(Translations of the three Inscriptions on the Cover.)

1. Arabic.

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

2. Turkish.

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

(Kemâl Pâshâ-zâde.)

3. Persian.

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

(Jalâlu 'd-Dîn Rûmî.)
"E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL"

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VOL. II.
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IN PREPARATION


Part of the History of the Mongols, from the Jāmiʿuʾt-Tawārīkh of Rashīdul-Dīn Faḍlullāh, beginning with the account of Ogotāy, edited by E. Blochet.

An abridged translation of the Ḥiyāʿuʾl-Mulūk, a Persian History of Sistān by Shāh Ḥusayn, from the British Museum MS. (OR. 2779), by A. G. Ellis.

The geographical part of the Nuzhatuʾl-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh Mustawfī of Qazwin, with a translation, by G. Le Strange.

Yáqūt’s Dictionary of Learned Men, entitled Irshāduʾl-arfī ila maʿrifatī ʿl-adīb; Vol. i, edited from the Bodleian MS., by D. S. Margoliouth, D. Litt.
AN

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

OF THE

HISTORY OF TABARISTÁN

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

BY

MUHAMMAD B. AL-HASAN B. ISFANDIYÁR,

BASED ON THE INDIA OFFICE MS.

COMPA Red WITH TWO MSS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

BY

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

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

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from a Sum of money given by the late MRS. GIBB of Glasgow, to
perpetuate the Memory of her beloved son

ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,

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

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

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

جمِّلْهُ بَرَاقِه وَفَاسِيلَهُ ابْدْرَكْنَ نَظِيبَ
کنْدَی عَرْنِه وَفَا گُرْمِدِه اولِ دَنِی ادیبَ
ُحَمَّ ایکُن اولِش ابْدَی اوجِ کَالِه واصلَ
ِنِه اولِرِدِی باشاَمش اولِسِه ابْدَی مَسْتَرَ گَیبَ
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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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

Much has been done, especially by the Russians, towards supplying full materials for a history of the Caspian provinces of Persia, Gilán and Mázandarán. Between the years 1850 and 1858 Dorn published a whole series of works on this subject: first his Geschichte Tabaristan's und der Serbedare
nach Chondemir; then four volumes of texts, of which the first was Sayyid Dhahíru’d-Dín al-Mar’ashi’s History of Tabaristán, Rúyán and Mázandarán, composed about A.D. 1476; the second, ʿAlí b. Shamsu’d-Dín’s History of Gilán, known as the Ta’rikh-i-Khání, which is a continuation of the last-mentioned work to A.D. 1514; then Ibnü’l-Fattáh al-Fúmani’s History of Gilán (from A.D. 1517—1628); and lastly a volume of extracts from the writings of twenty-two Arabic and Persian authors who have incidentally treated of matters connected with these provinces. Another most valuable work which I have constantly consulted during the preparation of this volume is Melgunof’s Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres, oder die Nordprovinzen Persiens (Leipzig, 1868). Even for the dialect of Mázandarán more has probably been done than for any other local idiom of Persia, notably by the two Russian scholars mentioned above.

Separated from the rest of Persia by the lofty barrier of the Elburz Mountains, culminating in the great cone of Damáwand (Dunbáwand), the Caspian provinces have always possessed, to a certain extent, a history and character apart. Long after the Sásánian dynasty had fallen and the rest of Persia had been subdued by the Arabs, the Ispahbads continued to strike their Pahlawi coinage and maintain the religion of Zoroaster in the mountains and forests of Tabaristán; and their struggles against the Arabs were only ended about A.D. 838 by the capture and cruel execution of the gallant Mázyár, the son of Qárín, the son of Wandá-Hurmuz. Twenty-five years later was established the Shi’ite rule of the Zaydí Sayyids, which lasted till A.D. 928; and these were followed by the noble house of Ziyár, of whom Shamsu’l-Ma’áli Qábús was especially conspicuous for his literary eminence. Even after the disastrous Mongol invasion, representatives of the ancient aristocracy of Tabaristán continued to wield a more or less considerable power.
Of this strange and interesting country the clearest and most ineffaceable recollection must remain in the mind of every traveller who has visited it. I merely traversed it in about a week on my homeward journey from Persia in the autumn of 1888, yet of no part of that journey do I preserve a more vivid impression; the first entry, from the great stony plain of 'Iráq-i-'Ajamí into the lower hills at Āgh, with its rippling streams and almost English hedge-rows; the long winding climb to the eastern shoulder of the mighty Damáwand; the deep canons of the Lár; the Alpine beauties of René; the gradual descent, through rock-walled valleys, into virgin forests, bright with the red blossoms of the wild pomegranate, and carpeted with ferns and mosses; the sluggish streams and stagnant pools of the coast-ward fenlands; ancient Āmul, with its long slender bridge; Bárfurúsh and the swampy rice-fields of Shaykh Ţabarsí, memorable in the history of the Bábí religion; and the sandy downs towards the Caspian Sea.

Of this land the author of this book, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandiyár — generally known, for the sake of brevity, as Ibn Isfandiyár —, is the earliest systematic historian whose work has come down to us. Of his life we know practically nothing save what he himself tells us at the beginning of his work (pp. 3—4 infra), while the few written sources from which, as he informs us, he derived his material — notably the Báwand-náma and the 'Uqúd of Abúl-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Yazdádí — appear also to be lost. Dorn (Sehir-eddin's Geschichte von Tabaristan u. s. w., p. 6) gives A.D. 1216 as the date at which he composed his history, that is to say, 260 years before Dhahíru'd-Dín, who, as Dorn points out, made such free use of his materials. Were this use so free (which it is not) as to amount to complete plagiarism (a thing by no means unknown in Persian literature), it might render the publication of Ibn Isfandiyár's
book in the original a work of supererogation; but even then, I venture to think, an abridged English translation like the present might have its uses. If it does nothing else, it may save other students of Persian the trouble of reading the original, or the disappointment of seeking from the book more than it contains.

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

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

With the Index (the most important part of such a book as this) I have taken considerable pains; and with its help
it will, I think be easy for any Persian scholar to find any passage which he may wish to consult, not only in the India Office Codex which forms the basis of my work, but in any other manuscript which he may have at his disposal. Certain names occur so often that, without a more profound knowledge of the history of Tabaristán than I possess, it is often difficult to determine questions of identity. Hence, in all doubtful cases, I have placed in brackets after the name a Roman number indicating the century of the Christian era in which the person referred to appears to have flourished.

Edward G. Browne,
May 10, 1905.


A portion of the text (corresponding with f. 6b, l. 4—f. 20b, l. 5 of A), containing the letter of Ardashir Babakān's minister Tansar to Jasnasf, king of Tabaristān, cited by the author on the authority of the celebrated 'Abdu'llāh ibn‘ūl-Muqaffā, was published with a French translation in the Journal Asiatique for 1894 (Series ix, Vol. 3, pp. 185—250 and 502—555) by the late M. James Darmesteter, who found the India Office MS. greatly superior in point of correctness to the British Museum Codex of which he made use.

The only other portion of the text (corresponding with f. 155a, l. 17—f. 157b, l. 12) which, so far as I know, has been published and translated is the account of Firdawsi cited from the Chahār Maqāla of Nīlghām-ī-Arāḏī of Samarqand, which Dr. Ethé transcribed for Professor Noldeke's use, and afterwards published in the Z. D. M. G. for 1894, vol. xlviii, pp. 89—94.
AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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

سلام علی قومّ مصوا لسبيلهم قلّم يبقى إلا ذكرهم وحَدِيتهم
لقد جمعتِهم سكرة آلٍ موت ناشتَ في شانهم وحَدِيتهم

For two months (f. 3a) he remained in Ray, weighed down with sorrow, and finding his only consolation in the perusal of books. One day he found in the library of the College founded by the Shāhinsháh Rustam b. Shahriyár a few quires on the history of Gáwbára, and thereupon remembered that the late king Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla Ardashír had repeatedly enquired of him whether he had ever come across any mention of a king of Ṭabaristán called Gáwbára in Arabic or Persian books (f. 3b), to which he was obliged to reply that he had not, and that he knew of no history of Ṭabaristán save the Bāwand-náma, a work filled with fables and popular legends compiled for the king Ḥusámuʿd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin. On examining these quires, he found them to contain the ʿUqūdu sihr wa galāʾidu durar of Abúʾl-Ḥasan Muḥammad Yazdádí, a work wherein the author sought rather to display his mastery over the Arabic language than to impart information to the reader. This he translated into
Persian, adding to it some account of king Ḫusámu’d-Dawla Ardashir and his illustrious ancestors, and, encouraged by some of his literary friends, he was preparing to make a fair copy of his rough draft when he received a letter from his father warning him of his approaching end. Thereupon he at once started (f. 4b) with a single servant for his home, without saying good bye to any one, and by the morning of the following day reached the castle of Ustúnáwand ¹, where he was set upon and robbed by brigands. He ultimately, however, reached his father, and remained for a while at Amul in Mázandarán, whence, after a short time, he journeyed to Khwárazm (f. 5a), at that time a most flourishing and populous city, where he remained for five years. One day he found in a bookseller’s shop there a volume containing ten separate treatises, one of which was a translation from Hindí into Arabic (از عندروی بنازی) made for a native of Sind named ʿAlá b. Saʿid by a certain Dá’úd of Yazd in the year A. H. 197 (= A. D. 812—813), while another was a translation from Pahlawi into Arabic, made by the celebrated ʿAbdu’lláh ibnu’l-Muqaffa ² († circ. A. D. 760), of the answer returned to Jasnafsháh, Prince of Ţabaristán, by Tansar of Párs, the chief herbad (عربد هرباد) of Ardashír Bábakán, the founder of the Sásánian dynasty. These also the author used for the compilation of his work, which he constructed on the following plan (f. 5b):

Section I. On the first foundation of the kingdom of Ţabaristán.

Ch. I. Translation of the above-mentioned tract of ibnu’l-Muqaffa ².

Ch. II. First settlement of Ţabaristán and its cities.

Ch. III. Virtues and marvels of Ţabaristán.

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

¹ See M. Barbier de Meynard’s Dict. de la Perse, p. 33.
physicians, astronomers, philosophers, poets and notable men.

Section II. History of the rise and continuance of the dynasties of Washmgir and Buwayh in Tabaristán.

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

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

Section I, ch. 1.

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

\[
\text{يا بَيْتُ عَائِشَةُ الْنَّسَى يَنْغَرُ حَذَّرُ الْعَيْدَةِ وَبِهِ أَلْفَوُانُ مَوْكَلُ}
\]

When this was reported to the Caliph he said, “He is not yet a good Muslim,” and ordered him to be cast alive into an oven. It is related by al-Jáhidhî in his Kitâbu ʾl-Bayân waʾt-Tabyin that when Ibnuʾl-Muqaffâ was handed over to the tormentor (صاحب مساعّي), he said to him, “Thou hast money and wealth; if thou wilt pay into the Exchequer the sum demanded from me, I will return you double or treble the amount, and will never divulge the matter, for thou knowest me faithful in the guarding of secrets.” The tormentor, moved by coveteousness, paid the money and saved him from death and torture. It is also related [apparently by al-Jáhidhî] that a certain Háshim, gaoler to Yûsuf ʿUmar [ath-Thaqafi], used to keep a register of all the prisoners who had died in prison, and submit it to Yûsuf ʿAbduʾllâh b. Abî Burda [b.] Abî Músá al-Ashʿarî, being in prison, offered this man a thousand dirhams to include his name in this list (f. 6b), and so effect his release. This was done, but the Amir, on receiving the report, said, “Bring his corpse before me.” So the gaoler, being afraid, went back to the prison and smothered him with a cushion, so that his device cost him both his money and his life.

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

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

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

1 See Nöldeke’s Gesch. d. Sasaniden, pp. 147, n. 1, and 436a.

Anecdote.

King Nushirwan, being once in need of money for a campaign, instructed his minister to raise the sum required by a loan from the merchants and capitalists. The minister accordingly consulted one of the chief merchants, who at once offered himself to pay the money into the Royal Treasury, asking in return that his only son, a man of remarkable intelligence, in whose education he had for thirty years spared no pains, might be admitted to the government service (f. 22a), and given a suitable rank and title. When this proposal was submitted to the king, he replied, "When the children of the base-born are educated, they seek high offices, obtaining which they seek to abase the noble and the well-born, and to humble the great and mighty; but I will protect the honour of the noble from being shared by base and evil men." The merchant, on hearing this answer, was deeply disappointed, but entreated the minister at least to accept the money, and to honour him by being his guest at a banquet. To this the minister consented, and on the morrow was entertained at an epoch-making banquet (كُتَبَ). When evening approached (وَالّمَا اللِّيْلَ نِئَارًا), wine was brought in, and they sat down to drink. A lamp-stand was set down before the minister, and, at a sign from the merchant, a trained cat ran in, lifted up this lamp-stand in its two paws, and placed it on its head, where it held it. The minister at once perceived that the merchant's object in this exhibition was to say by implication, "If I can so train and educate a cat, which has no rational soul (f. 22b), how can it be supposed that I should fail in the case of my own son, who is endowed with so many natural talents?" Thereupon the minister secretly ordered one of his companions to go and fetch a mouse and shew it to the cat. As soon as the cat saw it, it dropped the lamp
and rushed towards the mouse; the lamp-oil was upset, some of it on the clothes and hair of the guests. The merchant, overcome with shame, would have retired to his private appartments, but the minister summoned him and said, “I have no doubt as to your son’s capacity or training, but at the first promotion which he gets, he will make such disturbance as did this cat at the sight of the mouse.” It has been said:

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

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

Anecdote.

It is related that one day ʿAbduʾl-Malik b. Qurayb al-ʿAṣmaʾi, seeing the poet al-ʿAttábf in the presence of Faḍl b. Rabīʿ, reproached him for wearing such shabby clothes; whereupon the other retorted that a delight in fine apparel was only for women, and that a man was exalted by greatness of heart and high resolve, a silent tongue and an unselfish spirit (f. 23b).
Man is not ennobled by wealth:

مال أکر مالی خرائى نشته حلقه، قریچ اسدنن نشدئ

Here follow short and rather irrelevant anecdotes of sundry Sufi saints, viz. Ḥátim "the deaf" (al-Aşam), Bâyazîd of Biştâm and Abû Sa‘îd Khwâr (f. 24a), followed by reflections on Divine Providence and human effort, and the depravity and rebelliousness natural to man when his affairs prosper.

بسرما وکرما چنن نا شکیی که ار خانه نآئی عمی تا ببرن
زکرما بسوزی زسرما عیری مگس گشتئ ای روپسی خواهن وزن

Amîr b. `Abd Qays used to say (f. 24b) that though all worldly wealth should depart from him he would be fearful, because of three verses in the Qur’ân (xi, 8; xxxv, 2; and x, 107). More traditions on the Divine Providence follow; e.g.:

الَرِّزْقِ يُطَلِّبُ الْعَبْدُ وَالْإْقْتَدَارُ جَارِيَةٌ أَنَّ الْذِّي هُوَ رَزِقُ سَوِفٍ يَأْتِينِی

Here follow anecdotes of Sufyân-i-Thawrî and Màlik Dînâr, two famous Sufi saints (f. 25a), and of Abû `Abdi’r-Râhmân Ziyâd b. An‘âm al-Ifriqî. The latter was in earlier life a fellow-student of Abû Ja‘far al-Manşûr, afterwards second Caliph of the House of `Abbás. One day Manşûr invited him to a meal at his lodging. The meal was of the simplest: there was no meat, no sweets, not even dates. Manşûr, on learning from his maid-servant that even dates were lacking, sighed and recited Qur’ân vii, 126. Long afterwards, when he had become Caliph, Ziyâd again stood before him. "O Abû `Abdi’r-Râhmân!" said the Caliph, "I have heard that thou hast advantaged the Umayyads." "Yes," replied Ziyâd, "they reaped advantage from me." "And how was their rule?" enquired the Caliph, "and what thinkest thou of mine?" "Of their rule," replied Ziyâd, "I saw this, that thou didst take me to thy house and give me to eat with
out meat, and recite the verse, *It may be that your Lord will destroy your foe, and will make you succeed him in the earth.* God hath destroyed thine enemy and made thee Caliph (f. 26b): see what thou wilt do, and be not of those referred to in the verse (Qur'án xcvi, 6) *Verily man waxeth insolent, because he seeth himself abound in riches.* Know that the Devil hath no more potent weapon than tempting man to sin to-day and to repent to-morrow."

Anecdote.

It is related on the authority of Abú Ḥamza ath-Thumáli¹ that the [fourth] Imám ‘Alí b. al-Ḥusayn Zaynul-ʿAbidin said to him: "One day I came forth from al-Madína, and while I stood in thought, leaning against this wall, a man clad in two white garments, one over the other, accosted me, saying, 'O ‘Alí son of al-Ḥusayn! I see thee sorrowful: if it be on account of this world's provision, God is guarantee therefor.' ‘No,' I replied, 'my sorrow is not for this.' ‘Then,' said he, 'dost thou grieve for the future life? For that is God's promise, which He is able to fulfil.' ‘No,' I replied; 'it is not for this, for I know that what thou sayest is true.' ‘Then,' said he, 'since thou grievest neither for this world nor the next, for what dost thou grieve?' 'I grieve,' said I, 'for the mischief wrought by fools, and the contempt I suffer at their hands.' Than the man laughed in my face and said, 'O 'Alí son of al-Ḥusayn! Didst thou ever see one who trusted in God and was disappointed?' ‘No,' I replied. ‘Didst thou ever,' he replied, 'see anyone who sought anything from God which He did not vouchsafe to him?' ‘No,' I replied. And straightway the man vanished from my eyes.'

Anecdote.

It is related by Ḥusayn b. Ḥamza, from Abū Ḥamza, from Saʿd, from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, generally known as [the fifth Imām, Muḥammad] Bāqir (الباقر بشرح رسول الله), that ʿUmar b. ʿAbdillāh-ʿAziz during the time of his Caliphate (A. D. 717—720) visited al-Madīnā, and caused proclamation to be made there that anyone who had suffered wrong at the hands of the Umayyads should present himself before him and receive compensation, so far as was possible. The Imām Bāqir presented himself, and al-Muzāḥim (النوااحم), ʿUmar's client, notified the fact to his master, who bade him enter, and forthwith fell to weeping. When the Imām entered he found ʿUmar in tears (f. 26a), and enquired as to the cause of his sorrow. Being informed, he turned to ʿUmar and said:


Anecdote.

ʿAlī, seeing ʿAmmār b. Yāsir sad and sorrowful one day, consoled him in the following words:

غلام تنفسك يا عمأر إن كان على الآخرة فقد اخبرك رسول الله بانك تتقبل كل الفئات الباعثة وإن كان على الدنيا ما تستحق أني يمية عليها

1 [i.e. Ḥusayn b. Ḥamza al-Laythi, grandson, by a daughter, of Abū Ḥamza. Cf. Najāshī, p. 40; Manhaj, p. 112; Muntahā, p. 119. The text has Ḥasan b. Ḥamza, but the only Ḥasan b. Ḥamza recorded in the Shiʿa books of “Rijāl” died in A. H. 358. A. G. E.].
2 [Either Saʿd b. Ṭarīf al-Handhalī (Najāshī, p. 127; Fihrist, p. 152; Manhaj, p. 159; Muntahā, p. 144), or Saʿd b. Saʿd b. al-ʿAlwas al-Ashʿarī (Najāshī, p. 127; Fihrist, p. 151; Muntahā, p. 144), both of whom received traditions from the Imām Abū Jaʿfar. A. G. E.].
The following admonition is also ascribed to Ḥāfīz b. Alī:  

Anecdote.

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

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

First settlement of the kingdom of Tabaristán and its cities.

Farshwádgar¹ is bounded by Ádharbayján, Áhár, Tabaristán, Gilán, Daylam, Ray, Qúmis, Dámhán and Gurgán, and was first so defined by Minúchíhr Sháh. As regards its etymology, some say that it means “Live safe and sound” (باش خو ی عش سالم صالحاً), but certain natives of Tabaristán assert that farsh means “plain” (hámnún), wád “high-lands” (kühistán), and gar “sea”, and that the name therefore signifies “land of mountain, plain and sea”; this interpretation, however, is modern. Older authorities say that gar (jar) means mountainous land susceptible of cultivation, where thickets and trees are found, Jar-sháh (or Gar-sháh) being an ancient title of the descendants of Súkhrá, the meaning of which is “King of the mountains”¹. The name Mázandarán is more recent. Its king was killed by Rustam the son of Zál. It was originally called “Múz-andarún”, because Múz was the name of a mountain on the confines of Gilán extending as far as Lár, Qasrán and Jájarm; and since this territory was “within [the mountains of] Múz”, it received this name. But as for what belongs to Tabaristán, from Dínár-jári on the east to a village called Malát, beyond Húsam on the west ², they say that in ancient days it was all jungle and forest, lagoon and fen, mountain and sea

¹ This, as pointed out by Darmesteter (loc. cit., p. 507, n. 3 ad calc.) is a corruption of the ancient Patashkhwár, a name properly applied to the chain of mountains which separates Tabaristán from Iráq.

² So al-Bírúní says (Chronology of Ancient Nations, Sachau’s transl., p. 107): “The Persians call the first man Gayêmárh, with the surname Gir-sháh, i.e. ‘King of the Mountain’...” See also Justi’s Iranisches Namenbuch, p. 111, s. v. Garsháh.

*Cf. Dorn’s ed. of Dhahfru’d-Dín, p. 19 where the substance of this passage is reproduced.*
(f. 27a), and that until the time of Jamshíd it was in the possession of the demons. He conquered them, and bade them level the mountains with the plains, fill up the lakes, drain the fens into the sea, open up the country, and distribute the rivers and streams. He also caused castles to be made and duly provisioned for the highlanders, and brought water from the mountains to the plains; and so they held Tabaristán for a hundred years or more. Thereafter he brought craftsmen and artificers into that province, assigning land to each, and giving the wise and prudent authority over the others. The oldest settlement is Láriján, where, in the village of Waraka (بیه ورکه)¹, Ferídún was born; which happened in this wise. When Dahák the Arab (دنکال تاری) hewed Jamshíd in pieces, the family and descendants of that unfortunate king fled away and hid themselves wherever they could, and the mother of Ferídún and her attendants took refuge in the above-mentioned village, which is at the foot of Mount Damáwand. On the birth of Ferídún, they migrated to the more fertile Jílab (or Chaláb: _Dhahiru'd-Din_, p. 11, شلاب), where pasture is abundant and the people live by cattle-farming. When Ferídún was seven years old, he used to fix a guiding-rope in the noses of the cattle and ride them², so that one would say that heaven was reflected on earth, and that a second “Sun” (i. e. Ferídún) was arising from “the Bull” (the Sign of Taurus). Later, the other youths had recourse to him for protection and guidance, and he, mounted on a cow (f. 27b), used to go forth with them to the chase. After a time they migrated towards Lafúr (لفر; _Dhahir_, p. 12, لبیر) to the village of Máwjakúh (ماوجکوز; _Dhahir_, ماوجکوز), and were joined by the

¹ _Dhahiru'd-Din_, p. 11, where the name stands or ورکه.  
² _Ibid._, p. 13.
people of Ummídwár-kúh and Kúh-i-Qárin, who made for
the young prince the famous cow-headed mace. As his
fame waxed greater, the number of his followers increased,
until he felt himself strong enough to invade Iráq. On
reaching Isfahán he was joined by the blacksmith Káwa,
and, acting in conjunction with him, took Dahák captive.

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

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

**The Foundation of Sárf.**

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

\(^1\) *Dháhiru’d-Dín*, p. 13.
Kay-Khusraw (f. 28a), Farīburz, fearing the king's wrath because of some fault which he had committed, fled thither and took refuge with the family of Nūdhar, till Rustam came with a great army and carried him before Kay-Khusraw, who forgave him. The site of a castle built by him is still visible at a place called Lúman Dún (لیمن دون)\(^1\). Sári itself was ordered to be built in the time of the Great Farrukhán, king of Ṭabaristán, by Báv, one of his nobles, on the site of the village of Awhar (اوخر), which was chosen because of its high position, abundant streams, and pleasant surroundings. The inhabitants, however, bribed Báv to leave them in peace and choose another site, where Sári actually stands. The king, on becoming aware of his disobedience, cast him into bondage, and caused him to be hanged at the place called in consequence of this Báv-āviján (بابو اوریجن), while with the money taken as a bribe he built a village called Dinár-Kafshin (دينار كفسين). The Mosque of Sári was built in the reign of Hárúnur-Rashíd by the Amīr Yahyá b. Yahyá, and completed by Māzyár b. Qārīn. The four-doored dome (گنبد چهار در) which stands opposite to the Palace of Bávandán was included by the late king Ardashír in his private garden. It was originally built by Minuchihr Sháh, but fell into dilapidation in the time of the Ispahbad Khurshíd Gávbn. It was then repaired\(^2\), and is now so strong that it is impossible to detach a single brick from the fabric.

The Foundation of Rúyán.

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

\(^1\) See Dorn's \textit{Dhahiru ʿd-Din}, p. 29.
\(^2\) \textit{Dhahir}, p. 30.
dún was then at a very advanced age, and his eyebrows drooped so that they had to be bound up. His earnest prayer was that he might live to see the death of his favourite son Traj avenged, and he gave the daughter of Traj in marriage to one of his nephews. When a child was born to her, it was shewn to the aged Feridún, who said, "Mánad chihr-ash bi-chihr-i-Traj" ("His face resembles the face of Traj") ¹, so he was called Manuchihr; and, as is set forth in the verse and prose Sháhnámas of Firdawsí and Mu'ayyídí, he avenged his grandfather Traj ere Feridún departed from this world. Here are cited the well-known verses of Firdawsí:

فریدون فرخزده نبوید رمشک و ز عنبی سرستا نبوید
بداد و دعیش پادست آن نیکوئی تو داد و دعیش کن که فرخزده توئی

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

¹ This is a fair sample of the etymologies which the Persians are so ready to invent.
³ Dhahir, p. 15.
cunning ruse (for Qārīn was perfectly loyal and meditated no treachery), ordered Qārīn to be brought before him, and made over the command of the army to Arish. As soon as Qārīn was thus removed, Afrāsiyāb attacked the Persians and drove them back on Írāq. Then at length Minūchīhīr perceived that he had been duped, and reinstated Qārīn in his command. Qārīn advanced to Ray with his army. Afrāsiyāb pitched his camp, and daily gained some advantage over Minūchīhīr, who ordered the Castle of Ṭabarāk to be constructed, and there, a year later, after many serious defeats, he was obliged to take refuge. At that date the city stood over against the spot afterwards occupied by the Cupola of Fakhru’d-Dawla (كنبلا شاه خمير الدولة), which place they now call 1 in Ray Diz-i-Rashkān, and it remained thus till the time of the Daylamites of the House of Buwayh, "and," adds the author, "in the house of the Ṣāḥib Ibn ‘Abbād I have seen a mound like a hill [which marks its site].” Minūchīhīr came from Ṭabarāk to the city, fortified the walls, and abode there six months, when he was compelled to flee and escape by way of Lārijān to Ṭabaristān, while Afrāsiyāb made the wide world narrow to him as the eye of a needle:

Afrāsiyāb pursued him into Ṭabaristān until he reached the limits of Rūyān, a village called Mánahar (مانهري). There, in one face of the mountain, is a great cavern, to the end of which no man hath ever penetrated, and in it Minūchīhīr concealed his treasures and stores. In the time of Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-‘Alawī 2, called kūchak (“the Little”), this cave was entered, and much wealth found there. Afrāsiyāb alighted at a village called Khusraw-ābād near Amul (f. 296), which

1 Dhahir, p. 16.  
2 Dhahir, p. 17.
village still existed in the time of Washmgír (A. D. 935—967) the son of Ziyár, the father of Qábús. Above this village was a tree called *Sháti-mázi-bun* (شاطی مازی بن), beneath which Afrásiyáb pitched his tent for twelve years, and during all this time Minúchihr had need of nothing which is imported from foreign countries except pepper, in place of which they used to eat a herb ¹ called *kalij* (كليج), in order that their bodies might be able to resist the moisture of the climate. Finally Afrásiyáb concluded peace with Minúchihr (since he could not capture him) on the understanding that he should surrender to him one bowshot’s width of territory. Arish thereupon shot an arrow from there to Merv, a statement recorded in many Persian and Arabic books, both verse and prose ²; which some say that he achieved by virtue of some talisman or charm. This is one of the two shots in which the Persians glory, the other being the shot wherewith, in the reign of Kísrá (Anúshíráwán), Wahriz slew the king of the Abyssinians ³. From the conclusion of this war dates the prosperity of Rúyán, and the depopulation of this region (?Tabarak), for King Minúchihr thereafter established himself in Šabaristán.

**Foundation of Amul** ⁴.

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

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1 *Dhahir*, p. 18.
2 See, for instance, my edition of Dawlatsháh, pp. 60—61.
3 This story is so well known that I omit the meagre version here given. See Nöldeke’s *Gesch. d. Sasaniden*, p. 233 and *J. R. A. S.* for April, 1900, p. 229—230.
4 *Dhahir*, p. 22.
the village of Yazdánábád and the other the hamlet of Ashtád, both of which exist to this day. Ashtád had a very beautiful daughter. The great king of that time was named Fírúz, and had his capital at Balkh. One night he dreamed of this maiden, and on awakening cried 1:

صُبِحَ عَمَّي وَخُوِّشِيِّذَ مِنْ أَزْمَ رَبٍّود
فيَكُلُّ قَلَذَ رَأَيْنَا مَيَامًا قَدْ سَغَّنَا
دَيْنَاتُ مَعَانِيٌّ لَّيْلاً تَمَّا مَا فَلَمْ بِهْ وَجْهُ الْمُشْيَمِ بِهَا

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

قَصَّيَ اللَّهُ مَا لَا أُسْتَطِيعُ دَفْعَهُ بَلْ كَانَ لِمِمَّا قَصَّى اللَّهُ عَامِمً

Love so wasted his frame that:

لَوْ أَنَّ الْإِشْعَرَى رَأَا يَمِيِّمًا نَسَى بَعْدُهُ الْمَعْدُودِ شِيَامًا

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

شَفَاتِي إِنْ أَقَّسَيْتُ سَرْكَ فِي الْأُهوَا
كَذلِكَ أَسَرَأْ أَلَمَيْنَ إِنْ قَشَتْ شَقَتْ

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

1 Dhahir, p. 23.
2 This is much simplified and abbreviated in Dhahir, p. 23.
he summoned his ministers and issued orders to all the Wardens of his Marches (marzubáns) to seek for the original of that vision. For some time their efforts met with no success, and the king’s melancholy increased, until at length he entreated one of his relatives named Mihr Fíruz to undertake the quest, promising him a rich reward if he should be successful (f. 32a). Mihr Fíruz declared that he would leave no stone unturned in his endeavour to find the king’s desire:

قَفِّشَ بِمَأِلَّ الْحَفَّةِ إِن مَّسَنِي الْعَصِمَ
وَأَكْلِ كَآمِ الْكَفَّ إِن كَنْتُ أَعْرَثُ

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

1 Dhahir, p. 24.  
2 Dhahir, p. 25.
corresponded with her whom the king had seen in his vision. He said to himself, "If she be a jinniyya, I will kill her (f. 32b), but if she be a human being, it is she whom I seek." So he drew his sword and advanced towards the fountain. The girl looked up at him and said, "O youth, who art thou, and what is thy name, and what dost thou here? For I wonder to see such an one as thyself in this place." Mihr Fírúz replied, "I am a human being. Tell me, now, of thy condition and family." "I too," replied the girl, "am of the human race; my home is in this place; and I have two fathers, to wit my father and his brother, and likewise a mother and many brothers." The girl, on Mihr Fírúz's request, consented to take him to her home, and, on reaching it, informed her mother of his arrival. Her mother received him with the utmost respect and courtesy, and sent her youngest son to summon her husband and his brothers, who came with all speed, and, after the fashion of Daylam, entertained him for three days without questioning him as to his business or condition. When, after this period, they enquired as to who he was and what had brought him to the country, he informed them that he was one of the nobles of the King, and had come thither for solitude and the chase, and described his separation from his companions, the loss of his horse, and his meeting with the girl. "Know," he concluded, "that I am not one of whom you need be ashamed, or who has need of your wealth or possessions. If you see fit, then give me this girl in marriage." "Thine appearance," said the father and mother," sufficiently indicates thy nobility 1, and thy courtesy thy virtue (f. 33a); how then should we not desire thee as a son-in-law?" Then they related to him their history, and how they had been compelled to flee from

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


On hearing the propose of Mihr-Firúz he readily agreed to it, and Mihr Fírúz at once sent off a messenger for the presents and supplies which he had left at Ţúsán, informing the governor that he had fulfilled his quest, and bidding him notify the fact to the King. While one of the girl's brothers took this message, another sought out Mihr Fírúz's missing retainers. The King rejoiced greatly at the news, despatched valuable gifts, and ordered general illuminations and festivities (f. 336). When the actual greatness of Mihr-Firúz became apparent to Ashtád and Yazdán, they were overwhelmed with confusion, especially when he related to them the dream, and declared to them that it was not to himself, but to his master the king, that the girl was to be given in marriage. Then they sent off the girl in all haste to the Court, and when the king saw her, he at once recognized in her the original of his vision, and his love for her increased day by day. One day he asked her¹, “Why is it that the women of your country have such beautiful eyes, such fragrant mouths, and such soft skins?” She replied in her own language [of Tabaristán]²:

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

¹ Dhahir, p. 27.
² For variants, cf. Dhahir, loc. cit., ll. 3–5.
her native place, situated above the river Hirhiz (هَرْحِز), and
called after her name. Engineers and surveyors were at once
sent thither to prosecute the work, and that same year a
son was born to her named Khusraw. She desired the king
to send her thither for change of air, because the climate
of Balkh did not agree with her. They told her that the
engineers had been unable to bring the water of the river
Hirhiz to the spot which she had indicated as the site of the
city, so she ordered that its name should still remain
Páy-i-Dasht; and there the signs of these buildings are
apparent to this day (f. 34a). They called the place which
the girl had chosen Sharistána-mars. The projected city
was then transferred to the present site, called Āstána-saráy,
but at first named Máta (مَات), now the site of the Great
Mosque [of Amul], wherein was formerly a fountain which
drew its water from the Mountain of Wandá-ummi, and
which was still running in the time of al-Yazdádí (see p.
3 supra). And when they had brought the water thither,
they built the city-wall of baked bricks, so thick that three
horseman could ride abreast along the top of it, and dug
round about it a moat 33 cubits (ارش) in depth, and a bow-
shot across; and in the wall they made four Gates, called
respectively “of Jurján”, “of Gilán”, “of the Mountain”,
and “of the Sea”. The area of the city was 400 jaribs of
land. The Palace of the king’s wife, Amula, stood where
the “Street of the Washermen” (کوچیده گازران) now is, and
behind the “Cloth-sellers’ Market”; and her Tomb (دخمه)
was in the same place. In the reign of Ardashír excavations
were made here to a depth of two spears’ lengths, and the
sepulchre and surrounding buildings were disclosed. When
the King’s son Khusraw succeeded to the throne, he greatly
enlarged Amul, and made it his capital and residence, sur-

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

1 See Ṭabari (ed. de Goeje), Ser. iii, Vol. ii, p. 1275.
3 See Ṭabari, Ser. iii, pp. 651—706.
to have recourse to conjecture. The cost of the land occupied by the Mosque was 8032 dinārs, its length was 93 yards (ارش), its dome or roof (سماك), ten yards in length, contained 300,640 tiles (فسب), and the cost of construction was 47,340 dinārs. In the time of Firuz-Shāh, the original founder of the city, a ditch or moat was made from the frontier of Gurgan and Mūqān, on the seashore, and traces of this moat, called "Firūz-kanda" ("the Moat of Firūz") are still visible in many places in Ţabaristān, a fact on which al-Yazdādī has greatly insisted in his book. At the time of the foundation of Amul (f. 35a), a certain man possessed one jarib of land, which he refused to sell, lest his sons should forfeit the position of land-owners and sink to that of serfs. He appealed to the King, who admitted that he was right, and ordered him to receive an abundant payment for his little property.

