz as Muḥmūd's faithful slave and companion in war, and says that for his fidelity (*sc.* support in 1030?), Mas'ūd granted him the revenues of Bust, Makrān and Quṣḍār (= the northern part of modern Baluchistan).<sup>22</sup> In the second discourse of the *Chahār maqāla*, there is an anecdote about Maḥmūd's passion for Ayāz, which also contains a physical description: "It is related that Ayāz was not remarkably handsome, but was of sweet expression and olive complexion, symmetrically formed, graceful in his movements, sensible and deliberate in action, and mightily endowed with all the arts of pleasing, in which respect, indeed, he had few rivals in his time".<sup>23</sup>

Ayāz's part in the works of 'Aṭṭār may be considered under four headings.

Firstly, Ayāz appears as the archetype of a true and faithful servant, foregoing many honours and dazzling prospects of advancement so that he may remain by Maḥmūd's throne, just as the true devotee seeks nearness to God rather than earthly allurements. Concerning his implicit obedience, there is a story in the *Muṣibat-nāma* that Ayāz had in his hands a ruby-encrusted bowl of priceless value, yet at the Sultan's command he dashes it to the ground, where it shatters into a hundred pieces. The onlooking courtiers criticize Ayāz for this act of wanton destruction, but he then reproves them, chiding them for laying greater store by the vessel than by obedience to the Sultan's command. Furthermore, various episodes stress how closely linked was Ayāz with his master. In the *Muṣibat-nāma* there occurs the story that Maḥmūd fell ill and lay unconscious for three days, and that Ayāz likewise fell into a coma at his side, because their lives and souls were so closely linked. In the *Ilāhi-nāma* appears the tale that in Heaven, Maḥmūd presides, as King of the World, over an assembly of the great ones. Each is given a wish, but Ayāz chooses only to be the target for Maḥmūd's arrows, so that he may be always in the Sultan's eye. Here the unity of Maḥmūd and Ayāz is compared with the unity of God and His worshipper, to the point that when Maḥmūd says he needs Ayāz's companionship in the next world, Ayāz is immediately ready to go with him.

Secondly, the idea of humbling Maḥmūd's pride is demonstrated in the depiction of Ayāz as really being king over Maḥmūd, because he possesses Maḥmūd's heart.

Thirdly, Ayāz sometimes appears as the lover of a third person, usually (to give a complete antithesis) a beggar. There is also a story in the *Muṣibat-nāma* of a woman who loves Ayāz to the point of death. She declares that her love is greater than Maḥmūd's because she is ready to die for it, whereas he is not ready to sacrifice his throne and power—the conclusion here being that the real lover cannot serve two masters, his beloved and the world.

Fourthly, Maḥmūd himself appears as the devoted lover. In the *Muṣibat-nāma* and the *Mantiq at-ṭair*, Ayāz is ill and the Sultan sends a messenger to enquire after him. But although the messenger speeds along, he only arrives to find Maḥmūd already there: the Lover and the Beloved are always in union. Indeed, unity leads to a fusion of the two, so that only the lover remains. In a story inserted in both the *Muṣibat-nāma* and the *Ilāhi-nāma*, Maḥmūd, in a drunken state, kisses and washes Ayāz's feet.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. P. Hardy, *Encycl. of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Art. "Ayāz"; and Rypka, "Browne's revised tr., pp. 37-8. *op. cit.*, p. 291.

<sup>22</sup> *Diwān*, ed. Muḥ. Dabīr Siyāqī (Tehran 1335-1957), pp. 161-3; tr. in Spiess, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-9.



On waking, he regrets this act of derogation, but in reality, he has been alone, and has kissed his own heart.

It does not seem necessary here to carry the picture of Maḥmūd beyond the thirteenth century. Already within 200 years of his death, the essential image of the great Sultan was fixed in the popular mind, and in the Orient at least, it has endured substantially down to our own century.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The ways in which historians of the past 200 years, British, Muslim and Hindu, have viewed the great Sultan, are treated at length by P. Hardy in his article "Mahmud of Ghazna and the historians", *J. of the Panjab University Historical Society* XIV

(December 1962), pp. 1-36; and also in his chapter "Modern Muslim historical writing on mediaeval Muslim India" in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. C. H. Philips (London 1961), pp. 297-8.



# XVII

## THE ARMIES OF THE ṢAFFĀRIDS

### I

It is not too much to describe the Ṣaffārīds of Sīstān as an archetypal military dynasty. In the later years of the third/ninth century, their empire covered the greater part of the non-Arab eastern Islamic world. In the west, Ya'qūb b. al-Laith's army was only halted at Dair al-'Āqūl, 50 miles from Baghdad; in the north, Ya'qūb and his brother 'Amr campaigned in the Caspian coastlands against the local 'Alids, and 'Amr made serious attempts to extend his power into Khwārazm and Transoxania; in the east, the two brothers pushed forward the frontiers of the *Dār al-Islām* into the pagan borderlands of what are now eastern Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier region of West Pakistan; and in the south, Ṣaffārid authority was acknowledged even across the Persian Gulf in 'Umān.<sup>1</sup> This impressive achievement was the work of two soldiers of genius, Ya'qūb and 'Amr, and lasted for little more than a quarter of a century. It began to crumble when in 287/900 the Sāmānid Amīr Ismā'il b. Aḥmad defeated and captured 'Amr b. al-Laith, and 11 years later, the core of the empire, Sīstān itself, was in Sāmānid hands. Yet such was the effect in Sīstān of the Ṣaffārid brothers' achievement, and the stimulus to local pride and feeling which resulted from it, that the Ṣaffārids returned to power there in a very short time. For several more centuries they endured and survived successive waves of invaders of Sīstān—the Ghaznavids, the Seljūqs, the Mongols—and persisted down to the establishment of the Ṣafavid state in Persia.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, the constituting of the empire of the early Ṣaffārids marks a clear break with the preceding history of the Caliphate. Other families, like the Aghlabids in Ifriqiyya and the Tāhirids in Persia, had already established hereditary and virtually autonomous lines in the provinces which they were governing on behalf of the Caliphs. But these governors, and likewise Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn a little later, were all careful to respect the constitutional doctrine that their power was only a delegated one, and were assiduous in placing the 'Abbāsids' name before their own in the *khutba* and on the coinage. Thus it is

<sup>1</sup> This fact is unmentioned in the written sources, but there exists a dirham of 295/907-8 minted in 'Umān and acknowledging the Amīr Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr; a further dirham, dated 290/903, was mentioned by Markov (R. Vasmer, 'Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Ḥurāsān', *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, LXIII, 1930, 152-3, No. 80).

<sup>2</sup> Virtually our only sources for these later Ṣaffārids are a brief section in Jūzjāni's *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kabul, 1342-3/1963-4, I, 275-85, tr. H. G. Raverty, London, 1881-99, I, 183-202), where he calls them 'the kings of Nīmrūz', and the *Ihyā' al-mulūk* of the Ṣaffārid descendant Shāh Ḥusain b. Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn (recently edited by Manūchihr Sitūda, Tehran, 1344/1965).

dubious whether we should consider these lines of governors as fully independent dynasties.<sup>3</sup>

Ya'qūb and 'Amr, for their part, had little respect for these constitutional ideas and did not hesitate openly to display their contempt for the Caliphs. They would at times obtain investiture diplomas for their territories, and would send tribute to Iraq, but this was only because it suited their purpose. In 265/879, at the opening of his amirate, 'Amr sought a *manshūr* from al-Mu'tamid in return for an annual tribute of 20,000,000 dirhams; 'Amr knew that Caliphal approval would have a significant moral effect in so strongly orthodox a province as Khurāsān, where the '*ulamā*' were influential and *ghāzī* elements numerous.<sup>4</sup> 'Amr also publicized his campaigns against the 'Alids of Ṭabaristān and against the pagans of eastern Afghanistan, sending rich and exotic presents from the plunder taken there. Yet Ya'qūb and 'Amr were always aware that it was naked force, and not moral considerations, which underlay their power. In an anecdote given by Niẓām al-Mulk, Ya'qūb boasts to the Caliph's envoy of his humble origins and of his achievement of power through his own valour, and not through birth, as had the 'Abbāsids. When in 285/898 'Amr received from al-Mu'taḍid's envoy the investiture patent for Transoxania, he exclaimed, 'What am I to do with this? This province can only be wrested from Ismā'il b. Aḥmad's hands by the aid of 100,000 drawn swords'.<sup>5</sup> It is also said that 'Amr was the first provincial ruler to place his own name in the *khutba*, until then only read in the name of the Caliph, but the narrative of the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān* and other sources such as Narshakhī show that Ya'qūb placed his own name in the *khutba* of his territories from c. 253/867 onwards.<sup>6</sup> There are, indeed, abundant signs that the Caliphs and the Šaffārids never trusted each other for a moment. The investiture diplomas were swiftly cancelled when Šaffārid fortunes drooped, when there still seemed chances of restoring the dispossessed Ṭāhirids to Khurāsān, or when the rising power of the orthodox and obedient Sāmānids could be set against the Šaffārids. For his part, Ya'qūb emphatically expressed his mistrust and hatred of the 'Abbāsids: 'He used often to say that the 'Abbāsids had based their rule on wrong-doing and trickery — "Haven't you seen what they did to Abū Salama, Abū Muslim, the Barmakī family, and al-Faḍl b. Sahl, despite everything which these men had done on

<sup>3</sup> See the comments regarding the constitutional position of the Ṭāhirids by E. von Zambaur in his 'Contributions à la numismatique orientale: monnaies inédites ou rares des dynasties musulmanes de la collection de l'auteur', *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift*, xxxvii, 1905, 119 ff., and also those of O. Grabar, *The coinage of the Ṭālūnids* (American Numismatic Society Notes and Monographs, No. 139), New York, 1957, 51–6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, Tehran, 1314/1935, 234; cf. Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje and others, III, 1932; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii, 226; Gardīzi, *Zain al-akḥbār*, ed. M. Nāzim, Berlin, 1928, 14, ed. Sa'id Nafīsī, Tehran, 1333/1954, 115.

<sup>5</sup> Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. iii, ed. H. Darke, Tehran, 1340/1962, 24, tr. *idem*, *The book of government or rules for kings*, London, 1960, 18–19; Gardīzi, ed. Nāzim, 18, ed. Nafīsī, 118; Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iv, 326–7.

<sup>6</sup> cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London, 1928, 220, citing Ibn Mu'in, *Firdaus al-tawārikh*; and R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge, 1957, 370.

the dynasty's behalf? Let no one ever trust them!"'.<sup>7</sup> It is very likely that the anti-Caliphal attitude of the Šaffārid Amīrs, and their unashamed proclamation of the superiority of force over the ethical values which were supposed to underpin the temporal authority delegated by God to man, account for the hostility shown towards them in almost all the Sunnī Muslim sources.<sup>8</sup>

## II

The dominant motive behind Ya'qūb's actions, in addition to this hatred of the 'Abbāsids, seems to have been a sheer love of military conquest. The sources show an unusual interest in Ya'qūb's personal character, indicative of the impression which his military and imperialist ventures made on contemporary Islam. They agree that Ya'qūb's nature was an introspective one, and that he revealed his inner thoughts to no man. He spent most of his time in seclusion from his retainers, and made all decisions without reference to anyone else. Normally, only his brothers and his aide-de-camp (given by Mas'ūdī the title of *al-'Azīz*), who had his tent just behind Ya'qūb's own one, had direct access to his presence. He rarely smiled or laughed, and the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān* specifically comments on an occasion when Ya'qūb was actually moved to merriment. His sole amusement, it was said, lay in watching the training and play (which included such things as mock battles) of his young slaves.<sup>9</sup>

Ya'qūb was therefore an utterly dedicated military commander, whose genius in this field has not been given due acknowledgement.<sup>10</sup> His lowly beginnings as a coppersmith had inured him to a life without luxuries, and he never acquired a taste for these. By his simple way of life, he set an example to the rest of his troops, discouraging the accumulation of impedimenta which would encumber his army on the march and detract from its mobility. He slept on an old saddle-cloth, resting his head on a shield and using a rolled-up banner as his pillow. His food is described as rough-and-ready (*alwān ghalīza*), and consisted of the staples of Sīstān diet: barley bread, rice, leeks, onions, asafoetida, and fish. According to Mas'ūdī, 20 sheep were killed in the army camp each day and cooked in five great brass cauldrons. Ya'qūb partook of this mutton, together with *khabīša* (a jellied concoction made of grape juice or dates

<sup>7</sup> *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 267-8.

<sup>8</sup> The *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*—almost a special history of the Šaffārids, since a third of the whole book is devoted to them—is an exception to this rule of hostility. Also, Mas'ūdī's Shī'ī sympathies inclined him to give a more balanced picture; it is unfortunate that the fuller account of the careers of Ya'qūb and 'Amr, which he gave in his *Akhhār al-zamān* and *Kitāb al-awsāf* (cf. *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard, VIII, 55), has not survived.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, VIII, 50-1; *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 270 (another occasion when Ya'qūb, described as usually 'stern-faced' (*turush-rūy*) smiled, is mentioned by Ibn Funduq, *Ta'rīkh-i Baihaq*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran, 1317/1938, 152).

<sup>10</sup> Except perhaps by Nöldeke, in his classic essay 'Yakūb the Coppersmith, and his dynasty', in *Sketches from Eastern history*, Edinburgh, 1892, 176-200, at pp. 188-9, where he considers Ya'qūb as an outstanding general and describes briefly the organization of his armies.

and starch) and *falūdhaj* (a dessert of starch and honey), and the rest was divided amongst his personal slaves and retainers.<sup>11</sup>

Ya'qūb maintained a strict discipline within the army. When he was campaigning in Ṭabaristān against the 'Alid *Dā'ī al-Kabīr* al-Ḥasan b. Zaid, Caliphal envoys accompanying Ya'qūb's army were amazed at this discipline, for Ya'qūb was able to prevent his soldiers from plundering anything at all from al-Ḥasan's camp after the latter had fled in defeat. Mas'ūdī also describes how once when campaigning in Fārs, Ya'qūb gave a sudden order for the beasts to stop pasturing and prepare to move; a man immediately snatched the fodder from his horse's mouth. Furthermore, a high officer came rushing up in an emergency naked except for his armour; he had been bathing his body when the call to arms had sounded. Ya'qūb was fearless in war. A great scar down his cheek was the legacy of a serious wound suffered whilst fighting the Khawārij. The blow cut away part of his face, so that it had to be sewn back and Ya'qūb fed for 20 days through a tube into his mouth; he nevertheless carried on fighting. His opponent in the Caspian provinces, al-Ḥasan b. Zaid, called him *al-Sandān* 'the Anvil' on account of his fortitude in battle.<sup>12</sup> The ardour of the Şaffārid army under his inspired leadership was recognized even by his opponents. The Sāmānid Ibrāhīm b. Ilyās b. Asad, Commander-in-Chief of the army of Khurāsān for Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, was expelled from Harāt in 253/867 and then defeated in battle at Pūshang by Ya'qūb. He retreated to Nīshāpūr, and advised Muḥammad to conciliate the Şaffārid: 'It is pointless trying to fight against this man. He has an army which inspires terror, and the soldiers have no compunction about killing. They fight effortlessly and without regard for anything; they have no other occupation in life but wielding the sword, and one might well say that they have been brought up from very birth for warfare. Moreover, the Khawārij have joined up with Ya'qūb and placed themselves under his command (see below, pp. 541 ff.). The wisest course would be for you to conciliate him, in order to ward off the evil effects of him and his Khārijī troops, for he is a determined man, skilled in the art of leadership, with essentially the outlook of a *ghāzī*'.<sup>13</sup> The capture of the Ṭāhirid capital Nīshāpūr in 259/873 caused an important group of local commanders and soldiers of fortune in Khurāsān—including Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Khujistānī, later to be the Şaffārids' rival for control of Khurāsān—to submit to Ya'qūb, and some of them entered his service permanently.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, 'Amr's military abilities emerge from the history of his campaigns and eventual triumph over a series of rivals for power in Khurāsān.

<sup>11</sup> *Murūj al-dhahab*, VIII, 52-4; *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. iii, ed. Darke, 24, tr., 18; Ibn Khallikān, tr., IV, 321.

<sup>12</sup> *Murūj al-dhahab*, VIII, 46-7, 51-2; Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 226; Ibn Khallikān, tr., IV, 304.

<sup>13</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 208-9.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, 224-5. These men are called here 'the *Sālūkān* of Khurāsān', and the editor Bahār is surely right to see in the Persian *sālūk* an origin from Arabic *ṣulūk* 'vagabond, desperado, brigand'; but the inclusion amongst these *sālūkān* making peace with Ya'qūb of the aristocratic Sāmānid Ibrāhīm b. Ilyās b. Asad suggests that the Persian word had a less pejorative meaning than the Arabic term.

Ibn Khallikān, quoting the historian of Khurāsān Sallāmī (whose lost *Ta'rikh wulāt Khurāsān* was also an important source for Gardīzī's information on the Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārīds), emphasizes 'Amr's administrative and organizational skill in regard to his army, his care that it was regularly paid and that its equipment, mounts, and weapons were always in good fighting trim (see further, below, pp. 549–50).<sup>15</sup>

### III

It is well known that Ya'qūb b. al-Laith first came to prominence initially as a rank-and-file member, and then as a leader, of one of the bands of volunteers or vigilantes which had arisen in Sīstān and Bust to combat the local Khawārij.<sup>16</sup> These are designated in the sources as *muṭṭawwi'a*,<sup>17</sup> or, with a rather more condemnatory shade of meaning, as '*ayyārūn*.<sup>18</sup> Exactly what was the social composition of these '*ayyārs*, and exactly what was the common purpose or motivation, the '*aṣabiyya*, which bound them together, are things which we would very much like to know. Though ostensibly standing for law and order, and on the side of Sunnī orthodoxy against the Khārijī sectaries, they were more often than not a turbulent, even a revolutionary element in the social and political structure of Sīstān, above all in such towns as Zarang and Bust. A life of irresponsibility, combined with a little brigandage, would always appeal to the bolder spirits and vagabonds of society; but the ranks of the '*ayyārs* must also have been swelled by such groups as landless or runaway peasants and by former soldiers and *ghāzīs* (a soldier who had been contemptuously discharged as too old for active service led an '*ayyār* revolt in Sīstān against the Sāmānids, see below, p. 539). We need to view the '*iyāra* of Sīstān as part of a social phenomenon common to much of the central and eastern part of the medieval Islamic world, above all, to its towns, where social ferment was most marked; the Sīstān '*ayyārs* must accordingly be linked with the *fiṭyān*, *aḥdāth*, *runūd*, *shuṭṭār*, etc. of other towns and regions. Much fascinating material on these

<sup>15</sup> Gardīzī, ed. Nāzīm, 15–16, ed. Nafīsī, 116–17; Ibn Khallikān, tr., iv, 322.

<sup>16</sup> For the background of the Khārijī activity in Sīstān and eastern Iran, see Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārīds (30–250/651–864)* (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia. Reports and Memoirs, xi), Rome, 1968, 87 ff.

<sup>17</sup> < *muṭṭawwi'a* 'those who perform a supererogatory or gratuitous act, those who exceed what is obligatory on themselves in fighting'. Cf. Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, s.v., and Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, facsimile text, London, 1912, f. 534a, s.v. 'al-Muṭṭawwi'i': 'This *nisba* comes from *al-muṭṭawwi'a*. These are the people who devote themselves to holy warfare and raiding, who station themselves in *ribāṭs* along the frontiers, who assume the duty of raiding and who hurl themselves against the enemies in the lands of unbelief, because they regard all these things as obligatory upon themselves; then they return home'.

<sup>18</sup> '*Ā'ir* and the frequentative form '*ayyār* have the basic meaning of 'someone who (or some animal which) goes to and fro or circulates about, briskly and energetically', hence also 'sharp-witted, keen', cf. Lane, s.v. In early Arabic usage it can be used either in an approbatory or a condemnatory manner, but later comes to be applied to rogues, vagabonds, bandits, and those who live by their wits in general, with a depreciatory overtone.

bands has been assembled and analysed by Cl. Cahen,<sup>19</sup> but a great deal about them remains a puzzle.

Ya'qūb entered the service of the leader of the volunteers of Bust, Şāliḥ b. al-Naḍr (or al-Naṣr) al-Kinānī. According to the *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān* (admittedly a source hostile to Şāliḥ and partial towards the Şaffārids), when Şāliḥ was recognized as Amīr of Bust in Muḥarram 238/June–July 852, 'all the strength of his army came from Ya'qūb b. al-Laith and the 'ayyārs of Sīstān'.<sup>20</sup> However, there are indications in the other sources that the *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān* inflates Ya'qūb's importance at this time. When in Jumādā II/October 858 Şāliḥ lost the amirate of Sīstān, it was not Ya'qūb who succeeded to power there immediately, but another military leader, Dirham b. al-Naḍr (or al-Naṣr). Ya'qūb's turn did not come till nearly three years later, when he was hailed as Amīr in Zarang in Muḥarram 247/April 861.<sup>21</sup>

Hence it was the 'ayyārs who formed the backbone of Ya'qūb's personal force when he first came to power. The 'ayyārs had for some time been one of the two dynamic groups in the political life of Sīstān (the other being that of the Khawārij), and were to remain so for at least two centuries to come. In particular, the 'ayyārs were always the spear-head of local resistance in Sīstān against the domination of outside powers. This was seen in the early years of the tenth century, when the Sāmānids occupied Sīstān in 298/911, deposing and carrying off into captivity the Şaffārid princes Muḥammad and Mu'addal b. 'Alī b. al-Laith. In 299/911–12 one Muḥammad b. Hurmuz, called Maulā Şandalī, raised the 'ayyārs of the villages on the eastern side of the Zirih lake and led a movement for the restoration of the young Şaffārid 'Amr b. Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. al-Laith, apparently the only survivor then in Sīstān of the direct lines of Ya'qūb or 'Amr. The Sāmānids suppressed the rebellion in 301/913, and the 'ayyār leaders were executed in Samarqand; but less than a year later, the 'ayyārs of this same district killed the deputy of the Caliphal governor al-Faḍl b. Ḥamīd, who at this point had managed for a brief while to restore 'Abbāsīd authority in Sīstān. Again, in 304/917 'ayyār support was decisive for the proclamation as Amīr in Zarang of a local commander, Kathīr b. Aḥmad b. Shahfūr, and in the following year, Kathīr's forces defeated an army sent out by the Caliphal governor in Fārs, Badr b. 'Abdullāh al-Ḥammāmī.<sup>22</sup> When a century later Sīstān came under Ghaznavid rule, the 'ayyārs led local opposition to the alien invaders. Mas'ūd of Ghazna's 'āmīl or civil governor in Sīstān, 'Azīz b. Muḥammad Fūshanjī, and the military commander Qaḍā', took draconian measures against them: 'The turbulence caused by the 'ayyārs now decreased because the Ḥājib [Qaḍā'] had several people torn in half. Then 'Azīz arrested the *sarhangs* and flogged them, and either beheaded their leaders

<sup>19</sup> In his *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge*, Leiden, 1959 (originally in *Arabica*, v–vi, 1958–9).

<sup>20</sup> *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 192.

<sup>21</sup> cf. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 112–18.

<sup>22</sup> Gardīzī, ed. Nāzīm, 23–4; *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 297–301, 303–4, 306–7; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 52–3, 77.



(*naqībān*) or had them torn in half. Through these exemplary measures, things were brought under control. He also levied heavy fines and mulcts on the *sarhangs* of the capital (sc. Zarang) and on the prominent men of the country districts (*mihtarān-i rūstā*).<sup>23</sup>

Mention of the *sarhangs* raises a further problem, that of the relation of these *sarhangs* to the *'ayyārs*. In modern Persian, *sarhang* denotes the military rank of colonel, and one possibility is that these *sarhangs* of Sīstān were officers or leaders amongst the general body of *'ayyārs*. It is certain, from the passage of the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān* cited above and from other mentions in the sources, that the *sarhangs* had a higher rank or position amongst the military than the mass of *'ayyārs*. In his section on the early career of Ya'qūb b. al-Laith, Gardīzī says that 'He passed from the trade of coppersmith to being an *'ayyār*, and then became busy with robbery and brigandage on the roads. Then he became a *sarhang* and acquired a body of cavalry, and in this way, gradually attained the position of *amīr*. First of all, he held the position of *sarhang* of Bust under Naṣr b. Šāliḥ [read Šāliḥ b. Naṣr], and then rose to be Amīr of Sīstān'.<sup>24</sup> In the account of Ya'qūb's negotiations with the Khawārij of Sīstān, the position or rank of *sarhang* appears as one between that of a one-horse trooper and an amīr.<sup>25</sup> Among the elements of the army giving allegiance in 311/923 to the Amīr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. al-Laith, a descendant in the female line from Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. al-Laith, are enumerated 'the *Mawālī*, the *Sarhangān*, and the *Āzādagān*'. The editor of the text of the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, glossed these *sarhangs* as being 'freed slaves, leaders of the mob, and the hardy and brave one-horse troopers',<sup>26</sup> but this seems to be pure conjecture. The supporters of Ṭāhir b. Khalaf b. Aḥmad, who were besieging the Amīr Khalaf himself in the fortress of Ṭāq near Zarang in 391/1001, are described as 'the army, the *sarhangs*, the *'ayyārs*, and the town mob'.<sup>27</sup> If any conclusion can be drawn from these citations, it would appear that the *sarhangs* were a group separate from the *'ayyārs* in general, but perhaps recruited in part from *'ayyārs* who had shown outstanding leadership qualities or prowess in battle.

#### IV

The *Āzādagān* 'free men' mentioned as a constituent element of the Šaffārid forces of the early fourth/tenth century were doubtless free soldiers of good family, the sons of *dihqāns* and landowners, and other adventurous spirits attracted by the rich opportunities for plunder furnished by the early Šaffārid

<sup>23</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 363; cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh, 1963, 89–90.

<sup>24</sup> Gardīzī, ed. Nāzīm, 11, ed. Nafīsī, 112.

<sup>25</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 205; the complete passage is given below.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, p. 312, n. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, 349.

campaigns. According to Mas'ūdī, Ya'qūb had a fixed procedure for the admission of recruits into his army. When a man presented himself before the Amīr, his skill at handling weapons was tested and he was questioned about his antecedents and previous service with other commanders. If Ya'qūb was satisfied with him, the recruit was required to hand over all his own equipment, his weapons and his mount; these were sold by an official specially charged with this duty and the resulting sum was credited to the recruit in the *Dīwān*. He then received a completely new set of equipment, clothing, provisions, etc., from the Amīr, and was supplied with mounts and beasts of burden from the Amīr's stable. If he was dismissed or left Ya'qūb's service, he had to return all these, but received back from the *Dīwān* his original wealth deposited there, together with any excess of pay which he had earned.<sup>28</sup>

## V

As was noted above, Ya'qūb's career began as one of the volunteers and 'ayyārs who were combating the Khawārij in Sīstān. In the pre-Šaffārid period, leadership in the fight against these sectaries had often devolved on the 'ayyārs by reason of the Arab governors' military ineffectiveness in Sīstān. The leader of the 'ayyārs of Bust, Šāliḥ b. al-Naḍr, came to Zarang in 239/854 protesting to the governor Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥuḍain al-Qūsī, on behalf of the Ṭāhirids, and to the orthodox 'ulamā' and fuqahā', that his sole quarrel was with the Khawārij, who had killed his brother Ghassān b. al-Naḍr.<sup>29</sup> When he was himself acclaimed Amīr of Sīstān in 247/861, Ya'qūb immediately plunged into continuous warfare with the Khawārij, who were masters of much of the countryside around Zarang. An attack by the Khārijī commander Asadūya on one of the gates of Zarang, the Dar-i Ṭa'ām, was driven off by Ya'qūb in 249/863. Two years later, in 251/865, Ya'qūb defeated the leader of the Sīstān Khawārij, 'Ammār b. Yāsir, at Nīshak, killing 'Ammār; after this, 'the Khawārij all became discomfited and fled to the hills of Isfizār and the valley of Hindqānān'.<sup>30</sup>

Despite these onslaughts on the Khawārij, there was a certain ambivalence in Ya'qūb's attitude towards them. Certain of the orthodox Sunnī sources, hostile to the Šaffārids, imply that Ya'qūb had himself been a Khārijī in his youth, and it is quite possible that the line between 'ayyār bands and Khārijī bands was not always a completely hard and fast one. Niẓām al-Mulk, obsessed as he was by the threat to the fabric of the Great Seljūq empire from the extremist Shī'ī Assassins, even makes Ya'qūb a convert to Ismā'īlism.<sup>31</sup> The Khawārij were one of the most vigorous elements in the population of Sīstān, and their traditional martial qualities and their willingness to fight to the death for their exclusivist beliefs, made a total victory over them difficult to achieve.

<sup>28</sup> *Murūj al-dhahab*, VIII, 47-9.

<sup>29</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 195-7.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, 205, 207, cf. also 209.

<sup>31</sup> *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. iii, ed. Darke, 20, tr., 15.

Ya'qūb was realist enough to see that a policy of conciliation and the diversion of Khārijī energies into external expansion might well be the solution to the problem of the Khawārij in Sīstān. Hence we can discern how, side by side with the suppression of minor Khārijī outbreaks, a programme of conciliation was put into effect.

As soon as he became Amīr of Sīstān, says the *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 'Ya'qūb sent a messenger to the Khārijī leader 'Ammār saying, "The burden of leadership which you have taken upon your shoulders was previously borne by Ḥamza b. 'Abdullāh<sup>32</sup> in such a way that he never made an attack on this city (sc. Zarang) and never harmed any of the people of Sīstān. His quarrel was with the official representatives of the government, whereas you act in an oppressive way. The Sagzī people were perfectly safe from him. The governorship of Sīstān was in the hands of outsiders, but the population of Sīstān was left in peace because of [the governors' pre-occupation with] Ḥamza's rebellion. After this came the time of Bū Ishāq and Bā 'Auf,<sup>33</sup> and their warriors (reading *ghuzāt-ishān*, as suggested by Bahār) were occupied with warfare in the lands of unbelief. Now things have a different complexion: if you want to bring about peace, put away thoughts of setting yourself up as a Commander of the Faithful [of the Khawārij],<sup>34</sup> and come and link your army with us. For we have striven with a good resolution, that we shall never deliver Sīstān into anyone else's hands again; and if God Most High grants us His assistance, we shall promote the interests and prosperity of Sīstān as far as we possibly can. If, on the other hand, you reject this proposal, then nevertheless, do not oppress anyone in Sīstān, and follow the example of the earlier generations of Khawārij". 'Ammār sent the reply that he would look into the proposal, but meanwhile, he would not harm Ya'qūb or any of his subjects any further'. Ya'qūb's overtures did not, it seems, ultimately commend themselves to 'Ammār. Ya'qūb had to march against him four years later, and 'Ammār's head was exposed on the walls of Zarang by the Dar-i Ṭa'ām and his body suspended upside down at the Dar-i Ākār.<sup>35</sup>

However, Ya'qūb's appeal may not have gone unheeded by others of the Khawārij. In the year following his message to 'Ammār, sc. in 248/862, Ya'qūb sent letters to the leaders of the Khawārij through the intermediacy of his commander Azhar b. Yaḥyā b. Zuhair b. Farqad. As a result, 1,000 of the

<sup>32</sup> Referring to Ḥamza b. 'Abdullāh or b. Ādharak, leader of the great Khārijī rebellion in Sīstān and eastern Iran, which lasted for over 30 years till Ḥamza's own death in 213/828 and which more than anything else weakened severely the Caliphal control of those regions. See G. Scarcia, 'Lo scambio di lettere tra Hārūn al-Rašīd e Ḥamza al-Ḥāriḡī secondo il "Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān"', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, NS, XIV, [2], 1964 ('Scritti in onore di Laura Veccia Vaglieri, II'), 623-45, and Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 91-104.

<sup>33</sup> sc. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Umair al-Jāshānī and Abū 'Auf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. (?) Bāzī', who succeeded Ḥamza as leaders of the Khawārij, see *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 180 ff.

<sup>34</sup> In his correspondence with the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd, Ḥamza described himself as 'the Servant of God Ḥamza, Commander of the Faithful'; see Scarcia, art. cit., 635, 641, and Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 98.

<sup>35</sup> *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 202-3, 207.

Khawārij came over to Ya'qūb's side. He gave their leaders robes of honour, and promised that he would promote those who were *sarhangs* to amīrs and those who were one-horse troopers to *sarhangs*, and would make the infantrymen into cavalry troopers. He also promised favour or promotion for every soldier in whom he noted some special skill or act of valour. The Khawārij, it is narrated, were won over by these promises; a considerable proportion of them stayed with Ya'qūb and eventually, the greater part of them rallied to Ya'qūb's side.<sup>36</sup>

In 259/873 there occurred a serious rebellion in the regions of Bādghīs and Gharchistān, to the north of Harāt, led by one 'Abd al-Raḥīm or 'Abd al-Raḥmān. This 'Abd al-Raḥīm had styled himself 'Commander of the Faithful' of the Khawārij, and in imitation of the 'Abbāsids, had adopted the *laqab* of *al-Mutawakkil 'alā 'Ulāh*. His seat of power at Karūkh was still predominantly Khārijī over a century later, according to the geographer Maqdisī (wrote c. 375/985).<sup>37</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥīm had 10,000 supporters from the Khawārij of Bādghīs and adjacent parts of Khurāsān, but in a battle in the snows of the Paropamisus Mountains, Ya'qūb defeated him. 'Abd al-Raḥīm surrendered and received *amān*. He was made governor for the Şaffārids of the town of Isfizār and of the Kurds who nomadized in the surrounding steppes, but within a year, the Khawārij had killed him (because of his collaborating with the Şaffārids?) and had elected Ibrāhīm b. Akhḍar as their head. Nevertheless, Ibrāhīm in turn submitted and was made governor in 'Abd al-Raḥīm's stead. He was welcomed into Ya'qūb's service, with a promise that he would be made to feel at home: 'Then Ya'qūb said, "Be of stout heart, you and your partisans; the greater part of my army and of my commanders are [originally] Khawārij too, and you will not feel strange amongst them"'. Ibrāhīm was urged to bring over more of his followers to Ya'qūb, who promised to assign them allowances and places on his *Dīwān*. Ya'qūb stressed the importance of the district of Isfizār as a *thaghr* or frontier region (it faced the mountainous region of Ghūr in central Afghanistan, which was still pagan in early Ghaznavid times<sup>38</sup>), and said that he needed a reliable person to guard it whilst he was away campaigning outside Sīstān. He also appealed to Ibrāhīm as being a fellow-countryman (*ham-shahrī*) of his, and observed that since so many of Ibrāhīm's partisans were from Baskar in Sīstān,<sup>39</sup> he would certainly not discriminate against them or oppress them in any way. Ibrāhīm was impressed. He went away and then returned with all his army. Ya'qūb gave robes of honour to all the leaders, and

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, 204–5. Regarding the position of *sarhangs* amongst the Khawārij, there is mentioned under the designation 'Sarhang of the Khawārij' a certain Ghānim Baskarī, who fought in Fārs during Ya'qūb's second expedition to Kirmān and Fārs and who captured Muḥammad b. Wāsil at Sirāf in 262/876 (*ibid.*, 229).