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

Mámtir (ممتير). This place was visited by the Imám Hasan b. ʿAlí in the Caliphate of ʿUmar, he being accompanied by an army of Arabs under Málīk Ashtar an-Nakhaʿī, and because of the excellence of the site and its natural advantages, especially its good water and sweet-voiced birds,

1 See Baládhuri's Futūḥ, ed. de Goeje, pp. 164 and 228.
he said: دَبَّة مَهْوَطْرِ, and the last words of this sentence, مَا وَانِنِ, became corrupted into مَمْتِرِ. When مُحَامَمَد بِ. خَالِد was governor of the province (f. 35b) he constructed there a market and other buildings, to which, in A. H. 160 (= A. D. 776—7) مَايَر ب. قَرْين added a Mosque.

**O ther i m p o r t a n t c i t i e s of ِTَә bәr i s tәn b e y o n d Tәmәsә.**

Gurgán was founded by Gurgín son of مِلَاد. It was always the capital of the مَارْذُبْانَس of ِتَә bәr i s tәn, and has a circuit of about four parasangs. Gurgín’s ass-herds (خَارْبَانْدَاغَان) used to graze their beasts about Astarábád, which town sprung up to meet their needs and took its name from their mules (آَسَار). The whole land, from دِنَәر-ِجَٰی to مَلات (which is the extreme limit of ِتَә bәr i s tәn in that direction), and from رَآي and قُمِیس to the seashore, was well cultivated and thickly populated, and there were 28 cities within the district of Tammísha, each with its mosques, oratories, markets, judges, and men of learning, as follows:

**In the Plain.** (1) أمِل, (2) سَارِی, (3) مَمْتِرِ, (4) رَٰبَسْت, (5) أَرَازم (ب. أَرَازم), (6) تُرِیچا, (7) مُعْلَی (مَٰلِئِیل), (8) مِهْرَاوْن, (9) مَعْلِر (ب. بِیْجِرِی), (10) آَحِم, (11) جَلْعِس (ب. سَالُس), (12) مَعْلِرَنْسِک (ب. بِدْسِرَتِیک), (13) تَیِس (or قُحْسیبَه, or ب. مَهْاَسِیَه), (14) تَامَیَا (ب. مَهْاَسِیَه), (15) Gurgán.

**In the Mountains.** (16) کَالَر, (17) رُیَیْن, (18) نَامَر, (19) کَجْوْیا, (20) وِمَا (ب. وِمَا), (21) شَالَانْبا, (22) Wабَد (ب. Wامَد), (23) Abkhamá (ب. عَبْکُهَمْ), (24) سَرَمَم, (25)

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1 The modern بَرْفُرِش. Cf. Dḥәhɪr, p. 80.
2 Cf. Dḥәhɪr, p. 22.
3 Dḥәhɪr, p. 21, has "دِنَәر-ِجَٰی, which is the eastern limit of all ِتَә bәr i s tәn."
4 B. enumerates these three places in the preceding class.

The revenues of Tabaristan in the time of the Tahirids (بعزت ایلیم طاعریه, i.e. A.D. 820—872) amounted to 6,003,000 dirhams, according to the following detail:

- Sari as far as Tammisha: 1,300,000 dir.
- Mamtir and Turicha: 370,000 "
- Amlul: 1,400,000 "
- Falus (B. Sulus)-Ruyan: 300,000 + 900,000 = 1,200,000 "
- Rdn-Hal (f. 36a): 360,000 "
- Damawand (B. Dunbawand): 1,200,000 "

**TOTAL:** 5,830,000 "

The farms (صیغ) of Tabaristan were divided into three classes, and they produced in the time of the Tahirids 7,000,900 dirhams, as follows:

- سلسله المعروف بهاموند که خلفیه از اصفهان جمشید خرید
- المعروف به جبور و خلصاء (ایلام ماریار) غلات فصلیل مرغ و مالی دریا و آدوبه
- دو پاره ده بود
- غلات فصلیل مرغ و مالی دریا و آدوبه
- سقاشیه ایلام کوور و امرباد (لقور و معد و مازیار) صیغ به حکم بن عیسی طاعر را به پختگی دادند
- صیغ غلات مسلمین بن طاعر

**TOTAL:** 6,100,300 "

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1. Over this and under (23), which stands immediately above it in the MS., the name *Umyar-kuh* (ایلام کوور) is written in red.

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

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

4. B. has only "500,000".
The total income from all the farms, land-taxes and imposts of Tabaristán beyond Tammísha in the time of the Táhirids amounted to 13,300,000 dirhams.

Section I, ch. III.

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

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

Anecdote.

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

1 B. has "13,000 and 330,000."
fore him. When they arrived, he was holding a great banquet, at which all the local nobles and gentry were present. Ordering the two messengers to be hospitably entertained, he packed in sacks samples of all the products of Tabarestán, garments of wool, silk, linen and cotton, bread-stuffs of all sorts, sweetmeats, appâs, cereals, water-cresses, fresh and salted game, birds, fruits, wines, fragrant herbs, flowers, and the like, and, furnished with these, set off for Sârî, where he arrived at day-break. By chance the Ispahbad was giving a great banquet, at which he was presiding, seated on a high throne, whence, after pronouncing a khutba after the fashion of kings, he addressed the people as follows. "O men of Tabarestán, know that ye were a people dwelling apart in a corner of the world, of whom no fame was spread abroad, and to whose country none were attracted. Ye dwelt in jungles with the wild beasts and beasts of prey, ignorant of the enjoyments of life, the ways of men, soft raiment, good horses and agreeable perfumes. It was I who introduced you to nobler aims and a richer and more desirable life; who built for you fine cities which attracted travellers and merchants from afar, so that rare and precious merchandises flowed into your country, and ye became notable and famous in the world, and your cities celebrated for their wealth and splendour. For all this I deserve your thanks." Then all those present, except Shahr-Khwâstân, rose up and applauded. The Ispahbâd, observing with displeasure Shahr-Khwâstân's silence (f. 37b), cried to him, "What ails thee that thou art tongueless as a fish and soulless as a serpent?" Said the other, "If permission be accorded me, I will speak;" and, on receiving permission, he produced and opened the ten sacks which he had brought with him, and displayed their contents. Then he spoke as follows: "May the Ispahbad-Ispahbadân live long! O assembly, we were in this land men indepen-
dent of imports from other countries, contented with what sufficed for our needs, and enjoying ample ease and luxury. None hindered us, nor envied us, nor contended with us, nor coveted our country, nor was cognizant of its secrets. We had need of no one; we had houses, corn-lands and hunting-grounds within the Great Dyke, and every two parasangs was stationed a head-man, captain or squire, whom all man readily obeyed. Now this Prince hath made all strangers and foreigners to know us and our land, and hath caused them to flock hither and settle here, and ere long they will pick a quarrel with us, strive to take our land, and drive forth our children as wanderers and exiles.”

Then the Ispahbad and the people perceived that he spoke truly, and asked what should now be done, to which he replied, “The thing is done, and there is now no averting it. Had you consulted with me sooner, I would have shewn you a way. Please God that by the Prince’s good fortune no harm may result.”

The virtue, beauty, health and excellence of the women of Ṭabaristán have been already mentioned (f. 38a) in connection with the narrative of the building of Amul by Fīrūz-sháh. ‘Abduʾr-Raḥmán Khúrzád¹ says in his Book of Routes and Provinces (كتاب المسالك والممالك) that physicians and sages have agreed that the two healthiest and most charming countries are Ṭabaristán and Samarqand. Of the latter, Ḥuṣayn (حصين) b. Mundhir ar-Raqšíshí said:

while of the former Buzurjmihr said, in reply to a question from Núshírwán, “Its name is Ṭarab (‘joy’) and Bustán (‘garden’).” ‘Abduʾlláh b. Qutayba (A. has فقدت in error for التنبيه) said that it ought to be called Tabaristán (with ت for

¹ [Probably Ibn Khúrdádbhíh. See de Goeje’s ed. of his Kitáb uʾl-masálík, pp. 171—172, where ar-Raqqáshí’s remark above cited is given in substance. A. G. E.]
as the first letter), for it was as though it had been pruned with axes (tabar). "As for its plains, its mountains, its seas and its swamps," runs another saying, "its mountains are a stronghold and refuge for its kings, its swamps are a treasury for its people, its seas are a hunting ground for them, and its plains are a paradise." (Here follows an Arabic poem of seven couplets in its praise). In it are no noxious reptiles or hurtful beasts, like the snakes of Sístán and India, the scorpions of Nişibín, Káshán, Jáshk and Múqán, the locusts of 'Askar, the tarantulas and fleas of Ardabíl, the beasts of prey of Arabia, or the crocodiles of Egypt; nor plagues like the alopecia of Başára, or the drought of Syria, or the excessive heat of 'Umán, Shíráz and Ahwáz. In short, all men agree that there is no country so delectable as a residence; there are abundant fruits, firewood, spices, mountains, plains, sulphur-mines (f. 38b), sulphate of iron (رل), antimony (سربه), gold and silver-mines 1, and all sorts of fabrics for clothing. Of its products in his time al-Yazdádí thus speaks:

و بَرْدَادِی آوِرْهُ است که در عيَّد اوثّل اطلس و نسّج و عتاق بيش بِهَا و انْوَاع دَبَیَاء بِهّانِی و سَقْلاطُون مُرْتَفُع و سْرُبْ غَران قِبَمْ وَكَأَفَرْی که وَرَائَی آن صُورَت نِبَنِد بَنیکِوْتی و خوْن و بَرْدهَاي اِبرِشیدی و پَیّشی و مَبِیرُهَا بَریِّی و اَنَّه بِنَتِر از چهِری و قَلیِّهَا مَحْفُوری و آَبِگَیَنِهَا بَغدادی و حَصِیَّرِهَا عَبادان بَطَرْسَتَان آَمَندِی و از آَنْجَا باَقیه بَلاد عَلَّ جَلِب کُرَنِدی کَه در ۲۳۸ آَثَّرْ مِثل آَنَکه آَنَکه بَنَتِنَد نِبوّد و بَازِر مَنَع سَقَسِیَن و بُلغَر تا بَعْهَد مَا آَمَل بَود و مرْدِم از عَرَائِق و شام و خَرَاسان و حَدِید دَمْنوستَان بَنَلْبِ مَنَع بَلْمَ آَمَندِی و بَازِرگِنَانی مرْدِم طَبْرِسَتَان بُلغَر و سَقَسِیَن بَود حَکَم آَنَکه سَقَسِیَن از آَن لِب دریا در مَقاَبِل آَمَل نِِدائه

1 Melgunof, Das südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres, p. 24.
In illustration of this last statement, that poverty is unknown amongst the natives of Tabaristan, the author relates how a certain man of that province, settled at Mecca, boasted of this fact. The people of Mecca, anxious to disprove his assertion, hunted high and low till at length they found a beggar who said he was from the parish of Hazima-Kuy in Amul in Tabaristan. Him they confronted with the man who had uttered this boast (f. 396). "What," said the latter, "do they call a skirt (dáman) in your town?" "Dáman," replied the other. "And a pocket (jayb)?" continued he. "Jayb," answered the beggar. "You are a liar," said the other, "and no true-born Tabari, for in Amul they call a skirt lunbur (لنبور) and a pocket gurívün (or giryún, گریون)." The man then admitted that he had been born at Ray and only taken to Amul in childhood by his father and mother.

The taxes and imposts of Tabaristan are light, and especially was this the case under the rule of the House of Bawand, while the water is abundant, good, and freely accessible to all. The satraps, governors and Ispahbads of Tabaristan have always enjoyed a great influence, and Kisrás and Caliphs alike have sought their advice and counsel. Their doctors, scribes, physicians, astronomers and poets also include many famous names, and, from the time of Feridún and Minuchihr, who have been already mentioned, many great and notable men have sought refuge there.
Thus when Rustam-i-Zál was hurled into the sea of Qulzum (the Caspian) by Akwán Dív, he came ashore in Ţabaristán, and was hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. His son Suhráb sought him through Túrán, Irán, India and Rúm, and at length found him in Rúyán, at a place called Líkash (لیکش), where the fatal fight took place between them, in which Suhráb was slain. Rustam intended to carry his coffin back to Zábulistán, but, owing to the heat, he deposited it at Sárí, at the place called Qašr-i-Tús, where, it is said, it was eventually buried (f. 39b). So too Dárá, fleeing before Alexander, took refuge in Ţabaristán, and sent a message to the invader, saying, “I grant that you have conquered the Seven Climes, but what will you do with Farshwádjár?” The author adds that in A. H. 611 (A. D. 1214—1215) the Castle known as Díz-i-Dará („The Fortress of Darius”) was still standing near the sea (بکوه تاحی و دام بویشه نژیک دریا). Again in the time of Khusraw Parwítz (A. D. 590—627) his uncle Gustahm (Bístám), because the King had cut off his brother Bindú’è’s hands and feet, fled from his Government of Khurásán and took refuge in Ţabaristán, and was only slain at length by treachery on the part of Bahram Chúbína’s sister Gúrdiya, who was instigated thereunto by the King. Again in Sásánian times a king named Salyán (سلیمان) took refuge in Ţabaristán, and built himself a residence at the place called Kíya-Salyán (کیسالیان), the meaning of kíya (کیه) in the Ŧabarí dialect being “house”. This building was still standing in the author’s time, A. H. 613 (A. D. 1216—1217).

The Wonders of Ţabaristán.

Mount Damáwand. ‘Alí b. Zayn al-Kátib, in his work entitled Firdawsu ‘l-Ḥikmat ¹, says that the ascent is made

¹ Probably the work of this title by Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alí of Ray, mentioned by Ḥájí Khalífa, No. 9015.
from the village of Ask in two days. It is a conical peak, and is covered with snow, save for a space of thirty jariōs at the summit, which is free from snow both in summer and winter, and is covered with sand (ashes) into which the feet sink. At and about the summit are thirty craters and fissures, whence issue forth smoke, sulphurous fumes, and strange rumbling noises, whereby men know that there is fire within the mountain. No animal can live on it, because of the violent winds which blow about it, and it is said that the Philosopher's stone of the Alchemists (کبریت) is to be found there (f. 40a). Al-Yazdādī relates that in the time of Qābūs Shamsu’l-Ma’alī (A. D. 976—1012) there was a youth called the son of Amīr Kā (پسر امیر ک) who found this "Red Sulphur" (کبریت آچم) there, and with it made gold, until this matter became known to the King. In Mount Damáwand, it is said, Solomon imprisoned Šakhir, the jinnī who stole his ring, praying God to torment him there till the Resurrection; and this tradition is vouched for on the authority of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. But the stories told concerning Bīvarasp (i.e. Azhidahāka, or Dahāk), which were enquired into by the Caliph ‘Abdu’l-lāh al-Mā’mūn, and [what happened] in the reigns of Hurmuzd and Khusraw Parwīz, the Sāsānian kings, and the story of Mūsā b. Ḥūsā as-Sarwi, which are related in the Book of Pirūz-Mihrvān, and other similar legends ¹) are here omitted as incredible and unauthenticated. In the books of the Herbeds and Magians it is related that Nūshīrwān the Just sent a trusty messenger to Šakhir the jinnī, who, when the messenger came and saluted him, enquired who had sent him. On learning that it was Nūshīrwān, he rose to his feet, prayed, and gave three things to the messenger in a sealed packet,

¹ The text here, which I do not understand, has: و حوالتا كنبورك و حَرْثِهِ السعیه.
bidding him deliver them to the King, and entreat him in return to effect the release of the giver. These three things were three drugs, one to keep off old age, one to quicken digestion, and one an aphrodisiac. When these confections were brought to Núshírwán, he said, "I have no need of them, for old age is the ornament of man, and a source of dignity and honour: would that I were already old! Sexual desire, again, is only necessary for the continuance of the human race: whatever exceeds this is evil, not good. And artificial aids to digestion are only needful to him who eats too much; to the temperate man, who only eats to maintain his strength, they are useless and even pernicious (f. 406). Over and above all this, these drugs may not possess the properties alleged, and may have been given me for my destruction." Then he ordered the drug which was supposed to be a cure for old age to be given to a dog, and its head swelled up till it was as large as a cow's, until it died in great agony, and was secretly buried by Núshírwán's order.

Anecdote.

There was once a king called Máhiya-sar, whose head was abnormally small, and devoid of hair. He therefore always wore a turban, summer and winter, night and day, so that no one could see his head. Some say that he was a Jew named Shamcún (Simon) b. Khudádád, others that he was a Magian named Bálí the son of Farrukh-Adín. His mother, Rúz the daughter of Khurshíd, was a cunning witch and sorceress, incomparable in her time in the arts of Magic. They dwelt in a place four parasangs from Amul, called now Āsl-Visha and his palace was in a village which still exists and is called Vilfr (ويلفر). Between the villages of Kilankúr (كيلانكور) and Shír-ábád is a great forest, thick and high, which is
still called Máhiya-sarí Diz, and near it is a deep moat or dyke filled with water covered with duck-weed (آب مطحلب)، into which anything which falls disappears for ever, while no boat can cross it, and any animal falling into it does but drown the quicker the more it struggles. On that side where the north wind blows there is an open space, where grow daffodils the like of which in fragrance can be nowhere found; while in the village of Vilír is a certain species of fig (الجبر خسرهاف), superior to those of Ḥulwán. Now this king Máhiya-sar was a wicked and unprincipled tyrant, of whom his subjects stood in terror, and he had accumulated vast wealth which he had buried under various buildings. When ʿAbduʾlláh b. Maḥmúd b. Núḥ Abuʾl-ʿAbbás was governor of Ṭabaristán, an old man a hundred years of age came before him from that district, and gave him certain indications as to the site of these buried treasures. Abuʾl-ʿAbbás accordingly sent skilled and trusted man to excavate (f. 41a), and in these excavations they expended much money, but whenever they came on traces of treasure a landslip always occurred, killing several and nullifying their labours, so that at last they were forced to abandon their attempts.

Anecdote.

One of the Kísrrás sent a confidential messenger to Máhiya-sar ordering him to present himself at his court, under pain of incurring the Royal displeasure, Máhiya-sar had prepared a talisman which kept all the frogs and other reptiles (بناط) quiet during the day, but at night they made so much noise that the whole heaven and earth seemed to be in commotion. When at night-time Kírsra’s ambassador heard this fearful riot (شول رستاخيز)، he was dazed with wonder and fear, and asked what was the matter. They replied,
"The king's watchmen by night." "And where," enquired he, "are they by day?" "By day," they answered, "they rest." When the ambassador returned and related this to Kisrá, they told him that he must have been dreaming.

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

**Anecdote.**

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

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

Near Kalár (کلار) there is a village called Dilam (دلد), and

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1 The text has: که و فرض و پلور بانمل از آنها برند، I conjecture the meaning of these two words, with which I have never met elsewhere.
no one who is born there survives his twentieth year.

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

Near Amul grows a herb called Gunduya Züma (كندية زومه), the properties of which are thus described:

Ａگر أورا بدست ِبالمند و در قصبب مرد مالند انعاظ ِگیبرد و ورم کند و دو ِچندان شود که بوه باشد و بعد یک ساعت با قرار آید وآن گیبارا برگهای خوردن بود.

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

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

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

Near Ṭabaristán is a place called Páníra-Kúh (پانیرا یلیزارا یلیزارا کو), where, in the time of al-Yazdádí, there was a dyke called Ffrúz-Kúh, and adjoining this was another mountain whereon grew a poisonous herb.
Near Rúdbár hyacinths grow, and on Wandád-Hurmuzd-Kúh grow sweet rushes (النمر), as at Mecca, which they call Mushkwáśh.

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

Anecdote of the Dragon and Sám-i-Narimán.

The poet of Ţabaristán says:

تنها عشتُر تَر بِهِبَری اَی سوم

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

1 I do not understand the following words: و اشتُن دست از آن می‌سازند.

2 Probably Abu'l-ʾAmr, mentioned by the same title or f. 45a (p. 47 infra).
can do nothing." By the time he had prepared suitable weapons, the dragon had advanced to Alárásh near the seashore, and he came upon it at a place called Gáw-Kaláda (گاو کلدا). The dragon, on seeing Sám, rushed upon him. Sám smote it on the head with his mace, so that it fell asunder, and the dragon uttered so fearful a cry that all Sám's companions fell to the ground in terror. It then strove to encircle Sám with its tail, but he sprang back forty paces. It continued to move for three days and then died, and to this day no grass will grow on this spot, as is well known.

Section I, ch. iv.

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

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

On another occasion he was informed that a certain horse-breeder in Tukháristán had in his stud a horse valued at 100,000 dirhams. He at once despatched several experts in horseflesh to buy it for him. When they reached their destination, the owner would only allow them to look at the horse and not to ride it. It appeared to be a beautiful animal, well-proportioned, graceful and strong. They wrote to Mázyár for instructions. He replied (f. 43a): "Assuredly the owner would not impose such a condition unless he
was aware of some blemish in the animal. Before buying it, you must make it a condition that you shall be allowed to lasso it. If, when the lasso falls round its neck, it pricks up its ears, looks sharply down between its fore-feet, and draws its tail inwards, then buy it; but if it strains its neck against the noose, throws out its sides, and lays back its ears, then refuse to buy it.” When they tried the experiment, it happened even as he had said, and they rejected it accordingly.

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

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

3. *Wandád Hurmuzd* the son of *Alandáy*, also celebrated for his courage. His doughty deeds, and how he slew Faráša and “the Devil of Farʿán” (Sálim of Farʿán or Farghán) ³, will be told in its proper place. When Hárúnur-Rashid reached Ray, he sent [his son] al-Maʿmún to be laid in his lap, and he bestowed on al-Maʿmún villages whereof the revenues amounted to 1,600,000 dirhams. When he slew Faráša, he gave to the Ispahbad Sharwín, “King

¹ See Melgunof’s *Südliche Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, p. 52.
² See Melgunof, p. 50 ad calc.
³ *Dhahir*, pp. 156, 158—159.
of the Mountains”¹, who came to help him, one third (دو دانک) of the spoils; and when, after the death of Farâsha, Hárunu’r-Rashid came to Ray, Wandád Hurmuzd went out to meet him (f. 43b). When the Caliph’s eyes lighted upon him, he began to upbraid, reproach and fiercely threaten him, whereupon Wandád said, “I do not understand Arabic, but I perceive that the Commander of the Faithful is incensed against me, and is upbraiding me in unkind words. Why did he not speak thus when I was in my own highlands? Now that, unconstrained and of my own free will, I come before him loyally and obediently, it ill befits his greatness to address in such terms his guest and his faithful servant.” Hárun, when this was interpreted to him, admitted that he was in the right, increased his rank, and ordered a cushion to be brought that he might be seated. When the cushion was brought, Wandád, instead of sitting down on it, placed it on his head, saying, “A cushion from the Commander of the Faithful is an honour; it is better placed on the head.” When he rose up to depart, Hárun ordered the cushion to be sent with him.

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

¹ Concerning this title, see Melgunof, op. cit., p. 49.
When thou didst send him to my kingdom, he was encamped against me for a whole year, and every morning he set his army in battle-array in a different fashion. And I had there (f. 44a) a knight who was his equal in courage and valour, whom I sent out against him on the day of battle; but in less time than it takes one to draw a sword from its scabbard, I saw my champion’s head fall before him. Next day I myself went out to meet him. He struck me such a blow with his sword as I had never before experienced. Before such a man, though he be my enemy, I willingly rise up.”

The Caliph was pleased at his speech, and thereafter promoted Yázíd b. Murthad to high rank.

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

جئني شنيم كه آن برونجه جنده دختر بكرám بكارت بر داننت بون و اباحت و للاندي از حيا و دينات و حرمت شييپنت مي ورزيد

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

قَبْرُ بَارَانَ أَسْتَنْبَرْ صَرْحَةٌ خَطَّارًا تَقَافَصُ دَوْنَهُ الْاَخْطَارَ
4. **Khurshid the son of Dâzamihr** ¹. A prince of Khurâsân once came to pay his respects to him with many gifts and offerings, and a lodging was assigned to him near the Ispahbad. He asked for dishes and trays whereon to arrange the presents (f. 446). They brought from the Ispahbad’s plate-room five hundred silver trays. The Khurâsânî demanded more. They sent to Farrukhân’s daughter, the chief wife of the Ispahbad, and obtained from her five hundred more. The Ispahbad then received the presents from Khurâsân on these thousand trays, and in return sent to the prince two thousand trays filled with presents of the produce of Ṭabaristân, together with 100,000 dirhams.

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

5. **The Ispahbad Pâdhusbân** ². He used daily to feed six hundred man in three detachments, 200 in the morning, 200 at noon, and 200 at evening. ʿAbduʾlláh Faḍlawayh as-Sarwî had fled from Muḥammed Yazîd and sought refuge with him. He made him an allowance of 200,000 dirhams for “bread-money”, and continued it to his sons after he died.

¹ Melgunof, p. 50, *ad calc.* Coins of both these kings are extant. See, besides the references given by Melgunof, Vol. v of the *Collections Scientifiques de l’Institut des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, p. 123.
² Melgunof, pp. 50—51; Nöldreke’s *Sasaniden*, p. 151, n. 2 *ad calc.*
Sayyids of the House of the Prophet who Ruled in Tabaristán.

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

�َا كُبِّرْ بِيِّدِ الْحَجَمِ سَقَرَا أَنْتَ الْأَلْوَانُ مِنْ الْسَّقَمْ
فَكُسَّمۡكَ دَا جَسِيَّةٌ بِاِحْتَجَامٍ كَكُسَّمۡكَ دَا مَلَكٌ بِالْكَسۡمَلِ

For those two couplets the poet received ten thousand dirhams. 2

2. Muhammad b. Zayd ad-Dāʾi ila ʿl-Ḥaqq, brother of the above. Volumes might be filled with his praises. Sayyid Imám-i-Muṣfīd Abú Ṭalīb relates that he had a learned secretary called Abu'l-Qásim al-Kátib al-Balkhí, noted for his eloquence and excellence, who used to say that this Prince so far excelled all others for whom he had acted as secretary that, to use his own expression, "I could have imagined that it was Muḥammad the Prophet of God dictating one of his revelations." 'Abdu'l-ʿAzīz al-ʿIjlī 3) composed in his honour a qasida in which occurs the following verse:

1 Dhahir, p. 282.
2 See Dhahir, p. 282, where, at the beginning of the second bayt, ʾ/jses stands for ʾ/sc.
3 Dhahir, p. 296.
and received a gift of 30,000 dirhams. When Bakr b. 'Abdu'l-Ázíz al-Íjlí, one of the great captains of that time, came before him at Amul, he alighted from his horse to do him honour, and Muḥammad b. Zayd presented him with a million dirhams contained in a hundred bags, besides weapons and other presents. Every year he used to send a thousand 

1 gold dinárs to the shrines of 'Álí, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and other illustrious members of his family; and when the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (A. D. 847—861) destroyed the tombs of the Imáms, he was the first who repaired them.

Anecdote.

One day he was sitting at the Pension Office (Díwán-i-

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

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

3. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī as-Sajjād b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, with the title of an-Nāṣiruʾl-Kabīr, and the kunya of Abū Muḥammad. His virtue, learning, asceticism, and piety, and the results of his generosity, are still apparent in Gilān and Daylam, where also his way and doctrine command acceptance. His tomb, the College and Library which he founded, and the endowments bestowed by him, are still flourishing in Amul, while his grave is accounted holy, and visited by many pilgrims.

He had four sons, Muḥammad (from whom he derived his kunya of Abū Muḥammad) who died young, ʿAlī ash-Shāʿir ("the Poet"), Aḥmad Abūl-Ḥusayn, and Jaʿfar Abūl-Qāsim. Three of these left issue, and their descendants reigned for a long while in Gilān and Daylam. The genealogy of each will be set forth in the (f. 46a) Kitāb-i-Anšāb. Aḥmad b. an-Nāṣir was of the Imāmi sect, and of his sons Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad, called Ṣāhibuʾl-Qalansuwa ("the Wearer of the Persian hat") dwelt in Daylamān, and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, called an-Naqīb, in Baghdad. Of the sons of ʿAlī as-Shāʿir were Abū ʿAbdīllāh Muḥammad al-Uṭrūsh (الاطرش), and Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b Abī ash-Shāʿir, who held a distinguished position at Baghdad. The following verses are by him:
He was a man of many accomplishments, and has written much poetry, and he was for a long while in the companionship of the Imám al-Hasan b. Alí al-Askari (the Eleventh Imám of the "Sect of the Twelve", who died A. H. 260), from whom he received instruction. Amongst his disciples were Ibnu'l-Mahdí al-Mámfúrí and Abu'l-Álá as-Sarwi, of whose accomplishments ath-Álání has spoken in the *Yatimatu'd-Dahr*. The following is a specimen of his powers of repartee:

4. Sayyid Abu'l-Áhsayn al-Mu'ayyad Bi'lláh 'Adu'd-Dawla and Sayyid Ábú Ẓalib Yaḥyá an-Nátîq bi'l-Áhqq, the sons of al-Áhsayn b. Hárún b. al-Áhsayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Qásim b. al-Áhsayn b. Zayd b. al-Imám as-Sibṭ al-Áhsan b. 'Álí b. Ábí Ẓalib. It is said that not one of the Prophet's descendants who endeavoured by arms to claim his rights was more richly endowed with all the qualities requisite in an Imám than these two brothers. Sayyid Abu 'l-Áhsayn carried on his propaganda in Daylamán, and all Gil and Daylam responded to it. His treatise on the Excellence of 'Álí b. Ábí Ẓalib is so eloquent and so well-reasoned that it might almost be described as a miracle. Of his other writings the best known are the *Kitábā'it-Tajrid*, the *Kitábā'is-Shark*, the *Kitábā'ul-Bulgha*, the *Kitábā'it-Tabšíra* and the *Kitábā'ul-Ifáda*, all of which are still

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1 See the Damascus ed. of that work, Vol. iii, p. 278—282, where some account is given both of al-Uṯrāsh, and of Abu'l-Álá as-Sarwi.
in the hands of the Imáms (f. 46b) and are eagerly studied by their disciples. The titles of his other less known works are omitted. His poems form a bulky volume. The following verses are his:

وَقَدْ سَبَّتُ عَقِبَتَهُ نَأْرُ مَخْتَنَةً وَ يَلَىَّ مَعْصَبَةٌ عَقِبَانَ أَلَّا يَهْدِبُ
وَقَدْ شَدَّبَتْهُ أَلْطَابَاتُ وَ إِنِّمَا نَعْمَ عُضُنَّ أَلْدَوْجٍ حِينَ يُصَلُّبُ

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

إِنَّ الْتَّخَلِّفَةَ مُدْ تَقِتَتْ وَ مُدْ بَذَّتَ
مَوْصُوَّةٌ يُقْتَىُ مِنْ أَلِ عُبَّاسٍ
إِذَا أَنْقَصَّى عُمَرُ عَنْهَا قَامَ ذَٰلِكَ
فَلْحَبَّ الْشَّمَّسَ وَ أُمَتَدَّتْ عَلَى الْنَّاسِ
فَقُلْ لَهُنَّ يَرْتَبِجْنَهَا عِيْرُ فَمْ سُفَهَا
لَوْ سَتَّتْ رَحْتَ كَرَبَ لَظْيَنِ بِالْبَيِّسِ

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

فَقِلْ لَأَلِيِّ سُحِّرَةَ يَا بَغَلَ عُبَّاسٍ
أَضْرَحَتْ خَلَافَتُكِ مَنْ كُوَّسَةً عَلَّيْسٍ

Ibnu'l-Khayr the Nāṣībī answered this in a long qaṣīda containing this verse:

The Qāḍī Abu'l-Qasim 'Alī b. Muḥammad at-Tanukhi, author of the Kitāb i-Faraj ba'da sh-Shiddat (f. 47a) replied to this in the following poem:

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2 Nāṣībī is a term of reproach applied by the Shi'ites (or Rāfīḍīs) to their opponents.
When Sayyid Abu'l-Husayn had occupied Daylamán and established himself therein, men of learning came from all parts of the world to profit by his conversation, so that he even sent a message to the Qâdî'el-Qu'dât 'Abdu'l-Jabbâr bidding him swear allegiance to him. The Hâkim al-Jayshâm in his book entitled Fîldâ'el-'Absâr relates that he died on Sunday, the day of 'Arafa [i.e. the 9th of Dhu'el-Hijja], A. H. 421 ( = Dec. 8, A. D. 1030), aged seventy years and

1 Or Jathim, Juthaym, Jaytham, etc. See H. Kh., N°. 4133, where a book named Fîldâ'el-'Absâr is mentioned by Abû Sa'id al-Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Chashmi (or "Jeshemi"), who is perhaps identical with the author here mentioned.
odd, and that he was buried on the Monday, the ʿId-ul-Adha (10th of Dhu'l-Hijja) in his home at Lanká, where his tomb is still visible. His doctrine is still (f. 47b) followed by the people of that region, and the Ustundár Kay Ká'ús and his descendants, and the people of Daylam generally.

5. Sayyid an-Nátiq-bíl-Haqq Abú Ṭálîb Yahyá b. al-Ḥusayn at-Ṭá'ir bi-ta'yidilláh was ten years older than his brother Sayyid Mu'ayyad bílláh, and was famous alike for his wisdom and his virtues. The father of these two brothers was of the Imámí sect, as were they also originally. This Sayyid received instruction first from Sayyid Abu'l-ʿAbbás, then from the great Imámí teacher Shaykh Abú ʿAbdilláh; and imparted it to ʿAbdu'l-Jabbár Qádi'l-quḍát; and amongst the Zaydis there was no more learned seeker after truth. He taught for several years in the College in Gurgán, where his lectures were much frequented by the learned. Later he went to Daylamán, and when his brother died, allegiance was sworn to him. When he became Imám, Abu'l-Faraj ʿAlí b. al-Ḥusayn wrote to him:

سرُ الْبُرْوَةِ وَ الْنَّبِيَّةِ وَ زَمَّةَ الْوَصِيَّةِ وَ الْوَصِيَّةَا
أَنَّ الْكَلِمَ الْمَبْلَغَةَ يَجْزَىْ بِنَّ عَادٍ وَ الْبَرَّ سَيْلًا

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

عَلَيْهِ سَلَّمُ أَلِلَّهُ سُلَكِنَ بَلْقَعُ
قَلِيسُ إِلَى ذِفَعِ أَلْحَامِ سِبْبِ
وَ تَيِسُ إِلَى قُبْرِ الخَصِّبِ مَفْرَعٍ
وَ إِنْ عَنَّ خَطْبَّ فِي الْمَسْبِحِ جَلِيلٍ
وَ إِنْ كَانَ حَزَنُ النَّاسِ عِنْدَ إِيَابِيْهِ
قَصَبَرَ قَيَّمًا حُزْنِيَ عَلِيْهِ طَوِيلٌ
Sayyid Abú Tálíb Yaḥyá was born in A. H. 340 (= A. D. 951–2), and died in A. H. 422 (= A. D. 1031), aged 82, less than a year after his brother. Of his philosophical works the best known are the Kitābu ‘l-Tahrír, the Commentary on the Kitābu ‘l-Mufid, and the Kitābu ‘l-Dimá‘a (f. 48a).

6. As-Sa‘yidu‘l-Imámw‘l-Faqíhu‘l-‘Alím w‘l-Mutakallimu‘sh-Shá‘ír al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawi. His tomb is opposite the College of Zaynu‘ sh-Sharaf. King Ardashír was induced to repair and renovate it by Sayyid Imám Bahá‘u‘d-Dín al-Ḥasan b. Mahdí al-Mámírí. He was for many years in religious retirement at the shrine of the Imám ‘Alí b. Músá ar-Riḍá at Mash-had, in praise of which town he composed the following qaṣīda:
لا وَ الَّذِي يَعْلَمُ مَا نَلَّتُ مِنْهَا مُحْرَماً غَيْرُ حَدِيثٍ وَ نَظَرٍ وَ اللَّهُ خَيْرٌ مِنْ غَيْرٍ فَعَدَّ عِنْ تَذَكَّارِي ۖ إِذَا أُنِّيتُ بَعْدَ نَارِهَا وَ رَبِّ فَقْرٌ غَدِيدٌ ۖ كَمَا مَاجِرَ قَطْعَتْهَا بِنَانِةٍ مُقَدَّسَةٌ لَّفَقْهَا. مَنْ أَمَلَ وَ نَالَ يُقَطَّعُهَا الْمَسَائِرُ حِينَ اِلْيَهَةِ حَتَّى أَلْسَرَ مَاتُ ۖ أَيْنَ حَثَّ نَاعِمَةُ يَوْمَا وَلَتَتْ بَاَََكْرُ لِمُهَرَّرَانَ دَوْارًا مِنْ بَعْدَهَا غَواَجِرٍ حَتِّى تَوَفَّى سَارِبَةَ ۖ ۖ ثُمَّ أَعْدَ مِنْهَا بَاَََكْرًا مُقَطَّعَةَ قَوَاجِرٍ حَتِّى تَوَفَّى نَامِهِ ۖ يَخَافُ مِنْهَا مُلْمَهَةٌ وإِنَّهُ دُوْلَةٌ مَّنْتَهَى ۖ وَ فِي تَمِيْشِ ۖ لَا تَقْفُ ۖ ۖ ثُمَّ أَعْدَ مِنْهَا وَ أَسْمَى ۖ يَا صَاحِبِي وَفِي نَمَاءٍ أَسْتَرَئَاتَ مَعَا
He was commonly called Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim; and it is related that "the Great Násir" (نادر كبير), that most accomplished and eloquent scholar, used to say, "Were it lawful to repeat the verses of anyone in one's prayers, it would assuredly be the verses of Abu'l-Qásim!"