<sup>37</sup> *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1906, 323.

<sup>38</sup> See on Ghūr, Bosworth, 'The early Islamic history of Ghūr', *Central Asiatic Journal*, VI, 2, 1961, 116–33.

<sup>39</sup> This place is several times mentioned in the *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, but the exact form of the name is uncertain: variants like Baskū and Lashkar also appear.

ordered the head of his Department of Military Affairs, the 'Arid, to inscribe the soldiers' names in the *Dīwān-i 'Ard* and assign them stipends according to their rank. Henceforth, they formed a special contingent within the Ṣaffārid forces at large, with the designation of the *Jaish al-Shurāt*<sup>40</sup> and with Ibrāhīm b. Akhḍar as their commanding general.<sup>41</sup>

It is thus clear that the armies of the first Ṣaffārids contained a high proportion of Khārijīs or ex-Khārijīs in their ranks, and it is not at all surprising that some of the sources should view Ya'qūb and 'Amr (whose policies were in general strongly anti-'Abbāsīd) as themselves tainted with Khārijism. This utilization of the Khawārij of eastern Iran by the Ṣaffārids channelled off into external warfare much of the sectaries' bellicose energies, and as an active body, the role of the Khawārij in eastern Iran was now finished. Scarcia has rightly noted how mention of the Khawārij henceforth drops out completely from the narrative of the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, whereas for the previous period it is extensively concerned with their activities; this cannot be fortuitous.<sup>42</sup> The Arabic and Persian geographers of the fourth/tenth century continue to mention communities of Khawārij in Sīstān, Kirmān, Bādghīs, and other parts of Khurāsān,<sup>43</sup> but these are obviously *qa'ada*, passive believers and sympathizers, and not activists. By the end of that century, these Khārijī communities can have been little distinguishable from their Sunnī neighbours; according to Yāqūt, citing Iṣṭakhri, the Khawārij of Sīstān were notable for their probity in commercial dealings, for their piety and devotion, and for their distinctive dress (unfortunately, this is not detailed).<sup>44</sup>

## VI

During the course of the third/ninth century, the armies of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, and following them, the armies of provincial governors and military leaders, were transformed. In earlier times, the Caliphs had depended on the

<sup>40</sup> The Khawārij used the term *Shurāt* 'Sellers' to describe themselves, sc. sellers of their souls to God in return for the promise of Paradise, echoing Qur'anic phraseology in which the believers sell or barter (*sharā*) their share of the present life for the hereafter, cf. Qur'ān II, 203/206, IV, 76/73.

<sup>41</sup> Ṭabarī, III, 1882 (who is apparently wrong in saying that 'Abd al-Rahīm was killed immediately on Ya'qūb's defeating him in battle); Gardizī, ed. Nāzīm, 12, ed. Nafīsī, 113; *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 217-18; 'Aufī, *Jawāmi' al-hikāyāt*, partial facsimile text, Tehran, 1335/1956, 143-4, and in M. Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-hikāyāt of Muhammad al-'Aufī*, London, 1929, no. 718.

<sup>42</sup> 'Due precisazioni sul Ḥārijismo sistano', *AIUON*, NS, xv, 1965, 303-4.

<sup>43</sup> cf. Ibn Rusta, *al-A'lāq al-nafisa*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, 174, tr. G. Wiet, *Les atours précieux*, Cairo, 1955, 202 (Khawārij at Juwain and Kurunk in Sīstān); Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1927, 166 (Bam), 226-7 (Karūkh and Astarabiyān in Bādghīs); Ibn Ḥauqal, *Kitāb sūrat al-'ard*, ed. Kramers, Leiden, 1938-9, 312, tr. Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, Paris, [1965], 306 (Bam), 424-5 (Karūkh and Astarabiyān), 439; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, ed. Minorsky, London, 1938, 104 (Isfīzār), 125 (Bam); Maqdisī, 306 (Farah and Bārnawādh in Sīstān), 323 (Sīstān, Karūkh, and Astarabiyān), 469 (Bam).

<sup>44</sup> *Mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866-73, III, 42; cf. B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1952, 170.

Arab warriors or *muqātīla* and then, after the 'Abbāsīd Revolution, on their Khurāsānian guards. But from the Caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim (218–27/833–42) onwards, the core of the Caliphal army was a praetorian guard of slaves (*ghilmān*, *mamālīk*). These were mainly Turks from the South Russian and Central Asian steppes, but also included such varied races as the Berbers, Nubians, Armenians, Greeks, and Balkan Slavs.<sup>45</sup> Local commanders and governors, such as the Ṭāhirids and Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, speedily imitated the Caliphs, believing that a people like the Turks had innate qualities of pugnacity and valour; moreover, since they were unhampered by local ties or vested interests, it was supposed that they could give a more concentrated loyalty than could local troops.

Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. al-Laith had as the nucleus of their army some of the most vital elements from the Iranian peoples of Sīstān and eastern Khurāsān, including 'ayyārs, Khārijīs, and recruits from the indigenous landed classes. The enthusiasm aroused by the Şaffārid brothers' triumphs caused mercenary soldiers to flock to their standard, and Ya'qūb and 'Amr had no problems of finding man-power for the armies which they hurled successively into the field. Accordingly, there was no overriding necessity for replenishing the forces with slaves purchased from outside, and the slave element in the Şaffārid armies, at least, until the end of 'Amr's amirate, was probably a subordinate one.

Nevertheless, slaves were inevitably acquired in the course of warfare, if only from the armies of defeated opponents. 'Amr's rivals for power in Khurāsān, such as Rāfi' b. Harthama, certainly had their own contingents of *ghulāms*.<sup>46</sup> Also, the Şaffārid expeditions into the *Dār al-kufr* of eastern Afghanistan were, like those of the earlier Arab governors of Sīstān, richly productive of captives who were sold as slaves. Such was the origin of the slave commander Sebük-eri (Subkarī), who in the years after 'Amr's capture, aspired to the role of king-maker amongst the Şaffārid princes; he became virtually independent ruler of Fārs until his capture and his death in Baghdād in 305/917–18. The conventional version of this man's name is 'Subkarī' (adopted, for instance, by Vasmer, Walker, and Spuler), but it is hard to see any sense in such a rendering. It is more probable that we have here a Turkish name like Sebük-eri 'Beloved man', for the man in question was captured in Zamīndāwar or Zābulistān by Ya'qūb during an expedition of 255–6/869 against the fugitive son of the *Zunbīl* or local ruler of these regions; in the course of these operations, an extensive haul of beasts and prisoners was taken from 'the Khalaj and Turks' who herded their flocks on the plateaux and hills between Kabul and Bust.<sup>47</sup> Thus de Slane was unconsciously on the right track when he interpreted the

<sup>45</sup> See Osman S. A. Ismail, 'Mu'taṣim and the Turks', *BSOAS*, xxix, 1, 1966, 12–24, and for this whole process of change, Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, 407 ff., and Sourdél and Bosworth, *EI*, second ed., s.v. *ghulām*.

<sup>46</sup> cf. *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 262–3.

<sup>47</sup> *ibid.*, 215.

سبك السبكرى of Ibn Khallikān's text (which must either be a dittography or perhaps 'Sebuk al-Şaffārī') as 'Sebuk as-Sebukri'.<sup>48</sup>

From such sources as these, Ya'qūb acquired a body of slaves whom he employed as an élite force and as a personal bodyguard, their role thus corresponding to that of the palace *ghulāms* (*ghulāmān-i sarāy*) of the Sāmānids and Ghaznavids. Ya'qūb's interest in the training of his young slaves is noted by Mas'ūdī (see above, p. 536). The first firm date for the existence of Ya'qūb's *ghulām* guard is 259/873, when Ya'qūb overthrew Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir and entered his capital of Nishāpūr. The notables and '*ulamā*' of Nishāpūr regarded Ya'qūb with suspicion because he had no charter from the Caliph to legitimize his rule. He therefore resolved to impress them by his military might, and paraded 2,000 of his *ghulāms* in two ranks before the throne on which he sat to receive the notables of the town; these *ghulāms* were resplendently fitted out with gold and silver shields, swords, and maces captured from the Ṭāhirid treasury and armoury. This body of *ghulāms* is obviously identical with the élite force of 2,000 troops, hand-picked by Ya'qūb, which Mas'ūdī describes. Half of these had gold maces and the rest silver ones, and they were paraded on ceremonial occasions, such as for festivities or when it was desired to impress enemies. The phrase used here *wa-innamā duribat hādhih al-a'mida 'uddat<sup>an</sup> li 'l-nawā'ib* 'these maces were only made so that they could be a source of strength in times of disaster' may imply that the maces were for ceremonial purposes rather than for actual fighting, and could be melted down in times of need.<sup>49</sup>

According to the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 'Amr's grandson Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad inherited on his succession to the amirate in 287/900 a well-filled treasury and 10,000 palace *ghulāms* 'as well as those employed on outside duties' (*dūn bīrūnī*).<sup>50</sup> This number seems rather high, although it is likely that the proportion of slaves in the Şaffārid army increased in the course of the fourth/tenth century, as the Amīrs' dominions shrank to little more than Sīstān itself and the incentives for free recruits to present themselves diminished. As we saw above, the *Mawālī* or slaves were one of the three main constituent elements of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. al-Laith's army, and it was, indeed, the Amīr's own *ghulāms* who in 352/963 murdered their master.<sup>51</sup> Symptomatic of decreased control over their armies by the Amīrs of this century was the growth of private body-guards around the great commanders and nobles, a practice not mentioned in the times of Ya'qūb and 'Amr. Ṭāhir b. Abī 'Alī, a descendant of Ya'qūb's and 'Amr's brother 'Alī b. al-Laith and regent in Sīstān during

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Khallikān, tr., iv, 333.

<sup>49</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 222; *Murūj al-dhahab*, viii, 49-50; cf. Gardizī, ed. Nāzim, 13, ed. Nafīsī, 114. The correspondence between the arrangements for this ceremonial levée and those of the Ghaznavids in their palaces at Ghazna and Bust, as known to us from literary sources like Baihaqī and from the murals of the palace at Lashkar-i Bāzār, is striking; see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 104, 135 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 257.

<sup>51</sup> *ibid.*, 326.

Khalaf b. Aḥmad's absence between 353/964 and 358/969 on the Pilgrimage, had a *Hājib al-Hujjāb*, who himself had 500 *ghulāms*, all with ornamented belts.<sup>52</sup>

The Ṣaffārid slave troops must have included men of several different nations. In welcoming troops of any ethnic complexion, slave or free, the Amīrs were simply following a trend of the times. The armies of the 'Abbāsids were already multi-racial, and a peak of diversity was reached in such armies as those of the Fātimids, Ghaznavids, and Great Seljūqs.<sup>53</sup> Under Ya'qūb and 'Amr, there was a group of Arabs; their commander Iyās b. 'Abdullāh later left Sīstān for Kirmān in 293/906 in disgust at Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr's neglect of the once-mighty Ṣaffārid empire.<sup>54</sup> There was also an Indian contingent, although as with the Arabs, we know little more about these troops beyond the name of their commander, Ṭ.rābīl.<sup>55</sup> This man had been commander of the Indians in Ya'qūb's time, and in the confused period from 306/919 to 310/923, during which the commanders Kathīr b. Aḥmad b. Shahfūr and Aḥmad b. Qudām were successively raised to power in Sīstān, he and the Indian troops played a significant role. That there were, moreover, black slave troops is likely; Khalaf b. Aḥmad had black eunuchs as harem attendants and two *Zangīs* are mentioned as being amongst the outstanding warriors and champions (*mubārizān*) of his army.<sup>56</sup>

## VII

Like the professional armies of other contemporary Islamic powers, the Ṣaffārid army required a lengthy train of baggage and military stores. Where siege warfare necessitated their presence, such engines of war as *manjanīqs* and 'arrādas (mangonels and catapults) were also taken along.<sup>57</sup> According to Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh, the kitchen which 'Amr took with him on his campaigns in Khurāsān against Ismā'il b. Aḥmad required 1,000 camels to transport it. Mas'ūdī says that Ya'qūb had 5,000 Bactrian camels, and 10,000 asses, greyish in colour and called *Ṣaffārī* after their master; he preferred these

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*, 332. This *Hājib al-Hujjāb* is specifically distinguished from the *Sipahsālār* or Commander-in-Chief of the army in general; possibly he was commander of the slave troops.

<sup>53</sup> cf. I. Hrbek, 'Die Slawen im Dienste der Fātimiden', *Archiv Orientalni*, XXI, 4, 1953, 543-81; Bosworth, 'Ghaznevid military organisation', *Der Islam*, XXXVI, 1-2, 1960, 37-77; *idem*, *EI*, second ed., s.v. *ghulām* (§ ii. Persia).

<sup>54</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 279. Iyās's actual words to Ṭāhir as he departed were 'We carved out this empire by our swords, but you are endeavouring to hold it by frivolous amusements. Kingly power cannot be retained by sport and play; it can only be maintained through justice, religious sanction, statesmanship, oratory, the whip, and the sword'. This Iyās is apparently identical with the Abū Qābūs who is mentioned by Ṭabarī as seeking refuge at the Caliphal court; al-Muktafi refused Ṭāhir's request for him to be extradited to Sīstān (Ṭabarī, III, 2255; Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 377-8).

<sup>55</sup> Professor Sir Harold Bailey tells me that there is no obviously suitable Indian name which would fit this, although the second element could be from *-vira-* 'hero'.

<sup>56</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 307, 309, 346, 350.

<sup>57</sup> cf. *ibid.*, 283; 'Utbi, *al-Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī*, with commentary by Manīnī, Cairo, 1286/1869, I, 100-1; and Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 417, where Khalaf b. Aḥmad catapults sacks full of vipers (Sīstān was notorious for the virulence of its snakes) out on to the forces besieging him.



two types of animal to mules as beasts of burden, because unlike mules they could be left to pasture freely when the army halted. When on the march, Ya'qūb made extensive use of spies and patrols.<sup>58</sup>

Since their territories were contiguous with the Indo-Afghan borders, it is not surprising that the Ṣaffārids had some acquaintance with the use of elephants in warfare, although they did not themselves employ them to a significant extent. The full tactical exploitation of elephants in battle was to be a feature of Ghaznavid military practice.<sup>59</sup> When fighting in al-Rukhkhaj or Arachosia against the *Zunbīl* in 250/864, Ya'qūb encountered elephants in the opposing army, but managed to rout them after a furious attack led by Ya'qūb personally and 50 of his picked warriors. Amongst the plunder gained, Ya'qūb found 'Turkish horses' and elephants. The *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān* relates that he finally rejected the elephants, on the grounds that they were inauspicious beasts, since they were linked in pious minds with the Abyssinian Viceroy Abraha's expedition against Mecca in the so-called 'Year of the Elephant'! Ya'qūb certainly did not have a pious mind and was hardly likely to be swayed by superstitious reverence; the story simply shows that he could envisage no use for them in his own army. The Ṣaffārids of the later fourth/tenth century did, however, use elephants in warfare—this was the period when Sebūktigin was first employing them in eastern Afghanistan—and both Khalaf b. Aḥmad and his opponent al-Ḥusain b. Ṭāhir used them in the course of the succession struggle between them in Sīstān (361/972).<sup>60</sup>

## VIII

The mustering, equipping and organizing of a fighting force such as the Ṣaffārid army required administrative expertise. In the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate of the third/ninth century, this administrative backing was centred on the *Dīwān al-Jaish*, a department which had already reached a considerable level of complexity. An important study of this has been made by W. Hoenerbach, drawing on the section of Qudāma b. Ja'far's *Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣan'at al-kitāba* concerning the *Dīwāns* of the 'Abbāsīd bureaucracy as they were in the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32).<sup>61</sup> The importance of Qudāma's information, as Hoenerbach observes, is that he deals with the practice of this government department, and not simply with the theory, as is the tendency, for instance, in Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*. Also, in the historical introduction to his study, Hoenerbach stresses the continuity of the 'Abbāsīd *Dīwān* of the Army with earlier institutions of similar function, which may even reach back to Sāsānid times (see also below, p. 550, on the Ṣaffārid 'ard and its

<sup>58</sup> Fakhr-i Mudabbir, *Ādāb al-mulūk*, India Office MS 647, ff. 103a–b; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-dhahab*, VIII, 55; *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 268.

<sup>59</sup> cf. Bosworth, 'Ghaznevid military organisation', 61–4, and *idem*, *EI*, second ed., s.v. *fil* (§ 'As beasts of war').

<sup>60</sup> *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 205–6, 336, cf. also 347.

<sup>61</sup> 'Zur Heeresverwaltung der 'Abbāsīden. Studie über Abulfarağ Qudāma: *dīwān al-ḡaiš*', *Der Islam*, XXIX, 3, 1950, 257–90.

roots in the past). This 'Abbāsīd administrative organ, like the 'Abbāsīds' slave guard, was the model for the governors and amīrs who succeeded to the 'Abbāsīd heritage in the provinces.

Ya'qūb must have set up an office to deal with military affairs soon after he obtained the amīrate of Sīstān and began expanding northwards and eastwards into the adjacent parts of Afghanistan. The Khārijī followers of Ibrāhīm b. Akhḍar, who formed the unit within Ya'qūb's army known as the *Jaish al-Shurāt*, were registered in Ya'qūb's *Dīwan-i 'Arḍ* and allotted stipends from it (see above, p. 544). Ya'qūb inherited an administrative organization in Zarang when he took over the *Dār al-Imāra* there from the Arab governors who had ruled Sīstān on behalf of the Ṭāhirids and their predecessors in Khurāsān; the official registers and personnel to keep them would be taken over *en bloc*. In Khurāsān, officials of the former Ṭāhirid administration passed into Şaffārid service; this was the case with the poet of Baihaq, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Mughaiḥī.<sup>62</sup>

Under 'Amr, the administrative organization of the Şaffārid empire was put on a more durable basis, for its sphere of operation was now territorially very extensive. We have noted Sallāmī's praise for 'Amr as an administrator and military organizer.<sup>63</sup> Sallāmī, as quoted by Gardīzī and Ibn Khallikān, further gives an interesting account of 'Amr's financial ability and his care for the timely payment of the troops. According to this information, 'Amr had four treasuries, one of arms and the other three of money, and these always accompanied him on his campaigns. The first of the financial treasuries comprised revenue from the land-tax and other imposts, and was used for the army's salaries. The second comprised revenues from the Amīr's personal properties and estates (the *māl-i khāṣṣ*), which was used for court expenses, food, etc. The third comprised revenues from occasional and extraordinary levies (*ahdāth*) and confiscations of the wealth of soldiers who had gone over to the enemy; from these, special rewards were given to outstandingly brave soldiers and payments made to envoys and spies.<sup>64</sup>

The army's pay was normally issued in allotments (*razaqāt*, 'atāyā, *bīstgānī*) every three months, although extra payments might be made after some conspicuous success; thus in 275/888, after his second occupation of Fārs and a peace settlement with the Caliph, 'Amr distributed 2,000,000 dirhams to his army. The period of three months or 90 days for a *razqa* corresponds to that of the free cavalymen (*fursān min al-ahrār*) of top standard (*jayyid*) in the 'Abbāsīd armies.<sup>65</sup> The pay was given out by the head of the *Dīwān* of the

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Funduq, *Ta'riḥ-i Baihaq*, 151-4.

<sup>63</sup> Gardīzī, ed. Nāzim, 15, ed. Nafīsī, 116; Ibn Khallikān, tr., iv, 322; and see above, p. 538.

<sup>64</sup> Gardīzī, loc. cit.

<sup>65</sup> *Ta'riḥ-i Sīstān*, 246; Hilāl al-Sābi', *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*, cited in Hoenerbach, art. cit., 279. The Sāmānids, successors to the Şaffārid heritage in Khurāsān, paid their troops every four months or 120 days, according to Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden, 1895, 65. For Būyid practice here, see Bosworth, 'Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq', *Oriens*, xviii-xix, 1965-6, [pub.] 1967, 164-6, and for the Ghaznavid one, *idem*, 'Ghaznevid military organisation', 71-4.

Army, the 'Ārid, at the periodically-held general inspections of the army ('urūd, sing. 'ard). (The office of *Ra'īs-i Lashkar*, mentioned in 358/969 during the amirate of Khalaf b. Aḥmad, is probably another designation for the 'Ārid's office.)<sup>66</sup>

'Amr b. al-Laith was always careful to be personally present at the 'ard. At the Naurūz one, two drums were beaten as a signal for the army to assemble. Then the 'Ārid Sahl b. Ḥamdān sat down with a sack of dirhams emptied out before him, and his assistant had the register in which the names of the soldiers and their pay entitlements were written. 'Amr was the first to step forward. In his case, as in everyone else's, physical appearance, arms, equipment, and mount were inspected. The 'Ārid then paid out 300 dirhams to 'Amr, who placed the money in a purse down the leg of his boot and exclaimed 'Praise be to God, for the Lord Most High has bestowed on me the privilege of obedience to the Commander of the Faithful and has made me worthy of his favour!'. 'Amr then sat down on a near-by eminence and watched the rest of the army being inspected and paid. Ibn Khallikān compares this procedure with the 'ard under the Sāsānid emperor Khusrau Anūshirvān, and Barthold commented that the resemblance between the two procedures could hardly be coincidental.<sup>67</sup> There were also reviews of the army held before important battles.<sup>68</sup>

A close scrutiny of the physical characteristics of the soldiers presenting themselves for inspection (the *ḥulā al-rijāl*) was an essential part of the 'ard. According to Māwardī, 'If the soldier bears a well-known name and is of honourable status, it is unseemly that his physical characteristics and distinguishing features should be recorded when his name is entered on the *Dīwān* register. But if he is one of the underlings, his physical characteristics and distinguishing features are noted, including his age, stature, colour, physiognomy, and anything setting him apart from others, lest there be a coincidence in names; and when he is called forth to be paid, one of his detachment commanders or officers must accompany him and vouch for him'.<sup>69</sup> Qudāma b. Ja'far details extensively the physical points of age, appearance, etc., which should be noted.<sup>70</sup> In Muslim India many centuries later, the Mughal emperor Akbar rigidly enforced the system of detailing physical features, even down to the shape of ears and the presence or absence of moles, in the army rolls (the term used for 'roll' was *chihra*, literally 'face').<sup>71</sup>

All this was necessary to prevent interlopers and substitutes (*dukhalā'*,

<sup>66</sup> *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 332.

<sup>67</sup> Gardīzī, ed. Nāzīm, 16, ed. Nafīsī, 117; Ibn Khallikān, tr., iv, 322-4; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 221. Sahl b. Ḥamdān is not mentioned in the *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, but was perhaps a brother of the Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān b. 'Abdullāh, governor of Zābulistān and prominent in events at the end of 'Amr's reign, see *ibid.*, 259-60.

<sup>68</sup> Ibn Khallikān, tr., iv, 314.

<sup>69</sup> *Al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, ed. M. Enger, *Constitutiones politicae*, Bonn, 1853, 352, tr. E. Fagnan, *Les statuts gouvernementaux*, Algiers, 1915, 439-40.

<sup>70</sup> Hoenerbach, art. cit., 269-74.

<sup>71</sup> W. Irvine, 'The army of the Indian Moghuls: its organisation and administration', *JRAS*, 1896, 549-50.

*budalā'*) from insinuating themselves on to the pay-rolls; we possess from Būyid times instances of the lengths to which people were prepared to go in order to achieve this.<sup>72</sup> Whilst Ya'qūb and 'Amr maintained their tight grip over military affairs and administration, there was little scope for abuses to creep in; but after 'Amr's capture, in the early years of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr's reign, some reprehensible practices do seem to have arisen. At any event, the slave commander Sebūk-eri (Subkarī), who had secured an ascendancy over the new Amīr Ṭāhir and his brother Ya'qūb, managed to play on the fears of the army that an *'arḍ* was imminent and that some of the troops would then be struck from the registers and lose their pay entitlements; in this way he brought about the death of a rival for influence in the state, Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān b. 'Abdullāh.<sup>73</sup>

The soldiers who flocked to Ya'qūb's and 'Amr's standard were naturally drawn by hopes of plunder, in addition to regular pay allotments. It will suffice to give two or three examples of the vast quantities of booty which fell to the Amīrs as they expanded westwards to Fārs and Ahwāz and eastwards to the borders of India. In 254-5/868-9 Ya'qūb invaded Kirmān and Fārs, defeating the Caliphal governor of Fārs, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Quraish and his general Ṭauq b. al-Mughallis. He brought back to Sīstān of beasts alone 5,000 camels, 1,000 mules, asses and herds of Arab horses, together with 30,000,000 dirhams, of which 4,000,000 dirhams and 40,000 dīnārs had been extracted from the luckless 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain.<sup>74</sup> Out of the castle of Sa'idābād at Rāmjird near Iṣṭakhr, which belonged to the adventurer Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Ḥanzalī,<sup>75</sup> Ya'qūb in 263/876 brought coinage, gold and silver vessels, rich fabrics, etc., the transport of which kept teams of camels and asses busy for 30 days.<sup>76</sup> From raids into the pagan lands of the Kabul river valley and eastern Afghanistan, Ya'qūb in 257/871 sent 50 gold and silver idols to the Caliph al-Mu'tamid for display at Mecca; and in 283/896 a sensation was caused at Baghdād when there arrived presents from 'Amr captured in Zamīndāwar and the Indian borderlands, including a copper idol in a woman's shape, with four arms and two girdles of silver set with jewels, and with smaller, bejewelled idols before it, the whole being mounted on a trolley suitable for pulling by animals.<sup>77</sup>

It was not therefore surprising that besides such presents as these, the

<sup>72</sup> See Bosworth, 'Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq', 163. The prevention of false musters was, of course, equally the reason for the Mughal Akbar's measures, cf. Irvine, art. cit., 547-8.

<sup>73</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 258-60.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, 214; Ibn Khallikān, tr., iv, 309-10; cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1705, and Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 131.

<sup>75</sup> Perhaps the Muḥammad b. Wāṣil who had rebelled in Bust in 224/839 against the Ṭāhirid governor there, Sayyār b. Naṣr b. Maṣū'ir (*Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 188).

<sup>76</sup> *ibid.*, 226, 230; but the figure of 500 camels and 500 asses for the beasts comprising the teams is surely exaggerated. Cf. also Ṭabarī, III, 1889, and Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 191, where the figure of 40,000,000 dirhams is given for Muḥammad b. Wāṣil's private fortune, looted by Ya'qūb.

<sup>77</sup> Ṭabarī, III, 1841; Maṣ'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, VIII, 125-6; *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 216; cf. J. Marquart, *Erānshahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (Abh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., NF, III, 3), Berlin, 1901, 295-6.

Ṣaffārid Amīrs were able to undertake to pay to the Caliphs, when relations between the two powers were amicable, tribute on the scale of 20,000,000 dirhams per annum (as in 265/879, by 'Amr on his accession) or 10,000,000 dirhams per annum (as in 275/888, by 'Amr in return for a fresh investiture diploma). Even during the period of decline in Ṣaffārid fortunes after 'Amr's capture, the general Sebük-eri promised 16,000,000 dirhams per annum in return for his investiture by al-Muqtadir of Fārs, Kirmān, and Sīstān (297/909-10).<sup>78</sup> Moreover, Ya'qūb's generosity is praised by the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, which says that his gifts were never less than 100 dīnārs and might reach up to 100,000 dīnārs. Despite the comparative failure of Ya'qūb's last year or so, he left in the treasury at the time of his death what is variously given as 4,000,000 or 800,000 dīnārs, and 50,000,000 dirhams. On 'Amr's capture in 287/900 by the Sāmānids, his successor Ṭāhir found in the treasury at Zarang 36,000,000 dirhams, together with a quantity of dīnārs and jewels; Ṭāhir got through this in a short space of time, and by 293/906 the treasury was completely empty.<sup>79</sup>

At the time of the early Ṣaffārid conquests, a further system of paying the new and costly professional armies had evolved in Iraq and the adjacent parts of western Iran. This was the system of the *iqṭā'* or land grant, or more exactly, of the *iqṭā' al-istighlāl*, in which the grantee acquired virtually hereditary control over an estate or district, with immunitary rights which enabled him to bar the representatives of the state and appropriate the *kharāj* for himself. Even during the hey-day of the Būyids, in the later fourth/tenth century, *iqṭā'* tenure was not necessarily the dominant one over the whole of Iraq and western Iran, but the system was sufficiently widespread to cause major social and tenurial changes in the countryside.<sup>80</sup> The system spread only slowly into eastern Iran, and did not become general there until the Seljūq period. The evidence for the Sāmānid and Ghaznavid periods seems to be that the *iqṭā'* system was not entirely unfamiliar, but was not at all widespread.<sup>81</sup> However, with their overrunning of Fārs and Ahwāz, the Ṣaffārids took control of regions where the *iqṭā'* was a well-established institution, and some process of adaptation by the Amīrs seems to have taken place. Thus when Ṭāhir arrived in Fārs in 289/902, shortly after his accession, he expelled the Caliphal governor who had returned there after 'Amr's capture and then established himself at Shirāz. There he distributed a large number of *iqṭā'*s and generous pay allotments (*atīyyat-hā*), so that 'the whole of the army became content with these *iqṭā'*s and this pay'.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 234, 246, 295, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 42.

<sup>79</sup> *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 257, 263, 280; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, VIII, 46; Ibn Khallikān, tr., IV, 319-20.

<sup>80</sup> See on these changes, Cahen, 'L'évolution de l'*iqṭā'* du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, VIII, 1953, 30 ff.; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London, 1953, 50-1; Bosworth, 'Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq', 159-161.

<sup>81</sup> See a discussion of this problem by *idem*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, III, ch. on 'The Turks in the Islamic lands up to the mid-11th century' (forthcoming).

<sup>82</sup> *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān*, 274.

## IX

Ya'qūb inspired his troops by his decisive leadership and the plunder which his exploits brought in. When he died, his *waṣīyya* or testament indicated that he wished his brother 'Alī to succeed to the amirate. The sources do not accord to 'Alī a role of much significance under Ya'qūb ; he is mentioned as governor of Harāt after Ya'qūb first captured it in 253/867.<sup>83</sup> Although 'Alī enjoyed the greater influence and acceptance within the army, 'Amr had the issue of the succession brought to arbitration, and from these proceedings he emerged victorious and received the *bai'a* or homage of the army. The chagrined 'Alī was later in treacherous communication with 'Amr's rival for control of Khurāsān, Aḥmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Khujistānī, and in 276/890 escaped from captivity to join Rāfi' b. Harthama.<sup>84</sup> On 'Amr's capture, the army took the initiative and chose 'Amr's grandson Ṭāhir as interim Amīr, but when 'Amr's incarceration looked like being permanent, disputes over the succession arose within the army. There was one group for the *de facto* holder of power, Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr, and another for al-Laith b. 'Alī b. al-Laith, as being the son of Ya'qūb's designated successor 'Alī ; but the growing influence in the state of Sebük-eri, who hoped to be the real power behind Ṭāhir's throne, helped Ṭāhir's cause to prevail.<sup>85</sup>

As the personal prestige and military successfulness of the Amīrs declined, purely financial considerations came to determine exactly where the army would place its support. In 296/908-9 al-Laith b. 'Alī b. al-Laith successfully led an advance from Bust and captured Zarang from Ṭāhir. He had been governor of Makrān two years previously, and had collected there three years' tribute ; he had given a little of this to Ṭāhir, but had kept the greater part for his own purposes. He could now use these resources to finance an army, whereas Ṭāhir was in a state of bankruptcy ; whilst continuing to spend 5,000 dirhams a day on his household expenses, he was reduced to melting down his gold and silver ornaments and dishes for minting coins with which to pay his troops. Consequently, ' the people's hearts were won over by al-Laith, because he had large quantities of dirhams, dīnārs, and jewels, and he lavished these upon them '. Ṭāhir was forced to flee to Sebük-eri at Nih on the edge of the Dasht-i Lūṭ. Al-Laith's military position was further strengthened in 297/909 when his brother Mu'addal returned to Sīstān with extensive revenues from Kabul, Bust, and al-Rukhkhaḡ, and by means of these he further strengthened his control over the troops.<sup>86</sup> Meanwhile, Sebük-eri had won over the Şaffārid forces in Fārs from their allegiance to Ṭāhir and his brother Ya'qūb, adducing their spendthrift and feckless ways and inability to rule. He paid over to the troops a large sum and thereby secured the *bai'a* to himself ; Ṭāhir was deposed from

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*, 208.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, 234 (there is an unfortunate lacuna in the text where details of the arbitration are given), 236-7, 247.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, 257-8.

<sup>86</sup> *ibid.*, 280-4, 287.

his amirate, and he and Ya'qūb were handed over to the Caliph in Baghdād.<sup>87</sup> However, the financial situation in Sistān deteriorated after al-Laith's defeat and capture in Fārs by Sebük-eri (298/910). The last Amīr of the direct line of al-Laith, the brave but inexperienced Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Laith, had in 298/911 to face the invading Sāmānid forces of Aḥmad b. Ismā'il with an army that included levies of peasants (*ḥashar-i rūstā'i*), as well as regular cavalry and infantry. The impressment of an unpaid peasant rabble was an old military practice in the Iranian world and can be traced back at least to the Sāsānids. Their fighting value, other than as mere cannon fodder, was always dubious, and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Laith's *hashariyān* broke in battle and fled before the Sāmānid general Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-Marwarrūdhī, leaving behind 3,000 dead.<sup>88</sup>

## X

Finally, with regard to the numerical strength of the Ṣaffārid armies, we can glean only stray items of information from the accounts of campaigns and battles. The armies employed by Ya'qūb and his opponents within Sistān, when he was struggling for the control of the province, were modest in size. Ṣāliḥ b. al-Naḍr occupied Zarang in 239/854 with a force of 4,000 cavalry and infantry, later augmented by 300 deserters from the force of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥuḍain, son of the dispossessed Ṭāhirid governor. When Ya'qūb marched to Bust against Ṣāliḥ in 249/865, he took with him 2,000 cavalymen.<sup>89</sup> However, once Ya'qūb and 'Amr launched out beyond their native province, the armies were organized on a grander scale and substantial numbers were involved, for instance, in the fighting in Fārs and Ahwāz. In the battle of 261/874–5 between Ya'qūb and Muḥammad b. Wāṣil at al-Baidā' near Shīrāz, Ya'qūb had 15,000 cavalry against Muḥammad b. Wāṣil's 30,000, but he managed to defeat the latter by the stratagem of an attack from the rear. At the battle of Dair al-Āqūl in the next year against al-Muwaffaq, Ya'qūb had over 10,000 cavalymen. In 297/910 al-Laith b. Alī b. al-Laith took 7,000 cavalry with him to Fārs in order to punish Sebük-eri for his treachery towards the Ṣaffārid princes Ṭāhir and Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr.<sup>90</sup> The numbers of troops used in the fourth/tenth century, when Ṣaffārid power had shrunk, were probably more modest, although Khalaf b. Aḥmad raised a force of 4,000 of his *ghulāms* plus 5,000 local Sagzī troops when in 384/994 he sent his son Ṭāhir against Kirmān.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*, 285–6, cf. Ṭabarī, III, 2283, and Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 42.

<sup>88</sup> *Ta'rīkh-i Sistān*, 290–1.

<sup>89</sup> *ibid.*, 197, 205, cf. Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs*, 119.

<sup>90</sup> *Ta'rīkh-i Sistān*, 227 (cf. Ṭabarī, III, 1889, and Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 190–1), 288; Ibn Khallikān, tr., IV, 314.

<sup>91</sup> Rūdhrawarī, *Dhail tajārib al-umam*, in H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (ed.), *The eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford, 1921–2, III, 195, tr., VI, 206.

# XVIII

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN CULTURE UNDER THE EARLY GHAZNAVIDS\*

### I

The Ghaznavids were a dynasty of Turkish slave origin who, in the last quarter of the tenth century, established themselves in what is now eastern and southern Afghanistan, at first as local governors on behalf of the Sāmānid Amīrs of Transoxania and Khurāsān, and then as independent sovereigns. In the course of a thirty-two years' reign, from 388/998 to 421/1030, the greatest ruler of the line, the dynamic Sultan Yamīn ad-Daula Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin, extended his empire by force of arms until it stretched from western Persia to the Ganges valley of India, thereby earning an immense contemporary renown as the champion of Sunnī orthodoxy and the hammer of the pagan Hindus.<sup>1</sup> This vast empire was entirely a personal creation, and it endured for only a decade after his death; in 431/1040 his western conquests fell into the hands of a wave of Turkmen nomads from the steppes, the Seljuqs and their fellow-tribesmen of the Oghuz.<sup>2</sup> However, Maḥmūd's descendants kept possession of eastern Afghanistan, Baluchistan and north-western India for a further century and a quarter, although this truncated empire became necessarily oriented more towards the Indian than to the Persian world.<sup>3</sup>

This present paper deals not with the early-Ghaznavid Sultans themselves or their policies, but with one aspect of their age, that is, the stimulus which the constitution of the Ghaznavid empire on the eastern fringes of the Iranian world gave to Perso-Islamic culture in that region. But before embarking on a discussion of this topic, it will be useful to bear in mind certain other facts. A consideration of almost any aspect of inner Asia, including this region where the Iranian and Indian worlds meet, requires a close reference to geography and topography. It may seem surprising that any degree of political or cultural unity is possible at all in Afghanistan, the Ghaznavid heartland, for the northern part of the country, in particular, is a meeting-place of great mountain massifs and bare upland plateaux. Yet the measures of unity achieved by the great empires which have straddled this region, and the crossings of it by groups so widely-separated in time as the first Indo-European invaders of India and the armies of Turkish conquerors like Timūr and Bābur, show that the central ganglion of the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs have never been a serious barrier to the passage of armies or peoples.<sup>4</sup> To take the Pamirs as a specific example: although these mountains rise to over 25,000 ft., there has been in historical times a continuous local movement of peoples, with attendant cultural influences, from the valleys on one side to those of the other, and the results can be seen today in the linguistic geography of the region. Closely-related Iranian languages appear on both sides: Wakhī, Munjī and Shughnī on the Oxus headwaters, Yidgha in Chitrāl. One finds lexical correspondences between the totally unrelated Wakhī on the upper Oxus and Burushaski in Hunza and Nagir at the extreme northern tip of West Pakistan, and between the only distantly-related Indo-Iranian languages of Iranian Wakhī and Dardic Khowār in Chitrāl. As Benveniste rightly says, ". . . On découvre dans les langues très variées qui se parlent entre le Turkestan oriental, le Pamir et l'Hindukuš, beaucoup de mots communs, des emprunts mutuels, une incessante circulation lexicale reliant des aires très distantes ou séparées par de rudes obstacles."<sup>5</sup> Modern Persian has filtered across the Pamirs and has become the language of

\* The following is based on a lecture given at the Oriental Institute, Oxford, on October 30th 1964; the references have been added later.

<sup>1</sup> On the Sultan's image, see the present author's article, "Maḥmūd of Ghazna in Contemporary Eyes and in Later Persian Literature", *Iran* IV (1966), pp. 85-92.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*,<sup>3</sup> Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. V (London 1928), pp. 293-304; and C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh 1963), pp. 206-68.

<sup>3</sup> In default of a special study devoted to the later Ghaznavids, see B. Spuler, *EI*<sup>2</sup> Art. "Ghaznawida".

<sup>4</sup> On these general considerations, see K. de B. Codrington, "A

Geographical Introduction to the History of Central Asia", *Geographical Journal* CV (1944), pp. 27-40, 73-91. The work of Owen Lattimore, though primarily concerned with Mongolia and the adjacent regions of Siberia and China rather than the more westerly parts of Central Asia, is rich in relevant insights; many of his important papers are conveniently collected together in his *Studies in Frontier History, Collected Papers 1928-1958* (London 1962).

<sup>5</sup> "Mots voyageurs en Asie Centrale", *JA* CCXXXVI (1948), pp. 177-82.



literacy and official usage in parts of Hunza, including amongst the Burūsho, whose own language is of course a non-literary one.<sup>6</sup>

In pre-Islamic times, semi-nomadic confederations like the Kushans and Hephthalites or White Huns straddled the plateau and fertile valleys of eastern Afghanistan, linking this region with their Central Asian homelands. On the religious plane, there were strong Buddhist elements in northern and eastern Afghanistan, and these regions were thus linked with Tibet and China on the one hand and with Buddhist northern India on the other. All over the western parts of Central Asia, Buddhism decayed during the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, a process accelerated by the appearance of the Arabs and their new, assertive faith of Islam, although the great Buddhist centre of Bāmiyān does not seem to have become definitely Muslim till the early Ṣaffārid period, i.e. the later ninth century, or even later.<sup>7</sup> Links with the Indian world nevertheless continued after the decay of Buddhism. Eastern Afghanistan was not properly secured for Islam till the end of the ninth or more probably the tenth centuries, and for the preceding two or three hundred years it was ruled by local princes, epigoni of the Hephthalite rulers of Zābul. These were most likely themselves ethnically Iranian, but had close connections with India. This is clearly demonstrable in regard to the Hindūshāhī dynasty of Kabul and the upper Indus valley, whose power was uprooted by Sebūktigin and his son Maḥmūd. The local rulers of Ghazna during the first half of the tenth century, the shadowy Lawīks (displaced by the incoming Turkish slave commander Alptigin in 351/962) were related to the Hindūshāhīs. Nor is it unduly hazardous to link these Lawīks with the Zunbīls who ruled in Zābulistān and Zamīndāwar, the region stretching between Ghazna and Bust, in the pre-Ṣaffārid period, and who for long formed a powerful barrier against Muslim expansion there.<sup>8</sup> Zamīndāwar had in the sixth and seventh centuries, if not indeed down to later times than this, a great shrine and pilgrimage centre devoted to the god Zūn or Zhūn, the Su-na of Chinese Buddhist travellers in these parts. The origins and nature of this cult are highly obscure, except that it was clearly not Buddhist or Zoroastrian; Marquart plausibly argued that the cult of Zūn might be connected with the shrine of the Hindu Sun-God Āditya at Multān, and recently, Bussagli has suggested links with the pre-Buddhist religious and kingship practices of Tibet.<sup>9</sup>

Thus it was really only in the tenth century that eastern and southern Afghanistan, the area between Zamīndāwar and Kabul, was fully Islamized and integrated with the Muslim lands farther west. It is true that Sistān, in south-western Afghanistan, was invaded by Arab armies as early as the Caliph 'Uthmān's reign and speedily Islamized, as the early appearance of scholars and traditionists with the *nisba* of "as-Sijistāni", and the transfer thither of the Arab politico-religious disputes between Khārijī sectaries and orthodox Sunnīs, show.<sup>10</sup> Soon after the first appearance of the Arabs in Sistān, their forces passed through Bust into Zamīndāwar and clashed with the local ruler there, the Zunbīl; but these were exploratory and plunder raids only. Two centuries later, the Ṣaffārids Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. Laith penetrated as far as Kabul, but these raids too were primarily for plunder and slaves. It is far from certain that the Lawīks of Ghazna were Muslims, despite the Islamic names given to them in the sources. As for the region of Ghūr in central Afghanistan, this was a pagan *terra incognita* until the Ghaznavid expeditions there in the early eleventh century.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, vol. I (Oslo 1935-38), introd., p. xlvi: "When literate Burūsho, and there are not many of them, have occasion to write, they do so in Persian for choice, or in Hindustani." The main external linguistic influence on Burushaski has, in fact, been from the Dardic Shiṅā of Gilgit, although there are appreciable numbers of Wakhī speakers now settled in Hunza; see *ibid.*, vol. I, introd., pp. xlix-li.

<sup>7</sup> The contradictory evidence on the conversion of Bāmiyān and its rulers, the Shirs, is discussed by G. Scarcia in his articles "Nota alla voce 'Bāmiyān' della nuova edizione dell' 'Enc. de l'Islām'", *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* N.S. XIII (1963), pp. 299-302, and "Sull' ultima islamizzazione di Bāmiyān", *ibid.* XVI (1966), pp. 279-81.

<sup>8</sup> See Bosworth, *El* Art. "Hindūshāhīs"; and "Notes on the pre-Ghaznavid History of Eastern Afghanistan", *Islamic Quarterly* IX (1965), pp. 12-24.

<sup>9</sup> See J. Marquart and J. J. M. de Groot, "Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Zūn vom 6-9 Jahrhundert", *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, ed. G. Weil (Berlin 1915), pp. 262-8, 272-4, 288 n. 2; M. Bussagli, "Cusanica et Serica. I La fisionomia religiosa del dio Zūn (o Shun) di Zābul", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* XXXVII (1962), pp. 84 ff. The cult of Zūn has recently been exhaustively investigated by Scarcia in his article "Sulla religione di Zābul. Appunti per servire allo studio del ciclo epico sistānico", *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* N.S. XV (1965), pp. 119-65.

<sup>10</sup> See on Sistān in the early-Islamic period, Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Reports and Memoirs of the Centre for Studies and Archaeological Excavations in Asia, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Rome 1968).

<sup>11</sup> See *idem*, "The Early Islamic History of Ghūr", *Central Asiatic Journal* VI (1961), pp. 120-5.

When in 287/900 'Amr b. Laith was defeated in Khurāsān by the Sāmānids, the succeeding Saffārids were speedily reduced to the status of a minor, tributary dynasty in Sistān alone, and eastern Afghanistan fell under Sāmānid suzerainty. The process, begun briefly by the first Saffārids, of drawing this region into the Perso-Islamic world, was continued under the political and military leadership of Turkish slave commanders of the Sāmānids, who assumed *de facto* power on the peripheries of the Sāmānid empire. Qaratigin Isfijābi and other Turks established themselves in the south at Bust, and Alptigin and eventually Sebūktigin at Ghazna and Kabul, pushing back Indian influence down the Kabul river valley and then launching raids on the plains of northern India. Sebūktigin's governorship merged into the beginnings of the Ghaznavid empire, which speedily united Afghanistan with Khurāsān and central Persia as far west as Jibāl and the borders of Dailam.

Ethnically, Afghanistan had long been predominantly Iranian. There were some elements on the plateaux of southern and eastern Afghanistan, named in such sources as Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal, the *Hudūd al-'ālam* and 'Utbī, as being Turkish tribesmen of the Khalaj and Oghuz groups; these may well have been human debris left behind by nomadic confederations who had held the region. These Turkish groups survived intact into the Ghaznavid period and were enrolled into the Sultans' armies; the Khaljī Sultans who ruled in Delhi at the opening of the fourteenth century derived from them, and the name "Khalaj" may further survive in that of the modern Ghilzai Afghans.<sup>12</sup> Linguistically, Afghanistan was likewise predominantly Iranian, the main exceptions being the Dardic and Kāfirī groups of languages and peoples in the valleys and mountains to the north of the Kabul river, the modern Nūristān (Kāfiristān) and Chitrāl. These two groups were probably more territorially extensive in earlier times than they are today, for the trend in Afghanistan during the tenth and eleventh centuries was towards linguistic uniformity, with the New Persian or Fārsī branch of north-eastern Iranian emerging as dominant over the other Iranian languages. The age of the Sāmānids saw the forging in Khurāsān and Transoxania of New Persian as a fine instrument for literary expression, early seen in the verse of Rūdakī, Daqīqī, Firdausī and others, and in the court literature of the early Ghaznavid poets. So far as our knowledge of Pashto, the other great representative in Afghanistan today of the eastern Iranian linguistic family, is concerned, everything before the sixteenth century remains undocumented prehistory, despite recent pronouncements from Afghanistan which would push back our knowledge of written Pashto several centuries to the Ghūrīd period,<sup>13</sup> but the hypothesis may tentatively be put forward that the beginnings of Pashto should be traced to the language of such early Iranian invaders of Afghanistan as the Sakas.<sup>14</sup>

The spread of Fārsī in Afghanistan is a little-known process, yet there are indications that the Ghaznavid period was an important one here. Admittedly, there are only one or two pointers. One concerns the remote and backward region of Ghūr. When in 411/1020 Maḥmūd's troops invaded Ghūr, the leader of the expedition, Prince Mas'ūd, had to take with him interpreters; clearly, standard Fārsī had not yet penetrated to this province.<sup>15</sup> The next century saw the remarkable rise to power in eastern Iran and Afghanistan of the Ghūrī chieftains of the Shansabānī family, but there is no mention in any literary or historical source of any linguistic aberrancy in their native territory. Like the Ghaznavids whom they supplanted, the Ghūrīds had their court poets, and these wrote in Persian. What, then, could the old language of Ghūr have been? The late Prof. V. Minorsky once mentioned to the present writer that one fantastic theory had linked it with Burushaski. More feasible is the suggestion of Prof. Georg Morgenstierne,<sup>16</sup> that it was one of the south-eastern Iranian group of dialects which have gradually been eliminated from Afghanistan by the spread of Fārsī and Pashto. Parāchī (in a few villages to the north of Kabul) and Ōrmuṛī (in the Lōgar valley and at Kānigurām in Waziristan) may

<sup>12</sup> See on the Khalaj V. Minorsky, "The Turkish Dialect of the Khalaj", *BSOS* X (1939-42), pp. 417-37; and also Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, "Al-Xwārazmī on the Peoples of Central Asia", *JRAS* (1965), p. 8, expressing some doubt on the original Turkishness of the Khalaj.

<sup>13</sup> Until the recently-discovered anthology of early Pashto poetry, the *Peja khazāna* "Secret treasury" of Muḥammad Hōtak, has been critically investigated by specialists in Pashto philology, it would seem wisest to suspend judgement on this

question, as is pointed out by G. Morgenstierne, *Et' Art.* "Afghān. iii Pashto literature".

<sup>14</sup> This is the suggestion made to the present author by Dr. A. D. H. Bivar.

<sup>15</sup> Abū l-Faḍl Baihaqī, *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ghānī and Fayyāḍ (Tehran 1324/1945), p. 117, Russian tr. A. K. Arends, *Istoriya Mas'uda 1030-1041* (Tashkent 1962), p. 129.

<sup>16</sup> In a letter dated July 25th 1964.

represent the last remnants of some of these dialects. A second pointer, admittedly a tenuous one, may lie in a study of present-day isoglosses in Afghanistan. Ghazna and Kabul are still salients of Persian speech in eastern Afghanistan, separated by a wedge of Pashto in the Lōgar and Wardak valleys. This may be due to the influence in medieval times of Kabul and Ghazna as centres of Persian culture and learning, their effect still significant over the centuries, whereas farther south, so far as we can see, Pashto has extended westwards through Qandahār (a place of comparatively recent importance and of lesser cultural significance) towards Farāh and Isfizār or Sabzawār. This, however, is speculative; we may have a firmer base for speculation when data has been assembled by the Linguistic Survey of Afghanistan at present being undertaken by Kabul University under the general guidance of Prof. Morgenstierne.

## II

It has just been suggested in general terms that the establishment of the Ghaznavid empire brought the central and eastern parts of the Iranian world under a single political authority and at the same time gave a fillip to the supremacy of Perso-Islamic culture on the far eastern fringes of that world. This thesis now requires elaboration.

In many ways, the empire of Maḥmūd was a successor-state to that of the Sāmānids in Transoxania and Khurāsān. Maḥmūd and his father Sebūktigin both began their careers as military commanders of the Sāmānids, only abandoning their masters when it was evident that the Sāmānid empire was disintegrating under the internal stresses set up by rebellious generals and by external pressure from beyond the Syr Darya by the Turkish Qarakhanids. To the very end, Sebūktigin clung to his legal and official status as a slave provincial governor on behalf of the Sāmānid Amīrs, and he never formally claimed the independence which he in reality enjoyed; the inscription on his tomb at Ghazna names him as *al-Ḥājib al-Ajall* "Most exalted commander", and not as *Amir*. Down to 389/999, Sebūktigin and his two sons Ismā'il and Maḥmūd all acknowledged the Sāmānids on their coins.<sup>17</sup>

From the point of view of administrative structure and techniques, the continuity of the Ghaznavid empire with the Sāmānid one can clearly be demonstrated. Ruling from Bukhārā, the Sāmānids evolved a highly-developed system for administering their territories, drawing taxation from the agriculture and industry of the oases of Khurāsān and Soghdia, and controlling the long-distance caravan trade between the Islamic lands and the Far East; above all, the Amīrs grew rich on the traffic in slaves from the Turkish steppes. According to the historian of Bukhārā, Narshākhī, the Sāmānid administration comprised nine separate *diwāns* or government departments, including not only the basic financial, secretarial and military ones, but also departments responsible for espionage and police services and for the postal and intelligence network. Administrative techniques were advanced, and Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī in his dictionary of technical terms, the *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* "Keys of the sciences", mentions that the Sāmānids had twenty-six different kinds of official registers for recording financial and other business. The ultimate model for all this administrative structure was, of course, the Caliphal administration in Baghdad.<sup>18</sup>

The first Ghaznavids developed an administrative system in Ghazna which was based on that of the Sāmānids, firstly because they knew of no other model to take, and secondly because there were no strong Islamic administrative traditions in the Ghazna region for them to build on otherwise. There must have been some coming and going of Sāmānid officials from Bukhārā or Nishāpūr during the years when Turkish slave governors were ruling in Ghazna on behalf of the Amīrs. During Sebūktigin's tenure of power (366–87/977–97), we can see the emergence of three basic government departments, those of finance, correspondence and military affairs, under the Vizier, Chief Secretary and *'Arid* respectively. The organization of the *Diwān-i Risālat* or Correspondence Department was the work of one of the most noted literary stylists of the age, Abū l-Faṭḥ 'Alī al-Bustī, known for his scintillating use of paronomasia and other rhetorical devices as the *Ṣāhib al-Tajnis*, and the friend of Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, Abū Maṣṣūr ath-Tha'ālibī, Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī and the *Ṣāhib Ismā'il b. al-'Abbād*.<sup>19</sup> Under Maḥmūd, the Ghaznavid empire expanded enormously, and the machinery of

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994–1040*, pp. 41, 44–7; and *idem*, "The Titulature of the Early Ghaznavids", *Oriens* XV (1962), p. 217.

<sup>18</sup> See *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 27–34.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. J. Fück, *EI* Art. "al-Bustī, Abū'l-Faṭḥ".

government inevitably grew more complex. Two new *diwāns* appear, one a subdivision of the Vizier's department, an accounting office under the Mustaufī, and the other that of the *Ishraf*, responsible for communications, postal services and espionage—a very necessary department for such a far-flung empire, whose Sultan was a despot ruling by fear rather than by consent.<sup>20</sup>

Continuity with Sāmānid administrative practices was ensured by a continuity in many cases of actual personnel, for the Ghaznavids inherited many members of the old Sāmānid bureaucracy. Some of these merely remained at their posts in the *Diwān* of Khurāsān at Nishāpūr when Maḥmūd took over there. Other Persian officials migrated from Transoxania when the Qarakhanids moved in and allowed much of the old Sāmānid administration to run down and fall into disuse; a continuator of Narshakhī says that taxation and expenditure everywhere decreased when the Qarakhanids came.<sup>21</sup> The power of the new and dynamic Ghaznavid empire to attract able men extended all over the Iranian world. An anecdote in Chapter XLI of the *Siyāsat-nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk describes how a group of unemployed Būyid officials and secretaries in Ray contemplate emigrating to Khurāsān, where they believe that Maḥmūd's well-known appreciation of scholars will bring them recognition and employment.<sup>22</sup> Although this particular story is of dubious authenticity, we do have definite instances of men passing from Būyid into Ghaznavid service. The Qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī Shīrāzī, head of the civil administration in northern India during the reign of Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd, came originally from Būyid circles. However, it was the Sāmānid bureaucracy which provided by far the greatest number of Ghaznavid officials. Maḥmūd's Vizier Abū l-'Abbās al-Faḍl Isfarā'inī had been a secretary in Sāmānid Khurāsān, as had been the father of the Vizier of Mas'ūd and his son Maudūd, Aḥmad b. 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad; and the list could be prolonged.<sup>23</sup>

Since the Ghaznavid empire depended so much on the Sāmānid inheritance for its political structure, it is not surprising that literary, cultural and artistic trends under Maḥmūd also followed the patterns established in the eastern Iranian world by the Sāmānids. It was the court of Bukhārā which gave material backing for the literary florescence of New Persian, whilst at the same time remaining a great centre for the traditional Arabic theological, legal and philological sciences. Tha'ālibī's praise of Bukhārā at this time, prefixed to the fourth section of his literary anthology, the *Yatimat ad-dahr fi maḥāsīn ahl al-'aṣr* "The unique pearl concerning the elegancies of contemporary people", is well known: "In the time of the Sāmānids, Bukhārā was the meeting-place of all nobility, the centre of all authority, the place where the outstanding people of the age congregated, the rising-place of the stars of the learned scholars of all the earth and the place of pilgrimage for all the brilliant men of the time."<sup>24</sup> But lesser courts of eastern Iran also contributed to this cultural revival by providing patronage and shelter for scholars. Amongst the Ziyārids in Gurgān and Ṭabaristān, the Amīr Qābūs b. Vushmagīr himself achieved repute as a poet and prose stylist, as the subsection on him of the *Yatimat ad-dahr* shows.<sup>25</sup> The poet Farrukhī Sistānī, eventually one of the adornments of Maḥmūd of Ghazna's court, won his initial fame at the petty court of the Muḥtājī Amīr of Chaghāniyān on the upper Oxus.<sup>26</sup> The unknown author of the geographical treatise, the *Hudūd al-'ālam* "Limits of the world", seems to have worked in Gūzgān, the small principality of the Farīghūnid family in north-western Afghanistan.

It was therefore unlikely that Maḥmūd would allow his own court to fall short of the standards set by the Sāmānids and by these minor Iranian princes. New buildings in Ghazna were financed out of and adorned by the spoils of India, such as precious metals, and the finds of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan at Ghazna show that Hindu statues and other objects were incorporated into the

<sup>20</sup> Cf. M. Nāẓim, *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna* (Cambridge 1931), pp. 126–50, where he surveys the administrative system, to be supplemented by reference to Bosworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–97.

<sup>21</sup> *The History of Bukhara*, tr. R. N. Frye (Cambridge, Mass. 1954), p. 33.

<sup>22</sup> Ed. H. Darke (Tehran 1340/1962), pp. 211–14, tr. Darke, *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings* (London 1960), pp. 172–5.

<sup>23</sup> Bosworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–9.

<sup>24</sup> *Yatimat ad-dahr*, vol. IV, ed. Muḥ. Muḥyi ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo 1375–77/1956–58), p. 101, tr. in E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. I (London and Cambridge 1902–24), pp. 365–6.

<sup>25</sup> *Yatimat ad-dahr*, vol. IV, pp. 59–61; cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 102–4.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Niẓāmi 'Arūḍī Samarqandī, *Chahār maqāla*, revised tr. by E. G. Browne, Gibb Memorial Series, XI/2 (London 1931), pp. 39–45.

fabric of palaces as trophies of war.<sup>27</sup> On the intellectual level, libraries and mosques in Ghazna were enriched by the spoils of Khurāsānian and other Persian collections. The library of the madrasa attached to the splendid mosque built by Maḥmūd, called the 'Arūs al-Falak or "Bride of Heaven", was fitted out in this way. When Maḥmūd captured Ray from the Būyid Majd ad-Daula in 420/1029, fifty loads of heretical books of the Bāṭiniyya and Mu'tazila were burnt, but the more harmless ones were spared and carried off to Ghazna.<sup>28</sup> The rich collections of Ghazna doubtless perished in the sackings and burnings of the Ghūrīds and Mongols a century or two later.

Yet it was not enough to found libraries; great luminaries of the literary and scientific worlds had to be brought to Ghazna if it was to become the Baghdad of the east. The polymath Abū r-Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī, after working in his native land of Khwārazm and then wandering to the Ziyārid court in the Caspian coastlands, returned to Khwārazm and the patronage of the Ma'mūnid Shāhs of Gurgānj. When Maḥmūd's troops marched into Khwārazm in 408/1017, al-Bīrūnī joined the exodus of scholars from there to Ghazna, apparently of his own freewill. At Ghazna he finished his days as a kind of scientific adviser cum court astrologer to Maḥmūd, his son Mas'ūd and then the latter's son Maudūd.<sup>29</sup> It was through this position that al-Bīrūnī was able to accompany Ghaznavid armies into India, delve deeply in Sanskrit and the Prākritis tongues of northern India and acquire a unique knowledge of Indian religious and social practices, all of which he put into his *magnum opus* on India, the *Taḥqīq mā li l-Hind*. It is indeed fortunate for human knowledge that a man with such an omnivorous and all-enquiring mind should have found himself placed in Ghazna at a time when Muslim arms were making their first major break-through into the plains of northern India. For facilitating this alone, we should be grateful to the early Ghaznavids.

However, not all scholars were entranced by the prospect of life at Maḥmūd's court. As E. G. Browne truly noted, "Sultan Maḥmūd has often been described as a great patron of letters, but he was in fact rather a great kidnapper of literary men, whom . . . he often treated in the end scurvily enough".<sup>30</sup> A story in Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī's *Chahār maqāla*, which may be apocryphal but which nevertheless reflects Maḥmūd's strong-arm methods, describes how he sent an ultimatum to the Ma'mūnid Khwārazm-Shāh Abū l-'Abbās Ma'mūn, demanding that the Shāh send to his court certain famous scholars. One of these, Ibn Sīnā or Avicenna, had been reared in an atmosphere sympathetic to Ismā'īlī Shī'ism, and he did not relish a summons to the conservative and orthodox Islamic milieu of the Ghaznavid court; he preferred to flee across Persia and end his days as Vizier to the Kākūyid ruler of Iṣfahān, 'Alā' ad-Daula Muḥammad.<sup>31</sup>

The cases of Ibn Sīnā and one or two others with heterodox sympathies were probably exceptional. Maḥmūd cultivated the image of himself as a Maecenas, and scholars and literary men made their way to Ghazna from all over the eastern Islamic world. In particular, the Ghaznavid court acquired a group of fine Persian poets, presided over by 'Unṣurī, who allegedly had the title of *Amīr ash-Shu'arā*, Poet Laureate. The comparative cultural poverty of the region of Ghazna and Zābulistān is shown by the fact that no major figure of this group of court poets seems to have been a local man: Farrukhī came from Sistān, 'Unṣurī from Balkh, Manūchihri from Dāmghān, Ghaḍā'iri from Ray, and so on.<sup>32</sup> The volume of verse turned out must have been very great, much of it being panegyric addressed to various members of the royal family, to high officials and to military commanders, and what we have left of it today is generally of a high literary standard. The style is comparatively simple, certainly when compared with the intricacies of Seljuq and later Ghaznavid verse, and the use of imagery and the depiction of nature are usually fresh and delicate.<sup>33</sup> The literary forbears of this eulogistic and lyrical poetry were such Sāmānid poets as Abū l-Ḥasan Shahīd of Balkh, Abū Bakr Khusrawī of Sarakhs, Abū l-Ḥasan

<sup>27</sup> Cf. U. Scerrato, "The First Two Excavation Campaigns at Ghazni, 1957-58", *East and West* N.S. X/1-2 (1959), pp. 39-40; and A. Bombaci, Art. "Ghaznavidi", in *Enciclopedia universale dell' arte* VI (Venice-Rome 1958), pp. 6-15.

<sup>28</sup> Bombaci, "La Sposa del Cielo", *Studi orientalistici offerti a Francesco Gabrieli* (Rome 1964), pp. 21-34; Bosworth, "The Imperial Policy of the Early Ghaznavids", *Islamic Studies, Journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Research* 1/3 (Karachi 1962), pp. 70-2.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. D. J. Boilot, *Et* Art. s.v.

<sup>30</sup> *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 95-6.

<sup>31</sup> *Chahār maqāla*, Browne's revised tr., pp. 85-90; cf. *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, p. 133.

<sup>33</sup> J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte* (Leipzig 1959), pp. 172-5.

Kisā'ī of Merv and, above all, Rūdakī. Most of these poets were *dhawū l-lisānain*, equally proficient and productive in Arabic or Persian, and we can thus trace the stylistic origins of early Ghaznavid poetry through the Sāmānid poets to the Arabic *qaṣīda*.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately for purposes of comparative and stylistic study, we have extant today only a small part of this early Ghaznavid poetry, the visible tenth, as it were, of a poetic iceberg. The only *diwāns* which we possess in anything like completeness are those of 'Unṣurī, Farrukhī and Manūchihri; the other poets are known only through fragments or citations. This is in contrast to the later Ghaznavid period, from which we have several more or less complete *diwāns*, such as those of Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān, Abū l-Faraj Rūnī, Sayyid Ḥasan and 'Uthmān Mukhtārī.

Because of these movements of men, ideas and literary concepts eastwards to Ghazna, the Ghaznavid empire gradually became integrated with Khurāsān and the eastern Iranian world in general. Once this seed was implanted, Ghazna and eastern Afghanistan began to develop a Persian culture of their own, a culture which survived the Ghūrīd take-over of the Ghaznavid empire in the mid-twelfth century and endured right down to the Mongol invasion, when Ghazna's rôle as a historic centre ended for ever.

### III

So far, the implanting of outside ideas within Afghanistan during Maḥmūd's reign has been discussed. Although it has been noted above that the region of Ghazna and Zābulistān was not, at the opening of the eleventh century, culturally so richly developed as say Transoxania or Khurāsān, Afghanistan as a whole was not entirely a cultural desert. It was pointed out at the beginning of this paper that it lies at the meeting-point of several civilizations, those of Iran, of India, of the Central Asian steppes and of China and Tibet. And since the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs have never inhibited the movement of people and ideas across the heartlands of Asia, and since some at least of these peoples and ideas have halted within Afghanistan, it would be surprising if the region had nothing whatever to contribute to the flowering of Perso-Islamic civilization during Maḥmūd's reign.

It is suggested that such a contribution may in fact be traced in the stimulus given to popular epic literature and romances during the early Ghaznavid period. Our surviving information relates wholly to such literature in Persian, but there are indications that a similar literature existed also in Turkish, probably in a less-polished literary form and circulating at an oral level. It is easy to forget that the Ghaznavid Sultans, though speedily Persianized in culture and outlook, were ethnically Turks, not far removed in time from the Central Asian steppes. Sebūktigin was born in paganism, apparently at Barskhān by the İsiq Göl of the modern Soviet Kirghiz Republic.<sup>35</sup> Persian and Arabic dominated the bureaucracy, the religious institution and the world of scholarship, but Turkish remained an everyday language for the Sultans and their intimates, certainly down to Mas'ūd's reign and probably longer. The army was the great and enduring stronghold of Turkishness, being in large part composed of Turks from the steppes, and there were always new arrivals from this quarter thus keeping up the barbarian and unsophisticated element in the ruling institution.<sup>36</sup> These Turks must have brought with them their tribal legends, stories and poetry. The Persian poet Manūchihri mentions Turkish poetry in one of his own verses; this would doubtless be popular poetry and not the product of cultured circles such as Manūchihri and his colleagues formed. An interesting point here is that Manūchihri speaks of poetry in both "Turkī" and "Ghuzzī", a very early division of the Turkish dialects into an eastern, Qarluq and Uighur group, and a western, Oghuz and Qipchaq one, a division laid down, with supporting phonological evidence, in Maḥmūd Kāshghari's *Diwān lughāt at-turk* thirty or forty years later.<sup>37</sup>

Maḥmūd of Ghazna's name is linked in popular imagination with that of Firdausī, author of the supreme version of the Persian epic, the *Shāh-nāma* or Book of Kings. A well-known version of the relations between the two men is that given by Nizāmī 'Arūḍī: that Firdausī spent twenty-five years

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 141-6.

<sup>35</sup> Nāzim, "The Pand-Nāmah of Subuktigin" [= the section containing Sebūktigin's alleged testament to his son as given in Shabānkāra's *Majma' al-ansāb fi t-tawārikh*], *JRAS* (1933), pp. 609-11, tr. 621-2.

<sup>36</sup> Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 56-7, 99 ff., 130.