7. As-Sayyid Shamsu 'Ali Rasúl'lláh. He was a dervish, skilled in the traditions, and of ascetic and devout life. His tomb still stands outside the Gate, in the 'Awámma-kúy quarter (بدر دروازه بخلد عارمة كوي). Other learned Sayyids (? descendants of the above) contemporary with the author were: Sayyid Dhahíru'd-Dín Nassába of Gurgán, whose skill in scholastic theology and jurisprudence are recognized by all; Sayyid Ruknu'd-Dín of Sári; and his learned and vir-
tuous brother Sayyid Sharafu’d-Dín, whose tomb is in the College of Sayyid Imám Khaṭīb, opposite Mashhad-i-Sar, and who did much to check the Zaydī and propagate the Imámí doctrines in those districts.

8. As-Sayyidu’l-Imám Abú Ṭālib ath-Thā’ir. He was one of five brothers, whose grandfather was called “Ḥusayn the Poet” (حسيين الشاعر). His brother was “the Great Nāṣir”, and his father was known as Muḥammad al-Fāris. Nāṣir-i-Kabīr’s daughter had a servant named ‘Umayr, and after the men of Gil and Daylam had taken Ṭabaristán from the Sayyids, this servant also revolted, went to Gilán, and gave over all his master’s property to be plundered. The men of Gilán rallied round him and forsook the Sayyid, who expressed his feelings in the following verses:

RULERS OF THE HOUSE OF BĀWAND.

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

1. The Ispahbad ʿAla’u’d-Dawla ʿAli b. Shahriyár b. Qárin. His virtues, his doughty deeds, and how he secured the kingdom to himself in spite of jealous brothers and kinsmen will be mentioned subsequently. Amongst those who took refuge at his court were the following. Shirzād ¹, son of Sultán Mas’ūd (III) of Ghazna, who for a while shared the throne of Ghazna with Bahramshāh (his brother). When he expressed a desire to perform the Pilgrimage to Mecca,

¹ See Lane-Poole’s Muḥammadan Dynasties, pp. 289 and 290. He reigned A. H. 508—509 (= A. D. 1114—1115).
the Ispahbad arranged his journey and supplied all that he needed day by day at every stage. After his return he was enabled to proceed once more to Ghazna.

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

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

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

The Amir 'Abdur-Rahmán Ṭugha-Turk (طغرل) the Atábek came to his court from Ardabil with a number of his retainers, and was hospitably entertained and then sent back along the coast to his kingdom. 'Imádí the poet, who was the panegyrist of this Atábek, speaks of him as follows:

عبد الرحمون كه گر خواهد 1 از هفت سپی رشت بکاورد

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

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

2. The Ispahbad Nuṣratu'd-Din Rustam, son of the above. He was, according to the author, the greatest ruler of Tabaristan since the time of Feridūn and Minūchihr, and the greatest possessor of treasures since Khusraw Parwiz. His power extended from Jájarm, Gurgán, Bisťám and Dámghán to Múqán. He was the first of this House to sit on a throne at his receptions. Even in the author's time there remained forty castles filled with the gold and jewels and other precious things which he had amassed. When Kaykā'ús Ustundár, with the approval of his chief judge, revolted against him, he marched to Rúyán to meet him, devastating and setting fire to the whole country. On this the Ispahbad Khurshid b. Abu'l-Qasim Mámtffri composed the following verses in the dialect of Tabaristan 1:

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

A. om. [کوشک]; C. بربد; B. اوروجین; A. om. [كرد], B. substitutes ی; C. for عار.
his escape. The Ispahbad treated the prisoners kindly, bestowed on them robes of honour, and sent them to Maḥmūd Khān with the following message: "Our people are independent house-holders, and what they do is done without our sanction." Maḥmūd then sent one of his chief nobles, Āzīz-i-Ṭughrā'ī, to the Ispahbad, and it was agreed that in consideration of the sum of 20,000 dinārs the Sultān should withdraw to Gurgān, and that the Ispahbad should pay over this sum to the tithe-collectors (muḥassilān). When Maḥmūd had retired to Gurgān, the Ispahbad drove away the collectors, bidding them say to their master, "We gave up the money for [fear of] their maces"

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

Rashiduḍ-Dīn Watwāt, the Court-poet and secretary of Aṭṣiz Khwārazm-shāh, composed many qaṣidas in praise of the Ispahbad, who in return used each year to send him 500 dinārs, a turban and coat (jubba), and a fully caparisoned horse. He composed the following qaṣida on the occasion when the Ispahbad went to Ray and seated Sulaymān Shāh on the throne:
On another occasion, when the Ispahbad went to Ray, set his own governor over it, and held it for a year and a half, Rashid-i-Watwat composed and sent to him the following poem:

"When another occasion,
When the Ispahbad went to Ray,
Set his own governor over it,
And held it for a year and a half,
Rashid-i-Watwat composed and sent to him the following poem:

Aiya Malik, do not make the flutes play,
Set your son in the highest place.

But the son of the Ispahbad, the governor,
Has, for a year and a half, held Ray.
Rashid-i-Watwat composed and sent to him the following poem:

"When another occasion, when the Ispahbad went to Ray, set his own governor over it, and held it for a year and a half, Rashid-i-Watwat composed and sent to him the following poem: [Arabic text]"
The following verses are from a *qaṣīda* which the same poet composed in honour of the Isphahbad when he took the Castles of Mihrīn and Maṅūr-kūh (منور کو) (from the Assassins):

The author says that, through many Arabic-writing poets
have praised the House of Bāwand, he has only cited Ra-
shīd-i-Watwat because he was the greatest and most famous
of their panegyrists, and because his own eulogies would be
discounted by reason of his connection with the Dynasty,
and the country over which it ruled.

One of the customs of the Ispahbad Rustam was that at
the close of a wine-bout he would give permission to his
boon-companions to take what they liked from his treasury.
On one such occasion his kinsman the Amīr Sābiqu'd-Dawla
ʿAlī Gīlkhwārān, ʿAlī Riḍā the chamberlain (وکیل دری) and
his sons, As'adū'd-Dīn Ḥusayn “the madman” (ديوانا), the
Nīdham Muḥammad and the Qiwām Farāmarz went together,
when they rose up from drinking, to the treasury, but found
that all the money and jewels and most precious things
had been already taken, and that only some bundles (رزمه)
of silk were left. So each of them took three bundles of
silk on their backs and twisted the contents of another
round their feet. Being thus heavily laden, certain wits
likened them to asses carrying bales of merchandise, and
Bārbad-i-Jaridī, the Ṭabarī poet, extemporized the following
couplet over them in the dialect of Ṭabaristān:

ایین دو خر که دارند پادشاه ابرون یکی خر بیین نیکه یکی پیشون

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

جنت عدست گوئی کشور مازندران
درب حرم حرم اصفهان اصفهان

For each couplet he was rewarded with ten gold dinārs,
and he also received a horse, a coat (تیم) and a hat (کلاه).

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

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

In the service of Sultan Masúd the Seljúq was a certain champion called Sábiq of Qazwín, whose fame had spread throughout 'Iráq, Arabia and Khurásán. Him the Ispahbad induced to enter his service, giving him Bištám, Dámghán and Jájarm in order that he might combat the Assassins. This Sábiq was very prodigal, and on one occasion he wrote to the Ispahbad complaining that he lacked money to pay his troops. The Ispahbad turned to his nobles and said, “He is an ocean (in munifence): what adequate gift can one confer on the ocean? Let 20,000 dinárs be now
sent to him, and let an order be written that henceforth all that he can conquer in those regions shall be his, together with the fief-holds there."


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

When Il-ʿArslán Khwārazmsháh died (A. H. 568 = A. D. 1172), and his son Tukush wrested the throne of Khwārazm from his brother Sultan Šáh Māhmúd, the latter with his mother took refuge with the Ispahbad, who came to Tam-mísha to meet them, and sent forward his governors and officers from Gilán and the districts of Ray with presents, while in the plain of Ganjína, as far as Ispíd Dáristán, for a distance of a parasang, he caused such a feast to be spread as no man ever saw before or since.

5. *The Ispahbad Husámu ḍ-Ḍawla waʿd-Din Ardashír b. Ḥusayn.* He reigned for 35 years over Tabaristán. — Eulogy of his virtues and talents.

After the death of the Atábek Muḥammad b. ʿIlduguz, Sultan Ṭughhril (II) b. Arslán, in consequence of a dispute which arose between him and his brother Qizil Arslán, wrote from ʿĪraq:

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

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1 Lower, "Ḥasan", which seems to be correct.
2 A. B. مرفوع.
Ray to meet the Seljûq king, and himself went forward to Lâr, where, on meeting him, he alighted from his horse, brought his royal guest to Fulûl, and there enthroned and entertained him royally. Qizil Arslân, hearing of this, sent ʻIzzuʻd-Dín Yahyá to Ardâshîr to persuade him, by reminding him of the favours which he had formerly received from his father and brother, to arrest and bind Ťughrîl and surrender him to his antagonist, promising the Ispahbad in return for this service the rule of Ray, Sâwa, Qum, Kâshân and Qâzvîn, and full authority over ʻIrâq and Adharbayjân. The Ispahbad indignantly rejected the proposal that he should betray his guest, and after a while sent Ťughrîl to Damghan and Bîstâm, biding his officers there supply all his needs day by day until he reached his capital.

In A.H. 579 (= A.D. 1183—4) an ambassador named Khujand (?), with two companions, came from the Maharâja of India to the Ispahbad, stating that an ʻAlâwî of the Imâmí (Shî‘îte) sect had come to that country to endeavour to persuade men to his views, and had prevailed in argument against their doctors; whereupon the Maharâja had despatched a letter to “the just and upright king in Tabaristán, who is descended from the Kîrsâs (House of Sâsân), and who holds this doctrine” with an embassy of 40 persons, of whom 38 had perished on the way. At the command of the Ispahbad, the answer to this letter was written at great length by Sayyid Bahâʻuʻd-Dín al-Ḥasan b. al-Mahdî al-Mâmţîrî, who was living at this time. A long extract from this letter, written in very florid Arabic, and celebrating the praises of Ţabaristán and its ruler Ardâshîr, here follows. Indeed it seems to have been not so much a letter as a tract, bearing the formal title Risâlatuʻl-Hunûd fi ijâbati daʻwâ dhawî ʻl-ʻAnûd (“the Epistle to the Indians in reply to the pretensions of the obdurate”).

On one occasion Nûruʻd-Dín Šâbbâgh came to the Ispah-
bad as an ambassador from Tukush b. Il-Arslán at Dawlat-ábád near Sáří, (f. 56b) and there he caused a pulpit to be erected and preached a sermon, concluding with the following verse:

ديلم عمرا وَعَسَى بِالله جَرَّ بر تو حرام نَمْ شَاهِق

Indeed, says the author, there was never a more law-abiding (بَلْغُيَّةٍ تُدْرَى) king than he. His capital was at Sáří, where dwelt his ministers, and where was situated their diwán, called the Diwán-i-Wasl. Every year he used to disburse in pensions more than 100,000 gold dinárs, and every Friday, wherever he might be, he used to give 100 dinárs out of the palace treasury to the Minister of Justice (امیر العدل), who used then to go to the public square (مَدَّان) and distribute the money amongst the most deserving persons whom he found waiting there. Sayyids, men of learning, poets and literary men used to flock to his court with books, poems and prayers which they desired to lay before him; and amongst the most distinguished men who were his pensioners were Sayyid ʻIzzu’d-Dín Yahyá, the judges (قضاء) of Ray, and the Shaykhulu’l-Islám Ruknu’d-Dín غُجَانِ (؟), each of whom used to receive 700 dinárs, a fully caparisoned horse, a turban and a cloak (jubba), Khwája Imám Faqíh-i-Al-i-Muḥammad Abú’l-Faql Ráwandí, Sayyid Murtadá Káshání, Afḍalu’d-Dín Máhabádí, the judges of Iṣfahán, the family of the poet Shafárwuh, and all the Sayyids of Qazwín, Abhar and the districts round Kharaqán. From Egypt, Syria and Arabia also two or three thousand ʻAlawís used to come yearly to pass the winter in Ţabarístán, where they received free entertainment, clothes and money for their expenses. When the Ispahbad rode out, these ʻAlawís marched beside him in ranks, and whatever boon any one of them craved was granted to him, the Ispahbad saying, “In all the world these have no other door than this court;
give them therefore what they need." On one occasion he
gave a sum of 29,000 dinârs of Amul from his treasury to
enable poor 'Alawis of both sexes to marry. Every year
at the season of the Pilgrimage, also, he used to disburse
the following sums:

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

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

For the Shrine (mashhad) of Sámarra, or Surra man ra'a,
500 dinârs.
For the Shrine of 'Abdu'l-Adhim in Ray, 200 dinârs.
For the Graves of Quraysh, 300 dinârs.
For the Shrines of the sons of the Imám Ḥasan at Ma-
dâ'ín, 200 dinârs ¹.
For the Shrine of 'Alí b. Abí Ṭálib, 2000 dinârs.
For the Shrine of Salmán the Persian at al-Madâ'ín, 150
dinârs.
For the Shrine of Imám Ḥusayn at Kerbelá, 6000 dinârs.
For the Shrine of Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí b. Músá al-Báqir (sic),
1000 dinârs ².
For the Amírs of Mecca, 200 dinârs for turbans and
cloaks.
For the Shrine of the Ka'ba and the water-carriers
سدن كعبة و سقا, 1000 dinârs.
For the pigeons of Mecca, the produce of a village, mill
and hot bath.

¹ Inserted in B.  ² Omitted in B.
For the poor of Mecca, 5 bales (زمره) of silk.
For al-Madína, 3000 dinár스.
For the Shrines of the Imáms buried at al-Baqí‘, 1000 dinárس.

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

The most eminent of contemporary poets, Dhahíru‘d-Dín Fáryábí, has many qaṣídas in praise of this Ispahbad, amongst them the following:

سبيده دم كه عوا مزيداً بهار دهد
دم عوا معدد ثقة تتار دهد
دل مرا كه فراموش تكر عهد وصال
نسيم باد صبا بوى زلف يار دهد
زآب ديد» يوجي فناد» ام كه يجهد
خيازرا سوى بليل من گذار دهد

резست نا خوشى آنكس زغانديم كاشند
بئست من مى صافي خوشگوار دهد
حسام دولت و دين آنکه در مقام نبرد
قرار ملك بشمشير ببقار دهد
ستد» خسرع عالد كه خاخ درگه او
سيهر سر رد» تل افتخار دهد
سيهر خرقه دين اندازد از طرب جو یكرب
زبان خنده» او شرح كنارزار دهد
ايا شهى كه يبينت بگاه خخش و جود
بکان و دريا سرمایه يسار دهد
After the poet had been for some time at the Ispahbad’s court, and had received at his hands many favours, he asked and received permission to visit the Atábek Qizil Arslán, son of the Atábek Ilduguz, who was at that time
in possession of 'Iráq and Adharbayján. There he composed a qaṣida in which occurred the following verse:

شام بالله بعد خدمت دُم ساله در عراق
نام عتبر خسر و مزندران دهد

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

NOBLES AND NOTABLES OF ŢABARISTÁN.

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

بیست غزار دینار بر املاک چک نوشت

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

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

3. Muḥammad b. Músá b. Ḥafṣ. The daily expenditure of his kitchen at Amul was 1000 dinárs, and at his own charges he sent 1000 pilgrims to Mecca, whom he fed so
delicately during the journey thither that in the middle of the desert they had fresh fish and cress from Ṭabaristán to eat.


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

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

LEARNED MAN OF ṬABARISTÁN.

1. Muḥammad b. Jarir at-Ṭabarī, the celebrated author of the great History, the great Commentary, the Dhayḥil-Mudhayyal¹, and other works. All men of learning agree that no nation has produced so great a scholar as him. It is said that 400 riding-camels might daily be seen waiting at the gate of his house in Baghdad, belonging to sons of the caliphs, kings, ministers and amirs, besides some 30 mules, each watched by an Abyssinian groom, the owners of all these having come thither to glean what they could from Ṭabarī's incomparable learning.

¹ See the Introduction to de Goeje's monumental edition of Ṭabarī's An-
nals, pp. xiii—xv. It is called here in our MS. كتاب الذئل والمذيل.
2. ِImám-i-shahid (“the Martyr”) Fakhruʾl-Islám ʿAbduʾl-Wáhid b. Ismaʿil Abuʾl-Mahásin, who is called “the second Sháfiʿi”, and for whom the Nidhámúʾl-Mulk built a college at Amul which still flourished in the author’s time. Of him Abuʾl-Maʿáli of Juwayn said: Ḥabīs Ibn Khásis ِکلّہ حِکَمٕس. He was the author of many works on Jurisprudence, the Ascetic Life, and other religious subjects, of which more than 40 volumes are in general circulation. His acuteness and discernment are illustrated by the following story, which also explains how it happened that he incurred the resentment of the Assassins (ملاحة ملاعين) and perished by the daggers of their fīḍāʾīs:

كبايست او تا بغایتی بود که بعید او ملاحة ملاعين فتوی طلیبند و بر کافذ نوشتہ کہ چکوئین ائمہ دین در آنہ ملّی و ملّی علیه بر حق و راستی راضی شوند گواہ بیان و تو خلاف دعی ملّی و اقرار ملّی علیه گواہ دعی، جنین شہدت بشرع مسعود باشد یا نه، وابن کافذ پرہ بجرمین فرستادند، امامان حرمین محتم جویی و حمّد غزائی و ائمہ بغداد و شام جملہ جواب نوشتند کہ جنین گواہ مسعود نیست تا بیش او آورند، در کافذ تگرید و روه برد کرده گفت ای بدل چندن بسی نا مشکور بر تو ویل بناشد و بفرمود کہ اورا بار دارند، قضا و ائمہ جمع آمدند، گفت ایب فتوی ملاحة نوشتند وابن ملّی و ملّی علیه جهود و ترسا یئد و ایب گواہ رسول ما صلّعم را میخواهند کہ قران چیجید شاعردست وما مقاتل و ما صلّیبو و لنک شیبه لیهم، ملحدرا بار پرسبیدند اقرار کرده یک سلسلت تا مرا جھیا بطلب جواب ایب استفتا می دوانند، عوام آل اورا سنجسار کرندند و فخر الإسلام فتوی فرمود بسیبی ذرا قن ایشان تا ملاحة بفرستادند و

1 Qurʾán, iv, 156.
3. The Qādīl-quḍāt Abūl-ʿAbbās ar-Rūyānī. He was Chief Judge in the time of Shamsuʿl-Maʿālī Qābūs (A. H. 366—403 = A. D. 976—1012), and his descendants still exercise judicial functions in Ṭabaristān. Many anecdotes are told of him, of which the one here outlined is included amongst the stories printed at the end of Forbes’ Persian Grammar (London, 1869, pp. 38—41, Story Lxxi).

Religious leaders (Imāms) of Ṭabaristān.

1. Ibn Mahdī Māmṭīrī. His grave at Māmṭīr had been visited by the author.

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

3. Ibn Fūrak, the preacher of the Masjid-i-sālār at Amul. The pulpit which still stands there by the miḥrāb was erected for him. “I have heard,” says the author, “from my master Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Nāṣīḥī, that the Şāhib [Ismaʿīl b.] ʿAbbád, prompted by fanaticism, arrested and imprisoned him in a darkened house at Ray. Abū Isháq of Isfarāʾ in the scholastic philosopher (mutakallim) used at this time to go to the Şāhib and hold discussions with him every day. One day while they were thus engaged in a garden, the discussion turned on the ‘creation of actions’ (خلف الاعمال). The Şāhib stretched out his hand, picked an apple from a tree, and said, ‘Is not this my act?’ (f. 59b) ‘If it be thine act,’ replied Abú Isháq, ‘restore it to the same place.’ The Şāhib, unable to reply to this, said, ‘Ask thy boon.’ ‘My boon,’ said the other, ‘is [Ibn] Fūrak.’ The Şāhib immediately ordered his release; whereupon he came to Amul.” There
he remained till the end of his life, and then the Sálár built for him the Mosque still known as the Sálár’s Mosque. While in prison Ibn Fúrak composed two books on Scholastic Philosophy (علم كلام). He is buried in the quarter of ʿAlí Kaláwa above the Dome of the Crossroads.

4. The Qāḍī’l-qudát Abūʾl-Qásim al-Bayyáʾi. He was remarkable for his knowledge in Jurisprudence, Scholastic Philosophy, Poetry, Epistolary style and Philosophy. He wrote, both in prose and verse, in Arabic, Persian and the dialect of Țabaristán.

5. The Great Master Abūʾl-Faraj ʿAlí b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hindu. Though his ancestors came from Qum, he himself was born and brought up in Țabaristán. His grave is at Astarábád, in a house which was his property. Of him al-Bákharzí says:

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

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

1 He died, according to H. Kḥ., in A. H. 410 or 420 (A. D. 1019 or 1029).
6. The Imám 'Abdu'l-Qádir al-Jurjání, concerning whom al-Bákhárzí says:

أَتَقَفَتْ عَلَى أَمَامَتِهِ الْأَلْسَنَةَ وَجَعَلَتْ بِمَكَانِهِ وَزَمَانِهِ الْأَمِكَّنَةَ وَالْزَمَنَةَ وَأَثْنَى عَلَى طَيِّبِ الْعَنَاصِرِ وَتَبَّيِّنَتْ بِعَقْوَدِ الْعَنَاصرِ فِي عَلَمِ العُرْقِيرِ لَا بِلِّ عُوْلَمَ الْقَرَرِ فِي الأَيَامِ الْمُشَاعِبِ.

His grammatical works include the Šumal and its commentary, the commentary on the ʿIdáh-ʾi-ʿAdúdí, and the Talkhís. Some of his poems are cited in the Dumya [tuʾl- Qásr of al-Bákhárzí].

7. Abú Saʿíd Mudhaffar b. Ibráhím. He was a learned jurisconsult, and was for some time attached to the Šáhib [ʿIsmaʿíl] b. ʿAbbád, after whose death he sought the patronage of Abú Ṭálíb Hárrún ath-Thápír al-ʿAlawi, who bestowed on him ample favours, and dismissed him to his home, but he was unfortunately drowned in the Caspian Sea while crossing to Abasgun. These verses are his:

أسْكَرْ بِأَجْفَانِهِ أَمْ خَيْرَ وَمَرَّ بِعَرْضِهِ أَمْ غَدَّرَ
غَزَالَ بِحَلَقِهِ وَرَدُّ الْكَيَاءَ وُقَلُ الْأَجْمَالِ عَلَيْهِ نَقُّار
فِي رَبِّهِ يُبَعِّطُ الْرَّحِيقَ وَمِن خَذْهُ يُجَفُّنِي الْجِلْطَارَ

Al-Bákhárzí gives an account of him in the Dumyatul-Qásr, and cites these verses which occur in a qaṣída composed by him in praise of Qábús:

اَشْيَىْمُ عِفْوُكَ وَالآمَلُ تُبَسِّطُهُ وَمَؤْقِفَ مِنْكَ مَثْلُ الْآخِذُ بِالْكَلَّمِ
إِذَا رَحَّلَتْ فَانَّ الْرَجُلَ فِي حَلْمِي وَإِنْ يَقْبَتْ قُطْعُمُ الْمَوْتِ مَلَهُ فَإِنَّ
لَا يَأْمُنُ عَنْ طَمَّةَتِ سَلَامَتِهِ وَالْدَّيْرُ مَغْرِبَةٌ لِنَّ نَامُ لَمْ يَنْتَمُ
Mention is also made of his son Abu’l-Majd and his brother Abu’l-Faraj al-Mudhaffar b. Isma’il, the jurisconsult, traditionist, anchorite and man of letters.

8. ʿAdi b. ʿAbdu’llah; 9. Abū Saʿd as-Saydalání; 10. Abū Ḥanīfa Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī Bāriʾ-ī-.Jurfjānī:

نصحتِ اخي وَقَلْتُ لا يُعلُم وَقَلْتُ له قولٌ من يفهم
تعلَم اِذا كنت ذا ثروة فأماك يحس ما يتعلم
وفي العلم زين لذني درهم ١ . . . . . .

11. Abūʾl-ʿAlā al-Mihrawānī, lawyer, mathematician, poet, jurisconsult, etc.

12. Muḥammad b. ʿJarir b. Rustam as-Sarwi, jurisconsult, philosopher, traditionist, etc. He was a fervent Shiʿite, and was for a long while in attendance on the Eighth Imám, ʿAlí b. Músá ar-Riḍá. His most famous works are the Kitābuʾl-Mustarshid and the Kitābu Khudhun-naʾf (“Book of ‘Pluck off thy shoes’”).

13. Khwāja Imám ʿImād Kujaʾ, called Faqih-ī-ʿAl-ī-Muḥammad, a learned, pious and ascetic man. The Amir Ibn Darrám ³ detained him for a couple of years at Ḥilla. The people of Baghdad and Kūfa and the Shiʿites of Arabia sought him out to profit by his learning, and subscribed yearly a sum of 1000 dinārs for his maintenance. Ibn Darrám ³ married his daughter, and one of their descendants was living at Ḥilla in the time of the author (who had visited him), and enjoyed the favour of the reigning Caliph an-Nāṣir li-dīnīllah (A. H. 575—622 = A. D. 1180—1225), by reason of his learning, virtue and nobility.

¹ The last hemistich is wanting in all the manuscripts.
² This name occurs as صم in A, كوج in B, and موج in C. It also occurs in Dawlatshāh, pp. 310—316 of my edition.
³ Or Warrām.
1. 'Ali b. Zayn was noted for his originality and eloquence. Amongst his works are the Firdawsī’s Ḥikmat and the Bahru‘l-Fawā'id. He was originally secretary to Māzyār (put to death A. H. 226 = A. D. 840—1), and afterwards of the Caliph al-Mu‘tasim (d. A. H. 227 = A. D. 842).

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

(f. 61a) SAINTS AND ANCHORITES.

1. Shaykh Abu‘l-Abbās Qassāb (“the Butcher”), whose fame still endures, and whose tomb is still frequented.

2. Shaykh Abū Ja‘far al-Ḥanāṭi. In his shrine is preserved a Qur‘ān said to have been written by ‘Ali’s son Muḥammad called Ibnī‘-Hanafiyā, which has such virtue that any person daring to swear falsely on it dies miserably within the year.

3. Shaykh-i-Zāhid. His tomb is in the quarter called ‘Alī-ābād, by the Gate of Zindāna-kūy. Anyone who drinks wine in this quarter and passes by his shrine inevitably becomes an outcast from that quarter.

4. Shaykh Abū Turāb. His tomb is still visible by the Gate of the Mosque in the quarter of Darlabash.

5. Shaykh Abū Na‘īm.

6. Qutb-i-Chālūst. Sultan Sinjar wore his mantle (khīrqa) and visited his retreat, which still exists. Sinjar’s minister Naṣīru‘d-Dīn Muḥammad Bū Tawba hated and persecuted
him, and was always trying to persuade his master that he was a hypocrite and impostor. One day at Bistām they brought the saint a melon. He laid his finger on it, saying, "We have killed Muḥammad-i-bi-Tawba ('the Unrepentant');" and it so happened that at that very moment the minister was put to death by Sinjar at Merv.

7. Ḏaqī Ḥishām. His tomb is close to that of Shams-i-Al-i-Muḥammad in the quarter of Ḥawāma-kūy. The following extraordinary qaṣīda 1, written in a mixture of Arabic and Persian, satirizing one of his contemporaries, is by him:

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

2 Variants in this line are: A. B. C. ; جععدد شاعرون چکره پوین. A. سنجدج او.
خانه خوبی داشته‌توانسته‌ام
می‌توانست در هر زمان می‌توانست
هر بانکی و هر کتابی را بگرفت
هر سوالی را که می‌خواست.
به آسانی و دارای انرژی
به آسانی و دارای انرژی

چون عطر، در جزیره جوزاً
چون‌که تنها، شوی بر جاوً
بر فلک نیست، هر تنهاً
هر بر مر، ساخت زیباً
می‌ستانتی، چو مهر، ماوً
گه عتابی و خزر و دیباً
ار سرمایند، تا بخاراو
گه بی‌پای، و گه بدل‌وار
این بزارت، و آن بی‌غمای
ارمغانی، فرسست، غبراً
کلهم حسد و اعداً
هرکه بر خواننم الاحلو،
سمعو، قصتی، چه رسواً
حرف‌ها، انت، لست متاً
بیننا، عر شبی، مکاکاً
تا حکی، این شعر، وابن مکاکاو
راست، گوید، که سخت، گنداآ
تا مگر، یفعل، المداواً
انا مجنون، و تاکه حمداً
دونه، اگ، بیانت و ابنالو
عیانی، مشهد، شکاف، غوغاو
نصح‌ام، دست‌ه‌ام، عاجزاً

انا تندها و عم قد اجتمعوا
گر نصبت کنید و پند دهید
نمکر رحمتی فرود آید
پند کس نشوند و مغذورند
ما استجابا لکم و لسو اسرا
شلم و لوط کورن شمارا پال
با امام زمانه لسو سلسلت
خطر تیری نبند سبست است
مر مر اور زمان بهای لن
عرکه بنشیند لیس فضاحت
من اندیگن فتنه فصاحست من
شاعر آن بود که وی من آسا بو
جعیه شاعرون چد کرد ببین
عمره می دوسته ای من این بی
عرکه می دشنه آمال بیلی
هلکه که وا در بیمی لاو
اونته آورد می برون اشعار

1 A. omits. 2 C. ما استجالوا. 3 B. C. omit. 4 C. سلیست.
5 A. مالکم. 6 C. لست and البشیاری; B. اللباس. 7 B. اون جون. 8 B. که دلگانی دکون و سلما. 9 B. C. بو for بو. 10 A. داوسی. C. کبری. 11 See above, line 10 of this poem. 12 C. پی. 13 C. پی for پی. 14 C. و for بو. 15 C. را for را and البشیاری. 16 B. C. من مشکم; B. C. before جعیه, for which A. B. have.
17 B. آبند.
Man and woman, if they had walked,  
and had been exalted, they would have come  
and become blessed and profitable.  
Such are the people of the right path and the left path.  
If you had come to me, I would have given you knowledge  
and practice.  
And they said: 'We do not know why you come to us  
and make us say what we do not know.'  
We say: 'We have said what we know  
and what we have not known.'  
The people of the right path and the left path  
and slavishness and wrong  
and blessings and knowledge  
and the hearts of men,  
and the hearts of women,  
and doing good and doing evil.  
And the hearts of men  
and the hearts of women.  
And the hearts of men  
and the hearts of women.  
And the hearts of men  
and the hearts of women.

1. B. adds another verse nearly identical with the last:

From the last, B. adds another verse nearly identical with the last:

And if you come to me, I will give you knowledge  
and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.  
And I will give you knowledge and practice.

1. A.B. om. [و] and [آ]
SAGES AND PHILOSOPHERS OF TABARISTÁN.

1. Buzurjmihr, the celebrated Prime Minister of Núshírwan "the Just", concerning whom Firdawsi relates many anecdotes, as how he read the writing after he had become blind. On the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, and the fall of the Sásánian dynasty, he fled to Tabaristán. When asked, "Why did the kingdom of the House of Sásán fall when it contained such a man as thee?" he replied:

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

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1 B. در. C. مدت. 2 B. واقع. C. كاز. 3 B. يكون. C. بيض. 4 C. ككي. 5 C. عا لست. 6 C. كا for; دو; and B. سبته. 7 C. بكر. 8 B. C. جي for خواجه. 9 C. علای وها. B. دا. 10 B. دا. C. بیاین ای واقع. 11 C. بیاین. B. نابون. 12 A. B. نانا. C. ذونه.
He answered, "What have I to do with such a discussion? I behold an external appearance whence I deduce the underlying reality: I see fools prosperous and wise men in want, and I know that the ordering of results is not in man's hands." A number of similar wise sayings of his are reported, including the following: "Man is troubled at the waning of his wealth, but not at the waning of his life."

2. The Ispahbad Marzubán b. Rustam b. Shirwin Parim (پیرم), who wrote the book called Marzubán-náma, which our author prefers to that of Kalila and Dimna ¹, and also a Díván of poetry in the Šabarí dialect, known as the Niki-náma. In the same dialect Ibráhím Mu'íni says:

۱۰۱۲ کنه دونا زرین کتاره به نیکیه نومه که شرچال یاره
این پری بیاوه اندهوش کاره ³

PHYSICIANS AND POETS OF ŠABARISTÁN.

1. Abu'l-Faraj Rashid b. ʿAbdu'llāh, the physician of Astarábád, flourished in the time of Qábús Shamsu'l-Ma'áli (A.H. 366–403 = A.D. 976–1012), and was peerless in his time, not only in medical science, but in eloquence and skill both in prose and verse. He is mentioned in the Dumyatul-Qasr of al-Bákhari.

2. Sayyid Abu'l-Faḍl Isma'il b. Muḥammad al-Músawi of Jurján, the author of the well-known medical Encyclopaedia entitled Dhakhira-i-Khwárazmsháhi, the Kitáb-i-Yádigár, the Kitáb-u'l-Aghrád, the Kitáb-i-Ṭibb-i-ʿAlbáni and the translation of Avicenna's Qánún.

² A. چنین
³ B. omits this line, which in C. is preceded by a blank space. C. بناه یادومن. 
[Astronomers of Tabaristan.] 1

2. Awhadu’d-Dahr ad-Dānishī, who compiled a complete set of astronomical tables (زیج کامل).
4. Ustād ʿAlī Pīrūza, the panegyrist of ʿAḍudu’d Dawla Shāhinshāh Fanākhusraw. Hamadān is said to have been given to him in fief. The following verse in the Ṭabarī dialect is by him:

بر و جهد که خورده عبیدون شو دارو آی وی بسیون کمترا به نیرون

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

5. Diwārwas Mastamard (ديووار و مسته مرد). The following account is given of the manner in which this poet obtained these titles. He came from Tabaristan to Baghdad to visit the Shahinshāh ʿAḍudu’d-Dawla, and (according to the proverb 4) sought the assistance of his compatriot ʿAlī Pīrūza, who, however, fearful lest his

1 As some poets are included in this section also, it would appear that no separate heading is required here, but that we should add “Astronomers” after “Physicians” in the last heading.
2 B. here inserts the heading “Poets of Tabaristan”.
3 C. را for دارو, دارو for دارو, دارو for نیرون, and نیرون for نیرون.
4 Equivalent to “Birds of a feather flock together”.

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

\[\text{كو و سدرة تيلة بداوا آبين}
\text{وا ديم كات ديم اي مردومن و شاین}
\text{خيري بیونو گر دو نرگیس نامین}
\text{لى خيري خوی دادستی و راین}
\text{کو خوره شی با بن بو مداین}
\text{ای دریا و نیمی و نیوومه آین} \]

ʿAḍudu’d-Dawla was delighted, and gave him gifts, and caused his name to be inscribed in the register of his poets, and he received the title of Diwárwaz.