<sup>37</sup> A. de Biberstein-Kazimirsky, *Menouchchéri, poète persan du 11<sup>ème</sup> siècle de notre ère* (Paris 1886), text p. 148, tr. p. 261; Köprülü-zāde Mehmet Fuad, "Gazneliler devrinde türk şi'ri", in *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar* (Istanbul 1934), pp. 26-32; C. Brockelmann, "Maḥmūd al-Kāshghari über die Sprache und die Stämme der Türken im 11. Jahrh.", *Körös Csoma Archivum* I (Budapest 1921-25), pp. 38-40.

on his masterpiece, that he brought it to the Ghaznavid court, but that Maḥmūd repulsed him and offered only a miserable present. The poet then wandered westwards to the court of the Bāwandids in Ṭabaristān. In the end, runs the story, Maḥmūd recognized Firdausī's genius and wished to atone for his shabby behaviour by sending a magnificent gift of 60,000 dīnār's worth of indigo; but when this arrived at Ṭūs, the poet was already dead.<sup>38</sup> The truth of the matter remains unclear. Arberry thinks that Firdausī made an unfortunate choice in offering what he calls "his vast epic in praise of Zoroastrian Persia" to Maḥmūd, "the fanatical conformist".<sup>39</sup> Admittedly, the *Shāh-nāma* is not Islamic at all in its inspiration, but neither is its ethos specifically Zoroastrian,<sup>40</sup> and the Ghaznavids were not averse to being connected with the glories of old Persia. When obliging genealogists concocted a pedigree for the dynasty, they were unable to get round the fact of Sebūktigin's pagan origin, but they did manage to connect him with the last Sāsānid emperor, Yazdagird III, whose family had allegedly fled into the Central Asian steppes after the Arab invasions and had settled there, intermarrying with the local Turks.<sup>41</sup> Rypka's reconstruction of the relations between Sultan and poet as being dependent on Ghaznavid political policy, firstly pro-Iranian against the Turkish Qarakhanids, and then pro-Arabic as links were strengthened with the Baghdad Caliphate, is attractive but hard to prove. He is right, however, in regarding the *Shāh-nāma* as the climax of the "feudal epic" which had arisen from the Sāmānid milieu, and in regarding the epics of the succeeding Ghaznavid period as constituting a new genre, the "romantic epic".<sup>42</sup>

It is the rôle of Afghanistan in general and Maḥmūd's own court in particular as the nurturers of this "romantic epic" that requires further examination. The probable survival of a popular Turkish literature amongst the extensive groups of Turks in the Ghaznavid court and army has just been mentioned. Some of these Turks became Persianized, but most of them must have been eager for literature and poetry to suit their own tastes. Their attitudes and requirements may well have affected the nature of this epic and romantic literature in Persian. Within this literature, two streams of development may be discerned. One follows directly on from Firdausī, but with a romantic element injected into the epic, pushing the heroic element further and further into the background; the other stream is that of purely romantic and lyrical idylls in verse. But a stimulus to both was, it is suggested, a contribution of the early Ghaznavid period to Persian literature.

For the *Shāh-nāma* was in many ways a culmination. If literature is to be regarded as the expression of a society, then the *Shāh-nāma* must obviously be attached to the old Persian landowning classes of eastern Iran, the dihqāns. This class maintained its power and influence in Khurāsān, Transoxania and Khwārazm until the downfall of the Sāmānids. The tenth century geographers expatiate on the heroic virtues still cultivated by the people of these regions—the munificence of their entertainment of strangers, their general liberality, and their military prowess. Thus Maqdisī describes the people of Khwārazm as "men who practice hospitality, with great appetites, courageous and impetuous in battle".<sup>43</sup> Pride in the Iranian past, its heroes and their achievements, lived amongst this class, for the spirit of this past long survived the strong social and cultural pressures of Islam; Zoroastrianism itself persisted in the more mountainous and inaccessible regions of Persia, and it was, after all, in the ninth century, two centuries after the coming of Islam, that much of the Middle Persian and Zoroastrian literature known to us today was copied. It was for an important Khurāsānian dihqān, Abū Maṣṣūr b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq of Ṭūs, that translations into New Persian were made in 340/951 from the Pahlavi texts of the national epic, and these texts were later utilized by Firdausī and perhaps by his predecessor Daqīqī.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Chahār maqāla*, Browne's revised tr., pp. 54–9; *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 132–9.

<sup>39</sup> *Classical Persian Literature* (London 1958), p. 43.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. T. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos* (Berlin and Leipzig 1920), pp. 36 ff., who points out that Firdausī's attitude was certainly strongly anti-Arab, though not necessarily openly anti-Islamic.

<sup>41</sup> Minhāj-i Sirāj Jūzjāni, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, vol. I, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, 2nd edn. (Kabul 1342–43/1963–64), p. 226; vol. I, tr. H. G. Raverty (London 1881–99), pp. 69–70.

<sup>42</sup> *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 157–8.

<sup>43</sup> *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fi ma'rifat al-aqālim*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, III<sup>o</sup> (Leiden 1906), p. 285; cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 32–3.

<sup>44</sup> See Minorsky, "The Older Preface to the *Shāh-Nāma*", *Studi orientalistici in onore G. Levi della Vida II* (Rome 1956), pp. 159–79 = *Iranica, twenty articles* (Tehran 1964), pp. 260–73.

But from 389/999 onwards, Khurāsān was in the hands of the Turkish Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and Transoxania in those of the Qarakhanids. Supreme political leadership in eastern Iran passed out of native Persian hands, and although the dihqān class was still for a time influential at the local level, the long-term trends of the new period were definitely unfavourable for it. Under the Ghaznavids, Khurāsān was ruthlessly exploited by successive Viziers and governors, themselves hard-pressed by the Sultan their master, who was avid for money to finance his campaigns in India and elsewhere. A disastrous famine, followed by plague and much rural depopulation, is recorded for 401/1011. Two or three decades later, the depredations of the Seljuqs caused a disruption of trade and agriculture; land values in such places as the Nishāpūr and Baihaq oases plummeted, with ruinous effect on the fortunes of the dihqān and small landowner classes.<sup>45</sup> By the time of the Mongol invasion, the term *dihqān* had declined into the simple meaning of "peasant".<sup>46</sup> The decreased taste for purely heroic epics of the *Shāh-nāma* type may therefore be a consequence of the gradual ruin of the Iranian landed classes, although the diversion of this taste into new literary patterns was probably also a result of an increased sophistication and refinement of manners in early Ghaznavid times, expressed in a preference for the romantic over the heroic.

In fact, the example of the *Shāh-nāma* released a spate of Persian epic poems which has continued almost down to the present day. The late Maryan Molé quoted the early twelfth century anonymous Persian history, the *Mujmal at-tawārikh*, in which the *Shāh-nāma* is called the tree and all the other poems its branches.<sup>47</sup> The *Shāh-nāma* and most of its successors are based on national traditions current in the eastern Iranian world, in particular, those centred on the regions of Sistān, Zāmīndaḡar and Zābulistān. These regions had long been famous for breeding hardy and pugnacious fighting men; Rustam is described as "the Zābulī hero", *gurd-i Zāvulī*, not only in the *Shāh-nāma*, but also in the Middle Persian historical epic of 400 years before, the *Kārnāmak-i Artashir-i Pāpakān*.<sup>48</sup> The *Shāh-nāma* centres of course round Rustam and his father Zāl, but the slightly later *Garshāsp-nāma*, which will be considered presently, and a host of later poems, revolve round Garshasp, the Avestan Krsāspa, "He who has lean, swift horses", and a forebear of Rustam. These poems in which Garshāsp and his family, rather than Rustam, are featured, are specifically attached to Sistān and Zābulistān; and there was, according to a lost *Kitāb-i Garshāsp* by Abū I-Mu'ayyad Balkhī, cited in the *Ta'rikh-i Sistān*, a fire temple at Karkūya near the capital Zarang, which was dedicated to Garshāsp and had a cult in his honour.<sup>49</sup>

Under the early Ghaznavids, these regions of southern and eastern Afghanistan were for the first time in centuries the heart of a vast empire, and they supplied troops for armies which campaigned from the lower Oxus to the Ganges; contingents of Afghans (thus named in 'Utbi's *at-Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī: al-Afghāniyya*) are specifically mentioned, as are the archers and infantrymen of Sistān.<sup>50</sup> One might have expected that the exploits of Maḥmūd and his troops would have stirred popular imagination to the extent that epics on his campaigns might have been composed and the whole topic grafted on to the existing Iranian epic tradition popular there. Yet we have no surviving contemporary epics woven round the figure of the warrior-Sultan. It is true that there is mention of a metrical composition, the *Tāj al-futūḥ* "Crown of victories", dealing with Maḥmūd's exploits; since the poet 'Unṣurī praises this work highly, Nāzīm thought that this was probably written by himself.<sup>51</sup> Whoever wrote it will probably never be known for certain, since it is not extant. It was not until well after Maḥmūd's death that a considerable literature, half romantic epic, half hagiography, grew up round Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd as champions of Islam against the infidels in India. In this literature, historical fact diminishes as the miraculous religious element increases. This is seen in the legends accumulating round the exploits of the semi-legendary Ghaznavid soldier Sipahsālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, allegedly a nephew of

<sup>45</sup> Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 86-9, 259-61.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (London 1953), introd., pp. xxiv, xxvi.

<sup>47</sup> "L'épopée iranienne après Firdōsi", *La Nouvelle Clio* V (Brussels 1953), p. 380.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Marquart, *Eränfahrt nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, in *Abh. der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. III/2 (Berlin 1901), p. 40.

<sup>49</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Sistān*, ed. Malik ash-Shu'arā' Bahār (Tehran 1314/1935), pp. 35-7; cf. Molé, op. cit., pp. 382 ff., and Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>50</sup> *Yamīnī*, vol. II, ed. with commentary, *al-Fath al-wahhī*, by Shaikh al-Manīnī (Cairo 1286/1869), p. 84; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, p. 114. The mention by 'Utbi of the Afghans is one of the earliest Islamic sources thus naming them, being only antedated by the *Hudūd al-'ālam*.

<sup>51</sup> *The Life and Times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, p. 1.



Sultan Maḥmūd; these legends were brought together in the early seventeenth century by the *Mir'āt-i Mas'ūdi* of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Chishtī.<sup>52</sup>

The absence of any contemporary literature specifically crusading in tone and glorifying Maḥmūd as the spearhead of Islam in India seems to confirm the impression from the historical sources, that Maḥmūd was not a fanatic bent on imposing Islamic religion on the Hindus, but was activated more by an imperialist love of power and a lust for gold. What does occasionally seem to have happened is that actual incidents or names of people involved in the Sultan's campaigns were transplanted into the epics of a few decades later. Thus in the *Farāmuz-nāmas* (at least two epics with this title are known), probably dating from the latter part of the eleventh century, one of Farāmuz b. Rustam's enemies is called Jaipāl, this being the name of the Hindūshāhī Rājā of Waihind and the western Panjāb, the great opponent of Sebūktigin and Maḥmūd.<sup>53</sup> The Sultans who succeeded to Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd were also concerned with expansion into the plains of India, for a continuous stream of plunder was necessary for the economic well-being of the empire. It was the exploits of a later Ghaznavid, Mas'ūd III b. Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd I (492–508/1099–1115) which formed the occasion for the composition of a remarkable panegyric in Persian on the military achievements of the whole line of Sultans. This was written in the *mutāqarib* metre (that employed in the *Shāh-nāma*) and inscribed on slabs forming part of a dado round the main courtyard of the palace at Ghazna completed for Mas'ūd III in 505/1112. Of it, Prof. Alessio Bombaci, director of the Italian Archaeological Mission's excavations at Ghazna, says, "The epic tone is inspired by two ideals clearly set forth in the very few verses that have survived: the Islamic ideal celebrated in the work of Maḥmūd and the ideal of legendary Persian tradition embodied in the obvious adherence to the pattern of the Firdausian epic. Hence, the characteristics of the champion of the faith are confused with those of the Iranian hero".<sup>54</sup> Here, it would seem, is the Iranian epic genre at last specifically adapted to the greater glory of the Ghaznavid dynasty, but a century had to elapse after the most spectacular conquests, those of Maḥmūd, before this poem was put together.

The list of successors to and imitations of the *Shāh-nāma* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is long. It includes the *Garshāsp-nāma*, the interminable *Barzū-nāma*, which runs to over 65,000 couplets; the *Shahriyār-nāma*; the *Bahman-nāma*; the *Farāmuz-nāmas*; and the *Kūsh-nāma*.<sup>55</sup> To this period belongs also the *Jahāngir-nāma*, probably by Qāsim Mādih of Herat, of very strong Islamic religious inspiration; but the genre continues into Mongol and Tīmūrid times and beyond. Most of these authors are either unknown or else are very shadowy figures. One of the manuscripts of the *Shahriyār-nāma* attributes the poem to the Ghaznavid court poet Farrukhī; if this is correct, it must have been the first of the post-Firdausian epics to have been composed, clearly ante-dating the *Garshāsp-nāma*.<sup>56</sup> Except for one or two, all these epics are localized in the Sīstān–Zamīndāwar–Zābulistān region, as being the home of Rustam and his line. Their aim is to supplement and fill out the work of Firdausī, who had by no means exhausted the whole contents of the national epic, but their emphasis tends to be much more on the miraculous and incredible aspects of the heroes' exploits, exploits which take place in remote lands like India, Malaysia, Byzantium or some vague "western lands", where the atmosphere is thick with marvels and portents. Moreover, their ethos becomes definitely Islamic, whereas the earliest epics, the *Shāh-nāma* and also the *Garshāsp-nāma*, have a monotheistic ethos which could be indifferently Islamic or Zoroastrian.

Our concern here is with the Ghaznavid stimulus to this epic literature, and of especial interest to us is the epic which comes forty years or so after the *Shāh-nāma* and is very definitely rooted in the region of

<sup>52</sup> Cf. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, a bio-Bibliographical Survey*, vol. I, part 2 (London 1953), pp. 1006–7; and K. A. Nizami, *EP* Art. "Ghāzi Miyān".

<sup>53</sup> Molé, *op. cit.*, pp. 392–3 n.; cf. Nāẓim, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–30, 86–8.

<sup>54</sup> *The Kūfic Inscription in Persian Verses in the Court of the Royal Palace of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni*, Istituto Italiano per il medio ed Estremo Oriente, Centro studi e scavi archeologici in Asia, Reports and Memoirs, vol. V (Rome 1966), pp. 40–2. It is regrettable that only exiguous fragments of this poem are preserved.

<sup>55</sup> In the nineteenth century, the Count de Gobineau was inspired by the *Kūsh-nāma* (of which he possessed the only apparently extant manuscript) to compose a dramatic poem called *Ferydoun*, on the subject of a national Iranian rising under Feridūn against the tyranny of Zahāk and the Assyrians; see Molé, "Un poème persan du comte de Gobineau". *La Nouvelle Clío* IV (1952), pp. 116–30.

<sup>56</sup> Molé, "L'épopée iranienne après Firdōsi", p. 385 n. 1

Ghazna and Zābulistān, the *Garshāsp-nāma*. In this instance, the author is indisputably known. 'Alī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī (d. c. 473/1080) is celebrated as the author of the oldest known New Persian vocabulary, the *Lughat-i Furs*, and Henri Massé considers his literary talent as little inferior to that of Firdausī.<sup>57</sup> Asadī Ṭūsī wandered extensively from his Khurāsānian home, and in 456–58/1064–66 composed his epic at the court of the Amīr of Nakhchevān in Arrān. Its inspiration, nevertheless, is strongly Zābulī. Garshāsp is the ancestor of Rūstam, and his family lives in Zābulistān; and Zahāk, a tyrant reigning for a thousand years in the *Shāh-nāma*, appears in the *Garshāsp-nāma* in a favourable light, ruling as a legitimate king with the approval of the nobles of Ghazna.<sup>58</sup> Only a few decades later than Asadī Ṭūsī's time, we find the Shansabānī rulers of Ghūr tracing their ancestry back to Zahāk, with the story that Zahāk fled into the fastnesses of Ghūr for refuge when Feridūn overthrew his rule.<sup>59</sup> The name Zahāk, Arabized into aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk, seems to have been popular in Zābulistān at this period; it was borne by the father of Gardīzī, the early Ghaznavid historian. It seems that Asadī Ṭūsī used local traditions and artificially attached them to the mainstream of the Iranian epic by conveniently marrying Jamshīd to a daughter of the king of Zābulistān. The *Garshāsp-nāma* therefore reflects popular beliefs of the Ghazna area, and it does not seem unreasonable to view the elaboration of these beliefs into a form utilizable by the poet as an expression of local pride in the region's rôle as the centre of the Ghaznavid empire.

It was mentioned (above, p. 40) that there is a second stream of development within Persian literature from early Ghaznavid times onwards, that of the poem or tale treating of romantic love and suffused with a lyrical strain. The best-known example of this is the romance of *Vis u Rāmīn* by Fakhr ad-Dīn As'ad Gurgānī, written in the *hazaj* metre around 442/1050 for the Seljuq governor of Iṣfahān and based, according to Minorsky, on a much earlier Middle Persian version, used by Gurgānī either in the Pahlavi or in an early Fārsī translation.<sup>60</sup>

However, primacy in time goes to others. The court poet 'Unṣurī wrote a romance in the *mutaqārib* metre, *Wāmiq u 'Adhrā*, based on a much earlier Persian romance allegedly dedicated to the Sāsānid Khusrau Anūshīrvān. This work of 'Unṣurī is, unfortunately, only known through a few citations in works on rhetoric and style and in the later Ottoman Turkish versions of Lāmi'ī and Jāmi'ī.<sup>61</sup> But there has recently come to light in an Istanbul manuscript the important Persian romance of *Warqa u Gulshāh* by 'Ayyūqī, an obscure figure otherwise unknown except for two citations in Asadī Ṭūsī's *Lughat-i Furs*.<sup>62</sup> The late Ahmed Ateş showed that these citations from a mid-eleventh century author, the style of the romance, the use of the *mutaqārib* metre, not used for romantic subjects after the early Ghaznavid period, and the actual dedication of the work as a Mihr-gān present to "Sultan Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd", make its attribution to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's court circle quite certain. The theme is based on the unhappy love-life of the early Arabic poet 'Urwa b. Ḥizām al-'Udhri, which early gave rise to a cycle of popular romances in the Islamic world. The theme of the two lovers separated by death, but with Gulshāh miraculously restored to life and reunion with his beloved by the Prophet Muḥammad, passed via Spain into medieval French literature as the romance of Floire and Blanchefleur. 'Ayyūqī's version of the popular romance was probably the first verse one. Ateş further underlined the importance of *Warqa u Gulshāh* for Turkish literature; the subject appears early in popular literature, and in the fourteenth century a version in classical Turkish was made by Yūsuf-i Meddāh.<sup>63</sup>

Can we then see a strand of Turkish influence, stimulating the composition of this early Ghaznavid work? Such an influence seems not unlikely. The numerous Turkish courtiers, soldiers and domestic slaves in Maḥmūd's retinue at Ghazna have already been touched upon, and their presence implies a receptive audience for both epic and romantic literature of a type familiar to the Turks in their Central

<sup>57</sup> See the discussion of Asadī Ṭūsī's poetic worth by Massé in his Introduction to *Le livre de Gerchāsp*, vol. II (Paris 1951), pp. xxii–xxiii.

<sup>58</sup> See Cl. Huart, "Les légendes épiques de la région de Ghazna (Afghanistan)", *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* (Paris 1916), pp. 579–87.

<sup>59</sup> Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, ed. Ḥabībī, vol. I, pp. 321 ff., tr. Raverty, vol. I, pp. 305 ff.

<sup>60</sup> "Vis u Rāmīn. IV", *BSOAS* XXV (1962), pp. 275–86 = *Iranica, twenty articles*, pp. 195–9.

<sup>61</sup> Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 133, 173.

<sup>62</sup> Ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Tehran 1319/1940), pp. 223, 305. A. Ateş (see below) points out that the two lines of 'Ayyūqī do not appear in the edition of P. Horn, *Asadī's neupersisches Wörterbuch Lughat-i Furs*, in *Abh. der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. I/8 (Berlin 1897).

<sup>63</sup> "Un vieux poème romanesque persan: le récit de Warqah et Gulshāh", *Ars Orientalis* IV (1961), pp. 143–52.

Asian homeland, the type of epic woven round tribal origins which crystallized later into the *Oghuz-nāma*.

It is known that, well before Firdausi's time, the Iranian national epic made a great impression on the Turkish mind in Transoxania and elsewhere. It was because of this that the Turks identified their national hero Alp Er Tonga with the Afrāsiyāb of the Iranian epic, Kai Khusrau's enemy. Consequently, the Qarakhanids styled themselves "the House of Afrāsiyāb", and a genealogy was afterwards compiled for the Seljuqs tracing the family back to Afrāsiyāb.<sup>64</sup> Conversely, the Turanians of the Iranian epic, by which name were originally meant the Indo-European nomadic peoples of the steppes like the Scyths and Massagetes, were identified with the contemporary Turks who had by then taken over the steppes. But the Turks also attached themselves to the Arabo-Islamic past by weaving Turkish tales round such events as the part of Abū Muslim in the 'Abbāsid Revolution of 132/750. Abū Muslim became a figure venerated by the Turks of Central Asia, and according to Vambéry, this reverence was still discernible amongst the Turkmens and Uzbeks during the last century. Eventually, Turkish tradition made the Khurāsānian Abū Muslim into a Turk himself, attaching him to the Oghuz tribe. Amongst several epic prose tales in Turkish attributed to one Abū Ṭāhir-i Ṭūsī is a historical romance on the Abū Muslim story. One manuscript says that the story-teller was blind, *körgözi*, but blind bards and story-tellers are common figures in all literatures and one should not perhaps take too much notice of this. One point that is always mentioned in the tales attributed to Abū Ṭāhir-i Ṭūsī is his connection with Maḥmūd of Ghazna's court, the Sultan being his patron and listener to his tales. The language of these tales, according to the manuscripts, was originally Persian, but Turkish versions must speedily have followed. Characteristic of these tales is the miraculous and magical element, with much intervention by fairies and demons, all this appealing, it would seem, to the unobtrusive Turkish mind. Although there are anachronistic features in the stories attributed to Abū Ṭāhir-i Ṭūsī which clearly belong to Seljuq and even later times, it is the conclusion of our greatest authority on the Abū Muslim cycle, Mme. Irène Mélikoff, that Abū Ṭāhir-i Ṭūsī was a historical figure, who flourished at Maḥmūd's court and whose renown lasted well into succeeding centuries.<sup>65</sup>

#### IV

To sum up, there was a definite resurgence of Persian culture in the early Ghaznavid period, and there are a few small indications that the age was also not without significance for the development of a nascent Turkish literature and culture. This Persian culture, arising in the first place out of the Sāmānid and Khurāsānian inheritance, began in Maḥmūd's reign to have a life of its own and to evolve along distinctive lines. Of significance in this process are firstly, the tastes of both the Sultan's Persian officials and advisers and his Turkish soldiers and courtiers, and secondly, the enduring local traditions of Zābulistān, the geographical heart of the Ghaznavid empire, now linked politically with the wider Persian world. The literature surviving today from the early Ghaznavid period is not extensive, compared with what we know was in fact written. One thinks of the works of many poets, known only by the mention of their names in such works as the *tadhkiras*, of al-Bīrūnī's lost history of his native Khwārazm, of the missing volumes of the bureaucrat Abū l-Faḍl Baihaqī's enormous *Mujalladāt*, and of other works which would doubtless throw light on the history and culture of these far eastern fringes of the Islamic world. Yet there is enough literature surviving to show how the cultural trends went, and it is hoped that the present sketch of this evolution has thrown some light on Persian culture at this time.

<sup>64</sup> See Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945), pp. 69-70, 84.

<sup>65</sup> *Abū Muslim, le « Porte-hache » du Khorassan dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne* (Paris 1962), introd.



**‘Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the  
“Army of Destruction” in Zābulistān (79/698)**

The revolt of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān b. al-Ash‘ath al-Kindī and the so-called “Peacock Army” in the latter years of ‘Abd al-Malik’s Caliphate is a well-known episode of Umayyad history which was treated a good while ago by J. WELLHAUSEN<sup>1)</sup> and J. PÉRIER,<sup>2)</sup> and has been examined recently by L. VECCLIA VAGLIERI<sup>3)</sup> and ‘ABD AL-AMEER ‘ABD DIXON.<sup>4)</sup> However, little has been written about the events which provoked al-Ḥajjāj, governor of Iraq and the East at that time, into sending Ibn al-Ash‘ath to Sīstān in the first place: that is, the expedition into eastern Afghanistan which was led by the Arab general Abū Ḥātim ‘Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and which came to be called, from the ensuing débâcle, the “Army of Destruction” (*Jaish al-Fanā’*).<sup>5)</sup> The present author has previously dealt briefly with this last expedition as part of the general history of the Arab presence in southern and eastern Afghanistan in his *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30—250/651—864)*, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Reports and Memoirs, Vol. XI (Rome 1968). This study now aims at examining the episode more closely and at bringing out the significance of these events in the process of the expansion of Islam in this remote part of Asia.

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<sup>1)</sup> *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (Berlin 1902), 144—57, Eng. tr. M. G. Weir, *The Arab kingdom and its fall* (Calcutta 1927), 232—51.

<sup>2)</sup> *Vie d’al-Ḥadjjādī ibn Yousof (41—95 de l’hégire = 661—714 de J.-C.)*, *d’après les sources arabes* (Paris 1904), 154—204.

<sup>3)</sup> *EI*<sup>3</sup> art. “Ibn al-Ash‘ath”.

<sup>4)</sup> *The Umayyad Caliphate 65—86/684—705 (a political study)* (London 1971), 151—68 (see on this work the review of Bosworth, *Islamic Quarterly*, XV/4 (1971), 208—10).

<sup>5)</sup> Curiously enough, only the comparatively late Persian source of the *Ta’rikh-i Sīstān* actually states that the Arabs after the defeat came to apply this designation to ‘Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra’s army.

The ethnic and political background of southern and eastern Afghanistan in the early Islamic period has been discussed in detail in the above-mentioned monograph, and especially at pp. 37 ff., so that only the salient facts need to be repeated here by way of introduction. For the first two or three centuries of the Muslim era, the history of these regions, so far as it is known to us, is the history of the clashes between the invading Arabs and the local rulers, the Zunbils of Zamīndāwar and Zābulistān, and their kinsmen the Kābulshāhs of Kabul, who were almost certainly epigoni of the Hephthalite kingdom established south of the Hindu Kush in pre-Islamic times.<sup>6)</sup> The ethnic affiliations of the Zunbils and their people need not, however, concern us here. Most of the confederations of Inner Asian peoples arose from nomadic groups and came to include the débris of various peoples and groups,<sup>7)</sup> and the Hephthalite confederation was probably no exception to this rule. The Arabic sources describe the Zunbil's followers as Turks, but since they applied this vague term to all their enemies on the eastern Iranian fringes, including the remnants of the northern Hephthalite kingdom in Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān, no exact significance should be attached to the name "Turk" here. The term had, indeed, been used by Arabic writers in pre-Islamic times and by the *Mukhadramūn*, those of the interim between the Jāhiliyya and Islam, when none of them can have had the slightest contact with genuine Turks.<sup>8)</sup>

The most easterly permanent base of the Arabs was at Bust in southern Afghanistan, from where plunder raids were undertaken into the Zunbils' territories. These raids occasionally reached as far as Ghazna and Kabul, without, however, achieving any lasting effect. Tribute was exacted sporadically from the Zunbils, but in the absence of permanently-garrisoned bases and an occupation force, it was easy enough for these local rulers to withhold payment when there was no Arab army in the vicinity. Slaves constituted the principal product of these raids; thus the famous Syrian traditionist Abū 'Abdallāh Makḥūl ad-Dimashqī (d. 118/736 or somewhat earlier), the

<sup>6)</sup> On the southern Hephthalite kingdom of Zābul, see the standard work of R. GHIRSHMAN, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* (Cairo 1948), 104 ff.

<sup>7)</sup> The historical processes at work here have been well treated by O. PRITSAK in his "Titulaturen und Stammesnamen der altäischen Völker", *Ural-altäische Jahrbücher*, XXIV/1 (1952), 51 ff.

<sup>8)</sup> T. KOWALSKI, in his article "Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur", *Körös-Csoma Archivum*, II (1926—32), 35—41, pointed out that the phrase *at-Turk wa-Kābul* occurs in ancient poetry as a set expression for something like *Ultima Thule*.

teacher of al-Auzā'ī, had been captured in the region of Kabul and brought into Islam.<sup>9)</sup>

'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra's expedition of 79/698 was prompted by the fact that the Zunbīl had for some time back paid no tribute. This was not surprising, in view of the troubles faced by 'Abd al-Malik in the first half of his reign, such as the bids for power by rivals like the anti-Caliph 'Abdallāh b. az-Zubair and 'Abd al-Malik's own kinsman 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq, and the factional strife stirred up by sectaries like the Khawārij, especially as down till 78/697—8 these last effectively controlled much of southern Persia, sc. Fārs and Kirmān, the provinces through which ran the communications with Sīstān. It was in this year 78/697—8, the one which saw the death of the most redoubtable of the leaders of the Azraqī sect of the Khawārij, Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā'a, that al-Ḥajjāj became governor of Iraq and the East, appointing al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra as his deputy in Khurasan and 'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra as his deputy in Sīstān (see below).

Despite his family's *maulā* origins (detailed below), 'Ubaidallāh was accounted one of the outstanding leaders of the Arabs and one of the most faithful adherents of the Umayyad cause in the Abū Bakra family's centre at Baṣra.<sup>10)</sup> His father, the Companion Nufai' b. Masrūḥ, derived his *laqab* of Abū Bakra from the fact that when the Prophet had besieged Ṭā'if in 8/630, Muḥammad had proclaimed that any slave who came over to his side would be freed; Nufai' therefore descended the walls of the town by means of a pulley (*bakra*). Masrūḥ, the father of Abū Bakra, was apparently an Abyssinian slave (*ḥabashī*), but once the family started going up in the world during the period of the Islamic conquests, the numerous sons of Abū Bakra started the story that Nufai' was really the son of al-Ḥārith b. Kalada ath-Thaqafī, "the physician of the Arabs".<sup>11)</sup> The claim that the family

<sup>9)</sup> See IBN SA'D, *Kitāb at-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau et alii (Leiden 1904—40), VII/2, 161, and IBN KHALLIKĀN, *Waḥayāt al-a'yān*, Eng. tr. M.G. de Slane, *Ibn Khallikan's biographical dictionary* (Paris—London 1842—71), III, 437.

<sup>10)</sup> 'Ubaidallāh is sometimes found in the sources under the name of "Ibn Masrūḥ", usually with a pejorative or insulting intent, e.g. in BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, IVb, ed. M. Schloessinger (Jerusalem 1938), 162, and ṬABARĪ, *Ta'riḥ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et alii (Leiden 1879—1901), II, 801 = ed. Muḥ. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo 1960—9), VI, 154.

<sup>11)</sup> BALĀDHURĪ, *op. cit.*, I, ed. Muḥ. Ḥamīdallāh (Cairo 1959), 502, IVb, 162; IBN QUTAIBA, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukkāsha (Cairo 1960), 388—9; ṬABARĪ, *loc. cit.* Al-Ḥārith b. Kalada is the subject of a long biography in IBN ABĪ UṢAIBĪ'A'S *'Uyūn al-inbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-a'fībbā'* (Cairo 1299/1882), I, 109—13, see also F. SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden 1967—70), III, 203—4.

of Abū Bakra was descended from al-Ḥārith b. Kalada and therefore from the Banū 'Ilāj b. Abī Salama of Thaḳīf was attacked at an early date, and the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdī later disallowed the affiliation, together with that of the family of Ziyād b. Abīhi to Abū Sufyān.<sup>12)</sup> The mother of Abū Bakra seems really to have been the Iraqi-Persian slave Sumaiya, the notorious whore of Ṭā'if and mother also of Ziyād b. Abīhi; this putative relationship with Ziyād helped 'Ubaidallāh to secure an important office during Mu'āwiya's Caliphate (see below, p. 272/73).

Abū Bakra had managed to marry a free Arab woman of the Banū 'Ijl, and she was the mother of 'Ubaidallāh.<sup>13)</sup> The latter nevertheless retained a very dark and swarthy complexion, recalling his Abyssinian descent; this dark colouring and the family's servile origins were natural targets for satirists.<sup>14)</sup> 'Abd al-Malik used to say of 'Ubaidallāh, "the dark one is the leader of the people of the East", *al-adgham saiyyid ahl al-mashriq*.<sup>15)</sup> As the latter part of the Caliph's words imply, 'Ubaidallāh was also famed for his bravery in battle and, above all, for his liberality, being one of the *ajwād al-'Arab*, according to MUḤAMMAD B. ḤABĪB.<sup>16)</sup> His generosity is, indeed, the subject of many of the anecdotes in BALĀDHURĪ's section on the Abū Bakra family in the *Ansāb al-ashraf*.<sup>17)</sup> The family had settled in Baṣra and had played an

<sup>12)</sup> IBN AT-TIQTQAĀ, *Kitāb al-Fakhrī* (Cairo 1317/1899), 162, Eng. tr. C.E.J. Whitting (London 1947), 175. IBN DURĀID, *Kitāb al-Ishṭiqāq*, ed. 'Abd as-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn (Cairo 1378/1958), 305—6, rejects this claim also, and quotes some verses of a Baṣran poet which proclaim that clientship to the Prophet is more noble than descent from the Banū 'Ilāj; see also GOLDZIEHER, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle 1888—9), I, 137—8, Eng. tr. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, *Muslim studies* (London 1967—72), I, 129, and *EI*<sup>2</sup> art. "Abū Bakra" (M. T. HOUTSMA—C. PELLAT).

<sup>13)</sup> IBN SA'D, VII/1, 138; BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb*, I, 503; KHALĪFA B. KHAIYĀṬ, *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Suhail Zakkār (Damascus 1966), I, 483—4, No. 1641.

<sup>14)</sup> See the verses of Wāthila as-Sadūsī quoted in BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb*, I, 504—5, where 'Ubaidallāh and his family are called "the children of a stinking Nubian black", and the anecdote in IBN SA'D, VII/1, 138, where 'Ubaidallāh is insultingly called a *habashī*.

<sup>15)</sup> IBN QUTAIBA, *loc. cit.*, and also in BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb*, I, 505, with *al-aswad* for *al-adgham*. *Adgham* is properly an adjective applied to a horse with a face and muzzle darker than the rest of its body, so that *faras adgham* is the equivalent of the arabised Persian term *daizaj*, see *Lisān al-'Arab*<sup>1</sup>, XV, 93, and below, n. 60.

<sup>16)</sup> *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstædter (Hyderabad 1361/1942), 150, see also KHAIR AD-DĪN AZ-ZIRIKLĪ, *al-A'lām*<sup>2</sup> (Damascus N.D.), IV, 345.

<sup>17)</sup> *Ansāb*, I, 489—505.



important part in the early development of the town, laying out, for instance, the public baths there.<sup>18)</sup> ‘Ubaidallāh built himself a house in the Sikkat Samura of Baṣra, upon which he expended 10,000 dīnārs; his commercial interests extended to a herd of 800 water buffaloes in the lower Iraq marshlands.<sup>19)</sup> His relationship with Ziyād b. Abīhi through his grandmother Sumaiya brought him an official post from the hands of Ziyād when the latter became governor of Iraq and the East, even though the two families of Ziyād and Abī Bakra had been on cool terms since the latter had testified to the charge of adultery brought against Ziyād’s patron al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba during ‘Umar’s Caliphate.<sup>20)</sup> ‘Ubaidallāh was sent to Fārs to take charge of the suppression of the sacred fires of the Zoroastrians there, and the confiscation of the fire temple treasures; in less than a year he had allegedly amassed 40 million dirhams from this office.<sup>21)</sup>

In 51/671 he was appointed governor of Sīstān under Ziyād, and held this post for two years until his superior’s death. He is said to have taken strong measures against Zoroastrianism in Sīstān and also to have raided into the territories of the Zunbīls and Kābulshāhs, extracting tribute from them. This experience of the far eastern fringes was indeed the basis for his appointment to Sīstān again some twenty-five years later, when the argument was brought forward to the Caliph that ‘Ubaidallāh was familiar with the special conditions obtaining on the extreme eastern borders of the Islamic world.<sup>22)</sup> The Baṣran poet Ibn Mufarrigh al-Ḥīmyarī was invited by ‘Ubaidallāh to Sīstān during these years 51—3/671—3 of his first governorship there, and received much largesse from him; fragments of laudatory *qaṣīdas* addressed to ‘Ubaidallāh are preserved in the *Aghānī* article on Ibn Mufarrigh, in which ‘Ubaidallāh’s patronymic of Abū Ḥātim gives much scope for word-play with the name of the archetype of Arab

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<sup>18)</sup> See *ibid.*, I, 502, and BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden 1866), 354.

<sup>19)</sup> *Idem*, *Ansāb*, I, 497, 499. ‘Ubaidallāh’s house was still standing in Baṣra a century later, when the Caliph al-Mahdī demolished it and other houses in order to enlarge the great mosque there (*idem*, *Futūḥ*, 349).

<sup>20)</sup> See H. LAMMENS, “Ziād ibn Abīhi, vice-roi de l’Iraq, lieutenant de Mo‘āwia I”, in *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades* (Beirut 1930), 45—6.

<sup>21)</sup> BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb*, I, 494; JĀḤIẒ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ‘Abd as-Salām Hārūn (Cairo 1356—64/1938—45), IV, 479—81; G. H. SADIGHI, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au II<sup>e</sup> et au III<sup>e</sup> siècle de l’hégire* (Paris 1938), 17.

<sup>22)</sup> BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūḥ*, 397; BOSWORTH, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 21, 24, 42; SADIGHI, *op. cit.*, 17—18.

generosity, Ḥātim of Ṭayyī'.<sup>23</sup>) During the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, 'Ubaidallāh was one of the notables of Baṣra approached by the Caliph to raise the city on his behalf against Muṣ'ab b. az-Zubair, brother of the anti-Caliph in the Ḥijāz. He accordingly fought alongside the Umayyad Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd and the head of the Bakr tribe in Baṣra, Mālīk b. Mīsmā', in the ranks of the pro-Umayyad forces (the so-called *Jufriyya*) at the battle of al-Jufra in the environs of Baṣra (69/688—9 or 70/689—90).<sup>24</sup>) After Baṣra passed into 'Abd al-Malik's control on the killing of Muṣ'ab (72/691), 'Ubaidallāh hoped to achieve the governorship of the city, but failed to secure that prize.<sup>25</sup>)

'Ubaidallāh again became governor of Sīstān, this time under al-Ḥajjāj's general overlordship of the East, in 78/697—8, as part of a general reshuffle by 'Abd al-Malik, in which the previous governor of Khurasan and the East, Umayya b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd al-Asīd, lost his job and al-Ḥajjāj took over responsibility for the entire Caliphate from Iraq eastwards.<sup>26</sup>) The previous governor of Sīstān had been Umayya b. 'Abdallāh's own son 'Abdallāh. He had raided from Bust into the Zunbīl's territories, but on coming up against stiff opposition had settled for a payment of 300,000 dirhams' tribute in return for a promise that the Arabs would not raid into Zamīndāwar again whilst 'Abdallāh was governor in Sīstān.<sup>27</sup>) 'Ubaidallāh arrived in Sīstān to find that the Zunbīl had once more withheld tribute. He wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, who wrote back ordering him to march into the Zunbīl's territories and not to desist from attacking until he had laid waste the

<sup>23</sup>) ABŪ L-FARAJ AL-IṢFAHĀNĪ, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Bulāq 1285/1868—9), XVII, 71—3; C. PELLAT, "Le poète Ibn Mufarrīg et son oeuvre", *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus 1956—7), III, 197—8, 219, 228—9.

<sup>24</sup>) *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, ed. A. A. Bevan (Leiden 1905—12), II, 751, 1092 (where read 'Ubaidallāh for 'Abdallāh); BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb*, IVb, 156; ṬABARĪ, II, 799—801 = VI, 153—4; IBN AL-ATHĪR, *al-Kāmil fī-ta'rikh* (Beirut 1385—7/1965—7), IV, 307—8. These sources give verbatim the highly insulting speech of Muṣ'ab hurled against the pro-Umayyad leaders, impugning their lineage, etc.; 'Ubaidallāh is naturally attacked for his descent from Sumaiya, "the son of a bitch to whom the hounds come repeatedly", and from the slave Masrūh. The whole episode of the *Yaum al-Jufra* is discussed by 'ABD DIXON, *The Umayyad Caliphate 65—86/684—705*, 128—31.

<sup>25</sup>) BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb*, IVb, 164.

<sup>26</sup>) For the exact circumstances of this reshuffle, see BOSWORTH, *Sīstān under the Arabs*, 52—3, and M. A. SHABAN, *The 'Abbāsīd revolution* (Cambridge 1970), 54—5.

<sup>27</sup>) BALĀDHURĪ, *Futūh*, 399.

land, had destroyed the Zunbīl's strongholds, had slain his warriors and had enslaved his progeny.<sup>28)</sup> Hence towards the end of the first year of 'Ubaidallāh's governorship, the Arabs broke the existing state of peaceful relations, *muṣālaḥa*, on this plea of non-payment of tribute.

The fullest documentation of the ensuing campaign of the "Army of Destruction" is that of BALĀDHURĪ on the authority of MADĀ'INĪ and others, firstly in his *Futūḥ al-buldān*,<sup>29)</sup> but above all in his *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, in the part published by Ahlwardt as *Anonyme arabische Chronik*.<sup>30)</sup> ṬABARĪ's account runs parallel to that of BALĀDHURĪ and is almost as detailed, but is based on ABŪ MIKHNAF; it does not, however, include the poem of A'shā Ḥamdān given in the *Ansāb al-ashrāf* and which provides valuable additional evidence on 'Ubaidallāh's actions during the campaign (see below).<sup>31)</sup> The other Arabic sources add little. IBN QUTAIBA'S *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, in its section on Abū Bakra and his family, has only a bare mention.<sup>32)</sup> The anonymous *Ta'riḫ al-khulafā'* published by Gryaznevich has a more detailed account, which epitomises that of BALĀDHURĪ and ṬABARĪ without obviously stemming from one rather than the other.<sup>33)</sup> KHALĪFA B. KHAİYĀṬ records some of the bare facts of chronology, but makes 'Ubaidallāh's son Abū Bardha'a the leader of the "Army of Destruction".<sup>34)</sup> Others of the standard historical sources, like YA'QŪBĪ, DĪNAWARĪ, MAS'ŪDĪ and the *Kitāb al-Imāma wa-s-siyāsa*, do not mention the episode at all. The anonymous Persian local history of Sistān, the *Ta'riḫ-i Sistān*, which dates basically from the latter half of the 5th/11th century, confusingly distinguishes between two episodes of fighting involving 'Ubaidallāh's forces. In the first one, 'Ubaidallāh's troops are led by al-Ḥuraish b. Biṣṭām at-Tamīmī against the Khārijī sectaries of the Zarang district, and during the course of this Shuraiḥ and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib are said to have been killed; it is this force which the author dubs the *Jaish al-Fanā'* or "Army of Destruction". The other expedition is led by 'Ubaidallāh himself against the Zunbīl, and in the course of it

<sup>28)</sup> *Idem*, *Ansāb*, in *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, ed. W. Ahlwardt (Greifswald 1883), 311; ṬABARĪ, II, 1036 = VI, 322; IBN AL-ATHĪR, IV, 450.

<sup>29)</sup> *Futūḥ*, 399, Eng. tr. P. K. Hitti and F. C. Murgotten, *The origins of the Islamic state* (New York 1916—24), II, 668—9.

<sup>30)</sup> *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 311—18.

<sup>31)</sup> ṬABARĪ, II, 1036—9 = VI, 322—4.

<sup>32)</sup> Ed. 'Ukkāsha, 288—9.

<sup>33)</sup> Ed. P. Gryaznevich (Moscow 1967), 279—80 = ff. 129b—130a.

<sup>34)</sup> *Ta'riḫ*, ed. Suhail Zakkār (Damascus 1967—8), I, 356, 359.

'Ubaidallāh has to buy off the Zunbīl in order to extricate his army, dying himself shortly afterwards. Clearly, there has been some confusion of the expedition against the Zunbīl and one of the many expeditions necessary against the Khawārij, perpetual bugbears of the Arab governors in Sīstān; in any case, the *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān* adds nothing here to what is found in the Arabic sources.<sup>35</sup>)

When he set off eastwards, 'Ubaidallāh left behind his son Abū Bardha'a Umaiya or al-Mughīra as civil governor in Zarang, the capital of Sīstān.<sup>36</sup>) 'Ubaidallāh's army comprised in the main Iraqi troops from Baṣra and Kūfa, although BALĀDHURĪ alone mentions the presence of some Syrian troops (see below). 'Ubaidallāh personally led the Baṣran troops and was commander-in-chief of the whole expedition. The Kūfans were led by the *Tābi'* or Successor Shuraiḥ b. Hāni' al-Ḥārithī ad-Ḍabbī or ad-Ḍibābī (not to be confused with the similarly-named but semi-legendary *qāḍī* of Kūfa, Shuraiḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī). Shuraiḥ b. Hāni' had in the early part of his life been a fervent supporter of the Caliph 'Alī and the Alid cause. He had led troops for 'Alī against Mu'āwiya before the confrontation of Ṣiffīn and against the Khawārij after Nahrawān, and at the arbitration of Adhruḥ had gone with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī at the head of 'Alī's force of 400 men.<sup>37</sup>) At the time of Ziyād b. Abīhi's arrest of the conspirator and proto-martyr of the Shī'a, Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī (51/671), he had been one of the notables of Kūfa testifying against Ḥujr, but had later written to Mu'āwiya retracting his testimony.<sup>38</sup>) Thereafter he seems to fall out of mention until his re-appearance in Sīstān with 'Ubaidallāh; by this time, he must have been an old man of seventy or so.

The Muslim army marched into Zamīndāwar or ar-Rukkhaj (the classical Arachosia), but found it barren and foodless. The time was presumably the summer of 79/698, since verse 12 of A'shā Ḥamdān's poem (see below, p. 281) alludes to the scorching heat which the Arab troops had to endure. In Zābulistān, the region of Ghazna and Gardīz, they took a considerable plunder of cattle and other beasts and destroyed various strongholds. But the tactics of the Zunbīl were to fall back before the Muslims, thus luring them on into an increasingly

<sup>35</sup>) Ed. Malik ash-Shu'arā' Bahār (Tehran 1314/1935), 110—12.

<sup>36</sup>) *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 111.

<sup>37</sup>) ṬABARĪ, I, 3259—61, 3354, 3357 = IV, 565—6, V, 67, 69; IBN AL-ATHĪR, III, 280, 282, 329, 333, 373.

<sup>38</sup>) ṬABARĪ, II, 134—7 = V, 270—2; IBN AL-ATHĪR, III, 483—4; LAMMENS, "Ziād ibn Abīhi", 96—7.

inhospitable and foodless terrain, for the Zunbīl's forces devastated the countryside as they retreated and thereby deprived the invaders of food and fodder. According to BALĀDHURĪ in his *Futūḥ al-baldān*, the Muslims penetrated almost to Kabul, but the vagueness of this designation in early Islamic usage (see above, p. 269) does not compel us to take this literally and assume that they reached the town of Kabul. The account in ṬABARĪ of ABŪ MIKHNAF says that the Muslims got within eighteen *farsakhs* of the the Zunbīl's capital, and by this we should understand the Zunbīl's summer capital, which lay in the cooler uplands or *sardsīr* of Zābulistān (probably in the Ghazna region), his summer capital being in the *garmsīr* or warmer region of Zāmīndāwar, the region of Qandahār.<sup>39</sup>) The tactics of the Zunbīl now paid off. In their lightning strikes across the Syrian or Egyptian Deserts, or along the North African coastlands, the Arab cavalymen had always benefited from their extreme mobility, the ability to dash forward when unimpeded or to retreat when checked. But in this unknown region of eastern Afghanistan, the advantages of mobility were small, and the Arabs found themselves pent up and foodless in a region of narrow valleys and passess. Shuraiḥ b. Hāni', meanwhile, had been urging on 'Ubaidallāh the advisability of turning back, since the army had acquired a reasonable amount of plunder, but 'Ubaidallāh had refused. Now the Zunbīl showed his hand. His "Turks" appeared and blocked the Muslims' advance through a valley, being joined by the Zunbīl in person shortly afterwards.

'Ubaidallāh at last realised the parlousness of his situation, and prepared to treat willy-nilly with the Zunbīl. He offered the latter 500,000 or 700,000 dirhams, together with three of his own sons, Nahār, al-Ḥajjāj and Abū Bakra, and others of the Arab leaders, as hostages, and promised to swear a solemn engagement never to raid the Zunbīl's lands whilst he remained governor of Sīstān, if only the Muslims would be allowed to withdraw peacefully. Shuraiḥ had counselled retreat previously, but he felt at this turn in events that withdrawal would be dishonourable and would be a crushing humiliation at the hands of the pagans. BALĀDHURĪ and ṬABARĪ put into Shuraiḥ's mouth eloquent protests, in differing words but with the same meaning, that he was now aged, had seen his sons die before him, and was only looking forward to the death of a martyr. In the words of the *Ansāb al-ashrāf*,

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<sup>39</sup>) BOSWORTH, *Sīstān under the Arabs*. 35.

Fear God, He is exalted and magnified! Fight against the enemy and do not purchase for yourselves unbelief by a sacrifice of your faith and an additional payment of 500,000 dirhams [or, it is said, 700,000 dirhams]. Do not hurl a group of Muslims against the unbelievers and then lay upon them the condition that they are not to fight the pagans or levy tribute on them, simply to avoid a death which will ultimately come to you anyway. Moreover, you do not know exactly how explosive will be al-Ḥajjāj's reaction of anger . . . By God, my life is coming to its end and ebbing away, and I have been exposed to death in battle in more than one place, yet God, He is exalted and magnified, has so far refused to grant me my wish of a martyr's death.<sup>40)</sup>

As well as these pious platitudes, which one would expect later historians hostile to the memory of al-Ḥajjāj and his subordinates, to place in the mouth of someone like Shuraiḥ and which are therefore suspect, Shuraiḥ put forward a more practical argument: that an ignominious withdrawal on the Zunbīl's terms would enrage al-Ḥajjāj, so that the latter would undoubtedly deduct the half-million or so dirhams promised to the Zunbīl from the Muslim troops' 'atā' or stipends. But with even more practicality, 'Ubaidallāh retorted that "Being deprived of our pay allotment is better than perishing!"<sup>41)</sup>

'Ubaidallāh poured scorn on Shuraiḥ's determination to fight, calling him a dotard, and he denounced him to the Zunbīl as rebellious and disobedient to his superior officer. BALĀDHURĪ says that Shuraiḥ was followed into battle by a group of Yemenī tribesmen of Ḥamdān and Madhhij (both of which tribes were strongly represented in Kūfa), together with troops from the two *amṣār* of Baṣra and Kūfa and from Syria. ṬABARĪ says that "there followed him a smallish (*ghair kathīr*) group of volunteers (*mutatawwi'a*; in BALĀDHURĪ we have the phrase *jamā'a mutṭawwi'a min Madhhij wa-Ḥamdān*) and those elements who were more dashing and more zealous of their honour (*fursān an-nās wa-ahl al-ḥifāz*)". Both authors put into Shuraiḥ's mouth, as he marched to his death, several lines of *rajaz* poetry in which he details his long service, going back to the First Civil War, and his weariness with life. The intransigents fought on until all but a handful were killed. 'Ubaidallāh meanwhile is reported to have enjoyed, together with his

<sup>40)</sup> BALĀDHURĪ, in *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 313; a shortened version of the speech in *idem*, *Futūḥ*, 399.

<sup>41)</sup> *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 312, ṬABARĪ, II, 1037 = VI, 323.

family, the hospitality of the Zunbīl, and to have been made much of by that ruler and his retainers.<sup>42)</sup>

The remnant of the "Army of Destruction" now set off homewards to Bust and Sīstān, suffering terrible privations from the lack of food and fodder. They were reduced to eating their own mounts, and IBN QUTAIBA relates that a single loaf of bread cost 70 dirhams.<sup>43)</sup> Many died of thirst crossing the "Desert of Bust", presumably the Rīgīstān or sand desert south of Qandahār;<sup>44)</sup> only 5,000 finally reached Bust. When 'Ubaidallāh had seen the army's sufferings, he had bought up what food he could find from the surrounding countryside. He had sold grain at a dirham for a *qafīz* measure, and straw for a dirham a sieve-full, and when famine and disease grew rife, he had procured unripe fruit for sale in the army bazaar, saying that it would be good for the sick amongst them. According to ṬABARĪ, the army was met by a relief force sent from Bust bringing food, but the starving troops of the "Army of Destruction" fell upon the food with such avidity that many of them died, their digestions unable to cope with it; hence the survivors were fed with small quantities of easily-digestible food until their stomachs were able to take a normal diet.<sup>45)</sup>

'Ubaidallāh himself died, either from grief at the disaster which had overtaken his army, or from an ear affliction. He died at Bust, and the *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān* says that his tomb there was still visible when the author wrote (sc. in the later 5th/11th century). 'Ubaidallāh had appointed his son Abū Bardha'a as his successor in Sīstān until the central government could be informed, and the *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān* states that Abū Bardha'a marched out against the Zunbīl and made contact with him, but came to terms and returned to Sīstān; this expedition is not, however, mentioned in the older Arabic sources.<sup>46)</sup>

On hearing the news of the catastrophe, al-Ḥajjāj instructed al-Muhallab to appoint someone temporarily to Sīstān, and the latter sent thither Wakī' b. Bakr b. Wā'il al-Azdī. Abū Bardha'a nevertheless managed to placate Wakī' with a gift of 300,000 dirhams and other

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<sup>42)</sup> *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 313—14; ṬABARĪ, II, 1037—8 = VI, 323. Amongst those killed with Shuraiḥ were, according to KHALĪFA B. KHAIYĀṬ, *Ta'riḫ*, I, 356, the Hāshimī 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

<sup>43)</sup> *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, 289.

<sup>44)</sup> BALĀDHURI, *Futūḥ*, 399.

<sup>45)</sup> *Idem*, *Ansāb*, in *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 314; ṬABARĪ, II, 1038 = VI, 323.

<sup>46)</sup> *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 112.

presents, so that he actually remained in Sīstān until the arrival of Ibn al-Ash'ath (80/699).<sup>47)</sup> The story of these events in southern Afghanistan now merges into the well-known and amply-documented episode of the despatch and subsequent rebellion of the "Peacock Army" (*Jaish at-Tawāwis*), the force sent al-Ḥajjāj to restore the Muslims' position and to repair the damage to their prestige.

A salient feature of the account of the expedition of the "Army of Destruction" in the *Ansāb al-ashraf* of BALĀDHURĪ is the author's inclusion there of nineteen verses from a poem referring to the campaign and written by A'shā Ḥamdān.<sup>48)</sup> Three of these verses are further quoted by IBN QUTAIBA in his article on the Abū Bakra family,<sup>49)</sup> and a twentieth verse, absent from these first two sources, is given by JĀḤIẒ in his *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*.<sup>50)</sup> The whole poem is reconstructed by R. GEYER in his edition of the verses of various poets known by the *laqab* of al-A'shā.<sup>51)</sup>

Abū l-Muṣbah 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh, called "A'shā of Ḥamdān" to distinguish him from the several other poets with the sobriquet of *al-A'shā* "the night-blind one", was a Kūfan poet who all through his life proclaimed his fervent adhesion to the cause of Yemen or the South Arabs, to which his own tribe of Ḥamdān of course belonged, and with somewhat less intensity, to the cause of the Alids. Hence he participated in such anti-Umayyad movements as the anti-Caliphate of 'Abdallāh b. az-Zubair in the Second Civil War, and after the victory in the west of the Marwānids, the cause of Muṣ'ab b. az-Zubair in Iraq. After the death of his Zubairid patrons, however, his views were flexible enough for him to serve in government forces sent against the Khawārij in Persia (c. 72—4/691—3) and in an

<sup>47)</sup> KHALĪFA B. KHAIYĀṬ, *Ta'rikh*, I, 287; BALĀDHURĪ, in *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 317—18.

<sup>48)</sup> *Ibid.*, 315—17.

<sup>49)</sup> *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, 289.

<sup>50)</sup> Ed. Hārūn, I, 135.

<sup>51)</sup> *Gedichte von Abū Baṣīr Maimūn ibn Qais al-A'shā, nebst Sammlungen von Stücken anderer Dichter des gleichen Beinamens*, Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. VI (London 1928), Arabic text, 317—18. Neither the poem itself nor any mention of al-A'shā's part in 'Uбайдallāh's expedition is included in the section on him in the *Aghānī*, ed. Būlāq, V, 146—61 = ed. Dār al-Kutub (Cairo 1346—/1927—), VI, 32—62; this section has been translated and annotated, and the poems of al-A'shā found in other sources appended to it, by GUIDO EDLER VON GOUTTA in his Freiburg i. B. Inaugural-Dissertation, *Der Agānīartikel über 'A'shā von Ḥamdān* (Kirchhain N.L. 1912), with the poem in question translated at pp. 61—3.



expedition to Makrān or southern Baluchistan.<sup>52)</sup> He now accompanied the "Army of Destruction" during its vicissitudes in Afghanistan, probably in a semi-official position as a propagandist and mouth-piece for the army, a rôle frequently filled by the politically-conscious poets of the Umayyad period.<sup>53)</sup> We may be sure that he was attached to Shuraiḥ's Kūfan contingent, though whether he was one of the diehards who fought to the end against the Zunbil is unknown. At all events, he survived to take part in the expedition of the "Peacock Army" a year or so later under the banner of Ibn al-Ash'ath, a leader whose Yemenī pride echoed that of his own and who was, moreover, a relative to al-A'shā on his mother's side. His anti-Umayyad sentiments now had free rein: he eulogised Ibn al-Ash'ath in verse, but after the defeat at Dair al-Jamājim, he was captured and brought before al-Ḥajjāj, who had him executed forthwith (82/701 or 83/702).

It was not surprising that al-A'shā's experience under 'Ubaidallāh b. Abī Bakra's command subsequently drove him into rebellion together with Ibn al-Ash'ath. 'Ubaidallāh was, it was true, accounted a Thaqaḫī by lineage, one of the group of Ma'addīs or North Arabs who secured an ascendancy in the Arab empire during al-Ḥajjāj's domination of affairs, but genealogical divisions alone would not have sufficed to mould the hatred of 'Ubaidallāh expressed by al-A'shā in this poem.<sup>54)</sup> The latter's denunciation of the commander of the "Army of Destruction" must have had more specific grounds, apparently his treatment of the Arab warriors during the calamitous retreat through eastern Afghanistan, with its attendant horrors of famine and disease. But it is best to let the poem speak for itself:

1. What is this insistent pain in the heart, and what is the reason for your copiously-flowing, commingled tears?
2. Have you heard about the army which was completely shattered, and which was struck down by the disturbing turns of fickle fortune?

<sup>52)</sup> See R. BLACHÈRE, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle de J.-C.* (Paris 1952—66), III, 515—18, and *EI<sup>2</sup>* s.v. (A. J. WENSINCK and G. E. VON GRUNEBaum).

<sup>53)</sup> See BLACHÈRE, *op. cit.*, III, 544—51.

<sup>54)</sup> It may well be that the division of Qais and Yemen, North and South Arabs, which undoubtedly existed in the Umayyad period, and especially after the Second Civil War, was less genealogical and ethnic than ideological: according to M. A. SHABAN in his recent book *Islamic history A.D. 600—750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation* (Cambridge 1971), 120—1, the essential difference was one of attitude towards expansionism and towards general financial and social policy throughout the empire.

3. They were bottled up in Kabul, being reduced to eating their mounts, in a most wretched situation and the worst possible of camping-places.
4. No army in any of the lands ever met such a fate; for such victims as these, say to the lamenting women, "Be choked with your tears!"
5. Ask 'Ubaidallāh, "How did you consider these men, these 20,000 with their mailed horses, armed with their panoply of weapons?"
6. A picked force, which the Amīr chose for their firmness in battle, a contingent of noble souls<sup>56</sup>) from the two garrison cities (sc. Baṣra and Kūfa).
7. You were given command over them and appointed as their Amīr, yet you have brought them to destruction, whilst the war is still fiercely blazing!
8. You kept on staying amongst them, like a father, so they imagined, yet you are shattering them to pieces and acting like someone irresponsible and uncomprehending.
9. You are selling to them during the campaign a *qafiz* [of grain]<sup>56</sup>) for a whole dirham, whilst your army is murmuring about where the blame should be placed.
10. You have withheld from them their rations of milk and barley, and you have been trafficking in grapes which are still unripe.
11. You have ill-treated them mercilessly by lashing their skins with whips, unjustly and vindictively, showing no restraint.
12. The earth is a desert waste, which is scorching up even the chameleons of the earth around you; they have been split open, and have not been able to bring forth young.<sup>57</sup>)

<sup>56</sup>) *Muzallaj* as well as meaning "Vile, mean, contemptible" could also mean here "exiguous, few in number", hence *ghair muzallaj* "a sizeable [force]", though the translation here "far from contemptible" > "noble" gives better parallelism with the *jalāda* of the first hemistich.

<sup>56</sup>) The *qafiz* of capacity was essentially an Iraqi measure, varying in later times (together with the larger measure of capacity, the *kurr*) in the different cities of Iraq. In the first Islamic century, we can only assume that 'Ubaidallāh's *qafiz* was similar to that fixed by al-Ḥajjāj, which W. HINZ computed as being 4.2125 litres, see his *Islamische Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet im metrischen System*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Ergänzungsband 1, Heft 1 (Leiden 1955), 48.

<sup>57</sup>) This is the most difficult verse of the whole poem, partly because of the wide range of meanings of *kāfira*, which might also mean, *inter alia*, "darkening", "concealing its burdens" or "unsympathetic", and partly because of uncertainty in the vocalisation of several of its words; von Goutta has question marks after three of the Arabic words in the verse. The syntax, too, is capable of more than

13. Hence the warriors have been falling down dead from starvation, whilst you, their contemptible commander, are replete<sup>58</sup>) and have become corpulent and wide-haunched.
14. With weakened leg-tendons and the veins across the abdomen<sup>59</sup>) concealed (sc. by the folds of fat), as if between the fleshy lips of a darkish-coloured ass.<sup>60</sup>)
15. You imagined that you will not be punished for what has befallen them, but God will give just deserts to the one who is in charge of an army.<sup>61</sup>)
16. Until when they and their steeds perished, you wished to retreat, but what a time then for retreat!
17. Shuraiḥ refused to be driven along in such abjectness and repreh-

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one interpretation. Geyer's text vocalises *ḥurabā'ahā*, which would mean "its [sc. the earth's] despoiled ones", and could possibly refer to 'Ubaidallāh's soldiers, plundered unmercifully by their commander through his profiteering activities, though it is then difficult to find an appropriate sense for the rest of the verse. Ahlwardt, however, in his text in the *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, vocalises *ḥirbā'ahā* "the chameleons of the earth", and this has been followed here. But an equally possible translation might be: "The land is a remote, uninhabited place, which is burning with heat around you; the chameleons of the earth have been split open and have not been able to bring forth young". For this, *kāfirā* must be taken in the sense of *Lisān al-'arab*<sup>1</sup>, VI, 463: *al-kāfir min al-ard* is a region remote from any population, with virtually no-one dwelling there or passing through it; one must read *tadarramu* (for *tatadarramu*); and in making "the chameleons of the earth" a fresh subject, one needs of course to read *ḥirbā'uhā* with a slight alteration to the consonantal ductus. It seems impossible to achieve certainty here, and authorities on ancient poetry whom I have consulted, sc. my colleagues Dr M. A. Kafrawy and Dr A. S. Radwan, were unable to make any definite judgement.

<sup>58</sup>) Geyer has an obvious misprint here, *sha'bānu* for the *shab'ānu* correctly given by Ahlwardt.

<sup>59</sup>) *Al-ḥālibān* refers either to the *vas deferens* (as the etymological meaning of the word, "the two carriers of milky liquid", i.e. semen, would lead one to expect), or, as here, to the two veins running down the abdomen on each side of the navel.

<sup>60</sup>) *Daizaj* is said to be *mu'arrab* from Persian *daiza* (earlier form *dēza* < *daizaka-*, *daiṣaka*, *daiṣaka* "dark grey, ash-coloured") in *Lisān al-'arab*<sup>1</sup>, III, 95—6, defined there as "a mixed colour between two colours". It is probable that we have here a satirical reference to 'Ubaidallāh's own swarthy skin. (I am grateful to Dr D. N. MacKenzie for information here and in note 63 below on the Persian etymologies of these words.)

<sup>61</sup>) *Mudlij*, Literally, "one who sets off in the early part of the night", the favoured time for an army to set off through the desert.

ensible behaviour, when the soldiers' fate in the Book<sup>62</sup>) had not yet been assigned.

18. You remained, after these losses, with a small force who, if they had marched through a dusty plain, would not have raised a cloud.

19. Do not tell the people about everything which happened to you, and if you are asked about the affair, stammer confusedly.

.....

20. As for the wretched Abū Bardha'a, whom you introduced amongst us, he is viler than a beardless<sup>63</sup>) eunuch!

The poem thus throws some light on the opportunities for profit which a commander enjoyed in circumstances where the army could not live off the land but was compelled to seek its needs in the army bazaar (*sūq al-jaish*) controlled by the commander. The rigours of campaigns like this on distant frontiers were at this time contributing much to the disinclination of the *muqātila* to leave Iraq for the front. It may have been some show of reluctance which compelled 'Ubaidallāh to exercise the savage discipline amongst the troops of which al-A'shā complains. The soldiers' discontent increased shortly after the episode of the "Army of Destruction" when al-Ḥajjāj added to the hardships of campaigning in remote lands the prospect of the troops being kept there in permanent garrisons, far from their homes and families (*tajmīr al-bu'ūth*). It was the instruction to this effect issued to Ibn al-Ash'ath which sparked off the revolt of the "Peacock Army", seen clearly in Ibn al-Ash'ath's comparison of al-Ḥajjāj with Pharaoh as someone who tyrannically kept his army in distant garrisons.<sup>64</sup>) Indeed, the whole episode of the "Army of Destruction" and the feelings which it engendered, above all amongst Yemenī elements of the Arabs, is clearly relevant to a consideration of tribal factions and of the hatreds aroused against al-Ḥajjāj during the early Marwānid period.

<sup>62</sup>) This seems to be the import of the phrase *ḡuhuf kitābihim*, i.e. the leaves of the Heavenly Book in which men's actions are recorded by the two angels, as is set forth in *Sūrat al-Infīṭār* = lxxxii, 10—11.

<sup>63</sup>) *Raidhaj*, from Persian *rēdak*, Pahlavi *rētak* < \**raitaka*-, meaning basically "young, youth"; *rēdakān* are linked with *sāqiyan* in poetry of the 5th/11th century Ghaznavid author Manūchihri Dāmgāni, see H. W. BAILEY, "Iranian studies. II", *BSOS*, VII (1933—5), 70—2. Hārūn, the editor of the most recent text of JĀḤIẒ's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, where this line occurs in a section discussing eunuchs, reads *raidhaj* as *daizaj*, as in verse 14 of al-A'shā's poem, with the meaning "a dark-coloured eunuch".

<sup>64</sup>) BALĀDHURĪ, *Anṣab*, in *Anonyme arabische Chronik*, 325—6; ṬABARĪ, II, 1054 = VI, 336; BOSWORTH, *Sistan under the Arabs*, 58—9.



**CENTRAL ASIA**

## AL-XWĀRAZMĪ ON THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA

## I. INTRODUCTION

THE PASSAGE TREATED HERE OCCURS in the seventh *faṣl*, "Concerning words which are frequently used in reference to conquests, expeditions and historical accounts of the Arabs during Islam," of the sixth *bāb* of the first *maqāla* of al-Xwārazmī's *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm* (pp. 119–20 of the edition of Van Vloten, Leiden 1895 = p. 73 of the edition of Cairo 1342/1923–4). The whole *faṣl* was published in the original and translated by J. M. Unvala in his article, "The translation of an extract from *Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm* of al-Khwārazmī" in the *Journal of the K.R. Cama Institute*, XI, Bombay 1928, 76–110. However, Unvala was primarily an Iranian scholar and his commentary on the *faṣl* is oriented primarily in that direction. He was on weaker ground when dealing with Central Asiatic and especially Turkish topics: and this fact, together with the lapse of nearly 40 years since Unvala prepared his article, warrants a reconsideration of the brief section on Central Asia in the light of more recent researches.

## II. AL-XWĀRAZMĪ'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA

Almost nothing is known about the life and career of Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Xwārazmī, but his only known work, the *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, is dedicated to Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Ubaidallāh al-'Utbī, Vizier to the Sāmānids, and this dedication and certain internal evidence enables us to date its composition to shortly after 977 (see on this work, Bosworth, "A pioneer Arabic encyclopedia of the sciences: al-Khwārizmī's Keys of the sciences," *Isis*, LIV, 1963, 97–111). From his intimate knowledge of administrative procedures and the various official registers in use, he must have been connected with the Sāmānid bureaucracy. It is therefore probable that al-Xwārazmī was familiar with the topography and ethnography of the Sāmānid empire and its tributaries, and would be cognizant of the administrative problems involved in exercising authority over the borderlands adjoining the Central Asiatic steppes and mountain massif. More exactly, he might be expected to know something of the tribal affiliations and social organization of the Turkish-speaking peoples on the northern and eastern frontiers of the empire, roughly corresponding to the Syr Darya valley and the Pamir-Tien Shan ranges.