1 C. نمله and دادیم; B. مزدمن. 2 B. به نهون کرد and om. [و]; 3 B. دار آیین; C. در آیین, and or بیه کو خوره; B. بنی وینومه آیین.
After the death of 'Aḍuḍu’d-Dawla he came to Amul, while Shamsu’l-Ma’ālī Qābūs was still reigning over Ṭabaristān. One day he had been drinking with his friends, and, while returning home, passed the gate of the Shrine of Nāṣir-i-Kabīr, whence the clergy and custodians, seeing his state, came forth, seized him, beat him, and cast him into prison. Thence he made his escape, came to Gurgān, and described his adventures in the following Ṭabarī verses, which he laid before Qābūs, who honoured and rewarded him, and gave him the title of Masta-mard:

دا گیوهون اي خور خرمی وندا

پریه و کشت اونرا كه خورهنا

آهی داد از اینی آ اینننا

شا رای واق وارسته گیوهون و جا

مردم خورم اي خور ابرو نه بومی

زنش بمن چهون كده کیوون شومی

آیین پم یسکي شومست موبی مولس

بیدای شنی دل دنیارسی ای کس

ناگا؛ بمن لوتکن یتکی دونا دون

ها سکنی مرا برون زنی پرونداون

1 C. اور و; B. است; C. ends the verse: منستوس سامان.
2 C. اي and پریه دکت; B. است.
3 C. كده کیوون; B. است.
4 C. ونیپراسی; B. است.
5 C. په اي. C. نادون. B. است.
6 C. بردن; B. است.
7 C. پرونداون.
Section II (f. 64b).

The Houses of Washmgir and Buwayh.

Abú Isḥaq Ibráhím b. Hilál aș-Šábhī’s great history of the Buwayhid Dynasty entitled Kitābu’t-Tāj is praised. He and the Ṣāḥib Isma’il b. ʿAbbád are intended in the saying “More eloquent than the two Ṣâds” (أَبْلَغ مَن أَشَادَبْي). How Muʿayyidu’d-Dawla, the brother and viceroy of ʿAdudu’d-Dawla Fanákhusraw b. Ruknu’d-Dawla Ḥasan b. Buwayh came with the Ṣāḥib to Ṭabaristán, conquered its fortresses, and drove out its ruler Qābús, who for eighteen years after lived in exile at Nishápūr, will be described in another volume. Praise of ʿAdudu’d-Dawla, and of his noble encouragement of all branches of learning and letters, which were better represented in his time than in any other. The author states that he had heard his father say that, being curious to know the reason of this, he enquired of Khusraw Sháh, the Magian astrologer of Sháh Gházi Rustam b. ʿAlí, who said that it was because his reign fell in the beginning of the cycle of Mercury. Amongst the most notable of these man of learning were Abu ʿAlí Fāris, the Grammarian and lexicographer, who wrote the ʿIdáh-i-ʿAdudi and the medical work entitled Kámilu’s-Ṣanā‘at; Abu’l-Faql (f. 65a) b. al-ʿAmíd and his son Abu’l-Fatḥ; the Ṣāḥib himself; Abu’l-Qásim ʿAbdu’l-ʿAzíz b. Yúsuf; aș-Ṣábhí Abú Ishaq Ibráhím; the poets Ibn Nubáta as-Sādī, Abu ʿṭ-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbí, Abú Bakr al-Khwárazmí, and Ústád ʿAlí aṭ-Ṭabarí. Of these it is related by the last but one that his patron was in the habit of asking his poets to extemporize verses on any object which happened to be placed before him. On one occasion this happened to be rice-pudding (برنج بشیر): he invited the poets to extemporize on it, but,
before they could do so, himself described it in the following verses:

بَيْنَهُ تَعَاجِرَ عَن وَضُحِّيَّهَا بِمَدْعَوَى الأَوْصَافِ بِالرُّؤْرُ
سكَانُهَا وَعَلَى جَامِهَا لَآَنَّ فِي مَاءٍ كَافِرٍ

For 42 years ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla resided at Baghdad, whence he practically exercised sovereign sway over the Ḥijāz, Yaman, Egypt, Syria, the two ʿIrāqs, Tabaristán and all the districts of Farshwádgar. Verses addressed to ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla by Bakhtiyár Muʿizzuʿd-Dawla:

انْأَثَرَ حِيْنَ رُضِيَتْ صَيْفُ حَنَّافَةٍ يُبْغَى الامْنَةَ وَكَانَ يُبْغَى صَرْماً
قَذَّارَبَنْ عَزْمِهَا عَصُدِّيَّةٌ نَاجِيَةٌ تَلَفُّ الأَنْوَقَ رَوَايَهُمَا

Anecdotes of ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla related in the Siyarul-Mulūk (i. e. Siyāsat-nāma) of the Nidhāmuʾl-Mulk al-Ḥasan b. Isḥaq, including that of the money entrusted by a poor man to a fraudulent judge. — Verses on him by the Ṣāḥib:

فَوَاللَّهِ نَلَا اللَّهُ قَالَ لَهُ الْبُورِ مَقَالَ النَّحْرِيَ في الْمُسَبَّحِ بِنَ مَرْيَم
وَنَفَقَتْ أَنَّ اللَّهِ لَمْ يَخْلَقَ الْبُورَ لَعِبْرَكَ لَمْ يَخْرَجَ وَلَمْ يَأْتِمْ

Nūḥ b. Maṃṣūr “the king of Bukhárá” (the Sámanid) sent presents to him by al-ʿUtbí when the latter went on the Pilgrimage, amongst which were included 500 robes embroidered with Nūḥ’s name. ʿAḍuduʿd-Dawla was incensed at this, and, turning to ʿUtbí, said:

سَنَجِعِلْ قِبَلَ عَرْوَةِ مِنْ وَجَهَهُ سَوَاحِلِ جِبَارِ مُرَابِطٍ لِلَّجَاجَافِلِ وَ
مِراَكِبِ الْقَتَالِ وَالْقَبَائلِ

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

The title of Ispahbads is property applied to two different dynasties of Tabaristán, the House of Báwand of the author’s own time, and the Qárinwands, or House of Washm-
gir, who governed Tabaristan for nearly 80 years after the Talibi Sayyids. Anyone, says the author, who wishes to appreciate the greatness and splendour of Qabus b. Washm-gir, called Abu'l-Hasan, should read what is said of him by Abū Maņṣūr ath-Tha'ālībī and al-'Utbī in their works.  

Abu'l-Hasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Yazdādī made a compilation of his sayings, which he entitled Qardīnū Shamsīl-Maʿālī wa Kamālu'l-Balāgha, from which the author here cites some 33 lines, praising especially the remarkable eloquence of Qabus in the Arabic language, his courage and skill in manly exercises, and his knowledge of Philosophy, Astronomy and Astrology. An Arabic letter which he wrote to his maternal uncle the Ispahbad Rustam b. Sharwīn Bāwand on the occasion of a quarrel which arose between them is next cited. (This fills rather more than a page, and brings us to f. 67a, l. 18.) Qabus also composed in Arabic a treatise on the Astrolabe, and submitted it to Abū Iṣḥāq aṣ-Ṣābī, whose laudatory criticism is cited in full (ff. 67b, l. 7—68a, l. 4). Qabus also maintained a regular correspondence with the Ṣāḥib, of which the intermediary was one of his chamberlains named ʿAbdu's-Salām. — Anecdote to illustrate the virtue of Qabus. — His servant Aḥmad Saʿdī, and his minister Abu'l-ʿAbbās Ghānimī, who was never known to take a bribe, and who was in friendly correspondence with Abū Naṣr al-'Utbī. — Specimens of this correspondence.

Account of Kayūs (f. 69a: كيروس).

In the time of Qubād the son of Pīrūz (A.D. 488—531) the sovereignty of Tabaristan was in the family of Gushnasp-sháh (جسنفشاه), and Kayūs, “the man of the House of

1 i.e. the Yatimatu'd-Dahr (Damascus ed., vol. iii, pp. 288—290) and the Ta'rīkhul-Yamīnī (Cairo ed., vol. i, pp. 389—412, and vol. ii, pp. 1—26).
Báwand", was sent thither by the king to help the representative of this family to expel the Turks from Khurasán, which was successfully accomplished. At that juncture appeared the false prophet Mazdak the son of Námdárán (sic, for Bámádádán), whose history is fully related in the Ni
dhámú’l-Mulk’s *Siyarú’l-Mulúk* (i. e. *Siyásat-náma*); by whose influence Qubád was ruined and deposed in favour of his younger son Nushírwán, who extirpated the heresiarch and his followers. The Kháqán of the Turks, hearing of these internal disturbances in Persia, advanced with his hosts to the Oxus. Thereupon Núshírwán wrote to his brother Kayús to inform him that he was collecting Persian and Arab levies to oppose the Turks, and that Kayús must be ready to join him in Khurasán to punish the Kháqán’s insolence (f. 69b). Kayús at once collected his troops in Tabaristán, marched on Khurasán, routed the Kháqán, crossed the Oxus, took much spoil from the Turks, and established his kinsman Húshang as governor of Khwárazm. Thence he proceeded to Ghaznín, appointing governors over the towns as far as Nahrawála (نیروان), and levying tribute on Turkistán and India, after which he returned to Tabaristán and despatched one of his nobles to Núshírwán with the spoils of victory, and a letter in which he wrote: "Thou art several years younger than me, and knowest how without thy help or aid I have defeated the Kháqán and exacted tribute from the Turks and Indians. It is not fitting that thou shouldst wear the crown while I am a mere retainer: yield up to me the throne and crown and treasures of our father, that I, according to thy wish, may create a more ample kingdom." This request was promptly refused by Núshírwán in a letter of which the text is given (f. 70a). Kayús thereupon collected his army and marched from Tabaristán on Mada’ín (Ctesiphon), but was defeated and imprisoned by his brother, who, on his refusal to repent of his action and
promise amendment, caused him to be put to death, and detained his son Shápúr a prisoner at Madá’in until the Kháqán of the Turks again invaded Khurásán and Šabar-istán (f. 70b). Núshírwán again marched against him, and in the battle which ensued the tide of victory was turned in favour of the Persians by a mysterious troop of two or three thousand horsemen clad in green and with green standards, who only on Núshírwán’s most urgent entreaty consented to disclose their identity. It then appeared that, in the reign of Qubád’s father Pírúz the son of Yazdigird the son of Bahram Gúr the son of Yazdigird “the Wicked”, the lands beyond the Oxus and Balkh river were by treaty committed to the care of Khushnuwáz (here خشنوژ, for اخستوار, the king of the Hayáṭila (or Huns), afterwards called Šighániyán (f. 71a), who however, violated his pact and ravaged the country until, when Pírúz marched against them, they treacherously attacked him, defeated his army, took him and many of his nobles captive, and cut off his head. Now he had left at Madá’in Súkhrá the son of Qárin the son of Súkhrá, one of the descendants of Káwa (the blacksmith who headed the revolt against Dahák in favour of Ferídún) as his viceroy. This Súkhrá, on hearing of the disaster, gathered an army and marched against Khushnuwáz, who, knowing that he could not resist him, restored the captives and spoils he had taken and apologised for his conduct, so that Súkhrá, without striking a blow, returned victorious, and received from the múbads the title of Is-pahbad. Now Pírúz left three sons, Qubád, Balášh and Já-másp, of whom the first fled to Khurásán and implored the Kháqán’s help to recover the kingdom, which had been given to the second, with the last-named to assist and advise him. When Qubád, assisted by the Kháqán, had advanced against his brothers as far as Ray, Balášh died, and Súkhrá proclaimed Qubád king, and sent him a message
asking him to send back his Turkish allies from Ray, and to hasten himself to Madá'ín, which he did. So Qubád became king of Persia, and Súkhrá grew in honour and favour until envious slanderers traduced him to the king, and he, being informed of this, fled with his nine sons to Ţabar-istán (f. 71b). Súkhrá was treacherously slain, but his sons fled to Badakhshán, where they acquired territory and established themselves. These and their retainers it was who, hearing of Núshírwán’s accession and favourable disposition towards them, had afforded him such opportune assistance against the Kháqán’s troops. He, in gratitude for their services, bade them choose such lands as they liked for a possession to them and their children. Thereupon the eldest of them, Zarmihr, chose Zabulistán; and the youngest, Qárin, Wandá-ummíd Kúh, Amul, Lufúr and Farim, which is called Kúh-i-Qárin ("Mount Qárin"). The latter returned with Núshírwán on his homeward march as far as Ţabar-istán, and was there installed (f. 72a) as Ispahbad. To the author’s time the nobles of Lufúr and Astarábád, and the people called Qárinwands, represent the descendants of this Qárin; and the author promises to give at the end of his book genealogical tables shewing the descent of the Báwands, Qárinwands, Surḥánwands, Láriján, Marzbán, Us-tundár, Dábuwán, Kúlá’ij, Walásán, Sa’ídúhá, Úlán-mihán, Amír Ká, and Kabúd-jáma, and the reasons of their being thus named. Thus was Ţabaristán divided up between Qárin and the chiefs established in Tammísha in the time of Núshírwán, till he died, and was succeeded by his son Hur-mazd, who reigned twelve years.

Successors of Kayús (f. 72a).

In the reign of Hurmuzd, Shápúr the son of Kayús died, leaving a son named Báw, who accompanied Khusraw Par-wíz in his campaign against the Greeks, and distinguished
himself in the war with Bahrám Chúbína, receiving in reward for these services Ištakhr, Adharbáyján, ʿIráq and Ťabaristán as his government. He extended his territories to the north-east so as to include Khurášán, Khwárazm and all Turkistán as far as the Desert of the Tátárás. Shírúya the parricide on his accession destroyed Báwʾs house at Ctesiphon (Madaʾín), plundered his possessions, degraded him, and interned him at Ištakhr. But Shírúyaʾs ill-gained power soon ceased with his early death, and he was succeeded by Queen Azarmí Dukht, of whom the Prophet said “Woe to that people over which women reign!” (وَلَمْ تَلَأْ مَلَکَتُهَا الْمَسَا). At this epoch the Prophet was at al-Madína. The nobles of Persia (f. 726) counselled Azarmí Dukht to summon Báw to the Court and place him in command of the army, but he declined to debase himself, as he considered, by serving a woman, and retired to worship in the Fire-temple. Then followed the disastrous reign of Yazdígird the son of Shahríyár, the last Sásánian king, when the Caliph ʿUmar sent Saʿd b. Abí Waqqás (whose skill with the bow is still proverbial amongst the Arabs, in the phrase أَرْمَى مِنْ سَعَد أَرْمَى) against the Persians, till he inflicted on them and their general Rustam-i-Farrukhzád the crushing defeat of Qádisiyya, as is described in full in the Sháhnáma and other histories. Then Yazdígird summoned Báw from Ištakhr, restored to him his fiefs, estates and possessions, and retained him in his service, while Ťabaristán, neglected by its lawful lord, fell into the hands of Gáw-bára.

The Descendants of Jámásp and the Story of Gáw-bára (f. 726).

When, on the death of Baláš, Qubád, the father of Núshírwán, succeeded to the throne, Jámásp, the youngest of
the three brothers, fled to Armenia, whence, from Darband, he attacked and subdued the countries of the Khazars and Sclavs (سقلاين). In these lands he married and settled. Of the sons whom he begat, one was Narsi, the lord of Darband, who on his death left behind him a son named Ffrúz, beautiful as Joseph and brave as Rustam, who enlarged his father's dominions as far as Gilán, from one of the noble families of which country he chose a wife, who bore him a son named Gilánsháh. To him in turn was born a son named Gil, who, as the astrologers predicted (f. 73a), became a mighty king, and brought under his rule all Gilán and Daylam. He then turned his attention to Tabaristán, whither he proceeded on foot, driving before him two Gilání cows. At this time the Sásánian governor of Tabaristán was Adhar-valásh, and into his service Gil insinuated himself. About this time the Turks, taking advantage of the difficulties which the Arabs were causing to the Persian Empire, attacked Tabaristán, and Gil, or “Gáw-bárá” as he was now called, greatly distinguished himself in repelling them. After this Gil obtained from Adhar-valásh permission to return home to see his family; but when he returned it was at the head of an army of several thousand men of Gilán and Daylam. Adhar-valásh, greatly alarmed, despatched tidings of this to Yazdigird the king of Persia, who, advised by the Múbads, ordered him to relinquish his government to this descendant of Jámásp and scion of the Royal House. Thereupon Gil sent to Yazdigird suitable presents and offerings (f. 73b), and received in return the title of Gil-gilán Farshwádgar-sháh. Some time afterwards Adhar-valásh was killed by a fall from his horse at polo, and all his possessions passed to Gil: and this happened in the 35th year of the New Era which the Persians had lately inaugurated. Gil made his capital in Gilán, but from thence to Gurgán filled the land with lofty castles and other
buildings. Fifteen years after his accession to power he died, and was buried in Gilán. He left two sons, Dábúya and Pádhúspán, of whom the former, a severe and cruel ruler, succeeded his father on the throne of Gilán, while the latter reigned over Rúyán.

Account of the reign of Báw in Ṭabaristán (f. 736).

When Yazdigird, routed by the armies of Islám, fled to Ray, Báw, who was with him, sought and obtained permission to go by way of Ṭabaristán to Kúsán, there to visit a Fire-temple which his grandfather Kayús has founded, promising to rejoin his sovereign in Gurgán. His absence, however, was somewhat prolonged, and he was still in these lands when he received news of Yazdigird's death at the hands of the traitor Máhúš-i-Sürí. (Here 5 couplets of the Sháhnáma are cited). Báw thereupon shaved his head and retired into religious seclusion in the Fire-temple of Kúsán, while the Turks (f. 74a) ravaged all Khurásán and Ṭabaristán, and the Arabs, led by the Imám Ḥasan b. ʿAlí, ʿAbdu'lláh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭáb, Hudhayfa of Yaman, Qutham b. al-ʿAbbás, and Málik b. Ashtar an-Nakhaʾí advanced to Amul, where the traces of their encampment are still visible in the place called Málīka-dasht. The people of Ṭabaristán, driven to despair by these calamities, agreed to elect and obey one ruler in whom they should all feel confidence, and unanimously chose Báw, who was ultimately induced to accept this responsibility, on condition that they gave him absolute power, even to life and death, over them. So he expelled the invaders from the country and reigned for fifteen years, till one day Bashár, the mother of [Adhar-]valásh, struck him on the back with a brick and slew him, and herself reigned for eight years. Báw left a little son named Suhráb, whose aged mother carried him off
safely and hid him in the house of a gardener near Sáří, where he remained unmolested during these eight years. At the end of this period some of the servants of Kúlá Khurzád Khusraw Ispáhi (كولا خورزاد خسرو اسپاق) saw the lad, questioned the gardener as to his origin, and finally extracted the truth. They then carried off the lad to Kúlá, when the people gathered round him, and, joined by the men of Mount Qárin, made a sudden raid on Panjá-hazár (بند خازار), captured and slew Valásh, massacred as many of his partisans as they could, and crowned Suhráb king at Parím. Then they built for him a palace, hot bath and maydán above the village of Tálpúr, which lies at the foot of the castle of Kúz, and these buildings were afterwards enlarged by the Ispahbad Sharwín (f. 74b), and were still visible when the author (who had himself seen them) wrote, no one of the various rulers (‘Alawi Sayyids, descendants of Gáw-bára, Daylamites of the House of Buwayh, and sons of Washmgír) who had successively held possession of this district having thought fit to destroy them, though the ‘Abbásid troops wrought great devastation.

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

When Dábúya died, he left a son, who, under the style and title of Dhu‘l-Manáqib Farrúkhán-i-Buzurg, subjugated Țabaristán even as far as Níshápúr (in Khurásán), reduced the people to his allegiance, and, by building and cultivation, raised the country to a condition of prosperity which it had never before enjoyed, and repeatedly repelled the covetous Turkish raiders. Then the Daylamites revolted against him, and compelled him to flee to Amul, where, in a castle then called Fírúz-Khusra, but now Fírúz-ábád, distant two parasangs from that city (f. 75a), he fortified himself. The Daylamites besieged him, and hoped to starve
out him and his garrison, but he ordered his people to knead clay into the shape of loaves of bread and set these loaves on the walls in sight of the besiegers, who, thinking them to be bread, and despairing of being able to reduce so well provisioned a place, withdrew to Daylam, whereupon Farrukhán emerged from his fortress and followed them, constructing in the way which led to their country dykes, ditches and canals which rendered the road impassable to horsemen.

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

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

قَبْحَ اللَّهِ مَصْفَلٌ فَعَلَ فَعَلَ السَّادَةَ وَ فَرَّ فِي رَأْبِ الْعَبْيدِ

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

فَقِضَ وَقَطَّرَ فِيْهَا عَلَىِّ فُلْسِبَتِ امْرَتِهِ فِيْهَا اَحَادِيْتِ رَأْبٍ

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

¹ See al-Baládhuri’s Futūḥ, ed. de Goeje, p. 335.
Further History of Farrukhán (f. 756).

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

The Ispahbad Farrukhán and Qaṭarí the Kháríjite.

Qaṭarí b. al-Fujá’at al-Mázíní (f. 76a), the chief of the Khárijites or ‘Seceders’, one of the bravest and most eloquent of the Arabs, took refuge with the Ispahbad, in the time of the tyrant Ḥajjáj b. Yúsuf, together with ʿUmar Fannáq¹, Šáliḥ Mikhrráq and other Khárijite chiefs, all of whom were hospitably entertained by their host during the winter. But when they and their horses were rested and strengthened, they threatened the Ispahbad that they would seize his country unless he accepted their creed.

The author here gives a brief account of the origin of the Khárijites after the Battle of Siffin and the arbitration of Dawmatu‘l-Jandal. Their first leaders were ʿAbdu’l-láh b. al-Kawwá and Ma‘dán al-Ayádí, who, at the head of a thousand men, first raised the Khárijite war-cry, “Arbitration belongs to God alone!” (لا حكيم إلا لله), to which ʿAlí replied:

¹ Some of the MSS. have فقين for فتى. Cf. p. 104 infra.
And on that day 'Ali's soldiers kept reciting this verse:

سلام على من بليع الله شاريا و ليس على للرب الفعود سلام

The first person to whom the Khārijites swore allegiance as "Commander of the Faithful" (Amīru'l-Múminín) was 'Abdulláh b. Wahb ar-Rásibí, and the first who drew his sword in support of this heresy was 'Urwa b. Udayya, who, turning to Ash'ath b. Qays, said:

ما عذّب القدينة وما عذّب التحكيم أي شرط أوثق من شرط الله

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

The Khārijites are known by four names, to wit:

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

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

ابْقِ فِي النَّجْرِ مِنَ الدَّينِ كَمَا بَقِ مِنْ الْقَوْمِ وَلَا فِي السَّلَامِ مِنَ الْقَوْمِ

and another of his sayings to 'Alí: "Verily thou shalt fight the covenant-breakers, the doers of injustice, the rebels:"
(3) Shurât ("sellers" of their lives to win Paradise), alluding to Qur'án, ii, 203, and ix, 112, which verses they were accustomed to apply to themselves.

(4) Khârijites (Khawârij, "rebels", "dissidents" or "seceders"), because they came out in revolt against ʿAlî.

Whenever one of their chiefs was slain, they at once swore allegiance to another, until it came to the above-mentioned Qatari b. al-Fujâ'at al-Mâzînî, who was one of the bravest and most famous of them, and whose poems are preserved in the Ghuraru'd-Durar of Sayyid Murtaḍâ, the Ḥamâṣa of Abû Tamâm, and the Kâmil of al-Mubarrad. Thus, when the Khârijites elected him their chief and swore allegiance to him, he wrote to Abû Khâlid:

To which Abû Khâlid (whom the author curses) replied:

"Imrân al-Ḥîtṭán, one of the most eloquent and learned jurisconsults of the Khârijites, wrote the following verses in reply to Abû Khâlid:

This ʿImrân it was who, when at war with ʿAlî, said:

1 Aghâni, xvi, 155.
The following verses are also by him:

The following verses are also by him:

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

1 B. has (i.e. 'Alí b. Abī 'Abd Allāh) for .
soldiers (شُفَعَا), and sent the heads of the slain and a portion of the spoils to Sufyán, who forwarded them on with an account of the victory to Hajjáj b. Yúsuf. Hajjáj thereupon sent a messenger to Sufyán with an ass’s load of gold and an ass’s load of dust, bidding him, in case Sufyán should prove to have gained the victory himself, to bestow on him the gold; but if otherwise, to cast the dust on his head at the chief cross-roads in the bázár, which disgrace Sufyán had to suffer when the true state of the case was made known.

Soon afterwards ʿAbduʾl-Malik b. Marwán died and was succeeded by his son Walíd, while Hajjáj b. Yúsuf also fell from power, and Qutayba was made governor of Khurásán and Transoxiana, in which capacity he shewed much friendship towards the Ispahbad. Yazíd b. al-Muhallab (f. 782) was in the service of Sulaymán b. ʿAbduʾl-Malik (who succeeded his brother Walíd in A.D. 715), and whenever Qutayba wrote despatches describing a fresh victory in Turkistán, he would write back belittling them and saying, “All the accounts of thy victories are from a place where the Commander of the Faithful cannot test their reality: why dost thou not conquer Ṭabaristán, which is a garden in the midst of the domains of Islám?” But Qutayba knew that Yazíd b. al-Muhallab was his enemy, while the Ispahbad, on the other hand, was his friend, so that he naturally refrained from attacking him.

Sulaymán, on his accession, gave the government of Khurásán to Yazíd, and ordered Qutayba to be slain. And when Yazíd sent him accounts of his victories over the heathen in Transoxiana, the Caliph used to reply. “Why does he not effect that which he blamed Qutayba for not doing?” So Yazíd, hearing this, collected an army of Arabs and men of Khurásán and Transoxiana, and came to Gurgán. When the Ispahbad heard this, he sent all his people with
their families and cattle into the mountains, leaving the plains empty of their population. Meanwhile Yazíd reached and occupied Tammíšha, and continued his advance in the level country towards Sáří, while the Ispahbad Farrukhán marched parallel with him in the hills. On reaching Sáří, Yazíd alighted in the Ispahbad’s palace, and the people were afraid, and the Ispahbad himself was inclined to flee into Daylamán and there seek help against the invaders, but his son dissuaded him from an act which would be regarded as tantamount to abdication (f. 78b), and counselled him rather to sent messengers into Gilán and Daylamán asking for re-inforcements, which finally arrived to the number of some ten thousand men. Yazíd, hearing this, sent Khidásh b. al-Mughíra b. al-Muhallab b. Abí Ṣufra and Abu’l-Jahm al-Kalbí with twenty thousand horseman against the Ispahbad. When they drew near, Salmán the Daylamite came out to meet them, and was attacked by the van-guard of the Muslims under Muḥammad b. Abú Surra al-Ju’fí, who defeated Salmán’s troops, slew him, and pursued the fugitives into the hills, where, however, the Ispahbad’s army put them to rout with a storm of stones and arrows. Then, withdrawing by another road from this position, they prepared an ambush into which the Muslims fell, so that fifteen thousand of them, including some of Yazíd’s own kinsmen, perished. Continuing their advance, they plundered and burned Yazíd’s camp, after which the Ispahbad despatched a courier to Gurgán, biddng the Nahapets of Șúl 1 rise against Darís and the Arab soldiers who occupied their country, slay them all, and seize for themselves their cattle and possessions. This was done, and amongst the slain

1 The first word seems to be a broken plural of the word occurring in Armenian as nahapet, “patrician”; the latter is also a foreign word, and is explained by de Slane (*Ibn Khallikán*, iv, 172) as meaning “a king of Jurján”.

نهائية صويلية.
were fifty of Yazíd’s cousins (f. 79a). Then the Ispahbad sent men to destroy the high road from Sáří to Tammíšha and render it impassable (دار اینجی کند) to horsemen, after all of which deeds he ceased to fear Yazíd.

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

Then Ḥayyán came to the Ispahbad and said, “Yazíd b. al-Muhallab (f. 79b) hath sent me to say that if you will serve him in this matter, he will quit your country, but if not he will summon re-inforcements from Syria, ‘Iráq, Khurásán and Turkistán and destroy you and your kingdom.” So the Ispahbad was prevailed upon to accept the 300,000 dinárs, of which he gave 5000 to Ḥayyán, and to let Yazíd go: and he encamped in Tammíšha by the moat to give
time for the captives and fugitives of his army to join him. Then Yazíd passed onwards to Gurgán, where he swore to shed enough blood to turn a mill; but after killing many of the marzubáns and principal men of the country, he was glad to escape from his oath by a device suggested to him by the Nahapets of Șúl, who bade him mix blood with a mill-stream and eat of bread baked from the flour which it ground. Then he returned to Syria to the court of the Caliph Sulaymán.

**Anecdote (f. 79b).**

Ibn ʿAʾishá relates that this Caliph, Sulaymán b. ʿAbdul-Malik, one day mounted the pulpit, having anointed his beard with perfumed unguent (غاليتا) so that it utmost dripped from him, and said, “I am the youthful King who is confident in his kingdom and his youth”: and ere another Friday had come he was dead 1. He was succeeded by ʿUmar b. ʿAbdul-ʿAzíz (reigned A. H. 99–101; A. D. 717–720), whose piety, justice, learning and clemency are become proverbial. He abolished the hateful practice of publicly cursing ʿAlí, Fátíma, ʿHasan and ʿHuṣayn (f. 80a), which, introduced by the Umayyads, had become pretty general throughout the Muhammadan world, and substituted the reading of the verse (Qurʾán, xvi, 92): “Verily God enjoins on you justice, well-doing, and charity towards kinsmen, and forbids you evil speech, unseemly acts and disobedience; He exhorteth you that perchance ye may be admonished.”

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

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Concerning this reparation [the Sharíf] ar-Raḍí says:

"In Khwárazm," says the author, "I heard Nidhám [u’d-Dín] Samání say in the pulpit: 'I saw in a dream one of the Substitutes (Abdá́l) of the Prophet seated in the chief seat of apostolic honour, and beside him ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu’l-ʿAzíz, and somewhat lower ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭá́b. "How," I enquired, "hath ʿUmar b. ʿAbdu’l-ʿAzíz attained to such proximity?" "Because of his justice," was the answer. "But," said I, "was not ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭá́b more just than he?" "He," came the answer, "was just in an epoch of justice; but the other in an epoch of tyranny and injustice.""

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

Reign of the Ispahbad Dázmír the son of Farrukhán (f. 804).

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

1 This Caliph was conspicuous for his insane hatred of the House of ʿAlí and their followers (the Shi’a).

2 These verses, with another which stands between them, are cited in al-Fakhri, ed. Ahlwardt, p. 155.
attempted to molest him. He repaired and restored the Palace of the Ispahbads; and in his days Abú Muslim began his propaganda in favour of the House of 'Abbás at Merv. The Umayyad Marwán II, nick-named "the Ass" (al-Himár) was then (A. H. 127—132: A. D. 744—750) Caliph, and he was so called because the Arabs name the year which ends a century "the Year of the Ass", in allusion to the Ass of Ezra; and from the foundation of the Umayyad Caliphate until Marwán was slain exactly one hundred years had elapsed 1. Al-Jáhidh relates in the Kitáb-u'l-Bayán wa't-Tabyín that when Marwán was hard pressed by Abú Muslim's troops, he ordered one of his trusted servants to bury in the sand the staff and cloak of the Prophet, and to cut off the head of one of his daughters, lest she should reveal the hiding-place of these secret relics. But later this servant, being taken captive, said, "If you slay me, the inheritance of the Prophet will be lost for ever." So they spared him, and he shewed them where he had hidden these relics, which were sent to two villages in Tammísha where the councils of the propagandists were at that time held.

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

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

1 This statement is incorrect, even if we reckon from the death of ʿUthmán (A. H. 656) till the death of Marwán (A. H. 750).
Umayyads, and Marwan (f. 81a) took account of his deeds, he caused his secretary, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, who was a master in epistolary composition, to write him a long letter, full of threats and promises, ending with the words:

أنا نجعم فداك و آلا فليهاك

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

محمي السيف إسطار البلاغة و أناخي عليه ليوه الغاب من كل جانب
فإن تقلدوا نعل سبيل ضيجة بيبون عليها العنب من كل عاتب

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

يا إيا مجري لو اراد الله بالنملة صلاحًا لما ابتت لها جناحاً، وعلى
قدر المصدع يكون السقطة

But Abū Muslim’s plans prospered, until he brought Abūl-‘Abbās 'Abdu'llah as-Saffāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdu'llah b. 'Abbās from al-Madīna and proclaimed him Caliph, who, on his death, was succeeded by his brother Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr 'Abdu'llah b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdu'llah b. 'Abbās.

It is related that once 'Abdu'llah [b.] 'Abbās was travelling in company with 'Alī, who always showed the greatest consideration for this family (f. 81b), and bestowed on them the governments of Başra, Yaman and Ṭā'if, while Qutham, the foster-brother of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was the governor of the two sacred cities (Mecca and al-Madīna). Concerning this the Amīr Abū Firās says:

اما على فنقد ادنى قرابتك عند الولاية ان لا يمكر النعم
عند جاحذ يا بني العباس نعمة ابوبكم ام عيبيده الله ام تقم

لا إله إلا نظام الله و رحمة الله و عهده على عبد الله
When ‘Abdu’lláh’s son was born to him in Qaṭīfa, he asked ʿAlí to name the child with a noble name:

\[
\text{‘Abdullāh’s son was born to him in Qaṭīfa, he asked ʿAlí to name the child with a noble name:}
\]

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

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

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

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

The Ispahbad Khurshíd.

When Khurshíd was grown to man's estate, his uncle summoned his sons before him and said, "My nephew is grown up, and hath sent me a message, saying, 'The kingdom is my father's, who set thee on the throne under covenant with me; therefore surrender unto me the trust.'" His sons said, "Thou art king, and the kingdom ought to pass from thee to us. We will never consent (f. 83a) to thy surrender of the kingdom to him." The father replied, "Talk not like children, neither hammer cold iron, for I
will be faithful to my covenant. Should I contravene the agreement, no blessing would it bring either to me or to you.” Then said they, “Since it is so, send and bid him come hither, that thou may’st make it over to him.” So he, knowing not their secret intentions, sent for Khurshíd, who, fully confiding in his uncle’s integrity, came with a few followers from Tammísha, and was received by his uncle with paternal kindness. On an auspicious day a great banquet was held; but Khurshíd’s cousins had conspired to kill him with a blow from a mace as soon as he should rise from the banquet and sit down to drink wine. The girl Ramja Harúya, however, was aware of their intended treachery, and informed Khurshíd of it. He thereupon summoned a foster-brother of his named Jalwánán, and bade him have two horses ready at the gate. Then, on some pretext, Khurshíd slipped out from the banquet, mounted his horse, drew his sword, and, with Jalwánán, rode away, with cries of defiance, back to Tammísha. His uncle reproached his sons bitterly for their meditated treachery, and wrote humble apologies to Khurshíd, declaring that he had no part nor lot in the conspiracy. For a year Khurshíd did not see his uncle, and was busy, assisted by the Nahapets of Sárí, in preparing for battle. Finally (f. 83ỏ) he met his cousins in battle at Qaṣr-i-Dádaqán, a place midway between Tammísha and Sárí built by his father. He was victorious, slew or captured all of them, and pursued their army as far as Sárí. He then came before his uncle, exonerated him from all participation in the crime, and bade him choose for himself whatever residence and companions he pleased. His surviving cousins he banished to a mountain called Farrukhán Fírúz, where they remained till the end of their lives; and he married Ramja Harúya, and possessed himself of all the treasures of his father and his uncle, of whom the latter had reigned eight years. Khurshíd’s kinsmen gathered
round him, amongst them Wandarand, Fahran and Farrukhán, the sons of Jusnas (Gushnasf) b. Sárúya b. Farrukhán the Great, who were his cousins on his mother’s side. Of these he made the first marzubán of Amul, the second marzubán of the highlands (kuhistán), and the last he kept with himself. The command of his army he gave to Shahr-Khwástán b. Yazdán-Kard. He repaired the Palace of the Isfahbadán, enclosed 400 acres (؟کی) of land (now called Kísa), used in the author’s time by king Ardashír as a breeding-ground for Arab horses, and constructed a strong fortress called Si-dila (سیدلا)\(^1\), and a market where he settled skilled artisans chosen from all parts of Ţabaristán. Outside the fortress he built a great caravansaray, and he gave the city five gates, to wit the Highland Gate (دوراژه کوهستانان), the Sea Gate, and the Gilán, Gurgán and Hunting Gates (دوراژه صید). He also had a channel cut from the mountain to the sea to bring water to the town; and this he called Gilána-júy (f. 84α). Further he made fish-ponds (مصارف مالک), and, outside the Hunting Gate, a great maydán and a deep ditch, of which the traces still remain. Near this were covers well preserved and stocked with all sorts of game, such as deer, wild pigs, hares, wolves and leopards; and during his absence none dared to interfere with his preserves. He never remained for more than a month in any one place, and at each of his hunting-lodges he caused a month’s provisions to be kept. In the highlands he had ninety-three wives, each of whom had her own special palace and servants and plate and furniture. For his first and favourite wife, Ramja Harúya, he built a lofty palace on the sea-shore at the village of Yazdán-ábád, on which he spent much money, furnishing it in the most sumptuous fashion; and he used to visit her

\(^1\) C. Shihdila شیدلا.
always once a month, while to her care were entrusted his most precious possessions. If by any chance he was prevented from paying her this monthly visit, he used to send her an apology, and a gift of a thousand dinārs. She bore him a son named Hurmuz, whom he nominated as his successor. Amongst his other wives was Azarmí Dukht, the daughter of the Ispahbad Farrukhán, called Girán Gushwár (“She of the Heavy Ear-rings”), and his cousin Yákand (“Jacinth” or “Hyacinth”, ὑάκυνθος), the daughter of Farrukhán the Lesser. The Ispahbad was particularly attached to the former, and often used to make his hunting expeditions a pretext for visiting her. Yákand was a quarrelsome and masterful woman, and, having discovered her husband’s clandestine visits to Girán Gushwár, instructed her servants and the villagers to go with spades, pick-axes and other implements, and destroy and obliterate the road to Ispahbadán, where Girán Gushwár dwelt, and to clear and improve the road to her own palace. So at midnight the Ispahbad, who had drunk freely, mounted his horse to go to Ispahbadán, but was directed by Yákand’s coadjutors to the abode of their mistress. On arriving there, he knew that a trick had been played on him, and he sent in a message, saying, “I have four hundred men with me: can’t thou provide food for such a multitude?” Yákand ordered 400 cows to be sent out to then, and with each cow 400 sheep and 400 ass-loads [of provisions], and entertained them all for three days, at the end of which time she gave to each horseman a foal and a calf, and to each footman three suits of clothes and an embroidered blanket (گلیمی معلم).