Of which Turkish-speaking or other peoples might al-Xwārazmī have had some knowledge? We are unhappily very ignorant of the earliest history of the Turkish-speaking peoples. The evidence is scanty and widely scattered, and there is, as yet, no general agreement regarding its interpretation. The latest attempt to summarize this history very briefly is in Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962, Ch. 1.

The name "Turk" did not appear in history till the middle of the 6th century A.D., when a tribe which called itself Tūrkū destroyed the "empire" of the Juan-juan (the possible identity of this people with the Avars is still hotly debated) and established an "empire" of its own. This "empire" at its greatest extent reached temporarily from the Great Wall of China to the Oxus and existed intermittently from the middle of the 6th century till the middle of the 8th. There were of course Turkish-speaking peoples many centuries before

this; the difficulty lies in determining which of the various peoples mentioned before this date in the Chinese records, the most important and almost the only ones relevant for this remote period, answer to this description. The Chinese historians of the T'ang dynasty believed that the Türkü were "descended" from the Hsiung-nu and so they presumably believed that the latter were Turkish-speaking; but there is no general agreement that the Hsiung-nu were Turkish-speaking and evidence to the contrary has recently been put forward by E. R. Pulleyblank in "The consonantal system of Old Chinese", *Asia Major*, N.S. IX, 1963, 239 ff.

Be that as it may, the Hsiung-nu, whose serious history goes back to the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. (and their mythological history a great deal further), were unquestionably in close contact with Turkish-speaking peoples from the earliest period, and there can be little doubt that when they made their great raid into Europe in the 4th century A.D., the horde of the Huns (leaving ethnology aside, there is now no doubt that the *names* Hsiung-nu and Hun are identical) included a number of Turkish-speaking elements. Moreover, in the immediately following centuries other waves of Turkish-speaking peoples found their way from the eastern Asiatic steppes to the west. What is impossible is to determine to which wave individual Turkish-speaking peoples belonged. These included in the earliest period the Bulgār, the tribe which the Byzantine historians called Saviroi and the Muslim historians Suwār, and several Oğuz tribes, whose name, with the sound change  $z > r$  characteristic of the language of the Bulgār and their modern descendents the Chuvash, forms part of the names of the Onogoroi, Saragouroi, Outourgouroi and Koutourgouroi mentioned by 5th century Byzantine historians. Basically, all the Turkish-speaking tribes which found their way to the west were nomadic herdsmen, but some seem to have settled on the land as agriculturists, or at any rate to have dominated agriculturists of other ethnic stocks so effectively as to force them to assume their name and language. The position is greatly complicated by the fact that the Türkü had played such an important political rôle during the 6th and 7th centuries that several peoples who were neither ethnically Turkish nor Turkish speakers called themselves, or were called by their neighbours, "Turks." For example, in some Byzantine sources "Tourkoi" means "Magyars" and it is probable that in some Muslim authorities the term "Turk" is equally inaccurate.

There were certainly people who were Turks, or who were called Turks, settled peacefully within the borders of Sāmānid Transoxania and Afrīgid Xwārazm, probably before the Islamic conquest of these regions in the 8th century, and R. N. Frye and A. M. Sayılı have suggested that the penetration was profound and continuous from the late 6th century onwards (the date of the greatest Türkü expansion to the west), see "Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs", *JAOS*, LXIII, 1943, 194-207. In the 9th and 10th centuries there was also considerable pressure from genuine Turks outside the borders of Islam who were still nomadic. Prominent among these peoples were the Oğuz and later the Qıpçaq. These were a later wave of Oğuz than the "Ogur" of the 5th century; and owing to long contact with Iranian-speaking peoples and detachment from their Turkish-speaking relatives further east, had developed dialects sufficiently different from the standard Turkish of the Uyğur of Sinkiang and the subjects of the Qaraxanid dynasty to the north and west of the Uyğur, for Maḥmūd al-Kāšğari, writing in the middle of the 11th century, to make a clear distinction between "the language of the Turks" and "the language of the Oğuz and



Qıpçaq". These two peoples were often described as Türkmen. The origin of this designation has been much debated, but having regard to the fact that the people to whom it was applied were in close contact with Iranians, the simple explanation that it is "Türk" with the Persian suffix *-mān* "like", is probably correct. It seems at first sight a little ironical that people who really were ethnically Turks should be described as "like Turks", but the name no doubt goes back to a period when the Muslim term "Turk" still meant the historical Türkü and had not yet become a vague generic term.

By the 8th century at the latest, an Oğuz confederation had established itself in the region of the Aral Sea and Syr Darya, and this migration brings them into the purview of Islamic writers. The first mention of the Oğuz in Islamic literature seems to be in the historian al-Balāḍurī (d. 892) who says that Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh raided the land of the Ğuzz during the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim's reign (sc. 833–42) (*Futūh al-buldān*, Cairo 1959, 420); and Ṭabarī mentions an attack of the Toğuz-Oğuz on Ušrūsana in 820–1 (*Annales*, III, 1044). Marvazī, writing c. 1120 but drawing on information which probably went back to the early 10th century, says that the pasture grounds of the Oğuz march with Xwārazm and Transoxania (Minorsky, *Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, 29).

A century and a half later, in al-Xwārazmī's own time, the northern borders of Transoxania were dotted with *ribāṭs* or fortresses against the "Turks". These were especially thick in the province of Ušrūsana, the region to the south of the Syr Darya whose chief town was Xuğanda (the most recent and thorough survey of this region is N. Negmatov's *Istoriko-geografichesky ocherk Ushrushany s drevneyshikh vremen do X v.n.e.*, in *Tadzhikskaya Arkheologicheskaya Ekspeditsiya*, M.I.A. XXXVII, Moscow-Leningrad 1953), and in the province of Isfīḡāb to the north of the river. The geographer Maqdisī (wrote c. 985) speaks of the towns Barūkat and Balāḡ as "two frontier posts against the Türkmen" (*taḡrān 'alā 'l-Turkmāniyyīn*); these Türkmen had been converted to Islam "out of fear", but still kept up their old predatory habits (*Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, 274). This seems to be the earliest mention of the Türkmen under this name, though within a few decades it was generally applied to the Oğuz and Qıpçaq groups, for example, in the Ğaznavid historians Gardizī and Baihaqī. (On the possible application of the term "Türkmen" to other Turkish groups, see İ. Kafesoğlu, "Türkmen adı, manası ve mahiyeti," in *Jean Deny armağanı*, Ankara 1958, 121–31, French résumé in *Oriens*, XI, 1958, 146–50.)

Saurān, on the middle Syr Darya to the north-west of Isfīḡāb, is described by Maqdisī as a frontier post against the Oğuz and Kimek. The whole course of the river from there down to the Aral Sea was in Oğuz hands and remained pagan till the 12th or even 13th century; it was from here that the Xwārazm-Šāhs of Atsız and his line recruited many of the pagan Qıpçaq troops whose excesses in Persia made the Šāhs so unpopular. The Oğuz and later the Qıpçaq ranged westwards from Xwārazm as far as the Volga. Ibn Faḍlān met Oğuz tribesmen on his journey towards the Emba river and Bīrūnī records that in the 10th century the Afrīḡid Xwārazm-Šāhs led an expedition, called *Faḡbūrī*, "the King's expedition," into the steppes each autumn (*The chronology of ancient nations*, tr. Sachau, London 1879, 224). The mention of the Kimek is interesting and their being linked with the Oğuz confirms what Marvazī, tr. Minorsky, 32, says of the close proximity and relationship of the two peoples. According to Gardizī, the Qıpçaq were originally one of the seven tribes of the Kimek. The name Kimek does not occur in Kāšḡarī, but may be

identical with Yemek, the tribe mentioned next to the Oğuz in his chapter on the geography of the Turkish tribes. In the *Dīwān luġāt at-turk*, tr. Atalay [all subsequent references are to this edition], III, 29, the word Yemek is listed among the words beginning with *y-*, so cannot be a scribal error for Kimek, as Yasmıl is for Basmıl (this word is so spelt in the MS. even when listed among the words beginning with *b-*), but it might be a later form. According to Kāšġarī, loc. cit., the Yemek were “a tribe (*ġil*) of Turks and according to us (*indanā*) Qıpçaq, but the Qıpçaq Turks reckon themselves a different confederation (*hizb*)”. This suggests a change in the relationship between the two tribes, but tribal relationships among the Turks were so fluid that the point is not important (see further, Barthold, *Encycl. of Islam*,<sup>1</sup> arts. “Kimäk”, “Qıpçaq”). What is certain is that in the 11th century the Kimek drop out of mention, but the Qıpçaq are in turn described as harrying the borders of Xwārazm in Baihaqī, *Ta'rix-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ğanī and Fayyāq, Tehran 1945, 86, tr. A. K. Arends, Tashkent 1962, 104 (events of 1030).

With regard to the tribal groups of the eastern Turks, who in al-Xwārazmī's time occupied such regions to the east of Transoxania as Fargāna and the Semirechye, explicit information is lacking for the third quarter of the 10th century. A consideration of these groups is, of course, bound up with the question of the origins of the Qaraxanids, who appeared on the northern borders of the Sāmānid empire in 992. The Sāmānids had long had dealings with the Qaraxanid family and with the Qarluq tribes, not only by way of military expeditions (in 943 the son of the Turkish Xāqān was a prisoner in Sāmānid hands, Ibn al-Aṭīr, VIII, 310), but also by way of commercial relations and Muslim missionary activity, this last leading to the conversion of a large number of Turks in 960, doubtless including the Qaraxanids (Ibn al-Aṭīr, VIII, 396). That the Qaraxanids were themselves Qarluq has recently been strongly maintained by O. Pritsak, whose efforts have thrown so much light on this shadowy but important Turkish dynasty (especially in his “Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden”, *ZDMG*, CI, 1951, 270–300); but this identification can still not be regarded as wholly proven.

Finally, can any pattern be discerned in al-Xwārazmī's choice of terms to discuss? It is difficult to see one. The terms in question are variously Turkish and Iranian ones. The Iranian ones Ixšīd, Afšīn and Baġpūr relate to the past rather than to his own time, for the Arab conquests and then the centralizing policies of the Sāmānids had ended the day of local rulers in Sogdiana and the outlying parts of Transoxania. Mention of the Hayāṭila or Hepthalites takes us back to the pre-Islamic past of Central Asia, but it is true that the Hepthalites (or more correctly, the Chionites, for Ghirshman's researches have shown that the Hepthalites were one component of the Chionite people, perhaps the ruling house) made an ethnic and political impression on what is now Soviet Tadzhikistan and northern and eastern Afghanistan which lasted well into Islamic times. As an Islamic geographical term, Haiṭal (*rectius* \*Habṭal) was for long synonymous with the regions of Ṭuxāristān and Badaxšān to the south of the upper Oxus and those of Čaġāniyān, Qubāḍiyān, Xuttal and Waxš to the north of it; and Bīrūnī speaks of “Walwāliġ, the capital of Ṭuxāristān, which in the days of old was the country of the Haiṭal” (quoted in Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 340; see also Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1958, 58–60, to be considered now in the light of V. A. Livshits, *Sogdiyskie dokumenty s gory Mug, II, Yuridicheskie dokumenty i pis'ma*, Moscow 1962, 53 ff., Document V4). Al-Xwārazmī's

Turkish terms Ğabbūya, Ināl-tigīn and Țarxān are especially associated with the Oġuz; but he also mentions the Qarluq, and his Ŗuwār-tigīn is probably to be connected with the old Turkish people of the Suvār, who appear however in the Islamic geographical sources very far from Farġāna, in association with the Bulġār on the middle Volga.

### III. TRANSLATION OF AL-XWĀRAZMĪ'S TEXT

"Al-Farāġina are the people of Farġāna. Al-Ixšīd is the ruler of Farġāna, and al-Ŗuwārtigīn is under him. Al-Afšīn is the ruler of UŖrūsana. Al-Hayāṭila are a tribal group (*ġīl min al-nās*) who were formerly powerful and ruled over Țuxāristān; the Xalaġ and Kanġina Turks are remnants of them. Xāqān is the supreme ruler of the Turks; Xān means chief, and Xāqān means Xān of Xāns, i.e. chief of chiefs, just as the Persians say Šāhānšāh. Ğabbūya is the ruler of the Oġuz, and the ruler of the Xarluxiyya is similarly called Ğabbūya. Ināl-tigīn is the heir (*walī 'ahd*) of the Ğabbūya; every chief of the Turks, whether he be a king or a local landowner (*dihqān*) has an Ināl, i.e. heir. Subāšī means commander of the army (*Ŗāhib al-ġaiŖ*). Al-Țarxān means noble one (*al-Ŗarīf*); its plural is al-Țarāxina. Baġbūr is the ruler of China; *baġ* means king and *būr* means son in Sogdian, Chinese and pure Persian, i.e. Pahlavi."

### IV. COMMENTARY

#### *Ixšīd*

Unvala derives this, not from OP *xšāyaṭiya* (> MP and NP *šāh* "king"), but from *xšaēta*- "shining, brilliant", via Sogdian, and Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 30, 356, favours this too; but an etymology from the former is much the more probable. The former word is certainly the origin of the Turkish title *Šad*, used in Orkhon Turkish for a rank bestowed on senior members of the royal family under the Qaġan, and doubtless going back to late 6th century Türkü usage. We meet with the title *Ixšīd* in the accounts of the Arab conquest of Transoxania, for the local rulers of Sogdiana were known by it; Maqdisī, 279, says that the *Ixšīd*, king of Samarqand, had his castle and residence at Māymurġ in the Samarqand oasis. The title does not occur as such in the Sogdian documents (first quarter of the 8th century) found at Mount Mug, but V. A. Livshits has suggested, op. cit., 50, that the Aramaic ideogram *MLK'* "king" common in these documents represented Sogdian *'γšēd*. O. I. Smirnova gives a list of the *Ixšīds* of Sogdiana during the period 650–783 in her "Sogdiyskie monety kak novy istochnik dlya istorii Sredney Azii", *Sov'yetskoe Vostokovedenie*, VI, 1949, 356–67. The *Ixšīd* of Sogdiana was still disaffected towards the Arabs during the Caliphate of al-Mahdī (775–85) (Ya'qūbī, in Barthold, *Turkestan*, 202). The local rulers of Farġāna likewise bore the title *Ixšīd*, although it seems that they were little more than *primi inter pares* amongst the other *dihqāns* (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, 116, 355); according to Ibn al-Aṭīr, V, 344, it was the *Ixšīd* of Farġāna who called in the Chinese army which invaded Transoxania and was defeated in 751 by the Arab general Ziyād b. Šāliḥ. In the 10th century, Muḥammad b. Țuġġ, whose family had been in the service of the Abbasid Caliphs and their Viziers, became governor of Egypt, and founded there a dynasty which lasted till the coming of the Fāṭimids. In 938 he sought from the Caliph al-Rāḏī the title of *Ixšīd*, claiming to be a descendant of the ancient princes of Farġāna, and his line is generally known as the *Ixšīdids* (cf. C. H. Becker, *Encycl. of Islam*,<sup>1</sup>

art. "Ikhshīdids"). So far as is known, Muḥammad b. Ṭuġġ was a Turk and not an Iranian, but he may well have come from Farġāna, for that region furnished large numbers of men for the Abbasids' guards; it is to designate these troops that the Arabic broken plural *al-Farāġina* is first found in the sources. An interesting parallel to this late appearance of the title *Ixšīd* is the title of the Turkish Viceroy in Egypt in modern times, Khedive (*Xudaiwī*), which started life as the Sogdian title  $\gamma wt'w$ , one of the titles which also occurs in the Mount Mug documents.

#### *Ṣuwār-tigīn*

Unvala could only suggest an etymology from MP and NP *suwār* "rider, cavalryman", but the spelling with *ṣād* makes this unlikely. The element *tégin* is quite straightforward. In Orkhon Turkish *tégin* meant "prince", the legitimate son of a Qaġan, that is it was acquired by birth and not by grant of the sovereign. But as adult *tégin*s often held administrative, viceregal, posts, the term became by degrees attached to an office and *tégin*s were no longer necessarily the sons of Qaġans. The frequency with which the element *-tigīn* is found in the onomastic of Turks in the service of the Caliphate, the Sāmānids, the Būyids, etc., points to the fact that this stage had been reached by the end of the 9th century. It is the element *Ṣuwār* which makes this title an intriguing one. The whole title may mean "Prince *Ṣuwār*" or "the Prince [administering] *Ṣuwār*". If the latter is the case, it could well be evidence that a section of the *Suwār* Turks had been dropped off in Farġāna on the road to the middle Volga, where there were undoubtedly *Suwār* in the 10th century. These *Suwār* are associated with the *Bulġār* by the Arab geographer Iṣṭaxrī in his *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, 225 (written c. 951) and by the anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 103, cf. 461, written 30 years later. *Suwār* and *Bulġār* were populous and flourishing towns lying to the south of the later Kazan, and coins with Islamic legends were minted at *Suwār* as early as 948–9 (I. Hrbek, *Encycl. of Islam*,<sup>2</sup> art. "Bulghār"). It has been put forward by Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, 20, that this Turkish people of the *Suwār* (mentioned by Kāšġarī, I, 30 and elsewhere), the *Sabiroi* (pronounced *Saviroi*) of the Byzantine chronicles and the tribe which the Chinese called the *Hsien-pei*, are all the same, and this hypothesis would be strengthened if we could posit a migration across Central Asia which reached the Caucasus in the 5th–6th centuries (the date of the earliest Byzantine references) after depositing some of the *Suwār* in Farġāna. Finally, we may note the appearance of the personal name Waṣīf b. *Ṣuwārtigīn* in Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Kitāb al-wuzarā'*, Cairo 1958, 101, 256; this man was a secretary in the Caliphal administration and a partisan of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, who in 908 made an abortive attempt to seize the Caliphate for himself. The name "Waṣīf" points to the man's servile origin, and it may well be that he came from Farġāna, for that region, as has been noted, provided large numbers of Turks and others for the service of the Caliphs.

#### *Afšīn*

Unvala correctly gives the etymology of this from MP *Pišīn*, found in Persian epic lore as the name of a Kayānī prince (cf. Justi's long entry, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 252–3, s.v. *Pisina*). The title was no doubt used in other parts of the north-eastern Iranian world, but the *Afšīn* of Uṣrūsana, Ḥaidar b. Kā'ūs, achieved fame in the early 9th century as one of

al-Mu'tašim's generals and the vanquisher of the Xurramī rebel Bābak. The story of his trial and execution is described in detail by Ṭabarī, III, 1303–18, tr. E. Marin, *The reign of al-Mu'tašim* (833–42), New Haven 1951, 111–23, and Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, I, 330–6. Ḥaidar claimed to be a descendant of the old kings of Persia; accusations at his trial included the one that he had flogged two Muslims for turning an idol-temple in Ušrūsana into a mosque, thus violating Ḥaidar's pact with the kings of Sogdiana to leave the people to their own religion, and the further one that he himself had in his palace pagan idols and books. However, Afšins seemed to have survived in Ušrūsana for another 50 years. In 893 the Sāmānid Amṣr Ismā'il b. Aḥmad dethroned the local dynasty of Afšins and incorporated the province into his empire; a coin of this last Afšin, dated 892, is extant (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 211, 224). The Afšin mentioned among the Turkish commanders in Alp Arslan's army during the Mantzikert campaign of 1071 must have been a Turk who had taken this ancient title as a personal name (Ibn al-Aṭir, X, 285).

### *Hayāṭila, Xalağ, Kanğina*

The Haiṭal/Habṭal loom quite largely in the Islamic historical sources for the eastern Iranian world. As the Arabs pushed eastwards, they met the Hephthalites. Ṭabarī, I, 2885, under the year 31/651–2, records that al-Aḥnaf b. Qais defeated near Nishapur an army of “the Hayāṭila of Herat”, and on reaching Ṭuxāristān, they came up against the Hephthalite king Ṭarxān Nizak. The Hephthalite kingdom disintegrated in the latter part of the 7th century, but left important ethnic elements in northern Afghanistan, and the more southerly branch of the Chionites, called by Ghirshman the Zabulites, remained powerful in south-eastern Afghanistan until the time of the Ṣaffārids and early Ġaznavids (cf. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, 96–134). Ghirshman's conclusion is that the ruling stratum of the Chionites were Indo-Europeans, originally speaking a “Tokharian” language, but becoming more and more Persianized under the effect of Sāsānid contacts; this does not, of course, exclude the presence of other nationalities in the body of the confederation.

We are thus led on to al-Xwārazmī's statement that the Xalağ and Kanğina Turks are remnants of the Hephthalites. The Arabic حاح can as easily be read *Xallux* as *Xalağ*; Minorsky, in a detailed study of the origins and history of the Xalağ, thought that Van Vloten was probably correct in adopting the reading *Xalağ* (“The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj”, *BSOS*, X, 1939–42, 426 ff.). However, we do know of *Xallux*/*Qarluq* in Ṭuxāristān (*Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 108, 338), so an interpretation as *Xallux* cannot be wholly disregarded. The 10th century Arab geographers say that the Xalağ were Turks, that they had early crossed to the south of the Oxus and that they nomadized along the plateaux of eastern Afghanistan between Bust and Kabul. Kāšğari mentions the Xalač in his long article on the Türkmen (III, 412–16), but regards them as separate from the main body of Türkmen, and can only offer fanciful legends for the origin of the name. The Xalağ thus have a somewhat equivocal position as Turks, and although al-Xwārazmī calls them “Turks”, his statement that they were remnants of the Hephthalite confederation strengthens the suspicion that he was here using “Turks” in the vague and inaccurate sense referred to above, and that the Xalağ were not ethnically Turks at all. This suspicion is much stronger in regard to al-Xwārazmī's “Kanğina Turks”. In Islamic sources, the Kanğina are usually linked with the Kumīḍi or Kumīğī, and both peoples are located in the Buttaman

Mountains at the heads of the valleys running down to the Oxus through Čagāniyān and Xuttal. In the Ġaznavid period, they frequently harried the Sultans' possessions along the upper Oxus (cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran* 994–1040, Edinburgh 1963, 239). The Kumīḡi were almost certainly not Turks, but the remnants of an old-established Central Asian Iranian people, probably the Sakae, for Ptolemy mentions a Saka tribe of *Kōmēdoi*. The *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, 120, cf. 361–3, distinguishes between the Kumīḡi and the Kaḡina, and says that the latter are now reduced to a small tribe; nevertheless, the probability is that the Kaḡina too were Saka remnants which had been absorbed into the Hephthalite confederation and had persisted during Islamic times in the mountainous and inaccessible lands of the upper Oxus.

### *Xāqān, Xān*

There is no evidence to support al-Xwārazmī's distinction between *Xāqān* and *Xān* and his implicit parallel of the Persian terms *Šāhānšāh* and *Šāh*. In Orkhon Turkish a Qaḡan (this is the normal Türkü spelling, but the characters in the "runic" script could equally represent the form Xaḡan, and this may have been intended; the word is certainly pre-Türkü and possibly a pre-Turkish loan-word, although evidence here is lacking except that initial *x-* is non-Turkish) was essentially an independent ruler not owing allegiance to anyone, but occasionally in the early period a Qaḡan with wide dominions might appoint one or even more of his close relations to be a "small Qaḡan" under him. In these circumstances it would be true to say that the great Qaḡan was in effect a Šāhānšāh and the small Qaḡans in effect Šāhs. But the supposed antithesis between *qaḡan* and *qan* as between *šāhānšāh* and *šāh* is unreal. The title Qan is found in the Tonyuquq inscription, the oldest Türkü inscription (c. A.D. 716), in contexts where Qaḡan might have been expected. It was perhaps a less dignified title than Qaḡan, but etymologically, there is no possibility of *qaḡan* being an elative form of *qan*. On the contrary, *qan* was almost certainly merely a crasis of *qaḡan*, perhaps a dialect form.

### *Ġabbūya*

A later form of *Yabḡu*. Etymologically, the word is an old, pre-Türkü title going back to the Yüeh-chih, and if, as seems likely, the Yüeh-chih, Wu-sun and related peoples were "Tokharian" speakers, the title *Yabḡu* may be "Tokharian", although there is as yet no conclusive evidence for this. It is therefore almost certainly Indo-European rather than Turkish in origin, but whether it is "Tokharian" or Iranian is still uncertain (this latter view has recently been affirmed by R. N. Frye, "Some early Iranian titles," *Oriens*, XV, 1962, 356–8). In Kāšḡarī, III, 32, it is spelt *yavḡū*, and this is also the spelling of the *Qutaḡū bilig*. This may in fact always have been the Turkish spelling, since in the "runic" (Türkü) alphabet the same letter was used for *b* and *v*. Either sound would have been represented by *b* in Arabic, in which language *v* does not occur, and in any event the sound change  $v > b$  is a common enough one in other languages. Amongst the Türkü, the title was one of rank and not of birth; the *Yavḡu* ranked immediately after the Qaḡan and before the *Šaḡ*. The initial sound change in an Oḡuz context of  $y- > ḡ-$ , which we have here in al-Xwārazmī's form *Ġabbūya*, well fits the statement of Kāšḡarī, I, 31, that the Oḡuz made this sound change; this must be one of the earliest confirmations of it. The

title was borne by Turkish princes in post-Hepthalite Ṭuxāristān, appearing on their coins (Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, 50–1), and the Islamic sources attest to al-Xwārazmī's correctness in connecting it with both the Qarluq and the Oğuz. In the early Abbasid period, al-Mahdī received the submission of *inter alia* the *Yabğu* of the Qarluq, and in 811 al-Ma'mūn was obliged to conciliate this *Yabğu* in Transoxania and seek his support (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 202; Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 55). Further historical references to the early *Yabğus* are given in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 107, Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 143, n. 3, and Frye, *History of Bukhara*, 107–8. We also meet the title amongst Ibn Faḍlān's Oğuz, who were under a *Yabğu*, this man having the prestige and moral authority of a tribal chief (tr. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, 28, 140–1, tr. A. P. Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Akhmeda ibn-Fadlan o ego puteshestvii na Volgu b 921–922 gg.*, Kharkov 1956, 128, 188). At the beginning of the 11th century, when the Oğuz were becoming Islamized and the Salḡuqs were about to burst into the Islamic world, we meet the Oğuz *Yabğu* again as ruler from Yangikent near the Syr Darya delta, and the title was shortly afterwards assumed by members of the rival Salḡuq family (cf. Pritsak, "Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabğu," *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 397–410).

### *Ināl*

Al-Xwārazmī's explanation here is very odd. Etymologically, *ināl* is a deverbal noun from \**inā-*, the unrecorded basic form of *inan-*, "to trust, rely on," and should mean "reliable, trustworthy", but is never recorded as being used as a noun/adjective in this sense. The word is attested as a title in the 10th century. In 921, Ibn Faḍlān met the "Lesser Yināl" (*Yināl al-Ṣaḡīr*) amongst the Oğuz, one of the commanders beneath the Sübaši. In the Uyḡur texts from Turfan, the title appears as a high one. The younger brother of someone (probably of the Qaḡan, but the text is damaged here) is called in the third *Pfahl*, line 4, of F. W. K. Müller's "Zwei Pfahlschriften aus den Turfanfunden", *AKPAW*, Berlin 1915, 23, *Tengride bolmıš ināl* "the *Ināl* who came into existence in Heaven"; and several people called *ināls* are mentioned in the following lines, coming after the *téḡins* (princes), *tengrims* (princesses) and *sanguns* or *sengüns* (generals). According to J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, Paris 1955, 142, this inscription should be dated 947, less probably 1007. As a personal name, we find in Miskawaih, the historian of the Persian Būyid dynasty, one Muḡammad b. Yināl al-Tarḡumān "the Interpreter", apparently a Turk in the service of the Būyids and perhaps used as a liaison officer between the Turkish and native Dailamī elements of the Būyid army (*Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, I, 376, 407, 408, tr. IV, 423, 451, 452, years 937 and 939). In the period of the Salḡuq irruptions into the Islamic world (the first half of the 11th century), we find much mention in Baihaqī of the Yināliyān, a group associated with the Salḡūqiyān and headed by Ibrāhīm Ināl, described as Toḡril Beg's uterine half-brother. This group cannot be a tribal one, and Minorsky has concluded that amongst the Salḡuqs, the family of the Oğuz Yināl had a special place and special rights; these would explain the later pretensions to power of Ibrāhīm Ināl ("Äjnallu/Inallu", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, XVII, 1951–2, 1–11; cf. also Cl. Cahen, "Le Malik-Nameh et les origines Seljukides," *Oriens*, II, 1949, 57–8). Kāšḡarī, I, 122, defines *ināl* as "a word for any youth who is the son of a princess (*xātūn*)

and a commoner (*sūga*)”, and in I, 361, he mentions one Tapar as “a son of Ināl Öz of the kings of Qıpčaq”. To add to the confusion, Rašid al-Dīn and Abū'l-Ġāzī say that among the Qırğız the title *Inal* corresponds to *pādišāh* amongst the Mongolians and Taġiks (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuch*, I, 1441). It looks as if al-Xwārazmī's Ināl-tiġin were a proper name, and the statement that *inal* means “heir” must be due to some misunderstanding.

### *Sübaşı*

In his account of his travels to Bulġār, Ibn Faḍlān mentions the *Şāhib al-Ġaiš* of the Oġuz whom he met, and this is obviously an attempt to render into Arabic the Turkish title *sü-başı* “army commander”; this man was, amongst the Oġuz, military leader of the tribe and it was to him, and not to the Yabġu or titular head, that Ibn Faḍlān presented his credentials from the Caliph and handed over rich presents (tr. Togan, *Reisebericht*, 28–30, 141–2; tr. Kovalevskiy, *Kniga Akhmeda ibn-Fadlan*, 129). The eponymous ancestor of the Salġuq Turks, Salġuq b. Duqaq, is given by Kāšġari, I, 478, the title *Sübaşı* (rendered in the Arabic and Persian sources as *Qā'id al-ġaiš* or *Muqaddam al-ġaiš*, cf. Şadr al-Dīn Ḥusainī, *Axbār al-daula al-Salġūqiyya*, Lahore 1933, 2). Amongst the early Ġaznavids we find a Turkish general with *Sübaşı* as a personal name (Baihaqī, *Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdi*, passim, cf. Arents's translation, 659, n. 24; Ibn al-Aṭīr, IX, 327; Ḥusainī, 5–9). The title must soon afterwards have begun to decline in status. In a legal document from Khotan dated 1107, three of the witnesses have the title *Sübaşı*, and Minorsky says that it occurs in nearly all the ancient documents from nearby Yarkand; its significance here seems to be that of “captain, commander of a detachment” (“Some early documents in Persian. I”, *JRAS*, 1942, 186–8).

### *Ṭarxān*

A considerable amount has been written about this title. It is certainly a very old, pre-Türkü one, which changed its connotation frequently over the years. Amongst the Oġuz whom Ibn Faḍlān met, the *Ṭarxān* was a subordinate military commander under the *Sübaşı*, alongside the Y.ġ.l.z (? Yuġruš, cf. Köprülü, “Zur Kenntnis der alttürkischen Titulatur,” *Körösi-Csoma Archivum*, Ergänzungsband, 1938, 337–41) and the “Lesser Yınāl” (tr. Togan, 30–1, who notes that *Ṭarxān* was also a Xazar title; tr. Kovalevskiy, 129, 189). Amongst the Mongols of the 13th century it was still an honoured rank; according to Ġuwainī, tr. Boyle, I, 37–8, “*Tarkhan* are those who are exempt from compulsory contributions, and to whom the booty taken on every campaign is surrendered: whenever they so wish they may enter the royal presence without leave or permission.” The latest discussion of the title's origin is by E. R. Pulleyblank, “The consonantal system of Old Chinese,” *Asia Major*, N.S. IX, 1963, 256, where it is suggested that the Old Chinese pronunciation of *šan-yü*, the title of the supreme ruler of the Hsiung-nu from the 3rd century B.C. onwards, was *dān-ḥwāh*, representing *darxan*. In the early Turkish languages, the word was consistently spelt with initial *t*-, but there is good evidence that in these languages initial *d*-, both in native and foreign words, was devoiced. The Mongols habitually spelt the word *darxan*, having received it from some unidentified Turkish language which did not devoice initial *d*-. The medial *-x-* is an un-Turkish sound in this context, and the most plausible explanation is that the word was originally *darxan* and meant in



Hsiung-nu "supreme ruler", and then gradually sank in the social scale (much like Turkish *çavuş*, which in the Tonyuquq inscription means "commander-in-chief" but now means "sergeant"). Objection has been taken to Pulleyblank's theory that Mongolian *daruga* "governor, commander" is another form of the same word separated off at an earlier period and given a different connotation, on the ground that this word is a normal Mongolian deverbial noun form from *daru-* "to oppress" and the like, parallel to the Turkish word *basqaq* "tax-gatherer", derived from *bas-* "to oppress", which first occurs in the Mongol period and may indeed have been a literal translation of *daruga*.

### *Bagbūr*

It is generally agreed that *bagbūr*, *fağfūr*, etc., go back to a specifically Sogdian translation of the Chinese title *t'ien-tzū* (Giles, Chinese-English Dictionary, nos. 11, 208; 12, 317) "Son of Heaven". It must be Sogdian because the Sogdians, through their mercantile activities, were the earliest Iranians to be in prolonged contact with China, and this seems phonetically quite reasonable. In Sogdian, "God, Heaven" was  $\beta\gamma$  (*vağ*); "son" is habitually represented in the texts by the Aramaic ideogram *BRY*, but the native word was probably *pwr* and the whole would have been pronounced *vağpūr*.

A PROPOS DE L'ARTICLE  
DE MOHAMED KHADR :  
« DEUX ACTES DE *WAQF*  
D'UN QARAĤĀNIDE D'ASIE CENTRALE »

The publication of two *waqfiyyas* of the Qaraĥānid Ibrāhim Tamġaĉ Ĥān, who reigned from 438/1046-1047 to 460/1068 as supreme Ĥān of the western half of the Qaraĥānid confederation, is a welcome event. The history of this dynasty, the first Turkish power with a mass following to establish itself within the *Dār al-Islam* (the Ġaznavid Sultans must be considered as a small Turkish ruling élite, itself largely assimilated to the Perso-Islamic governmental tradition, imposed over territories which were, and have remained till this day, basically Iranian), remains in many ways obscure, despite the great amount of research devoted to it by O. Pritsak <sup>(1)</sup>. Islamic writers in the heartlands of the Caliphate

(1) It is a matter of regret that Pritsak's articles, scattered as they are over diverse periodicals concerned with Islamic, Altaic and even Slavonic studies, have never been published as a single volume.

regarded Transoxania (and even more so, eastern Turkestan, only won for Islam through the efforts of the early Qaraḥānid Ḥāns) as a peripheral frontier region, and their coverage of events there was at best patchy and often non-existent. It goes without saying that the economic and social history of these regions under Qaraḥānid control is even more shadowy. Hence the obvious value of any discoveries which increase our knowledge of the Ḥāns, especially when, as is the case with these two documents, they contain details on the topography and urban pattern of Samarqand and on the system of coinage circulating in the Western Qaraḥānid Ḥānate.