The Ispahbad Khurshíd had a general named Qárin, after whom was named the village of Qárin-ábád in Panjáh-hazár and Mayándarúd, wherein he stored his treasures. It is now in ruins. His body-guard comprised 4000 men, and he always wore brocade, and sat on a golden throne, and
exercised the fullest authority over the Ispahbad's people, both men and women. And when the Isfahbad had reigned a long while (f. 85a), he became filled with pride and self-assurance, and took no heed of anyone, and paid no attention to the nobles, so that the hearts of his people were alienated by his tyranny and arrogance, and they sought a pretext to rebel against him.

**How the Ispahbad Khurshíd revolted against the Caliph Manṣúr.**

When the Caliph al-Manṣúr slew Abú Muslim, and news of this came to his friend and ally Sindbád in Ray, he sent all the treasures and cattle which Abú Muslim had confided to him to the Ispahbad, as a trust, together with a present of six million *dirhams*, and at the same time cast off his allegiance to al-Manṣúr, and revolted against him. The Caliph thereupon sent Jumhúr b. Marár from Baghdad to fight against him; and he came to Ray and defeated Sindbád at Jurjunbáni (? Jurkhiyání). Sindbád fled to Ţabaristán and sought protection with the Ispahbad, who sent his cousin Ţús out to meet him, with provisions, presents, horses and arms. When Ţús met Sindbád, he alighted from his horse and saluted him, while Sindbád answered him from his saddle, and did not alight to do him honour. Thereat Ţús was angered and said, "I am one of the Ispahbad's cousins, and he sent me out to do thee honour. It was not contemplated that thou should'st treat me with disrespect." To this speech Sindbád returned a harsh answer, and Ţús, remounting his horse, soon found an opportunity to smite Sindbád with his sword and cut off his head, after which he brought all his retainers and stores to the Ispahbad, who was greatly vexed, reviled Ţús, and took possession of all Abú Muslim's and Sindbád's property. News of this
was sent by Jumhūr to the Caliph, who instructed his general to demand the surrender of this property from the Ispahbad. At this time ʿAbduʾl-Jabbār b. ʿAbduʾr-Rahmān was in Khurāsān. The Ispahbad sent one of his chamberlains named Fīrūz with Sindbād’s head to the Caliph, who received him with great honour. On learning this, the Ispahbad sent Fīrūz once more to the Caliph with a gift of precious stones and rare products of Ṭabaristān. The Caliph then requested him to hand over the treasures of Abū Muslim and Sindbād, but the Ispahbad persisted in declaring that they were not in his possession, and finally broke out into open revolt against the Caliph, who thereupon sent his son al-Mahdī to Ray, bidding him seize the Ispahbad’s son Hurmuz as a hostage for the father’s loyalty. The Ispahbad, on receiving this demand, replied that his son was too young to bear the fatigues of the journey, and al-Mahdī wrote to his father the Caliph, advising him not to press this demand, lest the Ispahbad should break into more open revolt. So al-Manṣūr sent him a royal crown and robe of honour, and the Ispahbad, being pleased thereat, consented to send to the Court of Baghdad the same tribute which Ṭabaristān had formerly paid to the Sasanian kings, to wit: a poll-tax of one dirham of gold for each inhabitant; 300,000 dirhams, each containing four dāngs (i.e. $\frac{4}{6} = \frac{2}{3}$) of “white” silver; 300 bales of green silk carpets and quilts; (f. 86a) the same amount of good coloured cotton; the same amount of gold-embroidered garments of the kinds called Ruyānī and Lafūrāj; the same amount of saffron, which is of a kind unequallled in all the world; and a certain amount of sea-fish. All this tribute was laden on forty mules, on each of which was mounted a Turkish slave or hand-maiden.

Now the sight of this tribute of Ṭabaristān did but inflame the Caliph al-Manṣūr’s desire to possess so rich a
province; and he sent a verbal message to the Ispahbad bidding him help his troops in repelling the attacks of 'Abdu'l-Jabbar. He also wrote to his son al-Mahdî, who was at Ray, bidding him write to the Ispahbad that, owing to the drought and consequent scarcity of food, it was impossible for all his army to follow the same route, and that he desired the Ispahbad's permission for one division of them to pass through Tabaristán.

**Account of the Caliph's treachery towards the Ispahbad.**

At the command of his father the Caliph, al-Mahdî sent as ambassador to the Ispahbad a certain Persian (مردى را از (ب) اولان اعجم) with the request suggested by al-Manṣûr. The Ispahbad was at Isfahbadán, and when the ambassador had conveyed to him the message with which he was charged, he shewed him all honour, and answered that his country was the property of the Commander of the Faithful, who could do whatever seemed good in his eyes. When the ambassador had left the audience-chamber, his Persian proclivities (چشیته چنچیته) impelled him to declare to the Ispahbad the treachery meditated by the Caliph. So he called the Ispahbad's chamberlain, and said, "I have an important communication for the Ispahbad's private ear." When this request was communicated to the Ispahbad, he said, "It is but this moment that he left me (f. 86b); what matter of importance can have arisen so soon?" "Perhaps," said the chamberlain, "he cherishes some vain hope, and desires to crave some boon of you." "Tell him," said the Ispahbad, "that the ladies of the Royal Household are with me in the Palace, and that consequently you could not convey my message." When the ambassador heard this message, he knew that Fate could not be averted, and said to him-
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self, "Alas for all this pomp and circumstance and sovereignty which is to be cast to the winds! When Decline sets its face towards a house, no scheme or plan of its chiefs goes right. This man, for all his talents, can send me so flimsy an excuse! Fate and Destiny have, for the Caliph’s satisfaction, let down the veil of ignorance before the face of the Ispahbad’s discernment, so that he cannot see a fact which is as plain as daylight!"

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

A c c o u n t  o f ʿA m r  b. ʿA l á  i n ʿ A m u l .

Abu’l-Khuḍayb chose as his guide a certain ʿAmr (?ʿUmar) b. ʿAlá, who had, on account of a murder which he had committed in Gurgán, taken refuge with the Ispahbad, under whose protection he had lived for a long while, during which time he had obtained full knowledge of the country, and of all its roads, fords and passes. But now he had joined himself to the Caliph’s troops, and was sent with 2000 horsemen to attack Amul (f. 87a). The Marzubán of this city, who held his office from the Ispahbad, came out to meet him in battle; but he was slain, and Amul was occupied by ʿUmar b. ʿAlá, who proclaimed a just administration to all the inhabitants, and invited them to embrace
Islam. And the people, being, as already said, disgusted with the Ispahbad’s arrogance, came in in crowds, embraced Islam, and surrendered up their arms and possessions. Shortly after this, news of the death of ‘Abdu’l-Jabbar arrived, and the invaders, being no longer anxious about Khurasan, settled down in Tabaristán.

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

The Muslim army, on learning his movements, set out in pursuit, but he reached Rúyán with the loss of only a few men and animals, and thence pushed on to Daylam, where he remained for two years and seven months, while the Muslims besieged his stronghold, until he had gathered together 50,000 men of Gil and Daylam. But the plague attacked his stronghold, and in one day 400 persons died, and such was the stench of their bodies that the garrison were obliged to capitulate to the Muslims, who spent seven days in bringing the stores and treasures out of the Castle. Then they prepared to send the women, with all respect and honour, to the Caliph. The Muslim general desired Azarmí-Dukht and Ramja Harúya to surrender themselves to him, but they both refused. Of Khurshíd’s daughters, who were as beautiful as the moon, he gave one to ‘Abbás b. Muḥammad al-Háshimí, who named her Amatu’r-Rahmán (“the Hand-maiden of the All-Merciful”), while another the Ca-
liph himself took. All of them urged the Caliph to give the kingdom of Tabaristán to their father, and to this the Caliph consented, and despatched a messenger with orders to this effect, but he got no further than Ḥulwán, for the Ispahbad Khurshíd, filled with despair at the disaster which had befallen him, and unable to bear the disgrace, took poison and died. With him ended the line of Jílánsháh, which had reigned in Tabaristán for 119 years.

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

The first ʻAbbásid governor of Tabaristán was the already-mentioned Abu’l-Khuḍayb, and the first building erected there by the Muslims was the Great Mosque of Sári, which he caused to be built on a Monday in the month of Abán in the year A. H. 140 (A. D. 757—8), on which date Amul was occupied and Tabaristán practically conquered by the Muslims. Abu’l-Khuḍayb was governor for two years, and was succeeded by Abú Khuzayma, who settled armed garrisons throughout the country as follows: in Tammísha 1000 Arabs under Fakhr b. ʻAbdu’lláh al-Khuza’í; in Rúdbár, two parasangs from Tammísha, 500 men under Rabí’ b. ʻUrwán; in Kúsán 300 men under Abu’l-ʻAmmár al-ʻAtíqí; in Asrámil 500 men under Ibráhím b. Isháq ash-Shámi; in Sámta 500 men under Kirmán al-Bukhári; in Kúsán 500 men of Khurasán under Núḥ (الساسف بی) in Dizwán in the district of Panjáh-hazár 1000 men under Jílí b. Sa’d al-Marwázi; in Dú-Ab 500 men under ʻUmar b. Sa’íd; in Mihrwání 1000 men under Khalaf b. ʻAbdu’lláh; in Aṣrám 500 men; in Azdara 300 men under Ziyád b. Ḥázim.

1 B. "300". 2 B. "Jázim".
Awsarzin 1000 men under Khalifa b. Khalid; in Awrarábád above Parícha 500 men; in Rawá 300 men under Walíd b. Maysara; in the city of Sárf 1000 men; in Artá 500 men of Tabaristán; in Kaskarúd 500 men under ʿAbduʾlláh b. Sayf; in Chamanú 1000 men under Miskín b. Ghazál ash-Shámí; in Firín 500 men under Khalifa b. Bahram; in Yazdánábád 500 men under ʿUmar b. Alá; in Kúlá 300 men under Nasrán b. as-Sunqur; in Mámtrír 1000 men under Salám b. Qudáma (f. 884); in Sáliyán near Lufur 1000 men; in Nishápúriyya 300 men under Ibn Salma al-Qāʾid of Nishápúr; in Ṭabarán 500 men under Muḥammad b. ʿAbbás as-Salmí; in Isfandiyár 3000 men; in Tarícha 1500 men under Muslim b. Khálid; in Fath... 500 men from Nísá and Báward; in Jábarán 300 men under Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾlláh; in Masla Zarrín Kúl, 1000 men; in Amul 3000 men under the officers, allies and magistrates of the Caliph; in Jílánábád above Rán-Kúh 1000 men under Naṣr b. ʿImrán of Khurásán; in Pá-yi-Dasht 500 men under ʿAmir b. Adam; in Haláwán 500 men, first under al-Muthanná b. al-Ḥajjáj, and then under Muḥammad b. ʿAf ál; in Nátíl 500 men under Saʿíd b. Maymún; in Bahram Dih 500 men under ʿUmar b. Bahram ʿIsá; in Qará-Ṭughán of Bálá-ráh, 500 men under Yúsuf b. ʿAbduʾr-Kaḥmán; in Wálashjírd 800 men under ʿAlí b. Jastán; in Kajwúhi Qašabatuʾr-Rúyán 6000 men under ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlá; in Jurishjírd-Saʿíd-ábád 500 men under Saʿíd b. ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlá; in Kalár, the beginning of Daylam, 1000 men; in the Highlands (Kūhistán) of Júparm (حوبوري) 1000 Arabs; and in as-Saʿídí 500 men.

After a year [? Abuʾl-Khuzayma] was dismissed, and re-
placed by Rūḥ b. Ḥātim b. Qayṣar b. al-Muhallab, who was made governor in A. H. 144 (≈ A. D. 761—2), but a year later, being convicted of tyranny and injustice, he was replaced by Khálid b. Barmak, who took up his abode at a place called after him Khálida-Saráy. He also built for himself a palace at Amul, and ruled for four years, building many public buildings and developing the resources of the country, until at the end of this period he was replaced by ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlá, during whose governorship the Caliph al-Manṣūr died, and was succeeded by (f. 88b) his son al-Mahdí. He, being informed that ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlá had sought the hand of the daughter of Mihráya in marriage, was angered against him and dismissed him. Saʿíd b. Daʿlaj succeeded him as governor, and held this position for three years. At this period a Sayyid of the House of Abú Ṭálib named Ḥusayn b. ʿAlí, commonly called فِرْحُبُ وُعَذِبُ, revolted in the Ḥijáz, and was joined by many other Sayyids. The Caliph sent Músá b. ʿIsá and Sirrí b. ʿAbduʾlláh al-ʿAbbásí, with other Amirs and officers, to fight him. The Battle took place at Fakhkh, and the Sayyid was slain, together with many of his companions. Some few, however, escaped, and made their way to al-Madīna, where Músá b. ʿIsá was holding his court and audience, at which, to avert suspicion of disaffection, most of the chief men of al-Madīna were present. Presently Músá b. ʿAbduʾlláh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbí Ṭálib, who had escaped from the battle, came in, clad in a course woollen cuirass (مَدَرَع), slashed with sword-cuts, and sandals of camel’s skin, and sat down in the lowest place. Immediately afterwards the Imám Músá b. Jaʾfar al-Kádhīm entered. Músá b. ʿIsá rose to meet him, and caused him to sit in an honourable place. Sirrí b. ʿAbduʾlláh al-ʿAbbásí turned to Músá b. ʿAbduʾlláh b. al-Ḥasan and said, "What dost thou think of the stricken field of rebellion and treachery? Why dost thou not withhold thy
hand from such deeds, that thy cousins (meaning the 'Abbasids) might enrich thee and treat thee with honour?" Músa replied, "Our relation towards you is like what has been said in this verse:"

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

Now since the Caliph al-Mahdí was preoccupied with these matters, Sa'id b. Da'ílaj remained two years and three months as Governor of Tabaristan ere he was recalled, and 'Amr b. al-Álá was again sent to replace him. He it was who built the village of 'Amr (? 'Umar) Kaláda, situated near Wana-bun, as well as another town called 'Umar (? Amr)-ábad. In this year there was a great earthquake; and Ahmád b. Hanbal declared at Baghdad that heavier taxes should be imposed on the people of Tabaristán, as well as a 10% tithe on cereals, because the country had not surrendered willingly, but had been taken by force. A year later 'Amr b. al-Álá was replaced by Yahýá b. Mikhnáq (B. خنثاق), who dealt gently with the people, till he was in turn replaced by 'Abdu'l-Íamíd Ma'drúb, who vexed the people with new and oppressive taxes.

**Rule of the sons of Súkhrá and revolt of Wandád Hurmužd.**

Then arose Wandád Hurmužd, the son of Alandá, the
son of Qárín, the son of Súkhrá, who has been already mentioned in speaking of the Garsháhs (Jarsháhs) or kings of the Mountains; for the word Jar (or Gar) is applied to mountain-land susceptible of cultivation, and Gáw-bára had given this land to this family, who had held it for a hundred years. Now the inhabitants of Ummidwár-Kúh came to Wandád Hurmuzd to complain of the tyranny and exactations of the Caliph's governors, promising him their support if he would rebel against them, whereby they might escape from the tyranny which was crushing them down, and he might recover the authority enjoyed by his ancestors. He answered them that he must first consult with (f. 89v) the Ispahbad Sharwín, the king of the Mountains, and seek for the support of the Mas-mughán Walásh; and that if these consented to help him, he would revolt against the Caliph. So he sent messengers to Sharwín at Shahriyár-kúh in Farím, and to the Mas-mughán at Mayándarúd, both of whom agreed to help him, and encouraged him in his enterprise. A day was then fixed on which the people of Tabaristán should make a general massacre of all the Arabs and servants of the Caliph. This was done; and so thoroughly were the Tabaristánís in accord that women who were married to followers of the Caliph dragged them out of their houses by their beards, and delivered them over to the executioners, so that in all Tabaristán not an Arab was left. When Ḥammál b. 'Umar ad-Duhalí and Khálid b. Barmak, whom the Caliph had sent to Ray, received news of this, they despatched tidings to Baghdad, and al-Mahdí sent Sálim of Farghána, one of his most trusted officers, whom he had nick-named "the Devil of Farghána" to enquire into and report on the matter. On learning the truth, the Caliph exclaimed, "Is there no one who will go to Tabaristán and bring me the head of Wandád Hurmuzd?" Sálim offered himself, and the Caliph despatched him with a fol-
lowing of brave and hardy soldiers. On arriving in Ṭabaristán, he encamped in the plain of Aşram, where Wandád Hurmuzd came to meet him, accompanied by a great host. Sálim was mounted on a favourite piebald horse, well known throughout ʿIráq-i-ʿArab. He at once rode at Wandád Hurmuzd and smote at him with his great mace, which weighed twenty maunds, splitting the shield with which he sought to parry the blow (f. 90a), but nor succeeding in inflicting on him any further injury. At dusk they ceased from battle, and Wandád Hurmuzd and his men encamped at Hurmuzdábád. Next day they fell to banqueting and drinking. Wandád Hurmuzd had a black horse, which had on its neck a curious mole, and which was of incomparable excellence. This he had saddled with a golden saddle and caparisoned with jewelled trappings, and when it was brought before him he said, “O people, know that this is our antagonist whom ye have seen, and whose pomp and power ye have witnessed. And ye are all of you the bravest men of Ṭabaristán. Which of you will take this caparisoned horse and do battle with him?” Thrice he made this appeal, and no one responded to it, until at last one of his sons, a lad named Wandá-ummíd, and called Khudáwand-i-Kálálak, advanced, kissed the ground, and said, “By thy good fortune I am he who shall bring thee thine enemy’s head; and for this I desire nothing but the horse.” “When,” said Wandád Hurmuzd, “hast thou contended with warriors and taken part in such contests?” The lad, however, persisted in his resolve, in spite of the attempts to dissuade him made by his father and his maternal uncle Qúhyár, who was finally bidden to accompany his nephew, notwithstanding his weakness and old age. The bravest men were chosen to accompany them, and a cow-herd named Ardashírak Báblúraj (f. 90b), who knew all the intricacies of the thickets and forests, was sent to lead them by secret paths against
Sálím, who, being taken by surprise, was slain by Wandá-ummíd in single combat, at Harsa-mál, three parasangs from Amul, or, as some say, at Aṣram, at the place now called Hi-Hí-Kayán. So the lad Wandá-ummíd came back in triumph to his father, Wandád-Hurmuzd, and was received by him with great honour and rejoicing, and ever afterwards permitted to sit beside him on his golden throne. And Sálím was esteemed by the Caliph as equivalent in value to a thousand horsemen.

Account of the war with Firásha.

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

1 i.e. he held the rank and title of Hazár-mard.
he gave an axe. He then explained to them his plan, which was that he himself should advance a little way towards the enemy with a hundred men, but that as soon as he had been seen by Firāša and his troops, he should fall back, followed by the enemy, whom he would thus lure within the two silent lines of his followers. Then, when they were all within the ambush, he would beat a drum; and at this sign all his followers were to begin to blow the 400 trumpets, beat the 400 drums, and fell trees with the 4000 axes. All this was duly carried out; and when the troops of Firāša heard this turmoil and uproar, they were filled with consternation, and were easily routed. Firāša himself was taken captive, and brought before the Ispahbad, who ordered his head to be struck off, and himself put on his cloak, cap, belt and sword; but quarter was accorded to the remaining prisoners. At this juncture the Ispahbad Sharwín arrived, and was given one third of the spoils (f. 916). Wάndád Hurmuzd related to his son Quárín that he had dreamed that he slew a wolf; that after this another wolf came and was also slain by him; that thereafter a leopard came, and he slew it, cut off its head, and clothed himself in its skin; and that last of all a lion came and grappled with him, and wounded him with its claws, until at last with a great effort he freed himself from it. The first wolf was Taym b. Sinán; the second, Khalīfa b. Mihrán; the leopard, in whom skin Wάndád clothed himself, was Firāša; and the lion was Yazíd b. Marthad.

When the news of Firāša’s death reached the Caliph al-Malīdī, he sent to Tabaristán Rūḥ b. Hātim, a tyrant of evil life, concerning whose dismissal from office Abú Jaysh al-Hilálī said:

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

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

وَكَانَ فِي قَمْ رَ حَاجِبٌ
وَأَلْتَ جَمَعْتَ الْعَدْرَ فِي قَمْ رَ حَاجِبٍ

"And I," added the Amír, "will deal with him as Kisrá dealt with Ḥájib b. Zurára." So they kept him a prisoner as they advanced, until he said, "Do you remain here that
I may go and get news and return.” So he went away, and Wandád Hurmuzd prepared an ambush for the Muslims and slew most of them. 'Amr b. 'Alá escaped with a few followers, and the Caliph al-Mahdí, angered at his defeat, sent Taym b. Sinán, who made peace with Wandád Hurmuzd.

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

After this the Caliph al-Mahdí sent his son Músá al-Hádí to Gurgán, and to him Wandád Hurmuzd surrendered on promise of pardon; whereupon Músá wrote to Yazíd b. Marthad bidding him give up the highlands to him. Thence, taking Wandád Hurmuzd with him, he marched back through 'Iráq to Baghdad. On the way thither he received news of the death of his father al-Mahdí; so he hastened on to Baghdad and was formally invested with the title of Caliph. Soon afterwards the younger brother of Wandád Hurmuzd (f. 92b) Wandásafán beheaded Bahram b. Fírúz, who, at the Caliph’s persuasion, had embraced Islám. The Caliph thereupon summoned Wandád Hurmuzd before him and ordered him to be beheaded at once; but he craved mercy, declaring that his brother’s sole object in killing the Caliph’s servant was to rid himself of him, since he reckoned on the Caliph avenging himself on Wandád-Hurmuzd, and hoped thereby to inherit the highlands of Ţabaristán. “Therefore,” he concluded, “if the Caliph desires that he should attain his object, let him kill me; but if not, let him send me to bring him or his head to the Caliph.” Both 'İsá b. Máhán and Murád b. Muslim were present, and both exclaimed: “Why should the Commander of the
Faithful forbid this? This is the best plan.” So the Caliph despatched Wandád Hurmuzd with a robe of honour and the necessary equipment. On reaching Ṭabaristán, he prostrated himself on the earth in thankfulness, and sent a message to Wandásafán bidding him keep in hiding and avoid him at all hazards; and he continued to pretend to pursue him till, on one night, Músá al-Hádí died, Hárunu’r-Rashíd became Caliph, and al-Ma’mún was born.

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

The Rebellion of the people of Rustamdár.

The deputy of this last governor, who was named Salám and nicknamed Siyáh Mard (“the Black Man”), was expelled from his province, and entered into a league with the Daylamites. There was at Kalár a very beautiful woman, whom they seized, in order to create trouble; but she cast herself into a stream and drowned herself. The deputy-governor of ʿAbdu’lláh was at Kajú, and, on hearing of this, he at once hastened to Jálús, when there was a judge named
Şudá́m who was accused of being the cause of the mischief, and who fled into hiding. The deputy-governor caused proclamation to be made throughout the country that whoever should find this judge and give him quarter would be no longer accounted a Muslim, but would be reckoned an outlaw. At length the judge was captured by the people and bound to a tree for three days and nights; and Salá́m ordered that all the people of that district should come in, so that he might fulfil their desires and grant their wishes. So they came in, hopeful and jubilant; but he shut them all up in houses, and set sentries over them. It was then the month of Ramadán, and in the evening, before he had performed the evening prayer, he mounted his horse, broke his fast in the saddle with some bread and a few bunches of grapes plucked from a neighbouring garden, and had his prisoners brought out one by one from their confinement and decapitated. This work of slaughter went on all night by candle-light, and when morning dawned not one of the prisoners was left alive. Then he said, "I am like this candle; as it burns itself to give light to you, so have I cast myself into torment to make the country safe for you."

Thence he went to Sa'íd-ábádí, drove the people out of their fortifications by assault, slew then all, and destroyed the village, till at length Hárún Ruşíd dismissed him from his government, and appointed Muḥammad b. Yahyá b. Khálid al-Barmákí and his brother Músá to succeed him, while their brothers Faḍl b. Yaḥyá and Ja'far were the Caliph's ministers at Bagdad (f. 936). The two former ruled oppressively over Tábaristán, confiscating every estate and seizing every beautiful woman just as they pleased; and none dared make complaint against them to the Caliph for fear of the influence wielded by their brothers at the court. At length Hárún's anger was aroused against Ja'far, and he ordered the family of the Barmecides to be
destroyed. Concerning the cause of his anger, two separate traditions are recorded in history.

Cause of the Extirpation of the Barmecides.

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

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

فَلَا تَبَعَّدْ فَكِلْتُ قَنَى سَبَاطٍ عَلَيْهِ الْحَمْرُ يَبْرَقُ أَوْ يُغَادِرَ وَ كُلُّ تَخَرْجَةٌ لاَ بَدَّ يَمْسَأَ إِنَّ بَقَّ الْحَمْرِ تَمْسِكُ إِلَى نَفَقٍ قَلْوُ فُرْدِيَتٍ مِنْ حَدِثِ الْمُنْبَاةِ قَدِينَةَ بِالتَّلِيدِ وَ بِالنَّبَلٍ

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Ja'far said to Abú Rakáz, "What song is this to sing before men?" He replied, "O my master, however much I strive, I can think of no other verses." While they were thus conversing, suddenly Masrúr the executioner entered without seeking permission, for the Caliph had sent him to cut off Ja'far's head and bring it to him. When Ja'far saw him, he sprang to his feet and cried, "O Abú Hāshim, I rejoice that thou art come to me, but am sorry that thou didst enter without seeking permission." "I am come," said Masrúr, "on a weighty errand: submit thyself to the command of the Prince of Believers." Ja'far fell at his feet, saying, "Suffer me to go into the house and perform my ablutions." "It is out of the question," replied Masrúr, "that you should go to the house, but make such testamentary dispositions as you please." So Ja'far set free his slaves and made his will and performed his ablutions; and then Masrúr mounted him on a horse and brought him to the prison. Ja'far then conjured him to go and tell the Caliph that he had brought him thither, that perhaps he might repent. To this Masrúr consented; but no sooner did Há-rúnü'r-Rashíd hear his advancing footsteps than he called out to him, "Stop there! For if thou comest hither without the head of Ja'far, thine own head shall be forfeit!" So Masrúr turned back and cut off Ja'far's head, and brought it on a shield to the Caliph, who at once ordered Yahyá b. Khálid and Faql to be cast into prison, and the body of Ja'far to be hanged on the bridge at Anbár. But afterwards Há-rún was sorry for what he had done, and wandered through the palace reciting these verses:
The other account, given by al-Aṣma'ī in his Kitābu 'n-Nawádir, on the authority of Abú 'Abdilláh (f. 94b) al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. Hishám, is as follows. "When al-Ma'mún succeeded to the Caliphate," says the narrator, "I enquired of Faḍl b. Rabi', who was Háránu'r-Rashíd's chief chamberlain, 'Was this matter of 'Abbása the only cause of the slaughter of the Barmecides, or had they committed any other fault?' Faḍl b. Rabi smiled and said: َعَلَى الْخَبِيرِ بِهَا سَقَطَت (‘Thou hast fallen on him who is best acquainted with it’). This Faḍl was unequalled in understanding, and from him Háránu'r-Rashíd had no secrets. It is related that when al-Ma'mún obtained possession of Baghdad, Faḍl was brought before him as a prisoner, with his hands bound behind him. Al-Ma'mún looked at him to see whether he would say anything, or apologize, or crave forgiveness; but he did not raise his eyes from the ground and maintained complete silence. "Was it in such wise," at length exclaimed al-Ma'mún, "that thou didst order the affairs of two Caliphs?" "O Prince of Believers," replied Faḍl, "my tongue spoke to grant requests, not to crave them." So al-Ma'mún, being pleased with his answer, forgave him, and ordered him to be escorted to his house with candles and lanterns. But he said, "O Prince of Believers, suffer me rather to go lighted by the light of thine approval!" Later, when he was sick, al-Ma'mún sent a messenger to enquire after his health, and to say, "I am well pleased with thee, therefore ask me what thou wilt." He replied, "I stand more in need of God's good pleasure than of thine, and more in need of health than of thy abundant possessions."

Now according to this Faḍl, the cause of Hárán's anger against the Barmecides was that he had entrusted to Ja'far a son of Yaḥyá b. Zayd to keep him in safe custody. One day while drinking wine he said to Ja'far, "Go, and bring the lad hither." "Why dost thou want him at such a time?"
enquired Ja'far. Then Hárún cried out at him in anger, and he arose and brought in the Sayyid. Hárún caused him to be seated, and then said to him, "O cousin, knowest thou wherefore I have sent for thee?" "The Prince of Believers knoweth best," replied the other. "You pretend," said Hárúnʿr-Rashíd, "that you are more worthy than we of this office, being more closely (f. 95a) and particularly related to the Prophet. Now you must have some proof for this pretention, and this you must make known to me." "God forbid!" replied the son of Yahyá: "we have never said and will never say such a thing as this!" "Thou liest!" answered Hárún: "you have advanced such claims, and tonight you must needs substantiate them." So the Sayyid continued to deny and the Caliph, with drunken insistence, to assert, until the latter had finally work himself up into a rage. Then Ja'far intervened and said to the son of Yahyá, "The Prince of Believers is holding a scientific discussion with you, and questions you with such courtesy and kindness; why then do you decline to discuss the matter, or to answer him?" "If I should answer," replied the Sayyid, "who will guarantee my safety?" Then the Caliph wrote him an assurance of safety in his own hand, swearing that he would neither slay, not hang, not poison him; and placed this document in his hands. "Now," said the Sayyid, "what dost thou ask of me?" "The proof," said Hárúnʿr-Rashíd, "that you are worthier than we are." "We are more worthy," replied the Sayyid, "as being nearer of kin." "Nay," said the Caliph, "we are in this respect equal." "Not so," answered the Sayyid. "By what proof?" demanded the Caliph. "If Muḥammad the Apostle of God were alive," said the Sayyid, "and should seek alliance with thee through a sister or a daughter, would'st thou consent or not?" "Yes," answered Hárún, "why should I not accept so worthy an alliance?" "I would not," re-
joined the Sayyid, "and it would be improper for me to do so." Hárún was silent for a while, and then made a sign to Ja'far to remove the Sayyid, which he did. Some while afterwards the Caliph summoned Ja'far and said, "I am going to entrust you with a commission in which you must by no means fail me." "It is for the Prince of Believers to command," replied Ja'far. "Place thy hand on my head," said the Caliph, "and swear to accomplish my behest." When Ja'far had done this, Hárún said, "I gave the son of Yahyá an assurance of safety against steel and poison and strangling, but not against burial. You must therefore dig a deep pit, exceeding fifty yards in depth, and must cast him into that pit alive." So Ja'far went, dismissed the guardians [of the Sayyid] and caused a deep pit to be dug (f. 95b), into which he cast not the Sayyid but a sheep. Then he explained to the Sayyid the state of the case, and bade him flee beyond the Caliph's realms. So he fled in disguise to Khurásán, but was recognized in the market of Balkh by a certain officer of the postal service named al-Mas'údí, who performed the journey thence to Baghdad in thirty days, and informed the Caliph of what he had seen. So the Caliph wrote to Ḥālí b. Ḥisá, who was governor of Balkh, bidding him seek out the Sayyid, who, however, had meanwhile made his escape into Turkistán. Then the Caliph sent an ambassador to the Kháqán of Turkistán, bidding him surrender up the Sayyid. The Kháqán answered, "We know not this man: send some one who can recognize him, and we will hand him over to you." So Hárún sent another messenger who knew the Sayyid, and all the Sayyids who were in that country were assembled in his presence; and when his eye lighted on the son of Yahyá, he said, "This is the man." But when he brought him to the Kháqán, the latter bade the Sayyid sit down beside him, and said to the messenger, "I also was seeking
for him, my object being to protect him from all the world. Arise, and depart in peace." So the ambassador returned in despair, and told the Caliph what had passed. Then the Caliph determined to avenge himself on Ja'far. Now it was his custom to visit his sister 'Abbásá every Tuesday, and on these occasions he would neither see anyone nor receive any letter or petition. 'One Tuesday," says the narrator, "when I was alone with him, he bade me be seated, and said, 'I am going to tell you a secret which you must on no account divulge.' On my promising secrecy, he continued, 'I am going to destroy Ja'far.' At this juncture Ja'far himself entered. I arose and went to meet him. The Caliph caused him to sit down beside him, till, when they had discussed various topics, he arose (f. 96a) and went to the house of 'Abbásá, while I remained with Ja'far. 'What were you and the Caliph talking about when I came in?' said he. 'He was instructing me,' I replied, 'how to deal with a certain rebel in Khurásán. 'O Faḍl,' he answered, 'by God, thou liest; you were talking about me, and no good either, for when thine eyes fell on me the colour left thy face.' 'God forbid!' said I, 'how should the Caliph speak to me of thee, seeing the position that thou holdest before him?' But Ja'far persisted in his surmise, and I was afraid lest the Caliph should think I had given him a hint of what had been confided to me. When he went to his house, I arose and went to the house of 'Abbásá, where I demanded an audience. I was bidden to put in writing what I had to say, but, having declared that it could only be imparted by word of moath, was at length admitted and brought before the Caliph. I bowed my head to the ground and said, 'O Prince of Believers, mercy, mercy! Thou hast cast me into destruction!' 'Why, what ails thee?' he enquired: 'tell me quickly.' Then I told him what had passed, and he said, 'Have no anxiety on
this score, for I have long known Ja'far's acumen and discernment. Yesterday I was with him in the garden, and there was no one with us; and I was looking at the roses, when I saw one which pleased me more than all the others. At once Ja'far stretched out his hand and gave it to me. Then he fell on his face before me, and when he raised his head from the ground I was smiling. "Wherefore," he enquired, "does the Prince of Believers smile?" I answered, "At your being able to tell which rose out of all these pleased me most." "By God," he replied, "that was not the reason, for you have often before proved my discernment. It was rather because, when I prostrated myself before you, your glance fall on my neck." 'And by God,' added the Caliph, he spoke truly; for, as I looked at his neck, I said to myself, "How shall I order it to be cut with the sword?" and as I thought thus, I smiled.' Three days later the affair of the Barmecides was finished."

After this Jahdâm b. Khabáb was sent (f. 96b) as governor to Ṭabaristán, and after him Khalífa b. Sa'id b. Hárún al-Jawharí, who, on reaching Amul, appointed as his deputy Mihruya of Ray, who took up his abode at Gurgán.

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

These were in alliance with one another, so that from Tamnísha to Rúyán without their permission no one dared enter the highlands from the plains, and all the highlands were under their control. And when a Muslim died, they would not suffer him to be buried in their country. So matters continued until Khalífa b. Sa'id came to Sári, and wished to make his cousin Náfi his deputy; and the Ispahbad Sharwín's men came down by night out of the hills and slew him. Khalífa remained at Sári and wrote to Mih-
ruýa at Amul bidding him be on his guard, as the people of Ṭabaristán were ripe for revolt. This letter Mihrúya read in public to the people, adding reproaches to the soldiers, who attacked his palace that night, slew him, cut off his head, and cast his mutilated corpse, with circumstances of atrocious dishonour, into the cross-roads of the market-place as a warning to all. So news was brought to the Caliph that the people of Ṭabaristán had revolted, but had not robbed the treasury; and he said, "It is not a revolt against us; this was an unjust governor, and it is quite right to suppress injustice." Then he sent ʿAbduʾlláh b. Saʿíd al-Jaríší, and all the people went out to meet him, and brought him in with honour. He governed the country for four months, and succeeded in arresting four persons who were chiefly responsible for Mihrúya's death and the disturbance which accompanied it, and sent them to the Caliph, who inflicted punishment upon them.

In A. H. 187 (= A. D. 803) Jaʿfar b. Hárún (f. 97a) was sent to reorganize the land-tax and to survey the country in the territory occupied by Wandásafán, who slew him with a blow from his mace while he was thus employed. Forty men who were with him fled to ʿAbduʾlláh and informed him of what had happened, and he communicated the matter to the Caliph. Immediately after this it was rumoured that the Caliph had advanced into ʿIráq; and three days later ʿAbduʾlláh went to Sáří, whence he proceeded to Ray, where the Caliph was. The Caliph thereupon despatched the Qáḍí Abuʾl-Buḥtúrí, ʿAbbás b. Zafr, Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, and Şāliḥ b. Shaykh ʿUmayra, with 300 horsemen and servants, to the Isfahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd to ascertain whether or no their loyalty could be relied on. They received this embassy with every mark of respect and friendship, and the ambassadors on their returned reported that what Wandásafán had done, he had done enti-
rely on his own responsibility, without their knowledge or approval; and that he was, in fact, the enemy and opponent of Wandád Hurmuzd. Thereupon the Caliph left Ray, and encamped one day’s march therefrom, at the village of Arbanú, whence he wrote to the Ispahbad Sharwín and Wandád Hurmuzd, bidding them come to him. They answered that they were his obedient and loyal vassals, but that before coming they must have hostages for his good faith. The Caliph was angered at this and said, “How shall I send Muslim hostages to Gabrs?” So he sent the Qádí Abuʾ-1 Buḥturí and Harthama b. Aʿyan and Abuʾl-Waḍḍáḥ the post-master to them, bidding them either come before the Caliph or prepare for war. These advanced to Wíma, whence they sent messages to the Ispahbad Sharwín, who was at the Castle of Kúzá, and Wandád Hurmuzd, who was at Lásúr, bidding them come to them. Wandád Hurmuzd came, but the Ispahbad Sharwín sent excuses, saying that he was too ill to come. When the bearer of this message arrived, Wandád Hurmuzd said to the Caliph’s ambassadors, “Whatever order you may issue in respect to the Ispahbad Sharwín, I am ready to obey it (f. 97b). Harthama b. Aʿyan agreed with Naʿím b. Ḥázmí that they should smite Wandád Hurmuzd unawares while they were marching together, and slay him, since the Caliph would certainly be pleased at his death. But Wandád Hurmuzd, seeing Naʿím edging towards him, divined his intention, reined in his horse, and said, “You must hold to your agreement.” His companions apologized, and made Naʿím swear that Wandád Hurmuzd should be conducted in safety before the Caliph. He remained with the Caliph for some time, till Háruñuʾr-Rashíd desired to buy some lands from him, which he refused to sell. They explained that his nobility of nature made him unwilling to sell lands which he might be willing to give as a present, so Háruń sent his little son al-Maʾmún to
him; and when they had seated the child on his knee, Wandād Hurmuzd gave him all those lands which he had previously refused to sell; and Hārūn presented him with a million dirhams, and a jewelled cup of priceless value, and a ring, with which last Wandād Hurmuzd was especially delighted. Then the Caliph bade him crave a boon, and he asked for the dismissal of ʿAbduʾlláh b. Saʿid; and Hārūn dismissed him with a robe of honour, and sent Harthama with him to bring back his son Qārin and the Ispahbad Sharwín’s son Shahriyár as hostages. The former was entrusted to Harthama, but the Ispahbad Sharwín refused to give up his son Shahriyár, and sent another instead of him. But Harthama insisted that Shahriyár should be given up, and this decision was endorsed by the Caliph, so that the Ispahbad was compelled to surrender Shahriyár, whom Hārūn-uʾr-Rashíd took back with him to Baghdad.

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

On this war arose between Hārūn’s two sons Muḥammad b. Zubayda, called al-Makhłūʾ (“the Deposed”) and ʿAbduʾlláh al-Maʾmún; and Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Maʾmún’s general, marched on Baghdad, took it, and slew the rival Caliph, and sent his head to his brother al-Maʾmún, who looked on it and said:

شفيت النفس من حبل بدر،

So ʿAbduʾlláh al-Maʾmún became Caliph, and he was the greatest and most illustrious of all the ʿAbbásid Caliphs, and openly shewed his attachment to the Shīʿite cause. It is related
that Sindi b. Shahak, whose tomb is at Sarí in the place now
called Bā Naṣrī Mashhad, and other Shī'ite leaders and
partisans of the Imám Riḍá reproached al-Ma'mún for his con-
duct towards the Imám. Al-Ma'mún said, "I learned the Shī'ite
faith from my father Hárunu'r Rashíd." They replied, "He
used to kill the members of this house." "Yes," replied al-
Ma'mún, "he killed them for political reasons, 'for the state
is a barren mother'" (لاَّنَّ الْمَلَكَ عِظِيمِ). And in like manner
did al-Ma'mún himself act in compassing the death of the
Imám ʿAlí Riḍá for state reasons, preferring the transitory
glory of this world to everlasting blessedness and felicity
(f. 986). And through the deed he did was done 400 years
ago, men still reproach it in these verses:

بَآءُوا بِقُسْطِ الْمَيَّاتِ أَنَّ بُعُدْ بَيْعَتَهُ وَ أَظْفِرُوا بِعَضُّ يَدِينَ رَشْدُهُمْ وَ عَمْوًا
لاًّ يَطْفَعُ بَيْنِ الْعَبْسَ مَلْكَهُمْ بنو عَلَيّ مَوَلَاهُمْ وَ أَنْ زَعَمُوا لَا بَيْعَةَ رَفَعَتَهُمْ عَنَّ دَمَائِهِمْ وَ لَا يَمِينَ وَ لَا قَيْيَ وَ لَا نَمَم
كَمْ غَدَرهُ لِكُلِّ مِنْ الْكَفَّارِ وَ اسْتَحْيَّةً وَ كَمْ دَمْ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ عِنْدَكُمْ

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

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

Sharwín left two sons, of whom Shahriyár, the ancestor of the Báwand princes, succeeded him, while Wandád Hurmuzd was succeeded by his son Qárín. When news of this reached al-Ma’mún, he sent to them (f. 99a) an ambassador with robes of honour, and wrote to inform them that he contemplated a campaign against the Byzantines, and needed the help of them and their captains. On one pretext and another they detained the ambassador for many days, until the Caliph had started on his campaign, when they dismissed him with many presents, saying, "The Ispahbad Shahriyár can in no wise come, but Qárín will follow you immediately." So Qárín made preparations for the expedition, aided therein by Shahriyár, and on reaching Byzantine territory pitched his camp beside that of the Caliph. It happened that on that very day there had been a battle, wherein the champions of either side had contended with one another on the field. Qárín at once caused his horse’s armour to be put on, armed himself with a Gílání shield inlaid with gold, and with his followers attacked the Byzantine army, and utterly routed them. Al-Ma’mún was watching them, and kept enquiring of those who stood round who these valiant warriors might be, and who was their leader with the golden shield. None could tell him, but they continued to send re-inforcements to their strange allies, until Qárín ordered a general attack on the centre of the Byzantine army, broke down their standard with his mace, and entirely routed the foe. Summoned before the Caliph, he advanced clad in his breastplate and quilted armour (qazz-āgand), alighted from his horse, and kissed the Caliph’s stirrup. Then the Caliph recognized him, and be-
stowed on him a horse, and praised him greatly, conferring on him robes of honour and other tokens of his esteem. He kept him for some while in his service, and repeatedly urged him to embrace Islám so that they might confer on him the title of *Mawlā Amīr-i-Mūminīn* ("Client of the Prince of Believers") and make him governor of Tabaristán, but he refused, and was at length suffered to return to his country. But the Ispahbad Shahriyár was jealous of him and hated him, and, being the stronger, annexed many of his lands, to which acts of aggression he submitted. One night he dreamed that he made water on the summit of a lofty mountain, and from this water a fire came forth, and spread itself in every direction, and burned up the high-lands, until it reached the plain, burning every tree on which it alighted. When he awoke, he summoned those skilled in the interpretation of dreams, and asked them its meaning. They answered, "From thy loins a son shall arise who will be king over both the mountains and the plains of Tabaristán, and who will be cruel and fierce and reckless."

This dream and its interpretation became known through Tabaristán, and that very year was born his son Mázyár, and when he reached maturity his father Qārin died.

Then the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín coveted Mázyár’s territory, and seized every occasion to vex and harrass him, until at length a battle was fought between them, Mázyár was defeated, and Shahriyár annexed his territories. Mázyár sought refuge with Wandá-ummíd the son of Wandásafán, but Shahriyár demanded his surrender, and Wandá-ummíd, not daring to resist his command, put Mázyár in chains, and sent a message to Shahriyár, bidding him send his men to take him into custody, since he feared that his own people might set him free. Meanwhile Mázyár succeeded in ingratiating himself with the wives of his gaolers, and by their means obtained his freedom, and fled to the forests, where
he lay in hiding until he was able to go to 'Iráq (f. 100a). There he fell in with 'Abdu'lláh b. Sa'id al-Jurayshí, one of the Caliph's Amírs, who received him with kindness, and brought him with him to Baghdad. Now al-Ma'mún had an astrologer named Bizíst the son of Fírúzán, whose name the Caliph had arabicized into Yaḥyá b. [Abí] Maṣúr, and who has been already mentioned in the Preface of this book. One day Mázýár, carrying the table of his nativity in his sleeve, came to this astrologer, who at first paid no heed to him, until he heard him addressed as Prince of Ţabaristán, Mázyár son of Qárin son of Wandád-Hurmuzd. When the astrologer heard this, he arose and offered his apologies for his neglect, and took the table of his nativity from him, and kissed it, and then began to examine it attentively. Then he turned all save Mázýár out of the room and said to Mázýár, “If I instruct thee, wilt thou shew thy gratitude for my help?” So Mázýár promised, confirming his promise with oaths. After some time the astrologer made known what he had discovered from the horoscope to al-Ma'mún, who summoned him into his presence and said: “The signal services rendered to me in the war with the Byzantines by thy father Qárin impel me to befriend thee, but this must depend on thine acceptance of Islám and utterance of the Muḥammadan profession of faith.” So Mázýár accepted Islám, and al-Ma'mún gave him the title of Mawlá Amír'íl-Mu'mínín and the kunya of Abu'l-Ḥasan.

Some months after this the Ispahbad Shahriyár died in Ţabaristán, leaving many sons, amongst whom were Qárin b. Shahriyár b. Sharwín, called Abu'l-Mulúk (“the Father of kings”), and his elder brother Shápúr, who succeeded to the throne. But his vehemence and tyranny (f. 100b) disgusted his subjects, so that they deserted him, and complained of him to al-Ma'mún, who ordered Muḥammad b. Khálid to deprive him of his highland possessions. But this Muḥam-
mad b. Khálid was not strong enough to do, and al-Ma’mún sought for some one else who would be able to crush Shápúr. The astrologer Bizíst happened to be present, and suggested Mázyár, remarking that his horoscope indicated him as likely to be successful in this enterprise. So al-Ma’mún sent him to subdue the highlands, and Músá b. Ḥafṣ to over-run the plains. The latter had been disgraced and dismissed by al-Ma’mún, but, by promising his support and co-operation to Mázyár, he induced him to ask the Caliph to make this appointment.

As soon as Mázyár reached Ṭabaristán, many of the people rallied to his standard, so that he soon found himself at the head of a large army, and marched on Farím to seek out Shápúr, whom he utterly routed, took captive, and put in chains, and then sent word to Músá announcing his victory. Now Shápúr, knowing that Mázyár intended to kill him, sent a secret message to Músá, offering him 100,000 dirhams if he would claim him as his own captive. Músá replied that he could best save himself by declaring himself a Muslim, and the client of the Caliph. But, being afraid lest Mázyár should discover his relations with Shápúr, he asked him what he would do if Shápúr should embrace Islám and offer for the Caliph’s acceptance a sum of 100,000 dirhams. To this question Mázyár vouchsafed no answer, but that night he caused Shápúr to be beheaded, and next morning sent his head to Músá, who (f. 101a) was greatly enraged against him. So Mázyár, fearing lest the Caliph might send someone else instead of Músá to fight against him and subdue him, apologized for his conduct; and matters continued as they were in Ṭabaristán, until, at the end of four years, Músá died, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, to whom Mázyár paid no heed whatever, ruling undisturbed over highlands and plains alike. Shápúr’s brother Qárin the son of Shahriyár, with all
the House of Bawand and the Marzubáns and Farshwád the Marzubán of Tammísha, were filled with anger against him and complained of him to al-Ma'mún, who sent a summons to Mázyár to appear before him. He replied that he was engaged in a religious war against the Daylamites, and thereupon marched at the head of his army to Jálús and took hostages from the nobles of that country, so that they were compelled to submit to him. Al-Ma'mún then endeavoured to persuade him to come to Baghdad, and sent the astrologer Bizíst to him to bring him thither. Mázyár, being informed of this, collected all the armed men he could find round him, and sent Yaḥyá b. Rúzbihán and Ibráhím b. Abla to Ray to meet him, bidding them bring him before him by way of Sawát-kúh, Kálbadraja and Kandi-áb, along roads so bad that it was impossible to ride. So when at length, after several days' hard travelling over the worst of roads, they came to where Mázyár was awaiting them at Hurmuzd-ábád, and saw him surrounded by a host of armed men of all conditions, they were filled with astonishment at his power and at the inaccessible character of his kingdom. So he entertained them royally for some time, but persisted in his refusal to accompany them to Baghdad, alleging that he was busy in fighting the Daylamites, but would follow them presently before the Caliph. So he sent then back, accompanied by the Qádis of Amul and Rúyán, and when they reached Baghdad, and were questioned by the Caliph concerning the loyalty (f. 101b) and intentions of Mázyár, they answered contrary to the truth. But when they came out from the audience, and the Qádi of Ruyán had gone to his lodging, the Qádi of Amul lingered outside the audience-hall till he could get speech with Yaḥyá b. Aktham, to whom he said, "The Prince of Believers enquired concerning Mázyár publicly, and inasmuch as most of his courtiers and attendants are friends of Mázyár, and are in communication
with him, we were unable to declare the truth. Yet did I not deem it right to depart from the court without making known to the Caliph the true state of the case, which is that Mázyár has cast off his allegiance, put on once more the Zoroastrian girdle, treats the Muslims with cruelty and contempt, and will never again of his own free will come to Baghdad.” Yahyá b. Aktham replied, “How long wilt thou, who art the administrator of the Holy Law and the Judge of a province, tell lies to the Prince of Believers? When he knows that thou hast lied to him, will he not needs dismiss thee from thy post?” Then he turned back and told the whole matter to al-Ma’mún, and came out again, and brought the Qádí of Amul secretly before the Caliph that he might tell his story. Al-Ma’mún was just preparing to start on a journey, and he said to the Qádí of Amul, “You must put up with it till I return, for this matter is the more urgent.” “If we can thwart him,” replied the Judge, “have we permission to do so?” “You may do so,” answered the Caliph.

So the Qádí returned to Amul, and Mázyár, hearing that the Caliph had marched against the Byzantines, began to devour Amul and Sári like a ravenous wolf, and to drive the people of Rúyán to desperation, so that they conspired together to kill all his representatives. At Safúh near Amul they persuaded one Khalíf b. Wandásafán to help them. This news (f. 102a) was brought to Mázyár at Sári, and he at once collected his troops and laid siege to Amul, the inhabitants of which closed the gates, gathered in the country-folk from the surrounding district, and went before Muḥammad b. Músá and informed him that the Qádí of Amul had returned from Baghdad asserting that Mázyár had cast off his allegiance to the Caliph, and that he had received permission to kill him. Then Muḥammad b. Músá summoned the Qádí, and, learning that the statement made
to him by the people was true, joined himself to them. Meanwhile Mázyár sent off a courier to the Caliph, announcing that the people of Rúyán and the passes of Jálús had cast of their allegiance to him and had won over Muḥammad b. Músá to their side, and set up an ʿAlid claimant as anti-caliph, adopting white garments as their distinctive mark. "But I," concluded Mázyár, "have sent an army to subdue them, and, please God, the news of my victory will shortly follow this." At this time the city of Amul was guarded by a double moat and double fortifications, and it held out for eight months against Mázyár, though all the surrounding country was laid waste, and devastated by slaughter and pillage, by Mázyár's brother Qūhyár the son of Qārin; while Mázyár sent constant despatches to the Caliph concerning the progress of the war, till at length the Caliph began to think that Mázyár was after all loyal and true. For Muḥammed b. Músá used to send all his despatches to an old servant of his father's who lived at Ray, and who was supposed to forward them; but he had been tampered with by one of Mázyár's acute agents, to whom he gave them instead, so that they never reached their destination, but were all read by Mázyár.

After an eight month's siege, Amul capitulated, and Khalīl b. Wandásafán and Abú Aḥmad the Qāḍǐ were put to death by Mázyár, who wrote a despatch announcing his victory to the Caliph. Al-Maʿmún thereupon despatched Muḥammad b. Saʿīd (f. 1026) to Tabaristán to investigate the true state of the case, and to find out who this ʿAlid claimant might be. This man reported that there was no ʿAlid claimant, and that the whole story was a lie invented by Mázyár. The Caliph, however, when he had read this report, was filled with anger against Muḥammad b. Músá, and handed over both the highlands and plains of Tabaristán to Mázyár. When Mázyár was informed of this, he made
a proclamation in Amul, collected all the chiefs, nobles and
men of mark, including Muḥammad b. Mūsā, drove them
before him to Rūd-bast, and placed each in his own house
under the custody of guards.

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

Al-Maʿmūn was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhīm al-
Muʿtaṣīm, to whom ʿAbduʾllāh b. Ṭāhir, governor of Khu-
rāsān, communicated something of Mázyār’s misdeeds,
tyranny, and apostacy. The new Caliph sent an ambassador
to Mázyār to intercede for Muḥammad b. Mūsā and his
brother; but Mázyār would not listen to the representation
of this ambassador, Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾllāh, but answered
him harshly that he would exact from them two years’
revenues before he let them go. So Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu-
ʾllāh the ambassador returned in despair, and wrote an

1 Ṭabarī (III, p. 1134) has "at al-Badhandūn", which Ṭaqūt (I, p. 503)
describes as a town two days journey from Ṭarasūs in Cilicia. A. G. E.]
account of his mission to Yahyá b. Ibráhím b. Muṣ'ab, who was at the Court of the Caliph, and who submitted it to al-Mu'tasim. Mázyár meanwhile conferred various offices and distinctions on Bábak, Mazdak and other Magians, who ordered the Muḥammadan mosques to be destroyed and all traces of Islám to be removed. The people of Amul persuaded Abu'l-Qásim Hárún b. Muḥammad to write a statement of their grievances to al-Mu'tasim, and hence this qaṣīda was composed:

In reply to this poem, an answer, also in verse, was sent from Baghdad, from which the following verses are taken:
When al-Mu'tasim was informed of Mázyár's doings, he ordered 'Abdu'lláh [b. Táhir] to proceed to Tabaristán and take him captive. 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir sent his paternal uncle Hasan b. Husayn to the Caliph begging him to send Muḥammad b. Ibráhím with an army from Iráq to help him. When the army of Khurásán reached Tammísha (f. 104a), the army of Iráq had already occupied all the high-lands, and the people of Tabaristán left Mázyár and joined 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir and his uncle. These pursued Mázyár without rest or pause, till at length he was taken captive. 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir confined him in a box entirely closed save for two eye-holes through which he could look upon the outer world, and carried him thus confined on a mule to Iráq.

One day on the journey Mázyár said to the muleteer, "My heart craves for a melon. Can you get me one?" His guards reported this request to 'Abdu'lláh, who took pity upon him and said, "He is a king and a king's son." Then he ordered him to be released from the chest and brought before him, and placed loads of melons before him, and cut them up and gave them to him with his own hands, saying, "Grieve not, for the Commander of the Faithful is a merciful prince, and I wil intercede for thee, that he may overlook thy fault, and restore thee to thy country." Mázyár replied, "Please God, thy excuses will be accepted." 'Abdu-
’lláh was astonished, saying to himself, “The Caliph will not be content with anything short of his death: how then can he ask for my intercession?” Then ʿAbduʾlláh ordered a table to be spread, and gave him bread and wine, and caused the minstrels to make melody, and entertained him sumptuously, and greatly encouraged him to hope, plying him with strong wines until he was overcome with drink, but himself passing the wine-cup. Then, when Mázyár was overcome with wine, ʿAbduʾlláh asked him the meaning of what he had said. Mázyár replied, “In a few more days you will know.” ʿAbduʾlláh pressed him, with threats and promises, to speak, and at length Mázyár agreed to do so if he would bind himself by an oath [not to betray him]. On receiving this pledge, Mázyár said (f. 104b), “Know that I, and Afshín, and Ḥaydar b. Kāʾús and Bábak, all four of us, have for a long while covenanted and agreed to take the empire from the Arabs and restore it to the Kis-rás of Persia. Yesterday, at such-and-such a place, Afshín’s messenger came to me and whispered something in my ear which filled me with joy.” “What was that?” enquired ʿAbduʾlláh. Mázyár at first refused to speak, but finally, induced by promises and flattery, he continued: “He brought me a message from Afshín to the effect that on a certain day, at a certain hour, he would destroy al-Muʾtaṣim, and his sons Hárún al-Wáthiq and Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil.” Then ʿAbduʾlláh gave him more wine, till he was entirely overcome with it, and then caused him to be taken back to his place of confinement; and at once wrote to the Caliph what he had heard, and despatched the letter by carrier-pigeon. When the Caliph received the letter it was the very day on which Afshín had invited him and his sons Hárún and Jaʿfar to a great entertainment. So al-Muʾtaṣim sent word saying, “They are ill, but I will come,” and forthwith proceeded thither with fifty horsemen. Afshín had
decked his house with bejewelled brocades, and had drawn up a hundred negroes, who, when the Caliph had sat down, were to rush upon him from all sides and slay him with their swords. When al-Mu'tasim reached the entrance, Afsihn said, "Enter, o my lord!" but he paused and said, "Where are so-and-so and so-and-so?" Then he called his trusty retainers and bade them enter, while he stood outside. Then one of the Indians sneezed, and the Caliph rushed in, seized Afsihn by the beard, and cried, "Plunder, plunder!" (النهب النهب). When the Indians heard this, they were filled with consternation, and took to flight; and al-Mu'tasim summoned his kinsmen and retainers, and bade them set fire to Afsihn's palace. Then his servants took Afsihn's beard from the Caliph's hand, and bound him with chains and fetters, and brought him to the Caliph's Palace, where they detained him till Mázyár's arrival. And they questioned him (f. 105a), saying, "Why didst thou see fit to cast off thine allegiance?" Mázyár replied, "You gave me the government of Tabaristan. The people rebelled against me. I reported this to the Court, and received orders to fight them." "Who wrote this answer to you?" enquired the Caliph. "Afsihn," replied Mázyár. Then the Caliph summoned the lawyers and judges of Baghdad, and by their sentence Mázyár was first scourged to death, and then his body was crucified at the Khaṭira of Bābil, opposite Nāṭis the Byzantine, the lord of 'Amúriya. And Afsihn was burned alive. And Mázyár had ruled over Tabaristán for seven years, and at his death the highlands passed into the control of Bundár the son of Múní.

Account of the kings of Tabaristán after Mázyár.

After Mázyár's death, Ḥasan b. Ḫusayn, the paternal uncle of 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir, was made governor of Tabaristán, and ruled it well and justly for three years, four
months and ten days, and entrusted to Muḥammad b. Ibráhim the task of discovering Mázyár's treasures. In Dhu'l-Ḥijja, A. H. 228 (= September, A. D. 843) Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn died, and was succeeded by Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'lllah b. Ṭáhir, who governed the country for one year and three months, until news came from Khurásán of the death of his father ʿAbdu'lllah there, whereupon he went to Khurásán, leaving his brother Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lllah to govern Ṭabaristán, which he did for seven years, assisted by ʿAttáb b. Warqá ash-Shaybání. In Şafār, A. H. 237 (= August, A. D. 851) Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lllah went to Baghdad, and Sulaymán b. ʿAbdu'lllah became governor of Ṭabaristán. He governed with wisdom and discretion for three years, but in A. H. 240 (= A. D. 854—5) he made a secretary from Merv named Maṣűr b. Yaḥyá his minister, and this man introduced evil innovations and practised extortions, till he was dismissed by Ṭáhir b. ʿAbdu'lllah, and Muḥammad b. Músá b. ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmán (f. 1056) was made wasir in his place.

Qárin the son of Shahriyár embraces Islám.

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

**Account of the rule of the Ṭālibite Sayyids in Ṭabaristán.**

The Caliphate had now passed to Jaʿfar al-Mutawakkil, the son of al-Muʿtaṣim, whose minister, ʿAbduʾllāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān, was a fanatical Sunnī (Nāṣīḥī), who was continually inciting him to kill the descendants of the Prophet, and even prevailed upon him to destroy the tombs of the Martyrs of Kerbelá, dam up the water, grow crops on the site of their graves, and set Jewish watchmen and keepers there to arrest and slay any Muslim who visited these holy places. Thus in the time of ad-Dāʾi Muḥammad [b.] Zayd the tombs of ʿAlí and his son al-Ḥusayn and other descendants of Abú Ṭálīb were in ruins. But in the Caliphate of al-Muntasir (A. H. 247—8: A. D. 861—2) Muḥammad b. Zayd made himself ruler of Ṭabaristán, and thereupon began to preach the Shiʿite doctrine, and to inculcate the deepest veneration for the House of ʿAlí, and to repair (f. 106a) their shrines, and to build fresh ones where he supposed their graves to be. In all this he was aided by ʿAḍuduʾd-Dawla Fanákhusrāw b. Ruknuʾd-Dawla Ḥasan [b.] Buwayh, who surrounded these holy places with houses and bāzārs, and instituted the observances of Muḥarram and the Yaʿwmuʾl-Ghadīr and other Shiʿite practices, and was himself buried when he died at Mashhod ʿAlí.

It is related that when al-Mutawakkil was made Caliph, he had the same love of hunting down and slaying the descendants of ʿAlí as an eager sportsman has for the chase. The Imám ʿAlí b. Muḥammad al-Hádí al-ʿAskarí, who was recognized by the Shiʿites as their pontiff, was his contemporary. One day the Caliph summoned this Imám
before him, caused him to be seated, and then, turning to 'Alí b. Muḥammad an-Nadím, enquired, "Who is the greatest poet of our day?" "Abú 'Ubáda al-Buḥturi," replied the courtier, "And after him?" asked the Caliph:

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

Al-Aṣma'í relates in his Kitābu’n-Nawádir, on the authority of Aḥmad b. Śáliḥ ad-Dimashqí, on the authority of Yúsuf b. 'Abdu’llláh, that al-Buḥturi said: "I had composed for al-Mutawakkil the well-known qašida beginning:

and I remained for a long while at the Court waiting for an opportunity to present it (because he cared but little for poets, and would not give them audience) but could find none. One day I was sitting in an ante-chamber when Baḥrîr, one of the Caliph’s servants, came out, took me by the hand, and led me from ante-chamber to apartment and from apartment to ante-chamber till I reckoned that I had passed through three hundred apartments (f. 106b). At length he brought me to a room where I saw al-Mutawakkil sitting on a golden throne, round which stools were
set in order of their rank for his courtiers and attendants, who were clad in black. As soon as al-Mutawakkil’s eyes fell on me, he cried to me, ‘Recite, O Buḥturi, recite!’ Though I had not yet saluted him, I said to myself, ‘Though it is a breach of etiquette, yet it is best for me to obey his commands;’ so I gathered up my skirts and began:

\[
\text{عَنْ أَيَّةٍ تُطَعُّمْ وَ بَيْنِيَ طُرفٌ تَحْتَمْ؛}
\]

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

\[
\text{عَنْ أَيَّةٍ سَمَّٰتْ وَ بَيْنِيَ كَفٍّ تَتَلَّمْ؛}
\]

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

\[
\text{أُعْلِمُتُ فِيَّا مَدَأَيْحِي يَا جَعْفَرُ بَنِي الْمَعْتَصِمَ؛}
\]

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

\[
\text{أَدْخَلْتُ رَسَالَةَ فِي حِيْرَى فَسَوْفَ مَنْ يْنْتَبِهِ؛}
\]

Thereat al-Mutawakkil was seized with such violent laughter that he fell back and his crown rolled from his head; and he gave the courtier who had parodied my verses ten thousand dirhams, while me they drove out with cuffs and blows. When I reached the ante-chamber, he passed me, with a servant carrying the money. I enquired of Bahrîr who he was. He replied, “Abu’l-’Anbas ad-Damiri, who, had you composed two thousand verses, would have produced a parody of each.’”
In short, during al-Mutawakkil's reign the Sayyids of the House of 'Alí were in hiding in ruins and solitudes, till at length he died, dividing his realms between his three sons, of whom al-Muntasir, who became Caliph, was the eldest. He was opposed by the other 'Abbásids, and the Turkish guard, getting the upper hand, plundered the treasures of Sámarrá, and besieged Baghdad, enraged at the support given by its inhabitants to al-Musta'ín. Matters being in this confusion, Yaḥyá b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlí b. al-Ḥusayn b. (f. 107{a} ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálīb rebelled at Kūfá. He was a brave, accomplished and ascetic man. The people of Kūfá, supposing him to be actuated by need of money, offered to pay him a substantial sum if he would be quiet, but he swore that he would never have revolted had not his zeal been stirred by seeing God's religion contemned and the ordinances of the Law contravened and neglected.

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

The Rise to power of Ḥasan b. Zayd.

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

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

When this courier reached Ray he saw Ḥasan b. Zayd and Ismaʿīl called Jálībuʾl-Ḥijāra (“the Stone-dragger”) whose genealogy has been already mentioned in the preface, and communicated to them the letters of the notables of Ṭabaristán, urging them to revolt. To these he replied, and dismissed the messenger with a robe of honour. When he reached Rúyán, the news became known, and was communicated to ʿAlī b. Aws. He at once wrote to ʿAbduʾlláh b. Saʿīd and Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾl-Karīm bidding them come to him to investigate the matter. The former was
afraid, left his house, and retired to the village of Ashtád. At this juncture the courier arrived with the letter of Ḫasan b. Zayd al-ʻAlawí, announcing that he had alighted at the village of Saʻid-ábad, where he was expecting ʻAbdu’lláh b. Saʻid and his confederates to take the oath of allegiance. ʻAbdu’lláh thereupon went to [Muḥammad b.] ʻAbdu’l-Karím with all the chief men of Kalár on Tuesday, Ramaḍán 25, A. H. 250 (= November 1, A. D. 864), and they swore allegiance, undertaking to observe the ordinances of God’s scripture, and the practice of His Apostle, and to do good and forbid evil. And they wrote letters to the people of Jálús and Nirús, and sent missionaries to them, and remained that night with ʻAbdu’lláh b. Saʻid, and proceeded next day to Gúrishbard, where people joined them from all sides. News of this came to ʻAlí b. Aws, who did not rest until he had communicated with Muḥammad b. Aws. And the Sayyids of that district, with Muḥammad b. Ibráhíм b. ʻAlí b. ʻAbdu‘r-Raḥmán, went out to meet Ḫasan b. Zayd, who reached Kajúr on Thursday, Ramaḍán 27 (A. H. 250 = November 3, A. D. 864), and performed the service of the festival which marks the conclusion of Ramaḍán, and preached a most eloquent sermon. Then he sent Muḥammad b. ʻAbbás (f. 108a) and ʻAlí b. Naṣr and ʻAqíl b. Mabruŷr to Ḫusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanáfí, who was then at Jálús, to invite him to ally himself with them; and then they proceeded to the Great Mosque and received the oaths of allegiance of all the people of that district, save the few dependants of Muḥammad b. Aws, who fled without horses or arms, some to Ja‘fár b. Shahriýár b. Qárín and some to others.

遑an b. Zayd next marched from Kajúr to Nátil, and received the allegiance of its inhabitants, and thence he passed on to Pá-yi-Dasht. At the head of his vanguard were Muḥammad al-ʻAlawí and Muḥammad b. Rustam b. Wandá-
ummíd of Kalár, whom they called Khiyán; while the vanguard of the army of Muḥammad b. Aws was Muḥammad b. Ikhshíd, his sipahsálar. The two armies met at Pá-yi-Dasht, and Muḥammad al-‘Alawi at once attacked the enemy, put them to rout, and took captive Muḥammad b. Ikhshíd, whom he sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd. He then pushed forward with all speed to Balíkání near Amul, whither Sulaymán b. ‘Abdulláh b. Ţáhir had sent an army, which they defeated, taking captive Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn.

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

On Monday, Shawwal 23 (A. H. 250 = November 29, A. D. 864) Ḥasan b. Zayd reached Amul, and slew a number of his opponents, including Daylamí the son of Farrukhán, Muqátil the Daylamite and Alí b. Ibráhím
al-Jilí; but Ibráhím b. Khalíl craved and obtained quarter. On the morning of the following day, Tuesday, Ḥasan b. Zayd proceeded to the Oratory (مeuillez) of Amul, summoned all the people of the city, gentle and simple, and persuaded all save a very few to take the oath of allegiance to him. He abode in Amul for the remaining seven days of the month, during which period Fana the son of Wandá-ummíd, Wandásafán the son of Máhyár, and Surkháb the son of Rustam sought and obtained quarter. Then he appointed Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-ʿAzíz governor of Rúyán, Jaʿfar b. Rustam governor of Kalár, and Muḥammād b. al-ʿAbbás governor of Jálús, while he invited the people of Amul to choose a governor for themselves, whereupon they chose Muḥammad b. Ibráhím b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbduʾr-Raḥmán, who was then acting as Ḥasan b. Zayd’s deputy-governor at Rúyán.

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

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

Ḥasan b. Zayd determined to act on this advice, and to attack Sulaymán first; and Asad received tidings that Hasan b. Zayd had fled by night, whereupon he despatched a
courier to Sulaymán to inform him that the ʿAlawí had fled. But as the latter was sitting rejoicing over this message, he suddenly heard the cries of “Alláhu akbar!” and saw around him the white standards of the ʿAlawís, and heard the shouts of their Daylamite allies. Thereupon he fled bare-foot to Asad, while the Sayyid’s troops slew all whom they could overtake of their foes. When Sulaymán reached Asad, he was already engaged with the Sayyid’s troops, and the latter, like lions eager for their meal, pursued them, and slew amongst others Ḥusayn b. ʿAlí of Sarakhs, ʿAlí b. al-Ḥarb, Ishaq b. Shaykhi, ʿAlí al-Maghibí, Ibn Thaʾlabá of Syria, and Naṣr b. Wabra of Syria. Then they looted Sulaymán’s palace, sent the spoils to the village of Mihráwán, and then burned the palace to the ground. Ḥasan b. Zayd reached Sári on the first day of the five Persian ḡátās (أول روز مستمر فارسي), and the same day news was brought to him that his brother Ḥusayn b. Zayd had reached Shalmiyya near Damáwand, and Pádhúbán the son of Kurd-zád came to him from Lafúr, telling him that he ought to remain forty days at Sári. His brother Ḥusayn b. Zayd remained 23 days at Damáwand, where the chiefs of Láriján and Qaṣrán came in to him, and he was joined by Muḥammad b. Míkál. Meanwhile Sulaymán fled to Astarábád, and sent messengers to Khuráśán to demand help, while the stragglers of his army gradually joined him.