The following notes do not pretend to add to the wider questions raised by the documents; these have been admirably discussed by Prof. Cl. Cahen in an historical introduction prefixed to M. Khadr's Arabic texts and translations. They merely comprise a few linguistic and historical notes, and will, it is hoped, elucidate certain doubtful words or names in the texts; the importance of the documents seems to me to justify putting them forward for future consideration with the texts.

P. 316, l. 3 : راوداد. I take this as simply an alternative orthography of Rēvdad, the place one farsaḥ from Samarqand in the district of Māymurḡ and seat of the pre-Islamic Iḥšīds of Sog̃dia, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 87, 93. Sam'ānī, facs. of Margoliouth, ff. 265 *a-b* = ed. Hyderabad, VI, 219, spells رَوْدَد. The alternation of *alif* and *yā'* to express the Iranian long vowel *ē* is common enough in early orthography; cf. *Šār* ~ *Šīr* for the old Iranian title derived from *ḥšaṭriya-*, found amongst ruling houses of eastern Ḥurāsān and its marches (Bāmiyān, Ḥuttal, Ġarčistān, Rīvšārān, etc.), and Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, 187, §§ 134-135, who considers *ē* here as a phonetic variant of *ā* conditioned by the propinquity of the rolled voiced alveolar *r*.

P. 316, l. 7 : Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr ar-Ra's. I suggest that one should read here either الرَّأْسِيّ, *nisba* from Ra's aṭ-Ṭāq, sc. the commercial quarter of Samarqand, mentioned specifically in the second *waqfiyya*; or الرَّأْس, cf. Sam'ānī, f. 243 *b* = VI, 38, « one who sells roast [sheep's] heads ».

P. 316, l. 8 : خان القى. I think that one should probably read here

الفَيّ. Fayy or Payy was the name of an *ariq* or irrigation channel branching off from the Zarafšan, two days' journey below Samarqand, modern Narpay < Nahr-i Pay (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 93, 97). I do not think that a reading *al-Qay* or the *nisba* of *al-Qayyī*, referring to the Turkish tribe of Qay (on which see Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, 95-97, and Köprülü, « Kay kabilesi hakkında yeni notlar », *Bellekten*, VIII, 1944, 421-52) is so likely, though it ought not perhaps to be ruled out entirely. The usual orthography of this name is فای, e.g. in the *Qābūs-nāma*, ch. xxiii, ed. Levy, 64, where one should read *Qāy* for the text's ترقای, the تر being a dittography of the preceding word شجاع تر.

P. 317, l. 2. The name برسکین is almost certainly not Nūsh-tigin, but Bars-tigin, « Tiger-prince », *bars* being a common enough element in Turkish onomastic, cf. the Böri-bars, son of Alp Arslan, and several Mamlūk examples in Sauvaget, « Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks », *JA*, CCXXXVIII, 1950, 38, 41, 43, 51.

However, the name المعا remains mysterious. There is no appropriate name in Sam'ānī beginning المعا or المغا, of which this could be a truncated form. May it not be a Turkish name? A reading البغا might conceivably yield *Al-buḡa* « Scarlet bull », though this colour is not a very obvious one with which to describe a bull. *Él-buḡa* might mean « Bull of the land » on analogy with ÉI- or Il-arslan, but the usual orthography of *él* is ایل or يل.

P. 317, l. 4 : *al-Mu'yadawī* for المعيدوی ? Sam'ānī throws no light on this *nisba*. Perhaps one should read *al-Mu'īdī* المعیدی, from *mu'īd*, the repeater of texts, lessons, etc., for the *mudarris*?

P. 317 ult. The mention of a *siqāya-bašī* in Samarqand would be interesting if only for the penetration, at this early date, of a Turkish component into the designation of this official. He is presumably the local equivalent of the Muqassim al-Mā' in 10th century Merv, mentioned by al-Ḥwārazmī and the geographers, and of the general Persian term *mīr-āb*. For the irrigation system of the Samarqand oasis, see Barthold's *K istorii orošeniye Turkestana*, in *Collected works*, III, Moscow 1965, 185 ff.

P. 319, l. 17 : Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik aṣ-Ṣaffār, nominated as *mutawallī* of the *waqf*. The Ṣaffārs, who came ultimately from Iṣfahān, were an influential family of 'ulema in Soḡdia. One of their number, the Imām Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'il b. Abī Naṣr aṣ-Ṣaffār, attained a martyr's crown at this time. At the outset of his reign, in 461/1069, Tamḡač Ḥān Ibrāhīm's son Šams al-Mulk Naṣr executed him at Buḥārā, because the Imām had attempted to dictate to the Ḥān how he should comport himself (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 316-18, citing Sam'ānī, f. 353b). Such tensions as these between the Ḥāns and the religious classes go far to explain the part of the latter in the hounding and execution of Šams al-Mulk's nephew Aḥmad b. Ḥiḍr. Ḥān in 488/1095 (see further on these tensions, the forthcoming article of Bosworth, « Ilek-Khāns », in *Encycl. of Islām*)<sup>2</sup>.

P. 325, l. 10. As Cahen observes in his historical introduction, 312, n. 1, the Queen Ḥātūn bint Ṭarḥān Beg is certainly not the wellknown Qaraḥānid wife of Malik-Šāh (on whom see further, below), but might perhaps be one of Tamḡač Ḥān Ibrāhīm's wives; unfortunately, Pritsak does not appear to have found any information on these wives.

P. 325, l. 12 : أحمد المقصص. One might read *al-Muqaṣṣiṣ* « the plasterer, one who works with *qaṣṣ* = *ḡiṣṣ* » or « the relater of stories, historian » (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), as well as *al-Muqaṣṣaṣ* « he whose forelocks are shorn » (cf. Maḡd ad-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭīr, *an-Nihāya fī ḡarīb al-ḥadīṯ*, ed. M.M. aṭ-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1963-1965, IV, 71).

P. 325, ll. 13-14: Čavli al-Ḥiltāši. Read al-Ḥayltāši, referring to the military rank or designation of *ḥayltāš*, common in Ġaznavid military terminology, and suggested by Nāzīm, to be the officer in charge of ten cavalrymen (Bosworth, « Ghaznevid military organisation », *Der Islam*, XXXVI, 1960, 46).

P. 325, l. 15. The Queen Tarkān (more correctly Terken) Ḥātūn, described as « connected with » (*mansūb ilā*, ? « owner of ») a house contiguous to the madrasa now to be established in mortmain. In this case, it is likely that the reference really is to Malik-Šāh's wife, the Čalāliyya or Terken Ḥātūn, married to the Selḡuq prince in 456-1064 as part of Alp Arslan's policy of concord with the Ḥāns (see Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran. V. The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, 65, 76). This *waqfiyya* for a madrasa like the first one for a hospital,

probably dates from the latter part of Tamğač Hān Ibrāhīm's reign, sc. the years preceeding his death in 460/1068, when Terken Hātūn, as the wife of a Selġuq prince, could be described as a *malika*. According to Rāwandī, *Rāḥat aṣ-ṣudūr*, 133, Ibn al-Aṭīr, X, 28, and other sources, Terken Hātūn was Ibrāhīm's own daughter. I. Kafesoġlu, *Sultan Melikṣah devrinde Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, İstanbul 1953, 15, suggests that she might alternatively have been the daughter of Šams al-Mulk b. Ibrāhīm's uncle 'Isā Hān, unfortunately without a supporting reference.

P. 325, l. 23 : كوجه مفلس . Can this simply mean « cul-de-sac, blind alley »?

P. 325, penult. : زقاق شيرفروشان . Unless the brackets in the Arabic text and the question-mark in the French translation indicate a conjecture for this word on the editor's part, the meaning of the expression, « street of the milk-sellers », is surely straightforward enough.

P. 326, ll. 6-7 : الحجرات البكدرية . Could this second word be *al-yak-dariyya* « [rooms] possessing one door »?

P. 326, l. 10. The mention of a *bayt at-ṭirāz* in Samarqand is interesting. We know from Naršaḥī that there was in the early Islamic period of Soġdian history a *ṭirāz* workshop in Buḥārā (*Ta'rīḥ-i Buḥārā*, tr. Frye, 19-20). Could a similar workshop have survived in Samarqand under the Qaraḥānids? Such a putative continued demand for *ṭirāz* embroidery for rich robes would indicate a certain adaptation by the Hāns to the outward trappings and insignia of Perso-Islamic kingship.

P. 326, l. 11 : من قرى انبارك . I suggest that stands for Abārkaḥ or Bārkaḥ, the chief town of the district of Būzmāġan, four farsaḥs to the northeast of Samarqand in the direction of Uṣrūsana and the Syr Darya. Cf. Sam'ānī, f. 59a = II, 30; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 466; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 94. It was originally reckoned to Uṣrūsana, but later transferred to Samarqand.



**An Alleged Embassy from the Emperor of  
China to the Amir Nasr B. Ahmad:  
a Contribution to Sāmānid Military History**

I

In the fourth chapter of the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir wa t-tuḥaf* of Qādī Abū l-Ḥusain Aḥmad b. az-Zubair, a chapter which describes the lavish receptions and celebrations arranged for important ambassadors, there occurs a long story about an embassy in the year 327/939 from the Emperor of China to the Sāmānid Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (pp. 139-50 of the edition of Muḥammad Ḥamīdallāh, Kuwait 1959). The author is a most obscure figure, and the little which we know of his life comes from this book of his. He seems to have been a Shī'ī and to have begun his career in the service of the Būyids of Iraq and Fārs, but after the Seljuq conquest of Iraq and the Sunni restoration there, he migrated to the more congenial atmosphere of Fāṭimid Egypt. Ḥamīdallāh surmises that the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir* was written c. 463/1070-1<sup>1</sup>. Until the unique manuscript used by Ḥamīdallāh came to light in Turkey, the book was only known through citations in the Egyptian authors Maqrīzī and Ghuzūlī. It was via these citations in Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, where the *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir*'s author is not mentioned but his book quoted in the words of the 12th century Fāṭimid Vizier Muḥammad b. al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī, that Paul Kahle used material from Qādī Ibn az-Zubair for his article on the treasures of the Fāṭimids<sup>2</sup>.



## II

The story begins with an explanation of the circumstances of the Chinese mission and its progress through the Sāmānid dominions from the frontier at Farghāna to the environs of the capital Bukhārā itself.

“An episode which resembles that<sup>3</sup> is the one concerning Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Nūḥ b. Asad and the Emperor of China’s embassy to him in the year 327, in which the Emperor sought the payment of tribute for the previous twenty-seven years and the public acknowledgement in his dominions of the Emperor’s suzerainty. Moreover, he threatened to send armies against him if he refused to comply.

The cause of all this was that a certain man of Nishāpūr who held materialist views (*rajul min ad-Dahriyya*) was denounced to Naṣr b. Aḥmad and accused of openly advocating heresy and the denial of God’s attributes (*al-ilhād wa t-ta’tīl*). He was accordingly arrested and jailed. Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥafṣ b. az-Zaburqān, the well-known faqīh of Bukhārā and confidant of the Amīr on state affairs, asked Naṣr b. Aḥmad if he might have custody of the man, so that he might question him about his views. He shut him up in a certain building, and appointed a guard to watch over him. But one night, the man managed by a stratagem to escape, and fled to China. His cunning here impressed the Emperor of China, and he made him his Vizier and opened the way for his advancement. The man informed the Emperor that Islam was in a feeble condition, that even a small detachment of men could seize power in the Islamic lands, and such-like information.

The Emperor of China’s envoys reached Farghāna. These envoys were four of the most senior scholars of China, famed for their judgement, intellect and knowledge, and they were accompanied by an escort of forty cavalymen. The Emperor of China

had written a letter to Naṣr b. Aḥmad, containing the demand for twenty-seven years' tribute and the demand that his suzerainty should be publicly acknowledged. If the Amīr did not comply, then the Emperor would unleash armies whose vanguard, when they were on the march, would be in Transoxania whilst the rearguard was still in Chinese territory! Moreover, he would not be content with that, but would then be emboldened to attack Iraq and overthrow the Caliphate! There were many other idiotic ravings (*khurāfāt*) like this in the letter.

Mālik, the local ruler of Farghāna, wrote to Naṣr b. Aḥmad about the envoys' arrival, with an explanation of their business and their appearance in his territories. When Mālik's letter reached the Amīr, he wrote back to him, 'Treat them hospitably, provide every one of them with fresh mounts and assign a slave boy for each of the four envoys. Then gather together the regular troops stationed in Farghāna and the volunteers (*mutṭawwi'a*) and ride with them to the banks of the river (sc. of the Syr Darya) and cross with them to Khujanda'. He wrote in similar terms to the local rulers and governors of Ushrūsana and Samarkand. He also wrote to Shāsh, Isfījāb, Ṣughd, Fārāb and Samarkand, that they should send, mounted on their steeds, every military slave (*ghulām*) they had, young and old, to Bukhārā.

He also ordered all the houses [in Bukhārā] to be decked out in various colours. Goldsmiths were summoned; his throne and ceremonial table were laid out, and he ordered a great crown to be made. He commanded them to make forty sceptres, each of gold and silver combined, and he commanded that his audience-hall should be hung from end to end with furnishings stiff with gold embroidered on them. The whole chamber was made as resplendent as a superb turquoise. Then he ordered them to collect together as many as possible of gilded breast-plates, cuirasses and arm-plates. He reviewed the army and told the commander of the army of the volunteers

to take as many weapons as he needed from the armoury, and as many mounts too. Mounts were to be collected together from every quarter.

When a despatch arrived from the governor of Samarqand reporting his departure from that city, Naṣr b. Aḥmad ordered the volunteers to move forward to Dabūsiyya, where he would go and meet them. These volunteers numbered 40,000 cavalymen, all with breast-plates. When they reached the village between Dabūsiyya and Karmāniyya known as Ashrūfans<sup>4</sup> (which is the last village in the district of Bukhārā and the first in the district of Sahl<sup>5</sup>), there met him the army of Ṣughd, escorting the Chinese envoys. On mounting an eminence and getting a view over the plain of Ashrūfans, the envoys saw what looked like the expanse of the whole world ablaze with the glint of steel, the sun having caught those cuirasses and helmets. Their wits almost left them, and they gazed on a tremendous sight. The volunteers all hailed each other in greeting. The envoys were handed over to Abū Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, commander of the army of the Bukhārā volunteers, and he took over the task of escorting them. When they got to Karmāniyya, the standards were unfurled; the envoys were distraught and terrified by what they saw. The infantrymen marched out from Karmāniyya and the surrounding district with all their weapons. There was no spot in the whole of that plain which was not black with weapons, standards and banners.

The envoys said to their interpreter, ‘Ask the commander of the army, how does his master come to have all these, and where does the money come from for the troops’ equipment and weapons?’ The interpreter passed this on to Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid, and he said to him, ‘These are the holders of land-grants (*aṣḥāb al-iqtā‘āt*), who have been assigned estates for supporting themselves, their families and their dependents, and for financing the upkeep of their mounts and weapons. From the income of

these estates there is also a surplus which they can use for trading purposes and for almsgiving to the poor'. They had not yet reached the regularly-paid troops (*al-auliyā'*), those called in Baghdad the *murtaziqa*. The envoys asked, 'Does your master have an army like this?' They were told, 'Yes, indeed; he has several armies like this one I have with me now. This army is like the shepherds compared to the flock of sheep at large; my fellow-soldiers are, numerically speaking, shepherds, whereas the ruler's armies are like flocks of sheep'. They exclaimed, 'By God, that scoundrel who came to China from here has completely deceived us. If our Emperor had only known that within the whole world of Islam, there was just one army like this of yours, he would never have dared to mention the very name of Islam; but that scoundrel who came amongst us from here tricked us!'

The narrative then goes on to describe how the envoys passed from Karmāniyya to Ṭawāwīs, whose army of infantrymen impressed them even further. Finally, for the last seven farsakhs to Bukhārā, the whole of the road was lined with ranks of cavalry and infantry, all with gilded cuirasses and helmets, and with their senior officers (*quwwād*) wearing gilded breastplates, Tibetan cuirasses and multi-coloured mailed coats.

They found Bukhārā *en fête*, and decorated from end to end for their reception: "The town was adorned from beginning to end with pavilions of brocade and silk, hung with all sorts of precious cloths". The banners of the various quarters of Bukhārā were all displayed, amounting to 1,700 in all; each banner was borne by a group of the local '*ayyārs*, these groups having from 200 to 1,000 men. All these banners were in addition to the flags of the *ghāzis* of Bukhārā. The envoys were met on the level ground near the Nahr al-Mawālī<sup>6</sup> by forty of Naṣr b. Aḥmad's generals (*hujjāb*). Each general was accompanied by 1,000 Tur-

kish slaves, all wearing satin brocade *Khaftāns* and caps of sable fur (*sammūr*); and stationed before each general were ten ghulāms with gold swords and belts and with gilded maces, which had the appearance of being solid gold. Next to them along the road were 100 *mashāyikh* on each side, all wearing black and with swords and belts of gleaming white silver; and then there were ten more *shuyūkh* seated on each side and in front of the Amīr's throne, these men being dressed in white robes (*durrā'as*)<sup>7</sup>. A prominent rôle in this ceremonial reception was played by the "commanders of the wild beasts" (*ḥajabat as-sibā'*). There were ten of these officers, each with five animals-which were, of course, tamed (*mu'allama*)-and again lining each side of the way along which the envoys were to approach the enthroned Amīr. The beasts themselves had gilded collars and anklets, and there were special attendants for them (*sabbā'ūn*).

The Amīr himself was seated on gilded throne, encrusted with jewels, and wearing his crown. He had over him a quilted coverlet (*duwwāj*) made from the plumes of pheasants, which had an exterior covering of black silk stiffened with gold thread. From beneath this quilt, two of the wild beasts, in crouching positions, peeped out.

Every effort was made to overawe the Chinese envoys as they made their way between the ranks of panoplied warriors and fearsome beasts; the military commanders were successively made to appear, in all their splendour, as if they were the Amīr himself, and the beasts were incited to roar and howl behind them as they passed. As a result, they were brought to an extremity of fear and almost took leave of their senses<sup>8</sup>. Unable in this state to present their communication to the Amīr or to receive his reply, they had to retire. They were lodged in the official residence for ambassadors (*dār ar-rusul*) and only ventured to have an audience with the Amīr forty days later.

Naṣr b. Aḥmad sent back a scornful rejoinder to the Emperor of China: "Know, O fellow, that I have not ignored you and your likes out of fear, nor out of weakness or inadequate troops and armaments. I have only been restrained because the supreme ruler (sc. the Caliph) has not commanded me to act, for my religion does not allow me to embark on a course of action without his command...". After receiving sumptuous hospitality, the envoys depart, amazed that no protective escort (*Khafir*) is necessary for travelling through the Amīr's dominions. The narrator's final comment is that "All this was the reason for the Emperor of China's becoming a Muslim".

### III

What can one say about the historicity of this account? It is patently obvious that it cannot be accepted as it stands. The Sons of Heaven had, it is true, long regarded the lands beyond the Tien Shan and Pamirs as dependencies of their own empire, but the appearance of the Arabs in Central Asia and the establishment of a firm bastion of Islamic power against the barbarians of the Eurasian steppes had made this Chinese claim anachronistic. In 133/751 Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ had decisively defeated the Chinese viceroy Kao-hsien-chih near Talas, and though some of the remaining Iranian and post-Heplithalite rulers of Transoxania and eastern Afghanistan endeavoured for a while to keep up diplomatic contact with China, practical Chinese intervention in the west was no longer a possibility<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, what had not been possible under the strong T'ang dynasty was doubly impossible in the period of chaos in northern China, the "Age of the Five Dynasties", which followed the end of the T'ang in 906, and within which period our alleged embassy falls (sc. in 327/939)<sup>10</sup>. At most, one might accept the possibility of some tentative diplomatic contact with the Sāmānids at this time. The prestige and fame of the Sāmānids, at the height of their power

during Naşr b. Aḥmad's reign, must have been carried across the trade routes of Central Asia to the Far East. Some contact may therefore have been attempted by the Chinese, but any attempt to use a hectoring tone against supposed vassals could only misfire, as the anecdote in fact demonstrates.

We do, of course, have a record of diplomatic contact between a Chinese ruler, or a ruler living on the borders of China, and the Amīr Naşr b. Aḥmad. In the first *risāla* of the Arab traveller and littérateur Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muḥalhil, the author describes how an embassy arrived in Bukhārā from the King of China Qālīn b. Shakhīr", seeking a marriage alliance of the two dynasties. The Amīr refused to give a daughter to an infidel, but agreed that one of his sons should marry a Chinese princess. The embassy returned to Sandābil, which was identified by Marquart as Kan-su, capital of the Western Uighurs, and Abū Dulaf accompanied the Sāmānid envoys. He stayed in Sandābil for a while, and then returned to Transoxania. From his alleged experiences he wrote his first *risāla* on the Turkish peoples through whose lands he had passed.<sup>10a</sup> A rough chronology for this episode can be worked out. Abū Dulaf was in Bukhārā a little before 331/943. The MS. of the first *risāla* found by A. Z. V. Togan at Mashhad in 1922 has the additional detail that Amīr Naşr had died (sc. in 331/943) before the princess's arrival in Transoxania, and she then married Naşr's son Nūḥ (331-43/943-54). The embassy described by Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair is placed in 327/939, and the foreign ruler involved is the Emperor of China; but the dates are close to each other, and any potentate dwelling on the borders of China might well be taken for a genuinely Chinese one. It is, accordingly, quite possible that Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair's account has a kernel of genuine historical truth in it, i.e. the embassy from "Qālīn b. Shakhīr", but has been considerably embroidered over the course

of the succeeding century or so.

As for the closing words of the narrative, that the outcome of it all was the conversion of the Emperor of China, one can only suggest that there is here a vague reference to the spread of Islam amongst one of the Turkish peoples of Central Asia and the Chinese frontiers, perhaps amongst the Qarluq, to whom the Qarakhanids probably belonged and whose conversion dates from the middle decades of the 10th century<sup>11</sup>.

No, the value of the narrative resides more in the information which it provides on the military forces of the Sāmānids. The topographical details of the envoy's journey to Bukhārā are accurate, so that one is disposed to accept the military details as also reliable, especially as they do accord with the little existing information which we have on this subject.

Less is known about Sāmānid military organisation than is known about the armies of other contemporary or near-contemporary powers such as the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, the Būyids and the Ghaznavids<sup>12</sup>. We know that the Sāmānid Amīr modelled their central administration, and likewise their army, on that of the 'Abbāsīds. The Sāmānid army was a powerful machine, forged in the campaigns which extended the borders of the *Dār al-Islām* into Farghāna and the regions of Talas and Isfijāb, in the fighting with various Dailamī powers for the control of northern Persia, and in the perpetual frontier warfare which was carried on with the marauding steppe nomads. Like the army which had emerged in the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate during the course of the 9th century, the Sāmānid army was built round a core of slave ghulāms, who could theoretically give a whole-hearted allegiance to the Amīrs. These were predominantly Turks, as one might expect from the importance of the slave trade from the Turkish steppes in the economy of Sāmānid Transoxania, and the highest commands in the army were held by Turks. The



great influence in the state of these Turkish generals was well seen in the second half of the 10th century, when the Sāmānid empire began to break up under external attack and internal military revolt, but as early as 301/914 the slave palace guards had murdered one of the Amīrs, Naṣr b. Aḥmad's father. We have a fair amount of information on the procedures of the department of the central administration responsible for military affairs, the *Dīwān al-Jaish*, thanks to the detailed explanation of its official terminology in the chapter on *kitāba* of Khwārazmī's *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*<sup>13</sup>. Yet we know very little about the actual equipment, weapons and dress of the Sāmānid army, apart from the few details given in Niẓām al-Mulk's account of the career of a Turkish ghulām at the Sāmānid court<sup>14</sup>.

Here, then, lies the main value of Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair's story. We see the importance of the ghāzī and volunteer contingents of the Sāmānid army, stationed in various strategically-placed towns and regions of the empire's northern fringes, where they could always be sure of opportunities for *jihād* against the pagans; and we learn about the ceremonial uniforms and weapons of the Amīr' guards. The picture which emerges complements in a remarkable way our existing knowledge of the Ghaznavid palace ghulāms, as it has been brought to us both in the written sources and in the murals of the palace of Lashkar-i Bāzār near Bust<sup>15</sup>. We can see from Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair's description of the rich uniforms of the Sāmānid troops, and their gilded and bejewelled belts, swords and maces, that there was a continuity into the Ghaznavid period and beyond of this institution of an élite guard of military slaves, their equipment and dress. The wild beasts which lined part of the envoys' route, and their attendants, the *sabbā'ūn*, are given a prominent part in the narrative, and they must indeed added an impressive element to the concourse. Their existence is not known to us at all from either the literary

or the historical sources on the Sāmānid period, but again, the institution seems to have been carried over into the Ghaznavid state, if Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair's account later in his book of the embassy from the Caliph al-Qādir to Maḥmūd of Ghazna's court, and the wild beasts paraded there as part of the reception ceremony, is to be trusted<sup>16</sup>. Interesting is the author's use of the term *auliyā'* for the regularly-paid troops. The normal designation here was *murtaziqa*, not only in 'Abbāsīd and Būyid Baghdad, as Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair says, but in the Sāmānid empire itself, for Khwārazmī explicitly says that "the system of the *murtaziqa*", sc. the practice of paying the regular troops three times a year, is one of those procedures followed by the *Dīwān* of Khurāsān, i.e. the financial administration of Sāmānid Khurāsān<sup>17</sup>. The author's use of this term *auliyā'* is a direct borrowing from Būyid usage, for it does not seem to have been used elsewhere in this specific sense; his use of it is easily explicable from the Būyid background of his early life. In Būyid authors such as Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi' and Tanūkhī, *auliyā'* regularly denotes the Amīrs' Dailamī troops, regarded as the mainstay of the dynasty and those specially close (*walī*, pl. *auliyā'*) to the Amīrs<sup>18</sup>.

### Notes

1. For further biblio-biographical details, see Bosworth, "An embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghazna recorded in Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubayr's *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir wa't-tuḥaf*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. LXXXV (1965), 404, and the Introduction to Ḥamidallah's text.
2. "Die Schätze der Fatimiden", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXXXIX (1935), 329-62.
3. The previous section has described the embassy of 305/917 from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Prophyrogenitus to the Caliph al-Muqtadir. (This embassy has been the subject of an article by G. Le Strange, "A Greek embassy to Baghdad in 917 A.D.", *Journal of the Royal*

- Asiatic Society* [1897], 35-45. Le Strange here translates the account given in al-Khaṭīb's *Ta'rikh Baghdād*; Qāḍī Ibn az-Zubair's account is a different one, containing additional material on the mission).
4. Not apparently mentioned in the geographical accounts of Ṣughd and the road connecting Bukhārā and Samarqand, cf. Le Strange, *The land of the eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), 462-3, and W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion* (London 1928), 96-9.
  5. This is not known as a place name, but may well refer to the great local landowner of Ṭāhirid times, Sahl b. Aḥmad ad-Dāghūnī, who owned much property and village in this area, as is explained by Narshakhi, *The history of Bukhara*, tr. R.N. Frye (Cambridge, Mass. 1954), 13, cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 99.
  6. I.e. the Jūy-i Mūliyān of Narshakhi and such Sāmānid poets as Rudaki, explained by Narshakhi as "the canal of the clients" (cf. *The history of Bukhara*, tr. Frye, 28-8).
  7. The fact that these *mashāyikh* had weapons may imply that *shaikh* here means "superannuated, veteran soldier".
  8. The exact Arabic is more graphic: *ghushiya 'alaihim wa-aḥdathū*.
  9. See H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia* (London 1923), 95-8, and Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 195-6.
  10. See on this period of confusion, H. Cordier, *Histoire générale de la Chine* (Paris 1920-1), II, 5 ff.
  - 10a. Cf. V. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muḥalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)* (Cairo 1955), 4-5, and *idem*, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Art. "Abū Dulaf".
  11. Cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 254-6, and O. Pritsak, "Von den Karluk zu den Karechaniden", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CI (1951), 293 ff.
  12. See, in general, R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam* (Cambridge 1957), chapter on "Military organization in Islam", 407-57, and for specific studies, W. Hoernerbach, "Zur Heeresverwaltung der 'Abbāsiden. Studien über Abulfaraḡ Qudāma: Diwān al-ḡaish", *Der Islam*, XXIX (1950), 257-90; Bosworth, "Ghaznevid military organisation", *Der Islam*, XXXVI (1960), 37-77 (a slightly condensed version of this in *idem*, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040* [Edinburgh 1963], 98-128); and *idem*, "Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq", *Oriens*, XVIII-XIX (1967), 143-67.

13. Ed. G. van Vloten (Leiden 1895), 56-7, 64-6.
14. *Siyāsat-nāma*, chapter xxvii, cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 227.
15. Cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 104, 136.
16. *Idem*, "An embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghazna recorded in Qāḍi Ibn az-Zubayr's *Kitāb adh-dhakhā'ir wa't-tuḥaf*", 405,406-7.
17. *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*, 66.
18. Cf. Bosworth, "Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq", 148.



## BARBARIAN INCURSIONS: THE COMING OF THE TURKS INTO THE ISLAMIC WORLD

In considering the rôle of the Turks in this transitional period of Islamic history—one which merits as much study by orientalists as, for instance, the so-called “crisis of the 17th century” is now getting from European historians—we have to consider two main phases, the watershed between which may roughly be placed in the opening decades of the 11th century.

The first phase begins with the gradual infiltration of Turkish ethnic elements within the northeastern borders of the Islamic world, the Gurgān-Dihistān region to the southeast of the Caspian Sea, Khwārazm, Transoxania, and possibly also eastern Afghanistān. The process was a lengthy one, probably at times hardly perceptible; and in all its stages, it is very poorly documented. We need to bear in mind that to the classical Greeks and their epigoni of the Hellenistic and Seleucid periods, the Eurasian steppes were peopled by nations like the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Massagetae, the Issedones and the Arimaspi, who seem to have been in large part of Indo-European stock; whereas by the beginning of the Muslim era, the lands beyond the settlements of the Goths on the northern Black Sea coast, and the lands beyond Iranian Khwārazm, Transoxania and Farghāna, were given over, so far as we can tell, to Turkish nomadic peoples. The memory of an earlier state of affairs is preserved in the Iranian national epic, the *Shāh-nāma*. It was pointed out by one of the few scholars to have looked at the *Shāh-nāma* with a critical historical eye, Tadeusz Kowalski, that the Tūrān of heroic times can hardly be equated with the Turks, as seemed a natural enough conclusion in Firdawsī’s own time, for the ancient Persians can have had little or no contact with the Turks. Firdawsī’s Tūrān are, of course, really the Indo-European nomads of the Eurasian steppes, from the Massagetae down to the Hephthalites or Chionites, the latter group being still a power in the 1st century of Islam, giving aid to the Soghdian princes of Transoxania and acting as the spearhead of resistance to the Arabs in northern and eastern Afghanistān. Hence as Kowalski

pointed out, a Turcologist seeking for information in the *Shāh-nāma* on the primitive culture of the Turks would be definitely disappointed.<sup>1</sup>

In the first three centuries of Islam, however, it is clear that there was some settlement of Turks on the borders of the Iranian lands in Transoxania and Khwārazm, if only as part of the symbiosis prevailing along these frontiers of the sedentary agricultural economy and the nomadic pastoralist one. The extent of this peaceful penetration has been a matter of some dispute. Some Turkish historians have seen Turks lurking everywhere in that part of the world. Attempts have been made to make Abū Muslim a Turk, projecting back his later great rôle as a Turkish folk-hero, the one so well delineated for us by Mme. Irène Mèlikoff<sup>2</sup>; similarly, such great figures as al-Fārābī, al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Sīnā have been attached by over-enthusiastic Turkish scholars to their race.<sup>3</sup> A more moderate and balanced view is that of R. N. Frye and Aydın Sayılı, who in 1944 expressed their thesis as follows:

“Our studies have led us to believe that the supposed conditions of exclusively nomadic life and small population did not exist, but that: (a) Turks were already in the regions of Khurasan and Transoxania at the time of the Arab conquest, and remained there after the Arab domination. The Turkicization of these districts had, therefore, begun long before the Saljuqs. (b) Turks were town and village dwellers except in regions where natural conditions imposed a nomadic life on them. (c) They probably had a relatively large population in Central Asia and infiltrated in fairly large numbers into the Near East.”<sup>4</sup>

Part of this may be conceded. Soviet archaeology has shown that in favoured parts of Semirechye, Turks were villagers and agriculturists, and had settlements on the lower Syr Darya; it is, moreover, probable that some Turks lived as fishermen on such lakes as the Aral Sea and the Isik Köl. But the assertion of Frye and Sayılı that the Turks who took a prominent part in Transoxanian resistance to the Arabs in the 7th and early 8th centuries were not nomads from the outer steppes, but Turks who had become part of the indigenous population of Transoxania, is more dubious and is hard to prove. According to their theory, these Turks

<sup>1</sup> “Les Turcs dans le Šāh-nāme”, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* (Cracow, 1939-49), vol. XV, pp. 84-99.

<sup>2</sup> See in her *Abū Muslim, le «Porte-hache» du Khorassan dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne* (Paris, 1962).

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the arguments of A. Z. V. Togan regarding the putative Turkishness of al-Bīrūnī, in his *Umumi türk tarihine giriş* (Istanbul, 1940), pp. 88-9.

<sup>4</sup> R. N. Frye and Aydın Sayılı, “Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs”, *JAOS* (New Haven, 1943), vol. LXIII, p. 195.

should be distinguished from the Turkish divisions of the Tiu-kiu Qaghan and later of the Türgesh, who did intervene, often with success, against the Arabs in Transoxania, and whose penetration as far as the Soghdian "Iron Gate", the Buzgala defile between Kish and Tirmidh, seems to be mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> But it is safer, in the absence of decisive information to the contrary, to regard these Turks who are mentioned as being in the service of the Iranian princes of Soghdia, as being largely mercenary soldiers from the steppes, hired by the local rulers; in this respect, we would have an anticipation of the rôle which Turkish slaves and mercenaries were to play so conspicuously under the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. Pre-Sāmānīd Transoxania was a land of political fragmentation, of city-states and petty principalities, which often engaged in internecine warfare at a time when there was a pressing need for solidarity against the Arabs. Consequently, there was rarely a shortage of employment for Turkish soldiers of fortune.