After a forty days’ halt at Sári, Ḥasan b. Zayd turned back to go to Amul. The Daylamites, being laden with booty, dispersed, and went back to their homes. The Is-pahbad Pádhúbán advised Ḥasan b. Zayd not to go beyond Jamanú till it was known what course Sulaymán would adopt. Soon afterwards Sulaymán himself arrived with a fresh army at Sári and Ḥasan b. Zayd sent to Muḥammad b. Ibráhím (f. 110a) and Muḥammad [b.] Ḥamza bidding them join him with their forces from Amul and Mámṭír. Sulaymán
had pitched his camp at Lícham, and a battle took place between the two forces at Tamashkí Dasht, in which Ḥasan b. Zayd was routed, and his men were dispersed to the forests. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aws pursued them into the forests, but they caught him unawares, and slew him with a blow from a mace. On that day Ḥasan b. Zayd shewed the greatest valour, and held the end of a bridge against the foe until he had seen his fugitive army cross in safety. Thence he marched to Úfar, while Sulaymán went to Tálániyán, and Muḥammad b. Aws pursued the men of Kalár, of whom he slew many in an ambush which he had prepared on the road to Úfar. But the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán and the Mas-mughán had prepared another ambush for him, into which he fell with his soldiers, of whom they slew many, while he himself was struck on the head with a stone. When Ḥasan b. Zayd perceived that he could not withstand them, he retreated by way of Bálá’in with Fana the son of Wandá-ummíd and Khurschíd the son of Gushnasf, and came that night to Amul, whence next morning he came to Jálús, having lost many of his men, while those who remained with him were despoiled of almost all their garments and weapons, so that Já’í the son of Lashkar-sitán, one of his best-known lieutenants, had no clothes on his body. However some 10,000 *dirhams* were collected and spent on obtaining fresh clothes.

Sulaymán b. ʿAbduʾlláh and the nobles of Khurásán, accompanied by the infantry of the king of the mountains, the Ispahbad Qárín the son of Shahriyár, came to Amul, while Ḥasan b. Zayd sent for re-inforcements to Gílán and Daylamán. In response to his appeal, several thousand adherents of his propaganda (إيابه دعوت) joined him, whereupon he prepared his army for battle, and moved on to Khwájak. Sulaymán, learning this, came from Amul to Páyi-Dasht, where he encamped. Ḥasan b. Zayd advanced to
the Lápích River (f. 1106) and took counsel with his allies. The Daylamites said, "This place is good. Give us permission first to attack the infantry of the Ispahbad Qárin and dispose of them, for in this place when the infantry are routed, cavalry has no chance." Ḥasan b. Zayd gave them permission, and when they had routed the infantry, the horsemen were entangled in the bushes and underwood, and were taken prisoners, or else fled, casting away their arms. Amongst those killed were Sulayman's general Asad b. Jandán, Anúshírwán Ḥasár-mardí, ʿAlí b. al-Faraj, ʿAṭṭáf b. Abiʿl-ʿAṭṭáf of Syria, the Ispahbad Jaʿfar b. Shahriyár, Qárin's general Dázmihr, ʿAzíz b. ʿAbduʾlláh, and ʿUbayd b. Yazíd al-Kházin.

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

Meanwhile Fana (f. 111a) had collected an army from
Farím and the highlands and come to Amul, whence he wrote to Ḥasan b. Zayd asking for his commands. Thereupon he sent Aḥmad b. Ḥasan to him to occupy the country, and to remove Ibráhím [b.] Khalīl. At his commands, Fana marched against Ibráhím and defeated him. Ḥasan b. Zayd on hearing this came to Khwájak, where the people complained of Fana’s oppression, further accusing him of having a secret understanding with Sulaymán and of corresponding with him. So he sent Muḥammad b. Abí Manṣúr and ʿIsá b. Ḥamíd to him, bidding him come before him, but he came not. Again he sent a message to him, bidding him not be disobedient, but he returned an insolent answer. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd told the people of Amul that Fana’s blood was lawful to them, whereupon 10,000 men attacked and burned his house, while he fled to his nephew Khurshid the son of Gushnasf; but Khiyán the son of Rustam with a number of his followers pursued him thither, and slew them both, and sent their heads to Ḥasan b. Zayd. Then Fana’s son Layth came in, with all his followers, to make his submission to Ḥasan b. Zayd, having induced the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán to intercede for him, and the Sayyid gave him a robe of honour, and conferred on him his father’s possessions.

After a while Ḥasan b. Zayd moved from Amul to Jamanú, where he remained for a month. While there, an encounter took place between his outposts and those of Sulaymán, in which many of Ḥasan’s men were slain, including Muḥammad b. ʿIsá b. ʿAbduʾl-Ḥamíd. So Ḥasan b. Zayd was again obliged to retreat, accompanied by Muḥammad b. Rustam, the Mas-mughán, and Kúrankíj the son of Rúzbihán, sending the Ispahbad Pádhúsbán and Wijan the son of Rustam to the highlands to guard them. Then he returned to Amul, while Sulaymán abode at his palace at Sárfí, whither he brought his wives and retainers.
from Astarábád; and the people (f. 1116) again began to hesitate between the two rivals. Then Sulaymán sent Muḥammad b. Isma‘īl to Amul, but Ḥasan b. Zayd, hearing of it, arrested and imprisoned him for a while, but afterwards released him, and suffered him to return to Sulaymán. Then Ḥasan collected his troops and went to Jamanú, having already warned the Mas-mughán to be on his guard, and sent Ja‘far b. Rustam and Layth b. Fana and Wiján b. Rustam with 700 men to help him. Sulaymán came out from Sári to meet them in battle, and the Mas-mughán had prepared an ambush for him, but he routed the Mas-mughán, who fled to the forests. A violent thunder-storm came on, so that the archers could not shoot, and Sulaymán and his men surrounded the Mas-mughán, but the men hidden in ambush by the latter rushed out against him, and slew many of his chief followers, including Jalwánán the son of Wandá-ummíd, Muḥammad b. Faḍl of Láriján, Muḥammad b. Khálíd, known as Abú Miráh, and others; all of whose heads were sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd. The Ispahbad Qárín the son of Shahriyár had gone with his army to meet the Ispahbad Pádhúsán to fight with him, and the latter sent his brother Kurdí-zád to Ḥasan b. Zayd to seek for help. In response to his appeal, Muḥammad b. Rustam with the men of Kalár, Wihán b. Sahl with the Daylamites, and Khiyán b. Rustam with the troops of Amul were sent to reinforce him. The Ispahbad Qárín fled, and Ḥasan b. Zayd came to Amul on the day of the festival, whence, after the 'Īd-i-‘adḥá, he proceeded to Mámťír, where he remained for thirteen days. Sulaymán sent two ambassadors with a letter to Khurshíd king of Daylam, urging and encouraging him to help and befriend him, and to abandon Ḥasan b. Zayd, and offering him 7000 golden dinárs and many robes of honour to divide amongst the Daylamites, on condition of their withholding their help from the Sayyid. He also con-
structed a boat on the river Mihrawán, placed in it Azbar b. Janáh (f. 112a) and Saʿíd b. Jibrá'il, and sent them to Ispíd-júy, where a wind arose which carried them in an hour to Jálús. Hasan b. Zayd’s governor, being aware of this, seized the boat, and sent the ambassadors, with their papers, money and robes of honour, to the Sayyid, who divided the valuables amongst the Daylamites, and humbled Khurshíd king of Daylam, so that all men perceived that Sulaymán’s luck was on the wane.

Hasan b. Zayd came from Mámtír to Jamanú, and made the Daylamites swear to be faithful and loyal to him, and then marched against Sulaymán, who had moved from Sárió to Dú2-Ab. The Mas-mughán advised that white flags should be fixed to the trees in front of his camp, so that he might suppose that it was the Sayyid’s camp; and that meanwhile they should secretly go by way of Banahra to Wínábád and attack the enemy in the rear, so that they might suppose they were hemmed in between two bodies of the enemy. By this device they succeeded in defeating Sulaymán, and marched on Sárió, while the Daylamites looted the bázárs, killing and plundering. Sulaymán, abandoning his wives, children and relatives, fled precipitately, while of his chief supporters ʿAnátúr [b.] Baktánsáh, Abuʾl-Aʿazz Muḥammad b. Qays, Muḥammad b. Kathír, Gushnásf b. Más, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbás, Muḥammad b. al-Walíd, Músá b. al-Káltib, ʿAlí b. Ṭansúr, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾlláh al-Qádí were killed, while the two ambassadors captured in the boat were, by order of the Sayyid, hanged. This victory took place on Thursday, Dhuʾl-Ḥijja 8, (A. H. 250 = January 10, A. H. 865). Sulaymán’s wife and children were taken captive, and when he reached Astarábád, he wrote a letter to Muḥammad b. Ḥamza for him to lay before Hasan b. Zayd, couched as follows (f. 112b):

عُرمِكَ اللَّهُ بِطَاعَتِهِ وَ ابْقِ فِي سَعَادَتِهِ وَ اتَّمِ نَعْمَتِهِ عَلَيْكَ بِرَحْمَتِهِ
On reading this letter, the Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd sent Sulaymán’s wife and children and kinsmen to him with all honour and protection, and wrote with his own hand the following verse at the top of his letter:

لا حَيْفَ في دِينَا وَلا أَثْرَ بالسَّيف نَعْلُو جَماحَ الكَفرِ،
با قُوّمًا بَعْثَتْنَا واحِدَة مَعْلَى عَائِقٍ وَعاَتَك بِبيعة الشَّاهِر.
رَدّوا عَلَيْنا ثَرَاثٌ والدَّنا حَاتِماً وَالخَضْبَةَ وَالْخِبَرَ,
و بِبِتِّ ذِي الْعَرْش سَلَمَوْنا يَليهُ مَنَا عَصِمَةٌ طَيْرَهُ،
فَطَلَّا مَا دُنِسَتِ مشَاورَهُ وَأَلْهَرَتْ فيهَ فَضَّلَتْ الفُجَاحِ.

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

Thereafter enmity arose between the Mas-mughān and Faḍlī-Rafīqī, and the former took to the forests. Ḥasan b. Zayd tried by kind messages to induce him to return, but he refused, alleging that he was afraid of the Daylamites, and became a rebel. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd marched to Lankūr-khān and burned all the corn in the country, and sent Qārin in pursuit of him, but he fled away. Then Ḥasan b. Zayd came
to Sári, where news was brought (f. 113a) to him that Jálí the son of Lashkar-sitán was tyrannizing over the people of Amul, when some of them revolted and slew him. He thereupon despatched Muḥammad b. Ibráhím to investigate the matter, and ten days later followed him himself. When he reached Tarícha, his cousin Qásim b. ʻAlí b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd came from ʻIráq, and he bestowed on him robes of honour and costly presents, and sent him to Amul, while he himself remained at Tarícha. He arrested Surkháb the son of the Ispahbad Qárín and his brother Mázyár, and put them in bonds, and sent Sayyid Ḥasan b. Jaʻfar al-ʻAqíqí to Sári, giving him the government of that district and biding him capture the Mas-mughán. Sayyid ʻAqíqí wrote in a conciliatory strain to the Mus-mughán, and induced him to join him and apologize for his flight and rebellion. Rustam the son of Qárín, however, revolted at Mihraván, and rendered the roads unsafe; but he sent Hurmuzd-káma the son of Yazdánkard and ʻAbbás b. al-ʻAqílí against him. Rustam b. Zabarqán met the supporters of Muḥammad b. Núḥ, slew some and took others captive, captured Muḥammad b. Núḥ, and brought him to Mihraván. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ʻAqíqí, being informed of this, sent to Ḥasan b. Zayd informing him that he had gone to Mihraván to fight the enemy. Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, who was then at Jamanú, at once came to Sári, and there joined Sayyid Ḥasan ʻAqíqí, who had returned victorious, having slain many, and captured some 400 prisoners, abode for a while at Sári, until he heard that Ibráhím b. Muʻádh was sending re-inforcements to the Ispahbad Qárín b. Shahriyár, who was marching against him. So the Sayyid took the initiative, attacked his highland territory, slew all whom he met, and burned down houses and villages. Then he again took up his quarters at Sári for a while, left Sayyid Ḥasan ʻAqíqí in charge of that district, and returned to Amul, whence he issued a proclamation to all the
Regions of Tabaristán bidding them add the [Shí'ite] clause "hayya ila khayrīl-‘amal" to the call to prayer, and to say the Bism'allah aloud in their prayers (f. 113b), and the like. This proclamation ran as follows:

On this same day Abú Muqátil aq-Dáríf the poet recited to the Sayyid a qasīda which began “God is peerless and the son of Zayd is peerless” —

الله فرد و ابن زيد فرد،

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

الله فرد و ابن زيد عبد،

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

أنا من عصاة لسائِن في شعْرِه و لِبْمَا صَرِّ اللَّهُب لسائِن
عَبْرَيْنِ أَسَات اَمَآ رَأَبْحِمْ صلى اَنَّهُ

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عَبْرَيْنِ أَسَات اَمَآ رَأَبْحِمْ صلى اَنَّهُ
Yet still the Sayyid was displeased with him, until on the festival of Mihrājān he composed and recited another qasīda beginning:

\[
\text{لا تغلُّ بِشَرَى وَ لَكَنُ بَشَرَيْانُ}
\]

(f. 144a)

Then he turned to the poet and said that he ought to have transposed these two hemistichs, so as to avoid the evil omen of beginning the poem with the negation \( \text{لَأ} \); but the poet replied, “O Sayyid, the most noble formula is ‘\( \text{لَا} \) \( \text{إِلَّا} \) \( \text{لَّهُ} \)’ (‘There is no god but God’), yet that begins with \( \text{لَا} \).” “Well said! well said,” cried the Sayyid; “thou art right in this verse!”

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

The Sayyid remained at Amul all the months of Shābān, Ramaḍān and Shawwāl, while Ḥasan-i-‘Aqīqī continued at Sārī, until Muḥammad b. Nūḥ joined the Ispahbad Qārīn the son of Shahriyār, and the Mas-mughān became their ally, and they marched on Sārī conjointly. ‘Aqīqī retired before them to Tarīcha, and Ḥasan b. Zayd sent Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad and Layth b. Fana with a thousand men to help him. Setting out from Tarīcha, they first fell in with the Mas-mughān, defeated him, and slew his brother ‘Abbās. Then they turned, advanced on Sārī, attacked Muḥammad
b. Núḥ at a place called Girda-zamín, four parasangs from the city, and defeated him. Layth b. Fana shewed the greatest courage; and it was chiefly by his efforts that the victory was won. Next night Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAqiqí made a sudden attack and slew many of them, and carried off much spoil, and Muḥammad b. Núḥ joined Sulaymán b. ʿAbduʾlláh [b.] Ṭáhir at Astarábád, and both retired together to Gurgán. Sulaymán is reported to have said: "One day I passed over to Gurgán with four comrades (khayl-tásh) to a place called Sulaymán-ábád. I heard a voice saying:

كم تَبَرَّمْنَ وَكَمْ تَخْتَفَيْ خُبْوَلُكَمْ عَدَا فَعَّالٌ دِبِيرٌ في النَّتَابِع

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

Ṭabaristán is finally subjugated by Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd.

When Sulaymán b. ʿAbduʾlláh [b.] Ṭáhir retired from Ṭabaristán, Sayyid Ḥasan took possession of the whole country, and was henceforth reckoned its ruler. He persecuted and slew all such as sympathized with the ʿAbbásids (Musawwida), till men were filled with the fear of him, and thought of nothing save how to obey and please him. On Wednesday, Dhuʾl-Ḥijja 3, A. H. 253 (= December 4, A. D. 867) he gave standards to Muḥammad b. Ibráhím and Lashkar-sitán-i-Daylamí and sent them to Gurgán, and everywhere the people came out to meet them and made offerings to them. During the whole of this month and the months of Muḥarram and Ṣafar, A. H. 254 (January and February A. D. 868) the Daylamites remained with them, but when they found there were no spoils to be got, they entirely abandoned Muḥammad b. Ibráhím. After ten days he arrived
alone at Sārī from Gurgān. At the beginning of Rabi‘ I, A. H. 254 (March, A. D. 868) Sayyid Ḥasan sent an army against the Ispahbad Qārin the son of Shahriyār, the king of the Mountains, to Hazār-garī, where they burned all the crops and destroyed the houses. When he reached Sārī, Justán the son of Wah-sūdān sent a trusty messenger to the Sayyid, asking him to send a representative in whom he had confidence to conquer by his aid the kingdom of Ray. So the Sayyid sent to him Aḥmad b. Ṭisā b. Ālī b. al-Ḥasan, and part of the territories of Ray were captured by them, and the Sayyid came from Sārī to Amul. Mázyār the son of Qārin and Shahriyār escaped from their captivity, and on Friday, the 2nd of Jumāda I, A. H. 254 (= April 29, A. D. 868) the Sayyid ordered their gaolers to receive exemplary punishment, and despatched the brother of the Masmughān Wandarand Wandád Hurmaţd and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm to seek for the Ispahbad Qārin in the highlands; but he fled from them to Qūmish (f. 115a).

And now the Sayyids of the House of Ālī and the Banū Hāshim began to flock to ʿTabaristān from the Ḥijāz, Syria and Ḥiraq “according to the number of the leaves on the trees,” and he gave them all welcome; and whenever he rode forth, he was surrounded by 300 ʿAlawis with drawn swords as a body-guard. And on this the Sayyid Nāṣir-i-kabīr Ḥasan b. Ālī says:

After this letters arrived from Aḥmad b. Ṭisā and Qāsim b. Ālī, who were with Justán the son of Wah-sūdān, announcing that the districts of Ray, Qazwīn, Abhar, and Zangān had been occupied by them, and that the people had responded to their propaganda. Then the Sayyid again sent Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm to Gurgān with his standard,
and its people also submitted, and the Sayyid’s rule was firmly established over a tranquil and obedient realm.

The Caliph al-Mu'tazz sends Músá b. Bughá and Muflíh with an army to Tabaristán.

Qásim b. ʿAlí al-ʿAlawí, who was in ʿIráq, seized ʿAbdulláh b. ʿAzíz, one of the officers of the ʿÁlírids, and handed him over to Faḍl b. Marzúbán, who took him to Ḩasan b. Zayd, advising him to keep him securely. It was the ʿId-i-ʿAdḥá when the prisoner was brought to the Sayyid, who immediately ordered his head to be struck off. When this news reached the Caliph al-Mu'tazz at Baghdad, he at once despatched Músá b. Bughá and Muflíh with an army to ʿIráq. These met Justán the son of Wah-súdán and the Sayyids at Qazwín, defeated them, and slew many of the Daylamites, plundered their treasures, and came to Ray and thence to Qúmish and Gurgán, where they encamped. There they were joined by Ahmád b. Muḥammad al-skińi, the vice-gerent of Muḥammad b. Ṭáhir. Muflíh with the vanguard advanced to Tamnísha. Sayyid Ḩasan b. Zayd (f. 1156) had reviewed an army of 10,000 men at Amul, and with him was the Ispahbad Pádhúsóbán; while Ḩasan b. Muḥammad al-ʿAqíqí with his forces was at Sári, on which Muflíh advanced with his hosts. ʿAqíqí for a long while held the bridge of Sári with great valour, but was at length routed, and Muflíh came to Sári and abode there three days, after which he set out for Amul. Sayyid Ḩasan, because of the smallness of his force, retreated from Amul to Jálús, where he was deserted by most of his men, and thence went to Kalár to seek help from the Daylamites, but none shewed any eagerness to help him. Muflíh remained at Amul till Jumáda II, A. H. 255 (May—June A. D. 869), and then moved on to Jálús, halting at a place near there called ʿUmar-ábád. The Daylamites, being afraid of him,
abandoned Ḥasan b. Zayd. At this juncture, however, Muflīḥ received orders from Mūsā [b.] Bughá to return at once, which he did, travelling day and night, until at Gurgán he learned that the Caliph al-Mu’tazz b. al-Mutawakkil had entrusted Gurgán to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. So they retired to ʿIráq, and the people once more began to gather round Ḥasan b. Zayd, and brought him back to Amul on Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 255 (= September 3 A. D. 869). Yazíd b. Khashm wrote bidding him come at once to Gurgán, which he did, accompanied by his army; and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, induced by promises of favourable treatment, swore allegiance to him, and his affairs once again became prosperous and orderly.

Yaʿqúb b. Layth marches against Ṭabaristán.

Ṭahir b. ʿAbduʾlláh, who was in control of Khurásán, was unable to govern his province with firmness; and at this time a man called "the Veiled Sayyid" (Sayyid-i-Burqaʿi) revolted at Baṣra and Wāṣīṭ in Sawád. This man is better known as "the Leader of the Ethiopians" (Ṣāhibuʾz-Zanj), and ʿAlí, in some of his apocalyptic writings (Muḥālām), gave tidings of his appearance, saying:

Now it was at this juncture, while the Caliph and Ṭahir b. ʿAbduʾlláh were occupied with these matters, that Yaʿqúb b. Layth, a brave and ambitious man, revolted and became
powerful. For many troubles distracted Khurásán, where rebels and robbers arose on every side, but Ya’qúb b. Layth as-Šaffár ("the Copper-smith") was the most cunning and powerful of all. Originally of lowly origin and humble circumstances, he gathered a band of followers round him, and, owing to the weakness of the government, succeeded at last in dispossessing the governor of Sístán appointed by Ţáhir b. ʿAbdu’lláh. He was then proclaimed king, marched on Khurásán, and seized the territories of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu’lláh [b.] Ţáhir, so that at length the Caliph thought it best to make over Khurásán to his control. Having taken Níshápúr he came to Dihistán, and sent secretly to ʿAbdAllah b. Ṣafíf ("the Copper-smith") promising him Gurgán and Astarábád if he would abandon Sayyid Ḥasan and help him. So on the 1st of the month of Urdí-bihísht, A. H. 260 (Oct.—Nov., A. D. 874), they came together to Sáří and fought with Hasan ʿAqíqí, who fled to Amul without halting, pursued by Ya’qúb b. Layth with lanterns and torches. The Sayyid Ḥasan came from Amul to Rúyán, while his followers abandoned him on all sides. Ya’qúb b. Layth proceeded to Kalár, and Ḥasan retreated to Shírú. Jaʿqúb sent a message to the people of Shírú promising not to enter their territories if they would hand the Sayyid over to him, but they refused, incited thereunto by Kawkabán, one of the chief men of the place, and Ya’qúb (f. 1166) was forced to retire. His baggage was cut off and plundered by the Daylamites, and he went to Kajú, and, by torture and threats, extorted from the people of Rúyán two years’ taxes, so that they were left without food or clothes. He then made Layth b. Fana governor of Rúyán, Pádhúšbán governor of Ţabaristán, and Qásim b. Muslim al-Khurásání, one of his own men, governor of Jálús, while he retired to Amul. Immediately the people of Jálús attacked their new governor, burned his palace, and slew all his men. News of this was brought to Ya’qúb, who
returned, cut down the trees and burned the houses, and then marched on to Kandasán by way of Kalár, and thence to Rúyán. But all his camels were destroyed by the fly, rain and thunderstorms came on, and he entrenched himself in Amul. No sooner had he arrived there than he heard that Ḥasan b. Zayd was coming, whereupon he emerged to the coast, and Ḥasan fled to Kúhpáya. Ya'qúb then marched to Kurd-ábád by way of Nátíl, exacted two years' taxes from the people of the plain, and thence returned to Amul and Sáří. He continued altogether four months in Ţabaristán, and then retired from Sáří by way of Qúmish to the neighbourhood of Ray, and wrote to his deputy in Sistán to release the 'Alawís whom he had taken prisoner and give them money to go to their own country. One of them was Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd's brother, Abú ʿAbdīlláh Muḥammad b. Zayd.

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

Revolt of Layth b. Fana against Ḥasan b. Zayd, and invasion of Tabaristán by Shári, the lieutenant of the House of Táhir.

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

Now there was a certain Daylamite named Dakiyya who had fled from Muḥammad with his people, and gone to Khurásán to Shári, the lieutenant of the Táhirids, whom he informed of the anarchy and unrest which prevailed in Gurgán, urging him to attack it, and promising to help him to obtain possession of it. So Shári came from Isfaráʾín to Gurgán, and the Daylamites entirely deserted Muḥammad b. Zayd and Muḥammad b. Ibráhím, and went over to the invader. The two Sayyids came to Amul, and waited until Shári desired to provision his army, and sent out the Daylamites, unarmed, to forage for provisions (f. 117b). One of the chief man of Gurgán named Isḥáq said to Shári, “Do
not give wealth to the Daylamites without good cause, or else they will deal treacherously with thee, as they have ever dealt with their amirs and rulers; for no one hath experienced at their hands aught but insolence, oppression, and ungenerous conduct.” The Daylamites were gathered together at Sulaymánábad; and the people of Gurgán, gentle and simple, were all afraid of the barbarities they might perpetrate. So Shári and Isháq ordered them all to be put to the sword, and in one day 3000 of them were slain. News of this was brought to Ḥasan b. Zayd, and he was filled with malicious delight.

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

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

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

1 See my translation of the Chahár Maqála, pp. 43—44.
Muḥammed [b.] Zayd learned at Jūhīna that his brother had departed, and at Sārī rumour reached him that Ḥasan b. Zayd had been taken captive. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ‘Aqīqī assembled the people and received their oaths of allegiance to himself, beheading all who refused to take this oath. But at Sārī he was met by Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm [b.] Khalīl coming from Ḥasan b. Zayd, from whom he learned that Sayyid Ḥasan himself was approaching. Thereupon he fled from Sārī and joined the Ispahbad Rustam the son of Qārīn, and though Ḥasan b. Zayd tried to win him back by kind messages, he returned no answer, but continued with the Ispahbad till Khujistānī had established himself in Bakrābād in Gurgān and collected supplies. The Ispahbad remained at Astara-bād until Khujistānī went to Nīshāpūr, and the men of Gurgān attached themselves to ‘Aqīqī, who protected them from the oppression of Khujistānī, and excused them their taxes, and all of them swore allegiance to him. But presently Ḥasan b. Zayd collected an army in Ṭabaristān, who, by threes and by fours, began to set out for Astarābād. When he reached the village of Nāmina in Panjāh-hazār, he chose out 500 horsemen, and made a night attack on Astarābād, so that at day-break he surprised Rustam, who only succeeded in escaping on foot into the highlands. Ḥasan b. Zayd, without delaying, set out for Gurgān, where ‘Aqīqī knew nothing of what had happened to Rustam at Astarābād. The Sayyid therefore took him quite by surprise, so that he fled with only three horsemen to the plains, pursued by Muḥammad b. Zayd, until he was finally captured and brought before Sayyid Ḥasan. As soon as his eyes fell on the Sayyid, he prayed for quarter, but the Sayyid, averting his face, bade Turk-i-Rūmī to cut off his head, after which they wrapped his body in a mantle and buried it in the Guebres’ cemetery. Then the Sayyid sent his brother Muḥammad b. Zayd into the Ispahbad’s highlands to
pursue him, until at length, despairing, he sent messenger after messenger to beg for quarter, till at length the Sayyid wrote to his brother bidding him to spare the fugitive, but to seize all his possessions, and exact pledges that he would not in future maintain an army, all of which Muḥammad b. Zayd duly performed. On his return, his brother invested him with the standard and drum of authority, and sent him to Gurgán.

Death of Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd.

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

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

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

When Muḥammad b. Zayd heard the news of his brother's death, he advanced on Amul with his army, many of whom had been secretly won over to the interest of
Sayyid Abu’l-Husayn, who tried to persuade some of them, such as Laythám the son of Wardán, and Abú Manṣúr Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, to slay Muḥammad b. Zayd at Ribát-i-Hafṣ. They refused to kill him, having eaten his bread and salt, but deserted him, and turned back to Gurgán. He too turned back thither, but the inhabitants refused to admit him, and he therefore took up his quarters in the village of Zawín. Abu’l-Husayn sent money and robes of honour for the people of the city, and bade them let Muḥammad b. Zayd remain where he was; and he dared not put his head outside Zawín until Ráfi’ b. Harthama returned defeated from Khurásán, and sent for Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, who was his servant, to come and meet him. Mahdí paid no heed to this message, whereupon Ráfi’, divining Muḥammad b. Zayd’s condition, sent (f. 119b) trusty men to him, brought him to his quarters and fought and defeated Mahdí b. Mukhayyas, who fled to Khurásán. Laythám-i-Daylam went to Abu’l-Husayn, and ʿAlí b. Surkháb was taken prisoner by Mahdí, but fled from him on the day of his defeat. Ráfi’ handed over Gurgán to Muḥammad b. Zayd and returned to Khurásán. One day Abu’l-Husayn began to oppress his followers in order to enrich himself, and these consequently wrote in secret to Muḥammad b. Zayd invoking his assistance. He, having collected an army, arrived at Sári on Wednesday, the first of Jumádá I, A. H. 271 (= October 25, A. D. 884), and Abu’l-Husayn, who was there, fled from him to Amul, whence he started at night to join Laythám and Nu’mán at Jálús and go to Daylam. On the Sunday Muḥammad b. Zayd reached Amul, whence on the Tuesday he moved on to the village of Banafsh, whence he proceeded by night to Jálús, and there seized Abu’l-Husayn, with Laythám and the other Daylamites who were with him, with much spoil. That night he went on to Khwájak, and reached Amul, where, on Friday, the 6th of
Jumáda I, he was crowned king. Abu’l-Ḥusayn, whose power had endured ten months, was cast into bonds, and pardon was proclaimed to his agents and officers, who thereupon submitted, and were made to render account of the moneys they had collected for their master. He also brought in Abu’l-Ḥusayn’s sister, who was the widow of his late brother Ḥasan b. Zayd, and took from her all her jewels and gold ornaments, after which he released Abu’l-Ḥusayn, bidding all those from whom he had exacted money recover it from him. Thereupon the jurisconsults of Amul bore witness against him of exactions amounting to a million dirhams, upon which he was again cast into bondage, and sent with Laythám-i-Daylam to Sári, after which no one ever saw them again, and it was said that they were killed on the road thither.

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


In Rábí I, A. H. 272 (= Aug.—Sept., A. D. 885), Asatákin the Turk being governor of Ray, Muḥammad b. Zayd marched from Gurgán to Dámghán, and thence to Samnán and Khwár. A battle took place between him and the
army of 'Iráq at Wah-rádhan, near Ray, in which Muḥammad b. Zayd was defeated and fled to Láriján. Ráfiʾ b. Harthama then invaded Gurgán, but troubles in Khurasán obliged him to go to Níshápur. In A.H. 273 (A.D. 886—887) Muḥammad b. Zayd returned to Amul, and celebrated the circumcision of his son Zayd, whom he nominated as his successor, joining his name with his own on the coinage and in the *khutba*. On the arrival of Ráfiʾ in Khurasán the troubles there ceased, and the quarrel between Naṣr and Ismáʿil, the sons of Nūḥ the Sámanid, was terminated. Ráfiʾ then marched against Khwárazm, with the people of which he had already waged war; and carried off thence ten thousand (f. 1200) men as hostages.

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

Rustam, dispossessed by the Sayyid, fled to Ráfiʾ, and seven months later returned to Ṭabaristán with him at the head of an army. — The Sayyid, unable to withstand them, retreated from Gurgán to the castle of Juhína, where he was besieged for six months. At the end of this period he left a *kotwál* in charge of the castle, and himself escaped to Tammísha. Soon afterwards the castle capitulated to Ráfiʾ, before whom the Sayyid fell back on Daylamán. In the beginning of Dhuʾl-Ḥijja, A.H. 277 (= March, A.D. 891) he was still at Kajú, while the people suffered the direst distress from the invaders. The Daylamites came to the Sayyid's assistance; and Justán the son of Wah-súdán descended from the highlands to help him. Ráfiʾ commanded his governor at Jálús, Muḥammad b. Hárún, to remain within his fortifications, and sent Rustam son of Qárin, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Wandawayh, ʿAlí b. al-Ḥasan al-Marwazí, ʿAbduʾlláh b. al-Ḥasan, and the son of the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Pádhúsún...
to Jálús by the sea-shore, while he himself came to Ahlam. (f. 121a) Muḥammad b. Hárún thereupon came out of Jálus and pursued his foes. Owing to the exactions of Raḍīᶜ provisions become scarce and dear. At the beginning of Šafar, A. H. 278 (middle of May, A. D. 891) Raḍīᶜ marched from Jálús by way of Tāłaqán in pursuit of Justán the son of Wah-súdán, and laid waste his territory. Finally Justán promised not to help the Sayyid, whereupon Raḍīᶜ withdrew to Qazwín. The Sayyid now marched on Gilán, while Raḍīᶜ came from Qazwín to Ray. Al-Muᵗaḍid bi'lláh, who succeeded about this time to the Caliphate, sent a messenger to summon Raḍīᶜ to his presence, but Raḍīᶜ seized the messenger and imprisoned him, though he afterwards let him go. The Caliph then appointed Abu'l-'Abbas ʿAbd al-ʿAzíz b. Abú Dulaf al-ʿIjli governor of ʿIrāq, and ordered him to give battle to Raḍīᶜ, who was defeated with heavy loss by the Caliph’s troops on the river Kulahwár on Friday, Dhuʾl-Qaʿda 18, and was compelled to fall back (f. 121b) on Ṭabaristán by way of Wíma.

Raḍīᶜ makes peace with Muḥammad b. Zayd.

When Raḍīᶜ reached Mihrawán, he heard that the Caliph al-Muᵗaḍid had given the government of Níshápúr to ʿAmr b. Layth, whereupon he took the oath of allegiance to Muḥammad b. Zayd, on condition that he should hold Gurgán. On Tuesday, the 5th of Rabīʿ II, the latter came to Amul, and Raḍīᶜ went to Gurgán. At this juncture news arrived that Aḥmad al-ʿIjli, the Caliph’s governor, had died at Ray, and that his son had succeeded him. Thereupon, on the 7th of Jumádá I, Raḍīᶜ marched on Ray, attacked and defeated him, and sent his army to Kúh-páya. A month later al-Muᵗaḍid sent his son ¹ to Ray, whereupon Raḍīᶜ abandoned the country.

¹ [i. e. ʿAlí, afterwards al-Muktáfi. He was invested with the Government of Ray in Rajab, A. H. 281 (= September, A. D. 894) by his father, who
Ibn [Abî'l-] Ašbagh, the deputy of the Caliph's son, ruled justly, and reduced the country to order. In this same year Bakr b. ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzîz al-ʿIjî came to Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd at Amul, and was received by him with much honour and many gifts, including a million dirhams made up into a hundred bags, and was finally given the government of Rûyán and Jâlûs. On his arrival at Nâtil, however, he was poisoned in some sherbet (قُطِّاع), and was buried there at the Bridge of Laythâm. Râfî, returning defeated to Gurgân, wished to attack ʿAmr b. Layth, encouraged thereto by an officer who had deserted from that Amir. He besieged Nişâpûr, but ʿAmr remained within the walls. While fighting was going on round the city between the troops of Râfî and those of Muḥammad b. Hârûn, Abû Naṣr-i-Ṭabarî, Mahdî b. Mukhayyas and (f. 122a) Faḍl b. Jaʿfar, ʿAmr with 5000 men suddenly attacked and defeated them. Râfî and ʿAmr b. Layth both sought help from the Sayyid, but he refused to help Râfî, who, after various further misfortunes from rain and flood, was compelled to make peace and to renew his treaties with him.

How Râfî took captive the Ispahbad Rustam.