The proponents of an early Turkish penetration of the northeastern Iranian world<sup>6</sup> have adduced as evidence for this process certain sections of Jāḥiẓ's epistle on the excellences of the Turks, the *Risāla fī manāqib al-atrāk wa-'āmmat jund al-khilāfa*, which he wrote for the Turkish general of al-Mutawakkil, al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān (d. 247/861). The Turkish slave guards of the Caliphs had already by the middle years of this century achieved an unenviable reputation for violence, reflected, for instance, in popular Arabic poetry circulating in 'Irāq at the time. Jāḥiẓ hoped to soften this harsh contemporary image of the Turks and to assign them a recognized place in Islamic society, perhaps even, as F. Gabrieli has surmised, of making them a "third force" in the Caliphate between the Arab and the Persian elements; Jāḥiẓ describes his aim as *ta'līf al-qulūb* and *ittifāq al-asbāb*. In his epistle, Jāḥiẓ at one place asserts that the Turks and Khurāsānīs are essentially one race, with similar natures and inhabiting contiguous lands. He further lays down the dictum that settlers easily become indistinguishable from the aboriginal inhabitants of a region, and he emphasizes the assimilative effect of *walā'*, clientship, which had blurred the distinction between Turks and eastern Iranians.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless,

<sup>5</sup> W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion* (London, 1928), pp. 186-7.

<sup>6</sup> Sc. Frye and Sayili, op. cit., p. 206, and M. Şemseddin Günaltay, "Abbas oğğlları imparatorluğunun kuruluş ve yükselisinde Türklerin rolü", *Belleten* (Ankara, 1942), vol. VI, pp. 178-9.

<sup>7</sup> Arabic text, ed. G. van Vloten in *Tria opuscula auctore al-Djahiz* (Leiden, 1903), pp. 4-8, 17-21, 38-9, English translation by C. T. Harley-Walker, "Jāḥiẓ of Basra to al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān on the 'Exploits of the Turks and the army of the Khalifate in general', *JRAS* (London, 1915), pp. 636-41, 654, 658, 679; see also the discussion of F. Gabrieli in his "La Risāla di al-Gāḥiẓ sui Ṭurcī", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Rome, 1957), vol. XXXII, pp. 477-83.



these rather vague and general remarks should not be taken as implying a profound Turcization of Khurāsān. The term is obviously used, as it frequently was in early Islam, with a very loose and large geographical application, and when Jāḥiẓ speaks of Turkish settlement in "Khurāsān", he could well mean the far eastern fringes of Transoxania, such as al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān's native province of Farghāna. Moreover, contemporary Islamic historical sources carefully distinguish the men of Farghāna, Shāsh, Ushrūsana, etc. in the Caliphal armies from the Turks brought in from the deep steppe, and it is very likely that the so-called "men of Farghāna", *Farāghina*, etc., included a good proportion of Iranians as well as Turks.<sup>8</sup>

The Turks as a race had been known to the Arabs from the late Jāhiliya and the early Islamic periods, if we can regard as authentic that poetry in which the "lands of the Turks" appears as a kind of *Ultima Thule*; Persia must have been the channel of communication here.<sup>9</sup> The oft-quoted tradition of the Prophet, "Leave the Turks alone as long as they leave you alone" is, of course, apocryphal; it does not appear earlier than in the collection of Abū Dā'ūd (mid-9th cent.).<sup>10</sup> By this century, some authentic knowledge of the Turks was emerging, now that the Sāmānids were establishing a firm frontier along the Syr Darya against the Turks of the outer steppes, and now that considerable numbers of the Turks were entering the Caliphate as military slaves. Specific tribes begin to be mentioned, so that towards the middle of the 9th century, Ibn Khurdādhbih can name such groups as the Türgesh, Kimek, Qarluq, Toghuz-Oghuz, Oghuz, Qirghiz, Qipchaq and Khazars.

The Umayyad penetration of Transoxania brought a trickle of Turkish domestic slaves into the households of the Arab and Persian upper classes, and by early 'Abbāsīd times, the governors of Khurāsān and the east regularly included contingents of Turkish slaves in their tribute and presents to Baghdad. Some of the slave mothers of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs were clearly Turkish; thus the mother of al-Muktafī (b. 264/877-8) is named as Jijak (i.e. *chichek*, "flower").<sup>11</sup> But the slave trade reached a peak of organization under the Sāmānids of Transoxania and Khurāsān. The geographer

<sup>8</sup> Osman S. A. Ismail, "Mu'taṣim and the Turks", *BSOAS* (London, 1966), vol. XXIX, pp. 14-15.

<sup>9</sup> Kowalski, "Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur", *Körösi Csoma Archivum* (Budapest, 1926-32), vol. II, pp. 38-41.

<sup>10</sup> See Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1888-90), vol. I, pp. 270-1, Excursus VI "Traditionen über Türken", English translation by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, *Muslim Studies* (London, 1967), pp. 245-6.

<sup>11</sup> al-Tha'ālībī, *Laḥā'if al-ma'ārif*, translated by C. E. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information* (Edinburgh, 1968), p. 102.

al-Maqdisī (wrote *circa* 375/985) quotes what he calls "a certain book", that the stipulated revenue of Khurāsān included a levy of 12,000 slaves a year. He further mentions that the Sāmānid government controlled the export of slaves, levying a toll at the Oxus crossing of from 70 to 100 *dirhams* for each Turkish slave and requiring in addition to this a licence (*jawāz*) for the transit of each slave boy.<sup>12</sup> Most of the slaves thus handled by the Sāmānids were brought in the first place to such towns just behind the frontier as Shāsh and Isfijāb, where there existed permanent markets, frequented by slave dealers. Some slaves were brought in as prisoners-of-war from Sāmānid raids into the steppe, such as that of Ismā'il b. Aḥmad in 280/893, which penetrated as far as the encampment of the Khān of the Qarluq at Talas, where an enormous booty of men and beasts was taken.<sup>13</sup> But raids on this scale were exceptional, and most slaves must have been brought in by other Turks, probably after being captured in tribal warfare. This was the case with Maḥmūd of Ghazna's father Sabuktigin, who according to his own testament or *Pand-nāma*, was captured by the Tukhsi tribe and sold into slavery at Shāsh.<sup>14</sup>

Transoxania and Central Asia were not, of course, the only channels by which Turkish slaves came into the Caliphate. The Islamic and Turkish worlds also marched side-by-side in the Dihistān steppes to the southeast of the Caspian, where defensive walls existed from at least Sāsānid times. In the 'Umayyad period there is mentioned a local ruler of Dihistān called Şül or Şültigin, ethnically Turkish (Barthold connected the name Şül with the Orkhon Turkish title of *chur*),<sup>15</sup> but culturally Iranized. His descendants achieved prominence in the cultural life of the 'Abbāsīd period, producing, amongst others, the famous Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Şūlī, companion of the Caliphs, author and chess-player. Very important as an early and continuing source for Turkish slaves were the Khazar lands to the north of the Caucasus. During the whole of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods, the lands between the Caucasus and the lower Don and Volga were a battle ground, in which such Arab heroes as Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and Marwān b. Muḥammad, the future Caliph, won fame. These raids and campaigns are poorly-documented, but the securing of slaves, Turkish and possibly Slav and Ugrian, was undoubtedly a prominent motive here. There was a diaspora of Khazar soldiers in both the Caliphal

<sup>12</sup> *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fi ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), p. 340.

<sup>13</sup> Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

<sup>14</sup> M. Nazim, "The *Pand-nāmah* of Subuktigin", *JRAS* (1933), text, pp. 611-4, tr., pp. 622-3; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 39-41.

<sup>15</sup> *History of the Turkmen people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia* (Leiden, 1962), vol. III, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, pp. 87-8.

and the Byzantine armies. In his *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions Khazars in the élite imperial guard at Constantinople. Turkish *ghulāms* with the *nisba* of "al-Khazari" are quite frequent in the Caliphal armies of the 9th and 10th centuries, and al-Sam'ānī lists several traditionists with this name, doubtless the descendants of Turkish slave guards who had integrated themselves into the Arab-Islamic religious and intellectual institution.<sup>16</sup>

Most of the Turkish slaves (*ghilmān*, *mamālīk*) brought into the Islamic world were trained as soldiers, although some were used for domestic duties; Aytākh al-Khazari, commander of the palace guard at Sāmarrā under al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq, started off as a cook's boy, and according to Barhebraeus, when the Saljūq Ṭughril Beg entered Baghdād in 447/1055, he found there Turkish families of long standing working at such lowly tasks as stokers of baths, bakers and vegetable sellers.<sup>17</sup> The factors behind this great demand in the 9th century for Turkish slaves were military, political and economic. Militarily, the old *levée en masse* of the Arab *muqātila* was becoming obsolescent by the later Umayyad period, and the early 'Abbāsids depended on their Khurasanian guards, the *Abnā' al-Dawla*, still the backbone of al-Ma'mūn's forces in his struggle with his brother al-Amīn for the Caliphate. But even these Persian troops had begun to acquire sectional interests and stakes in society. What was now needed was a body of troops brought in from outside the Islamic lands, unfettered by local ties and able to give a single-minded loyalty to their master. The Caliph al-Mu'taṣim believed that he had found such a body of faithful servants in his Turkish *ghulāms*. At the political and economic level, the growth of a Turkish slave army reflects the flourishing material condition of the Caliphate, which provided the Caliphs and provincial rulers with liquid funds for the purchase and payment of professional, standing armies. These troops, it was hoped, could be used to promote a policy of state centralization and as part of this process, to raise the ruler high above the level of the *ra'īya* or civilian population.<sup>18</sup>

Islamic writers in the *adab* works, manuals of war and "Mirrors for Princes", praise the Turks as the military people *par excellence*, brave, loyal and inured to hardship through their upbringing in the harsh steppes.

<sup>16</sup> See Barthold, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st ed.), Art. "Khazars", and D. M. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 46-87, 171-94.

<sup>17</sup> *Chronography*, tr. Sir E. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), p. 208.

<sup>18</sup> See on these general changes in Islamic military organization, R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 407 ff., and D. Sourdel and C. E. Bosworth, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd ed.), Art. "Ghulām. 1. The Caliphate. 2. Persia". For the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim's rôle in this process, see Ismail, "Mu'taṣim and the Turks", pp. 12-24.

Jāḥiẓ credited the Turks with some of the attributes of the noble savage, such as their freedom from hypocrisy and intrigue and their imperviousness to flattery, although he had to admit that they had an insatiable love of plunder and violence.<sup>19</sup> In the middle years of the 11th century, the former Ghaznavid official Ibn Ḥassūl wrote a propaganda tract for his new master in Rayy, the Saljūq Ṭughril Beg, attacking the Daylamīs and their political structure. In his epistle, he vaunts the Turks' lion-like qualities and pride, their freedom from unnatural vice, their rejection of menial household duties and their single-minded desire to achieve military command.<sup>20</sup> The great Persian "Mirrors for Princes" of the 11th century, such as those of Kay Kā'ūs and Niẓām al-Mulk, especially emphasize the value of the Turkish soldiers and guards as buttresses for the would-be despotic ruler's power.<sup>21</sup> They also reflect the atmosphere of the Sunnī reaction against the previous Daylamī and Arab Shī'ī régimes by their contrasting of the Turks' religious orthodoxy with the Shī'ism of the Daylamīs and western Persians.

The sources for the 9th and 10th centuries amply illustrate the leading rôle of the Caliphs' Turkish guards in the making and unmaking of Caliphs, and in the general increase of political violence and instability in 'Irāq at this time. The Arabic historians unanimously regard the Turks as a maleficent influence in the state and as a major contributory factor to the decadence and impotence into which the Caliphate had fallen.<sup>22</sup> One is tempted to wonder whether this is not the beginning of the Arab-Turkish racial antipathy, antedating the period of Ottoman domination in the Arab lands, to which the Arabs, in their *sancta simplicitas*, still attribute so many of their woes and shortcomings, but there does not seem to be any evidence for this; rather the reverse, as I shall mention later. Even so, a thoroughgoing study of the image of the Turks in Arabic literature from, say, the 9th century onwards, on the lines of the works of Dana C. Rouillard, S. M. Chew and R. Schwoebel for the picture of the Ottomans in Christian Europe, might well be revealing of the genesis of these attitudes.

At Sāmarrā, seat of the Caliphate during the middle decades of the 9th century, adjacent blocks of land were allotted as fiefs (*qaṭā'i*) (for the

<sup>19</sup> Jāḥiẓ, op. cit., text, pp. 39-41, tr., pp. 678-82.

<sup>20</sup> Edited by 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, with a Turkish translation by Şerefeddin Yalrkaya, in *Bellesten* (1940), vol. IV, pp. 235-66 + pp. 1-51 Arabic text.

<sup>21</sup> See Bosworth, "Ghaznevid military organisation", *Der Islam* (Berlin, 1960), vol. XXXVI, pp. 40-1, 51-2, 56.

<sup>22</sup> The historian al-Mas'ūdī in his *Murūj al-dhahab* quotes numerous examples of Arabic poetry circulating in 'Irāq and expressing popular detestation of the Turks; see *ibid.*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861-77), vol. VII, pp. 324-5.

various national groups, Turks, Khurāsānīs and Maghribīs.<sup>23</sup> The acquisition of such estates by professional soldiers undoubtedly gave an impetus to the spread of the *iqṭā'* system in the central lands of Islam, even though the roots of the system, particularly in 'Irāq, can be traced back to the first Arab conquests. In regard to these *iqṭā'*s, Cl. Cahen has noted that the need to provide land grants for the new professional slave armies brought about a change in the nature of the *iqṭā'*. Whereas earlier grants had often been for limited periods only and had not included the right of the *muṣṭa'* or grantee to collect the *kharrāj* himself, we now have the growth of virtually hereditary usufructuary concessions, usually carrying full immunity from the entry of the state's agents and paying a fixed sum only to the central administration. This type became the norm during the 10th century in the central lands of the Caliphate, and a further consequence of the growing power of the class of *muṣṭa'*s was the rise of *talji'a* and *ḥimāya*, practices involving the extension of protection over weaker parties and corresponding to the mediaeval European *commendatio*. From their nucleus around Sāmarrā and the Sawād of 'Irāq, the *iqṭā'*s of the Turks spread all over 'Irāq and into western Persia, so that by the 11th century, although much *milk* or private land remained, the land alienated from the central government certainly formed an increasing proportion of the cultivated land in these provinces.<sup>24</sup> The existence of a network of these *iqṭā'*s injected at times an element of instability into political affairs, in that despite the trend towards hereditary possession, re-distributions did nevertheless take place at times of political change and crisis, though not with the regularity that such redistribution of fiefs was made under the early Mamlūk Sultans. Even so, one of the reasons given for al-Mutawakkil's murder is said to have been his intention of confiscating the fiefs in Jibāl and at Iṣfahān of the Turkish general Waṣīf and giving them to his favourite, al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān.<sup>25</sup>

The Turkish takeover of military, and increasingly, political, power, continued as the authority of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate diminished and became confined to central 'Irāq. Autonomous provincial dynasties, whether Arab or Iranian, followed the trends of the period in military organization, and built their armies round a nucleus of Turkish slave guards.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ismail, "The founding of a new capital: Sāmarrā", *BSOAS* (1968), vol. XXXI, pp. 8-9.

<sup>24</sup> See Cahen, "L'évolution de l'Iqta' du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Contribution à une histoire comparée des sociétés médiévales", *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (Paris, 1953), vol. VIII, pp. 25-52, and idem, "Notes pour l'histoire de la *ḥimāya*", *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus, 1956-7), vol. I, pp. 287-303.

<sup>25</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥh*, ed. Leiden (1879-1901), vol. III, p. 1452, *sub anno* AH 247.

Thus as early as the reign of the Sāmānid Amīr Ismā‘il b Aḥmad (279–95/892–907), the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish army was a Turkish slave.<sup>26</sup> In the west, the Turkish soldiers Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn and then Muḥammad b. Ṭughj made themselves virtually independent in Egypt and Syria, paving the way for the triumph of the Fāṭimids shortly afterwards, who in their own multi-national armies employed many Turks. Although the Daylamī and Kurdish groups of the “Iranian interlude” of the 10th and early 11th centuries caused a resurgence of older Iranian elements in the eastern Islamic world, they themselves soon found that they could not do without Turkish cavalymen in their armies.<sup>27</sup> The culmination of the process of a Turkish infiltration of the Islamic lands from within comes with the establishment at the end of the 10th century of the Ghaznavid Sultanate in Afghanistān, eastern Persia and northern India, the most powerful empire known in the east since the break-up of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate. The career of Sabuktigin epitomizes how a Turkish commander, born in paganism, could by resolute action rise to the very top of the ladder of political and military power. The early Ghaznavids showed a remarkable faculty for assimilation to the Perso-Islamic governmental ethos in the lands which they took over. The full apparatus of despotic government was taken over and worked to its utmost by Sultans like Maḥmūd and his son Mas‘ūd, using as their instruments the class of financial officials and secretaries whose views had been moulded by the authoritarian ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate or even by earlier Persian models.<sup>28</sup>

In this fashion, we have the first major breakthrough of Turkish power in the Islamic world, for such dynasties as the Ṭūlūnids had never endured for more than two generations or so. Although the achievement of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in assembling such a vast empire was transient, and his immediate successors had to relinquish the western conquests, the Ghaznavids did much to prepare the way for the coming of the Saljūqs; they weakened or destroyed several local Iranian powers and reduced the influence of the Iranian landed and military classes, the dihqāns, through the imposition of a centralized bureaucracy directed from Ghazna. With their militaristic outlook, their relentless policies of financial exploitation, and their separation of the ruling institution, civil and military, from the masses of population, the Ghaznavids established a pattern for most of the

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<sup>26</sup> See Bosworth, “An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad: a contribution to Sāmānid military history”, *Yādnāma-yi Minor sky* (Tehran, 1969), pp. 25–7.

<sup>27</sup> See idem, “Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq”, *Oriens* (Leiden, 1967), vol. XVIII–XIX, pp. 153–7.

<sup>28</sup> See idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, passim*.

Turkish-directed régimes which were to be set up all over the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world.

To sum up here, we have in the period up to the early 11th century an infiltration from within of the military and governmental institutions in almost all the Islamic lands east of Egypt. The Turks themselves had not yet acquired the education and sophistication to run the administrative machine themselves, but their control of the ultimate sanction for authority, military force, enabled their will to be generally put into practice. Numerically, this infiltration was not large; indeed, the historical significance of the process was out of all proportion to its immediate influence on human society in the Middle East.

In the 11th century, we have the beginnings of comparatively large-scale ethnic and tribal movements of Turks into the Middle East, resulting in the establishment of such dynasties as the Qarakhānids in Transoxania, and above all, the Saljūqs in the Perso-Anatolian region and the Arab lands of the Fertile Crescent east of Egypt. The subsequent rise of the Khwārazm-Shāhs in eastern Irān and of the network of Atabeg dynasties in western Irān and the Arab lands, must be regarded as a continuation of this process. The Qarluq Khāns and Saljūq Bēgs achieved power with surprising ease, when one considers the superiority in manpower, weapons and equipment which the conventional professional armies of the Sāmānids, Būyids and Ghaznavids must have possessed. But here, the incomers were aided by the built-in advantages of extreme mobility, elusiveness and lack of impedimenta which all invaders from the steppes have enjoyed over settled peoples right down to recent times, when the introduction of firearms has finally tipped the balance against the nomads. The Qarakhānid takeover in Transoxania was possible largely because of the internal disintegration of the Sāmānid Amirate in the last decade or so of the 10th century, but there seems to have been a general loss of resilience and absorptive power in the northeastern corner of the Iranian world, which had for so long been the bastion of civilization there against the barbarians outside. These new Turkish incursions have just been characterized as "comparatively large-scale", but this term is perhaps only accurate when one views the process as one spread over a long period of time. Pastoralism is an extensive, as opposed to intensive, manner of existence, and the population of the steppes can never have been all that large. The Turkoman incursions of the 11th century included large tribal groups, such as the 16,000 Ghuzz (= Oghuz) warriors present at the battle of Dandānqān in 431/1040, which gave the Saljūqs control of Khurāsān and opened up for them much of northern Persia (on the other hand, the figures given by Ibn al-Athīr, amounting to several tens of thousands, for the so-called "'Irāqī" Turcomans, who

swept westwards into eastern Anatolia and northern 'Irāq at this time, are probably much exaggerated).<sup>29</sup> But on the whole, it must have been the cumulative effect over two centuries and more of smaller groups of Turks coming in as pastoralists or as mercenary soldiers which gradually changed the ethnic complexion of much of the northern tier of the Middle East.

The fact that so many of these Turks came in as tribal groups, with a strong consciousness of their patriarchal organization and of their barbarian culture and religious attitudes, meant that the Qarakhānid Khāns and the Saljūq Sultans faced problems which the Ghaznavid Sultans, for instance, had been largely spared. The newly-arrived Turkish rulers gradually became aware of the old-established Perso-Islamic traditions of exalted monarchic power and its correlative, submissiveness of the subject masses of population, and realized that it could be used to raise them from their circumscribed positions as tribal leaders to a more commanding rôle. The pursuit of a such a policy of self-magnification was eagerly advocated by the Turkish rulers' Persian officials and advisers. For someone like Nizām al-Mulk, the transition could not be made fast enough. Although he conceded that the Turkoman tribesmen had originally been the mainstay of the régime and that they accordingly deserved some continued recognition, he lamented that his Saljūq masters would not go as far or as quickly as he would have liked in their self-identification with the despotic practices of such of his heroes as 'Aḍud al-Dawla and Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Thus, he complained, institutions which served to buttress the fabric of an authoritarian state, such as the *barīd* or state postal service, had been allowed to fall into desuetude, and the *amīr ḥaras* or commander of the guard at court had declined in status.<sup>30</sup>

Yet in taking a middle way between the anarchic tendencies and preferences of the Turkoman tribesmen, and the centralizing policies of their Persian viziers, the Saljūq Sultans were more wise and far-sighted than their officials probably thought. Rulers like Ṭughril and Alp Arslān could obviously feel some sympathy for the rank-and-file Turkomans, who saw the old tribal customs quietly set aside and replaced by the Islamic *Shari'a* and a Persian governmental ethos which enjoined political quietism and unquestioning obedience to the ruler as the *summa bona*. The frequent Turkoman revolts, in which appeal was made to the old tribal principle of succession by seniorate rather than by the designation of a *walī al-'ahd*, often a son, during the Sultan's lifetime, kept the Sultans uncomfortably aware of this undercurrent of conservative feeling. In the 12th century,

<sup>29</sup> See Bosworth, "Ghaznevid military organisation", pp. 75-7.

<sup>30</sup> See idem, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 76 ff.



the intensity of this tribal feeling showed no diminution, for there were always freshly-arriving Turkoman groups from the steppes who kept alive a consciousness of the old ways, and by no means all of these groups passed on to the Byzantine frontiers. Hence Sultan Sanjar, whose long reign in eastern Persia was to end in a sharp explosion of this tribal feeling, was nevertheless careful to observe Turkish customs, especially as he for long had his capital at Marv in Khurāsān, a region where the Turkomans were numerically very strong. According to a Turkish *Muntakhab-i tawārīkh-i saljūqīya*, Sanjar assigned positions in his army to the tribal elements, giving the right wing to the Qayī and Bayat and the left wing to the Bayundur and Pecheneg.<sup>31</sup>

The need to pay regard to conservative tribal feeling thus acted as a brake on the rulers' progress towards absolutism, but there is, indeed, nothing to make us think that the Qarakhānid Khāns or the Great Saljūq Sultans ever wanted to cut themselves off totally from their fellow-nationals. Thus whereas the Ghaznavid Sultans, from Maḥmūd onwards, adopted Islamic and Persian regnal titles and personal names almost exclusively, the Saljūqs on the whole favoured traditional Turkish personal names, right down to the time of the last Great Saljūq Sultan, Ṭughril b. Arslān, and the exceedingly complex system of Islamic regnal titles and personal names, combined with Turkish personal names and totemistic *onghun* titles, remained in force amongst the Qarakhānids down to the Mongol invasion.

The balance kept, with varying success, between Perso-Islamic authoritarianism and Turkish tribalism, did not prevent severe tensions arising within both the Saljūq and Qarakhānid states. In the eastern Iranian world, there was undoubtedly an initial decentralization of power consequent on the collapse of the Sāmānids and Ghaznavids. Transoxania, in particular, reverted to a pattern resembling the pre-Arab network of feudal principalities and city states, under the light rule of the Qarakhānid Khāns. Thus the Dihqān of Īlāq on the middle Syr Darya began in the early 11th century to mint his own coins for the first time.<sup>32</sup> With the centralizing policies of the Sāmānids now swept away, the general complexity and expense of administration decreased; a continuator of Narshakhī, the historian of Bukhārā, says that the *kharāj* of the region was everywhere lightened, as irrigation works were neglected and land fell out of production.<sup>33</sup> A similar inability to cope with the complexities of the organized state was displayed by the Ghuzz in Khurāsān during the three

<sup>31</sup> Ismail Hakkī Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal* (Istanbul, 1941), p. 22.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol invasion*, p. 307.

<sup>33</sup> *The history of Bukhara*, tr. R. N. Frye (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 33.

years in which they held Sanjar captive; they made no attempt to administer the territories under their control, and their diplomatic activity was confined to a few tentative approaches to the Ghūrīds and to the Bāwandīds of the Caspian region.

The effects of the Turkish invasions on land utilization in the Middle East were obviously significant. Many of the Turkomans who swept across northern Īrān from the 1020s onwards passed on to Anatolia and the Caucasus, where they fought as *ghāzīs* or *aqīnjīs* against the Christian Armenian and Georgian principalities and against the Byzantine empire. Others moved with their herds into al-Jazīra and Syria, mingling with the indigenous Arab camel nomads and sheep herdsman and clashing with them over the occupation of pasture grounds, or else finding employment as auxiliary soldiers in the service of the local Arab and Kurdish Amīrs, before the general tide of Saljūq conquest overwhelmed these last.<sup>34</sup> Still others, however, remained in Persia in the regions that were adapted for sheep-rearing. Thus the present-day Turkish elements in provinces like Ādhar-bayjān, Kurdistān, Fārs and Gurgān almost certainly date from Saljūq times, although their numbers (especially, perhaps, those in Fārs) may have been swelled in post-Mongol times.<sup>35</sup> A region like Gurgān was geographically merely an extension of the Dihistān steppes, and hence very vulnerable to Turkoman occupation and pastoralization; the frontier here remained open to Turkoman raiding until the second half of the 19th century, with deleterious effects on agriculture in the Caspian coastlands.

The organization by the Great Saljūq Sultans of a multi-national, professional standing army, in addition to the tribal levies of the Turkomans, posed problems of payment. In such a geographically extensive empire, where there were, as we have noted above, many forces making for decentralization, a system of cash payments for the troops, *vazaqāt*, such as had prevailed under the Ṭāhirīds, Sāmānīds and Ghaznavīds, and still to a fair extent under the Būyīds, was difficult to maintain. Hence the trends of the Būyīd period in 'Irāq and western Persia towards the extension of the *iqṭā'* system were intensified under the Saljūqs. The elucidation of the various types of *iqṭā'*, a task made all the more difficult by a confused and often overlapping terminology, has been the particular task of such authorities as Cl. Cahen and A. K. S. Lambton. According to these scholars, there are certain trends to be discerned in the evolution of the

<sup>34</sup> The process whereby Turkomans coming into northern Syria and al-Jazīra in the second half of the 5th/11th century overthrew the indigenous Arab dynasty of the Kilābī Mirdāsīds is described in detail by Suheil Zakkār in his unpublished London Ph.D. thesis (SOAS, 1969), "The emirate of Aleppo 392/1002-487/1094", chapter 4.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 57-9, 77.

*iqṭā'* in the Saljūq period, such as the assimilation of *iqṭā'*s formerly granted as leases for administrative purposes, the *iqṭā' al-tamlīk*, to those granted for military purposes, the descendant of the *iqṭā' al-istighlāl*, for the support of amīrs and other soldiers. In the 12th century, as the Saljūq Sultans' grip on affairs weakened, the incipient hereditary tendency in these military *iqṭā'*s increased, giving the Turkish amīrs firm territorial and financial bases of power and thereby favouring the trend towards the rise of dynasties of provincial Atabegs.<sup>36</sup>

Geographically, the *iqṭā'* system now began to spread eastwards from western Persia into Khurāsān and possibly beyond, as part of the general militarization of the administrative system which had begun under the Būyids and continued under the Saljūqs. Sanjar seems to have been able to keep a closer control on the *iqṭā'* system of Khurāsān than could his weaker brethren in the west in their territories; the areas granted out in the east were supposed, at least in theory, to yield definite sums of money for the *muṣṭa'*, in return for which he furnished Sanjar with troop contingents.<sup>37</sup> To the east of Saljūq Khurāsān, and acknowledging Sanjar's suzerainty, lay the truncated Ghaznavid empire, now essentially oriented towards northern India. The *iqṭā'* system had never been entirely unknown to the Ghaznavids, for the Turkish slave soldiers who accompanied Alptigin to Ghazna in the middle years of the 10th century are said to have established *iqṭā'*s in the district around Ghazna where they settled.<sup>38</sup> But if such land grants continued under the first Ghaznavid Sultans, there must have been strict control of them, the grants being for limited periods or being attached to definite offices only (i.e. they were *tu'mas* rather than *iqṭā'*s).<sup>39</sup> Yet in the later Ghaznavid period, i.e. the 12th century, there are signs that the *iqṭā'* system was spreading generally within the Ghaznavid dominions, so that the Ghaznavids became the channel whereby the *iqṭā'* system passed to the Ghūrīds and was firmly implanted in northern India under the Delhi Sultans and their successors; unfortunately, the materials for a study of this process are extremely sparse. Fuad Köprülü suggested that the adoption of an *iqṭā'* system on Saljūq lines received a particular impetus during the long reign of Bahrām Shāh (512-47/1118-52), when Saljūq

<sup>36</sup> See the works of Cahen and Lambton cited above, p. 8, n. 24 and p. 13, n. 35, and also Lambton, "The evolution of the *Iqṭā'* in mediaeval Iran", *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* (London, 1967), vol. V, pp. 41-50.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. idem, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V, pp. 236-7, 246-7.

<sup>38</sup> Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, pp. 41-2, 124-5.

<sup>39</sup> Concerning the terminology of the land grant system, see idem, "Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art: a contribution to the administrative history of mediaeval Islam", *JESHO* (Leiden 1969), vol. XII, pp. 116-17, 133-4.

political and cultural influences were strong and when the exigencies of warfare with the Saljūqs, and later with the Ghūrīds, may have compelled a widespread adoption of the *iqṭā'* system. There exist some lines of the 12th-century Ghaznavid poet Sanā'ī in which the author complains that the Turks have taken people's land unlawfully, possibly implying that the state had been forced into confiscatory policies in order to find land to grant out as *iqṭā'*s.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, we may consider briefly the wider questions of the rôle of the incoming Turks in the general Islamic culture of this period, and the alleged responsibility of the Turkish conquests for the intellectual stagnation of later mediaeval Islam. The Turks became on the whole enthusiastic converts to Islam, and the heritage of the shamanistic past seems to have been largely channelled into an attachment to certain favoured Ṣūfī orders.<sup>41</sup> They became vigorous upholders of the Sunna and its Ḥanafī *madhhab* or legal system. This attachment to Sunnī orthodoxy was sharpened by the political parts which the Turks were able to play soon after their entry into the Islamic world—the liberation of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs from the tutelage of the Shī'ī Būyīds; a confrontation in Syria, Palestine and the Holy Cities with the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimīds, the brilliance of whose culture had far overshadowed the moribund 'Abbāsīds; and an attack on the Ismā'īlīs or Assassins within their own Syrian and Persian territories, for the Sunnī majority firmly believed that these sectaries were bent on the subversion of Islam from within. The more bellicose and uncontrollable elements within the Saljūqs' Turkoman following could earn further kudos for their race by their frontier warfare with the Georgians, Armenians and Byzantines.

Hence it is not surprising that Sunnī writers sought an ideological and theological justification for the near-universal domination of the Turks in the Middle East. The Persian historian of the Saljūqs, Rāwandī, dedicated his *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* to one of the Saljūq Sultans of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kay Khusraw, and speaks of a *hātif*, a hidden, supernatural voice, which spoke from the Ka'ba in Mecca to the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa and promised him that as long as the sword remained in the hands of the Turks, his faith (sc. that of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*) would not perish. Rāwandī himself adds the pious doxology, "Praise be to God, He is exalted, that the defenders of Islam are mighty and that the followers of the Ḥanafī rite are happy and

<sup>40</sup> "Kay kabilesi hakkında yeni notlar", *Bellekten* (1944), vol. VIII, pp. 449–52.

<sup>41</sup> Non-Islamic influences discernible in the Yasawīya order, for instance, were discussed by Köprülüzāde Mehmet Fuad in his *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar* (Istanbul, 1919) and in his *L'influence du chamanisme turco-mongole sur les ordres mystiques musulmanes* (Istanbul, 1929).

joyful! In the lands of the Arabs, Persians, Byzantines and Russians, the words is in the hand of the Turks, and fear of their sword is firmly implanted in all hearts!"<sup>42</sup> Bernard Lewis has recently cited a significant passage in Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, in which the great historian brings up to date the concept of the Turk as noble savage which we detected in the writings of Jāḥiẓ. He reviews the almost universal political domination of the Turks in his day, and notes how when the Muslims' luxury and sloth, their lack of vitality and courage in battle, had brought down upon their heads the invasions of the Tatars or Mongols, God had made Egypt a defensive bastion against the infidels, and raised up there a body of valiant defenders in the shape of the Mamlūks, brought from the strong and numerous tribes of the Turks. Moreover, he goes on, God in his providence has provided that wave after wave, and generation after generation, of fresh Turks should come into the Islamic world to prevent the old habits of lassitude and luxury from re-asserting themselves amongst the Muslims.<sup>43</sup> Such a passage as this seems to show that the Arab-Turkish antipathy, characteristic of the last decades or so, cannot be traced back to an ancient ethnic feeling, but is a product of the movement towards the setting-up of nation states which contributed to the disintegration of the Ottoman empire.

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<sup>42</sup> *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl (London, 1921), pp. 13 ff., 17 ff., cf. O. Turan, "The ideal of world domination among the mediaeval Turks", *SI* (Paris, 1955), vol. IV, pp. 84-5.

<sup>43</sup> *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (Cairo, 1867), vol. V, p. 371, quoted in Lewis, "The Mongols, the Turks and the Muslim polity", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1968), 5th Series, vol. XVIII, p. 64.

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