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

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

at the same time appointed Aḥmad b. Abî'l-Ašbagh as his son's kâtib. See Ṭabarî, III, p. 2140. A. G. E.].
standard of the 'Alawīs, and to exact from the men of Gurgán, Dihistán (f. 1228) and Jájarm the oath of allegiance to him; while he on his part sent the Sayyid a share of Rustam's plundered possessions. A quarrel now arose between Muḥammad b. Wahsúdán and 'Alí b. Surkháb, and the former, having killed some of the latter's men, went to Kilárján, and was reported to have cast off his allegiance. Ráfí' again marched against 'Amr b. Layth, but was again defeated, and fled to Khwárazm, the inhabitants of which city, having an ancient grudge against him, seized him, cut off his head, and sent it to 'Amr b. Layth, who sent it on to the Caliph. After this all Ṭabaristán from Gurgán to Gílá became the Sayyid's secure possession. In A. H. 282 (A. D 895–6) news arrived that Ismá'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámanid had captured 'Amr b. Layth and put him to death, and the Sayyid was now freed from all anxiety; but just as his power, glory, fame and good repute seemed to be at their height, calamity befell him, even as the poet says:

क्या क्रृष्ण तल्लील ए नई, नैन ताबान?  

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

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

\[
\text{أسكنين و قيد و اشتباق و غزنة، و ناى حسب إن ذا لتقبل،}
\text{أياً شجرت الهجن في شتٍ عزم، لمشى إلى أفياتكم طبيب؛}
\text{ألا عل إلى نسم البنفسج في الصدحي، بخشرودن من قبل ألمات سبيل.}
\]

These verses were shewn to Isma'il b. Ahmad the Sámánid, who was so much affected by them that he released his captive, saying, "Thou hast thy choice of returning to Ṭabaristán or of remaining here." He replied, "The affairs of Ṭabaristán have gone beyond the point that there should be any place for me there; it is best for me to remain here." And so he lived, died and was buried in Bukhárá. Three sons of his are mentioned in the genealogical tree of the House of Abú Ṭálīb (ناصر انساب طالبيه), viz. Abú 'Alí Isma'il b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, who migrated to Bukhárá; Abú ʿAbdilláh Muḥammad ar-Riḍá (f. 1236), whose descendants are settled at Baghdad; and Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd.

Account of Muḥammad b. Hárún and the rule of Isma'il b. Ahmad the Sámánid.

Muḥammad b. Hárún, having subdued Gurgán, set out for Amul and Sári, reaching the first named city on a Friday in the month of Tír, A. H. 287 (A. D. 900), and reigned for a year and six months, till Isma'il b. Ahmad the Sámánid, having subdued the whole of Khurásán, marched against Ṭabaristán. Muḥammad b. Hárún refused to submit to his authority, and retired to Daylamán. Isma'il encamped at a place called Ashilá Dasht, near Amul, in the plain of Líkání, and administered such justice as was almost unknown in
Ṭabaristán, restoring to the nobles and gentry the property of which they had been robbed by the Sayyids and others during the last fifty years. Thus he restored —

1,000,000 dirhams to the children of Ibráhím Khalíl;
   600,000 "   Ibráhím b. Isḥáq al-Faqíh;
   500,000 "   Muḥammad b. al-Mughíra of Rúyán;
   500,000 "   Hárún b. ʿAlí Abú Ṣádiq (see p. 74 supra);
   200,000 "   Muḥammad b. as-Sirrí;
   300,000 "   Muqátil, cousin of the above;
   500,000 "   the Ispahbad of Kalár;
   300,000 "   Quṭqṭí of Sárí;
   700,000 "   Qárín, Aparwíz and Khushk Khayán;
1,200,000 "   the family of aṣ-Ṣayfar (so A.; B. has aṣ-Ṣafír);
   100,000 "   Surkháb the son of Jastán;
   700,000 "   Ibráhím and Muḥammad, sons of jurisconsults, Ibráhím b. Mihrán, his brother Khalífa, Mansúr, and Jalwá-nán, all of Tarícha.

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

The Rebellion of Sayyid Násir-i-Kabír (f. 124a).

Sayyid Násir-i-Kabír's name was Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí, and he revolted in Gílán and Daylamán, declaring himself "the Avenger" (ath-Thāʿir) of his predecessor, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd, called Dáʾí ʿl-Ḥaqq ("the Propagandist of the Truth"). Ismaʿíl the Sámanid sent against him his son Aḥmad and his cousin Abuʾl-ʿAbbás ʿAbduʾlláh b. Muḥammad b. Núḥ. The armies met at a place called Falás,
and the Daylamites were defeated and two thousand of them slain, amongst them the fathers of the afterwards celebrated Mákán [b.] Kákí and of Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, the subsequent rulers of Gíl and Daylam.

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

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

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

Aḥmad b. Ismá'íl the Sámánid sends Salám to govern Ṭabaristán.

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

**Aḥmad b. Ismá‘il sends Aḥmad b. Núḥ to govern Tabaristán.**

Thereupon Abu‘l-‘Abbás Aḥmad was made governor of Tabaristán, and he was accompanied by the son of Dhu‘r-Riyásatayn.
The Russians come over the sea to plunder Tabaristán.

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

Aḥmad b. Ismá'īl sends Muḥammad b. Șa'lık to Tabaristán.

When news of the death of Abu'l-ʿAbbás reached Aḥmad the Sámanid he made Muḥammad b. Șa'lık, who was then at Ray, governor of Tabaristán, and sent his wazír Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'lláh al-Bal'ámí from Bukhárá to meet him. They met near Āmul at a place called Bāshír, and Muḥammad b. Ilísa ʿ was also there.

Rebellion of Sayyid Nāṣir-i-Kabír.

This Sayyid, whose name was Abú Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlí, had for some time been engaged in study and
teaching in Gilān. On the return of al-Bal'amī to Bukhārā, and the arrival of Muḥammad b. Ṣa'lūk at Amul, the people of Fajam, Maraz, and all Gil and Daylam flocked to him. He sent his son Abu'l-Ḥusayn Ḥamd to Rūyān, and thence expelled the Sāmānīd governor Muhīm. Nāšir-i-Kabīr then went to Kalār, and there received the allegiance of its Ispahbad Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Thence he proceeded to Gūr-Shīr and Jālūs, sending on his cousin Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim with the vanguard to take Jālūs. Muḥammad b. Ṣa'lūk had advanced to Būrābād with 15,000 men. Then a battle was fought (f. 126b), in which Ibn Ṣa'lūk was defeated, and many of his soldiers slain. On a Sunday in Jumāda II, A. H. 301 (= January, A. D. 914) Sayyid Nāšir advanced to Jālūs, captured Abu'l-Wafā Khalīfa b. Nūḥ, slew the Khurāsānī garrison, and razed the fortress to the ground. Ibn Ṣa'lūk fled by way of Amul, Mālika Dasht, Sārī and Gurgān to Ray. Two days later Sayyid Nāšir came to Amul and established himself in the Palace formerly occupied by Ḥasan b. Zayd. He treated all with the utmost justice, pardoned such as had offended him, and received the allegiance of the people of Amul and the neighbourhood. Then ḌAbdu'llāh b. al-Ḥasan raised the white standard at Sārī, and summoned the people to support Sayyid Nāšir.

Quarrel between the Ispahbad Shahriyār and Nāšir, and arrival of an army from Bukhārā to subdue Sayyid Nāšir.

'Āqīqī joined Sayyid Nāšir, and, having been given an army of Gilīs and Daylamīs, was sent to fight the Ispahbad Shahriyār. Between Aram and Kūlā, however, he fell into an ambush prepared for him by Shahriyār, and was slain. His troops fled, and his head was sent by Shahriyār to Ibn Ṣa'lūk. When news of Sayyid Nāšir's rising power reached
Bukhara, Aḥmad the Sāmānid sent Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾl-ʿAzīz to Ṭabaristān, but forty days after his arrival there he was defeated by Sayyid Nāṣir, whose power now became paramount over Ṭabaristān. He wished to raise a tax of one-tenth on all produce, but the people complimented, and he desisted from his intention. Aḥmad the Sāmānid collected 30,000 of his own troops and sent to Türkistān for 10,000 more, intending to "transport the very earth of Ṭabaristān to Bukhara" (f. 127a), but when he had only gone two stages on his journey, his attendants murdered him at midnight as he slept, and Sayyid Nāṣir was for the moment left unmolested. Soon afterwards the Caliph al-Muqtadīr biʾllāh appointed Aḥmad the Sāmānid’s son Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Ismaʿīl (Naṣr I) regent of Khurāsān in place of his father, and he, incited by the messengers of Hurmazd-Kāma and Sharwīn the son of Rustam, sent Ilyās b. Ilīsāʾ as-Sughdī at the head of 10,000 men to Ṭabaristān. When these reached Tammīsha, Abuʾl-Qasim Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī an-Nāṣir was at Sārī, with a thousand men. Entrenching himself there, he wrote to his father informing him of the Sāmānid advance. Abuʾl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad [b.] an-Nāṣir went to Gīlān and Daylamān, and spent much money in collecting an army, while the Ispahbad Shahriyār pitched his camp at Wīnābād above Sārī, still retaining the black standard and draperies (of the ʿAbbāsids), though he sent reinforcements to Sayyid Abuʾl-Qāsim. An undecided battle took place at Sārī between Sayyid Abuʾl-Qāsim and Ilyās b. Ilīsāʾ, and the Sāmānid troops at length retired, leaving Ṭabaristān to Sayyid Nāṣir-i-Kabīr. The Ispahbad Sharwīn also made peace with him, whilst Hurmazd-Kāma retired to Astarābād, and the Sayyid handed over most of the administration to his cousin Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, whom he set over his own sons, who were thereby filled with envy, as one of them, Sayyid Abuʾl-
Husayn Ahmad b. an-Násir, commonly known as Sáhibu'l-Jaysh ("the Commander in Chief") says in a poem (f. 127b):

Strife arises between -Hasan b. -Qásim and -Násir.

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

-Hasan b. -Qásim sets out for Gurgán. He is attacked by the Turks, and besieged in the Citadel.

After -Hasan b. -Qásim had set out for Gurgán, Sayyid Násir sent his son Abu'l-Qásim Ja'far after him to support him (f. 128b). But the latter, having a grudge against him, purposely lagged behind, and kept writing to his father, saying, “This man cherishes enmity against thee.” And when, on approaching Gurgán, the Turks came out to give battle to -Hasan, Abu'l-Qásim abandoned him to his fate;
and Hasan, being unable to withstand them, fell back on Astarábad, and withdrew into the castle of Kajín, which had remained in good repair from the time of Shápúr Dhu’l-Aktáf [the Sásánian] until the time of Ardashír b. al-Hasan, who ordered it to be destroyed, lest it should fall into the hands of Tukush b. Tl-Arslán. There Hasan remained all the winter, besieged by the Turks, while his men suffered much from the cold. At length, being in want of food, he made a sortie with a few of his followers, attacked the Turks and slew some of them, and made his way safely to Amul, and thence to Gilán. Sayyid Násír now retired from public life and devoted himself to study and teaching, and the fame of his knowledge in Jurisprudence, Traditions, Philosophy, Poetry and Literature brought him many visitors from distant lands. He finally died on Sha’bán 5, A.H. 304 (January 31, A.D. 917), having sent his son Abú’l-Husayn Aḥmad to Gilán and made his son-in-law -Hasan b. -Qásim his successor.

-Hasan b. -Qásim, called ad-Dá’í ila’l-Haqq.

Abú Muḥammad al-Hasan b. al-Qásim b. al-Hasan b. ʿAlí b. ʿAbdu’r-Rahmán ash-Shajari b. al-Qásim b. al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. ʿAlí b. Abí Ṭálíb now succeeded under the title of ad-Dá’í (f. 129a) ila’l-Haqq (“The Summoner unto the Truth”), or, as he is called in the Kitábul-Ansáb, ad-Dá’í as-Saghir (“the Lesser Dá’í”). He reached Amul on Ramaḍán 12, A.H. 304 (= March 9, A.D. 917), and Sayyid Abú’l-Husayn Aḥmad b. an-Násír surrendered the sovereignty to him. The brother of the latter, Abú’l-Qásim Ja’far b. an-Násír, sent to him, saying, “The kingdom is our father’s; why then dost thou surrender it to him?” but he paid no heed, and an estrangement between the two brothers resulted. Ja’far went to Muḥammad b. Saʿlúk at Ray, and promised to adopt the black colour of the
‘Abbasids, to coin money in the name of the (Sámánid) rulers of Khurásán, and to insert their names in the khutba, and help to recover Šabaristán for them.

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

At this time the Sámáníds were vainly endeavouring to subdue Níšápúr, and Sayyid Ḥasan sent against it Laylá b. Nu'mán (f. 1298), who took it. Then he proceeded to Tús, where, being defeated by the Sámáníd army, he fled to Gurgán. There a number of the Daylamite chiefs gave him their allegiance, and conspired with him to kill Sayyid Ḥasan by treachery, but, the plot being made known to the Sayyid, he, without saying a word to any one, marched to Gurgán, seized the conspirators, and beheaded them. Amongst them was Harūsandán, the father of Siyáh Gíl, chief of Gílán. So men's hearts were filled with fear of Sayyid Ḥasan, and thenceforth no one dared to plot against him. Leaving Abu'l-Husayn [b.] Náṣir at Gurgán, he then returned to Amul. Shortly after this Abu'l-Qásim b. an-Náṣir collected a number of followers in Gílán, while Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥusayn [b.] Náṣir also turned against Sayyid Ḥasan, and
sent his general Abú Músá Hárún Isfáh-dúst to Amul, where, however, he was defeated and slain. On this event ʿAbduʾlláh b. Muḥammad al-Kátib has the following verse:

\[
\text{کم لیام بکل نجس کمی و عمام بکل آمر ایام}
\]

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

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

Meanwhile Sayyid Abuʾl-Ḥasan and his brother Abuʾl-Qásim Jaʿfar succeeded conjointly in expelling Qará-takín
from Ṭabaristán, which was rendered the easier by troubles in Khurásán which required his presence. The brothers then remained in Gurgán until Aḥmad Ṭawīl was sent against them from Bukhárá, but him also they defeated, and he fled alone to Bistám, while most of his army dispersed to Jájarm and Isfárá’in.

Sayyid Ḥasan, on his release, came to Gílán, sent to Ṭabaristán for his hidden treasures and moneys, and there-with collected an army, with which he invaded Ṭabaristán, and advanced to Amul and Sáří. Abū’l-Ḥusayn and Abū’l-Qásim sent Abú Bakr az-Zifrí to Amul to obtain news, but at Astarábád he heard that Sayyid Ḥasan had already reached Lámrášk, whereupon he at once returned to make his report. Abū’l-Ḥusayn, Abū’l-Qásim and [the son of] Harúsandán held a council of war (f. 131a), and it was agreed that the first should march on Astarábád and give battle to Sayyid Ḥasan, while the two others remained in Gurgán. Next morning these last went out from the city to the Dá’í’s Tomb to await news from Astarábád. A ghu-
lám of ‘Alí Qumí Darzí came out from Gurgán, however, with the news that Laylá’s men were plundering their houses and stealing their treasures. Thereupon they went back to the city, and Abū’l-Qásim found the very mats stripped from his house, and learned that there were only ten of his followers left in it, whereupon he cast himself on the ground and burst into tears. Laylá denied any complicity in this robbery, but told Abū’l-Qásim that he could not remain in Gurgán; and as he feared to go alone, he gave him an escort of 30 men under Lashkar-sitán. The Daylamites had shut the gates, but he got out by the new

1 [Harúsandán has already been beheaded; see p. 205 supra. Should we not perhaps read “the son of Harúsandán (پسر having dropped out in the MSS.) i.e. Siyáh Gil (cf. p. 205)? A little lower down this same person appears to be designated درزي كه. A. G. E.]
road of Kaláta, having only three dínárs in his possession with which to buy bread (f. 131b). On advancing a little further he met three men, who informed him that Sayyid Ḥasan had defeated his confederate Abu'l-Ḥusayn. Abu'l-Qásim and Darzí Qumí were now left alone in despair and bewilderment. The former bought an ass in a neighbouring village, and went by Bistám to Dámghán, and thence to Ray and Gílán.

Sayyid Ḥasan, having defeated Abu'l-Ḥusayn, sent him a kindly message, saying, "I am thy servant, and the kingdom is thine, having been thy father's before." So these two were reconciled.

When the House of Símjúr began to cause trouble in Khurásán, [Abú] ʿAlí b. Símjúr came to Gurgán, and invited the Sayyids, as men of peace and religion, to abandon the country quietly to him. They refused, and fought a battle with him at the village of Jaláyín. Surkháb the son of Weh-súdán attacked and routed him, while Abu'l-Ḥusayn scattered his right wing. His men fled into the plain, but when they had gone some distance, the Turks turned at bay, alighted from (f. 132a) their horses, and fired a volley of arrows, completely routing their assailants, so that the Sayyids Ḥasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn fled, accompanied only by one ghulám, and by ʿAlí b. Buwayh [i.e. ʿImáduʾd-Dawla], Mákán b. Kákí, and Jakáw the sipahsálár, while the Turks pursued them to Abasgún. In Tammísha they halted and began to fortify themselves, while Sayyid Ḥasan, leaving Mákán there, went on to Amul to gather fresh troops. Abu'l-Ḥusayn then again attacked the Turks, repulsed them, and re-occupied Gurgán. This victory was at the end of Dhuʾl-Ḥijja, A. H. 310 ( = April 20, A. D. 923). For some time after this Sayyid Hasan and Abu'l-Ḥusayn held Šabaristán thus, the former residing at Amul, the latter at Gurgán. Sayyid Ḥasan built mosques and colleges, encouraged and patronized
men of learning and poets, and governed the people wisely and beneficently. After a while Abu'l-Ḥusayn again quarreled with and attacked him, but was defeated, and fled to join his brother Abu'l-Qásim.

These two then allied themselves with Mákán b. Kákı, ʿAlí b. Khurshíd, Asfár b. Shírúya and Rashámúj, and determined to seize Sayyid Ḥasan, who, being informed of their designs, marched from Amul to Sáří with Rustam b. Sharwín. The brothers Abu'l-Ḥusayn and Abu'l-Qásim marched along the coast to Mishkawá, meaning to fight him next day at Sáří, but Sayyid Ḥasan fled that night, none knew whither. Abu'l-Ḥusayn nominated his own governors and lieutenants, and on Thursday (f. 1326), the 8th of Jumáda I (A.H. 311 = Aug. 24, A.D. 923), came to Amul, but behaved so exorbitantly and tyrannically towards the people that they longed with all their souls for the former government. And on Tuesday, Rajab 29, A.H. 311 (= Nov. 13, A.D. 923) Abu'l-Ḥusayn died.

On his death, Abu'l-Qásim, his brother, was left in undisputed possession of Tabaristán, for Sayyid Ḥasan had fled to the mountains, where many of those who loved his rule joined him. On hearing of Abu'l-Ḥusayn's death, he approached Amul, halting at a place known as Gásar-gáh (the Washing-place) to fight Abu'l-Qásim; but in Ramadán, A.H. 311 (= Dec. A.D. 923—Jan., A.D. 924), most of his men having deserted to the enemy, he again fled to the mountains. About the same date Sayyid Abu'l-Qásim ordered Khalíl b. Kájí to kill ʿAbdu'lláh [b.] Mubáрак the scribe, stick his head on a pole, and parade it, with an ink-stand set before it in mockery, through the bázars. But Abu'l-Qásim himself died soon afterwards on Tuesday, Dhu'l-Qaʿda 10, A.H. 312 (= Febr. 7, A.D. 925).

All Gil and Daylam now swore allegiance to Abu'l-Qásim's nephew [Abú ʿAlí] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad [b.] al-Ḥasan, who
was beloved for his justice and beneficence as much as he
was feared for his courage.

Abu’l-Qasim had made Mákan b. Káki governor of Gurgán (f. 133a), and he, with Hasan [b.] Fírúzán and Abú ’Alí b. Iṣfahán, agreed to swear allegiance to Abu’l-Qásim’s little son (by Díkú, daughter of Iṣfahán) Iṣmá’íl and make him king; which design, however, they kept secret, until Sayyid Abú ’Alí summoned them to his presence, when they marched from Gurgán to Sári, Abú ’Alí having gone with only a few retainers to Mámṭír. Mákan then sent his army to seize him, bidding them drag him from his horse, and snatch off his kuldh, which was done. Then Mákan sent him to Gurgán to the Amír Ká, son of Wardásf, who came to Amul and crowned Isma’íl. Mákan wrote news of this to Sayyid Ḥasan, and sent his brother Abu’l-Ḥusayn b. Káki with the insignia of royalty to Jákarm and Khurásán, whither also he despatched an army. ’Alí b. Buwayh, the paternal uncle of Aḏudu’d-Dawla Faṅákhusraw, was the Sayyids’ governor of that place, and he, with his 400 men, was defeated and captured by Abu’l-Ḥusayn b. Káki, who slew all the Khurásání soldiers who fell into his hands. Soon afterwards Mákan wrote to his brother to return to Gurgán and take over the government of it from the Amír Ká; and he sent a confidential message to his brother bidding him kill Sayyid Abú ’Alí, who was lodging in the house of Raḍí, and send him his head. As the two sat drinking together, Abu’l-Ḥusayn b. Káki began to quarrel with the Sayyid, who, divining his object, made some pretext for leaving the room, and borrowed from one of his servants a small knife (f. 133b) which he concealed in his dress. Then he returned, and when Abu’l-Ḥusayn b. Káki, waxing more quarrelsome, seized him by the throat, he threw him down and ripped up his belly. To escape, the Sayyid was obliged to leap from the roof thirty yards down into the moat. He then sent his ring to
‘Alí b. Khurshíd and Asfár b. Shfrúya, who were in revolt against Mákán and were plundering on the high roads of Gurgán, and they at once joined him and swore allegiance to him. Soon he had an army round him, and was in possession of Gurgán.

As soon as Mákán heard of his brother's death, he collected an army and marched on Gurgán, but the Sayyid, by bribing Rashámúj the son of Shír-Mardán to desert to his side was able to discomfit and rout him. Mákán fled to Lamrásk (f. 134a) without halting, left the Amír Ká, son of Wardásf, there with a regiment, and continued his flight to Sári. Sayyid Abú ‘Alí, having left ‘Alí b. Khurshíd in charge of Gurgán, pushed on to Lamrásk, where the vanguard of his army had already defeated Amír Ká. Without halting he marched on to Sári and defeated Mákán, who fled into the city, after slaying Abú Ja'far Kúrankij, who tried to seize him. He was pursued by the soldiers from quarter to quarter and repeatedly wounded, but struck down a soldier who tried to arrest him and escaped. In trying to cross the river he was thrown from his horse, which he then abandoned, together with his coat of mail, and fled through a garden to a house belonging to a poor man, whose help he implored, and who hid him in the branches of a mulberry-tree. The soldiers arrived there and threatened the poor man, who, however, would not betray Mákán's hiding-place. When they had gone, he brought Mákán out, bound up his wounds, and, when he was strong enough, set him on his way, so that he escaped to the highlands of Sári. When afterwards Mákán became powerful and prosperous, he richly rewarded his deliverer, whose name was Kayán Búj, raised him to a high position and conferred honour on his family. Sayyid Abu ‘Alí came to Amul and took possession of Ṭabaristán. He ruled firmly and wisely, but ere long was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing polo.
When the mourning for his death was concluded, the people (f. 134b) swore allegiance to his brother Abú Ja'far. His accession was soon followed by a serious riot, caused by the injustice of his minister Abu'l-Hasan [b.] Abí Yúsuf, in which disturbance many persons were killed, even in the chief Mosque, where the soldiers massacred numbers of the congregation as they came from public prayer on Friday, till at length the people rose and expelled the troops from the city.

Mákán b. Kákí kept writing from his highland retreat to the Dá'í urging him to revolt and promising him his support, but he would not stir until Mákán had collected 500 men at a place above Nátil still known as "Mákán's camp". When Sayyid Abú Ja'far learned this, he marched from Amul to Nátil, and encamped opposite Mákán. Many of the notables of Amul, such as Sayyid Abú Ja'far Mánk-dím, Abu 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abú Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alí, the head-man of Amul and nephew of Ḥusayn b. 'Alí Faqîh, and 'Abbás b. Qábúsán, wrote letters to Mákán promising to help him. He bade them remain quietly in the city, but they disobeyed him, and, gathering a great rabble of the townsfolk, made manifest their intentions (f. 135a). Sayyid Abú Ja'far, learning this, sent against them 1200 picked soldiers, who utterly routed these undisciplined levies, killing many of them. Next day Sayyid Abú Ja'far Násir entered Amul, where Abú'l-Ḥasan the minister had exacted large sums of money from the people.

Mákán again urged the Dá'í to revolt, but he still refused, until Asfár the son of Shírûya and Muṭrif, his minister, having exacted vast sums of money from the people, retired to Gurgán and openly cast off their allegiance to Abú Ja'far, who sent 'Alí b. Khurshíd to Sáří as governor. After a month or so, Asfár came from Gurgán and attacked him, defeated him, imprisoned him in the caravanseray of Ḥasan b. Bahrám, seized the city, and proclaimed himself king.
Meanwhile Mákán's strength continued to increase, and he determined to attack Sayyid Abú Ja'far, who, on his approach, fled from Amul to Wandád-Hurmand Kúh. Mákán occupied the city, and at once sent messengers to the Dá'í to bring him from Gílán. When he arrived, amidst the rejoicings of the people, he advanced with Mákán from Amul to Sári. Asfár fled at their approach (f. 1356), while the Ispahbad Sharwún retired into his highlands. At this juncture Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámaníd marched from Bukhárá with an army of 30,000 men to subdue Ṭabaristán and ʿIráq, and entered the highlands of Ṭabaristán. Abú Naṣr was Sayyid Hasan's governor in Shahriyár-kúh, and he blocked the roads, broke down the bridges, and so entangled Naṣr b. Aḥmad in the highlands that he was unable to get out, and was reduced to great straits for food and fodder, so that finally he sent an ambassador to Sayyid Hasan asking him on what terms he would let him depart. The Sayyid sent ʿAbdúlláh b. Salám and Abuʾl-ʿAbbás [b.] Dhuʾr-Riyásatayn to him, and concluded peace, on the understanding that he should pay an indemnity of 20,000 dinárs and depart to Khurásán.

When the Sámaníd had departed, Mákán began to behave arrogantly towards the Sayyid, who left him, and went to Gílán with the Ispahbad Sharwún b. Rustam. Mákán sent messengers to make apologies, but the Sayyid would not listen to them. Then Asfár collected an army of 7000 Turks, Gílís, and Daylamites and came to Amul, where he fought with Mákán for three days and nights at the gate known as Dar-i-Ṣúr. Rashámúj had promised to help Mákán, and actually joined him on the fourth day. All the people were watching the fray from the roofs of the various buildings. Mákán looked back, saw them, and said, "Why do ye not take down these dogs?" Then Mákán's troops dashed at Asfár's and routed them, and
pursued them to Sári. Asfá was to Gurgán, releasing Āli b. Khurshid, whom he had kept in bonds (f. 136a), and who was brought to Mákán, and by him restored to liberty. Mákán then marched on to Astarábad, while Asfá went to Abú Bakr b. Ilísa, Naṣr b. Aḥmad’s commander-in-chief, who turned back to Sári, and in A. H. 315 (A. D. 927—8) despatched Hassan [b.] Firúzán to the highlands to seek out Sayyid Abú Ja’far, whom he brought in to Sári, bare-headed and bare-footed, and imprisoned in the Palace of Abú’l-Abbas [b.] Dhu’r-Riyásatayn. Then the Dá’í wrote to Mákán, reproaching him bitterly for what he had done to Sayyid Abú Ja’far, notwithstanding all his protestations of friendship and promises of support to himself; and thereupon Mákán released Abu Ja’far and sent him to the Dá’í. Then the latter, supported by Gil and Daylam, and accompanied by the Ispahbad Sharwín, came to Amul, where Mákán came out to meet him. Soon after this Mákán slew Abú Naṣr, who had come to Sári, with a blow from his mace, while he was riding with him, and restored the government of Shahriyár-kúh to the Ispahbad Sharwín, whom he dismissed with presents and robes of honour. Asfá joined Abú Bakr [b.] Ilísa and on his death, which occurred shortly afterwards, the army swore allegiance to him. Abú Bakr had a ghulám named Il-Tughdi, who, fearing Naṣr b. Aḥmad, joined Asfá, and secured for him the kingdom of Khurásán. Naṣr b. Aḥmad, hearing this, sent Şáliḥ b. Sayyár (f. 136b), with the insignia of royalty, to conciliate him, and Asfá waxed bold and tyrannical, so that the people of Khurásán conceived a great hatred for him.

Mákán and the Dá’í being now reconciled, a great army gathered round them, and they marched on Ray, expelled its governor, Muḥammad b. Şa’lúk, and annexed it. Asfá, hearing of their absence, marched on Tabaristán with the army of Khurásán, and Abu’l-Ḥajjáj Mardáwj b. Ziyár, the
elder brother of Washmgír, who was with Qará-takín the Sámaníd, asked permission to join this expedition.

News of this invasion reached the Dá'í and Mákán at Ray, and the latter begged the former to remain there while he marched back to fight the invaders. But the Dá'í would not listen, and, with 500 men, marched to Amul. The people of Amul, on account of Abu'l-Ábbás al-Faqíh al-Álaqí, refrained from helping the Dá'í; and Asfár, who was at Sári, hearing of his weakness at Amul, and of Mákán's absence at Ray, marched to Amul and attacked the Dá'í, who came out to meet him in battle, but was slain by Mardáwíj with a blow of his mace at ʿÁlf-ábád as he was endeavouring to recross the river and regain the city. On the same day Abú Ja'far Mánk-dím and another, a descendant of ʿAqíl b. Abí ʿAlí, were slain, and Tabaristán passed into the possession of Asfár, who appointed his own governors, and, being reinforced by a Turk named Agúshí and his tribe, marched on Ray and defeated Mákán, who fled to Tabaristán, while Asfár remained at Ray to enrich himself and his army (f. 137a). Then, leaving Agúshí at Ray, Asfár returned to Tabaristán. Mákán thereupon fled to Daylamán. Asfár swore allegiance to Abú Ja'far, who, however, he shortly afterwards seized, together with Abúl-Ḥusayn Shajárí and Zayd b. Šáliḥ, and sent them in chains to Bukhárá, while Sayyid Abúl-Ḥusayn fled. These three remained in captivity at Bukhárá till the death of Abú Bakr Zakáriyyá, when they were released, and returned to Tabaristán. Amul was ceded to Mákán on condition that he should not interfere with the rest of Tabaristán. Agúshí the Turk behaved so tyrannically at Ray that Asfár resolved to kill him, but he fled to Qum, pursued by Mardáwíj, whom Asfár sent after him, but without success.

At this juncture the Caliph al-Muqtadír sent his cousin Hárún b. al-Gharíb against Ray, but he was defeated by
Asfár. Mákán, not regarding his treaty, strove to bring all Ţabaristan under his control, made Ḵasan [b.] Fírúzán his deputy at Amul, and himself marched to Gurgán and thence to Níshápûr, accompanied by the Ispahbad Sharwín and Shahriyâr of Wandád-Hurmazd-Kúh. There he fought many battles and gained many victories, but a report arose in Ţabaristan that he was dead, and Ḵasan [b.] Fírúzán assumed the control of affairs and placed the crown on the head of Isma’il the ‘Alawí, who was his half-brother, giving him Fátima, the daughter of Aḥmad, who had been the wife of the Dá’í, as his wife. But Khadijá, the mother of Abú Ja’far, bribed two of Díkú’s handmaidens with 400 dinárs to poison Isma’il with a poisoned lancet while he was being bled. Later, when these handmaidens quarrelled and divulged the secret, both were hanged at Shálûs by Díkú. Ḵasan [b.] Fírúzán came to Amul, but was expelled by Abú ‘Alí of Isfahán and Abú Músá, two of Mákán’s officers, and retreated to Daylamán. Asfár went from Ray to Qazwín, and slew many of its inhabitants, because they had, in a riot, slain his lieutenant, and burned the bázârs, and many of the people fled into exile. Mardáwíj b. Ziyár quarrelled with him, gathered a number of followers, and retired to Zangán, whence he made an attack on Qazwín, and drove Asfár to Ray, and thence to Qúmish, where he was joined by Abu’l-ʾAbbás b. Kálanjár. With him Asfár fell back by way of Quhistán on Ţabas, whither he was pursued by Mákán. Thence he endeavoured to reach the castle of Alamút, but Mardáwíj stopped the way (f. 138), and finally captured him in Tálâqán and beheaded him. All this happened in A. H. 319 (A. D. 931). Mardáwíj, being now quit of Asfár, slew many of the rabble who had supported him, including Aḥmad b. Rasúl and Abu’l-ʾAbbás ʾAṣṣáří, and established himself at Ray. Mákán advanced from Khurásán to Ţabaristán and made peace with Mardáwíj, who sent messengers
to Gilán by way of Qazwín and brought Násir to Ray. Mákán had tortured Abu’l-Faḍl Sháqírd, a relative of Muṭrif, to make him disgorge money; and Muṭrif induced Mardáwíj to march on Ţabaristán. Mákán, learning this, came to Amul. Mardáwíj sent Násir by way of Láriján and Damáwand, but Mákán met him near Wálá-rúd and slew him and many of his followers. Mardáwíj retreated by way of Damáwand to Ray. At this period the sons of Buwayh had seized the provinces of Fárs and Kirmán, and Mardáwíj went to Isfahán to arrange his plans, but while there he was assassinated in the bath. ¹

On the death of Mardáwíj, the army of Ray swore allegiance to his brother Washmgír b. Ziyár, who, having set in order the affairs of ʿIráq, sent Shíraj b. Laylá, Lashkarí and Abu’l-Qásim to expel Mákán from Ţabaristán. Mákán fled thence to Gurgán, on a Tuesday in Ramaḍán, A. H. 323 (= August, A. D. 935). Abú Bakr and Abu’l-Mudḥaffár, who were both there, allied themselves with Abu’l-Qásim, and left him in possession of Gurgán when they had expelled Mákán (f. 1386). But in Ramaḍán, A. H. 324 (= July—August, A. D. 936) Abu’l-Qásim was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing polo, and buried at Sári. His army swore allegiance to Ibráhím b. Gúshyár. The Amír Abú Ṭálíb Washmgír came from Ray to Amul and thence to Sári, and Ibráhím b. Gúshyár came from Gurgán to meet him, but was dismissed from his command and degraded to his former rank. Washmgír then remained for some while at Sári, until Abú ʿAlí Khalífa and Langarcha Pír were murdered at Amul. In Muḥarram, A. H. 325 (= Nov.—Dec., A. D. 936) he sent to Níshápúr and brought back Mákán, to whom he gave Gurgán. The command of the army of Ţabaristán he conferred on Abú Dá’ úd and Isfáhí b. Ur-mazdyár, bidding them make war on Abú Múṣá b. Bahrám,

who had rebelled in Daylamán. Abú Ja’far Muḥammad, who was at Amul, was joined by Abú Dā’ūd, and these, accompanied by Abú Ja’far Nāṣir, went to attack Abú Músá, whom they defeated and expelled from that country. Daylamán, Jálús and the regions on that side of Amul were conferred by Abú Ṭāhir Washmgír on Aḥmad b. Sálár, while Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nāṣir ruled at Amul, giving audience every Monday and Thursday, and holding religious discussions with the doctors of Islám every Wednesday. Abú Dā’ūd was at Sári, which suffered greatly this year from floods, so that the people fled into the highlands. Abú Dā’ūd summoned all the ministers and officials, and warned them that any exaction of which they might be guilty would be severely punished (f. 139a).

In Muḥarram, A. H. 328 (= Oct.—Nov., A. D. 939) Naṣr b. Aḥmad the SámániD sent Abú ʿAlí b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mudhaffarí to Gurgán. Mákán appealed for help to Washmgír, who sent Isfáhí, with numerous levies from Gil and Daylam. For seven months there was war in Gurgán, and at length Mákán and his allies were defeated, though reinforced by Shíraj b. Laylá. Finally, driven out of Gurgán by the army of Khurásán, Mákán fell back on Ṭabaristán and halted at Amul. At this juncture news arrived that Hasan the Buwayhid had come from Kirmán to Ray, seeking to conquer ʿIráq. Washmgír marched at the head of an army to a place two stages distance from Ray called Mushkú, where a battle was fought, and the army of Hasan the Buwayhid was defeated, and fell back on Isfahán. In this battle the chamberlain Ibn Shāʾūshtí was slain, and Hasan the Buwayhid captured the Gilá-gúr, but Washmgír’s men recovered him and brought him in his bonds to Washmgír, who set him free. Some days later, Washmgír came from Ray to Damáwand and summoned Mákán b. Kákí before him. He arrived on the ʿAshúrā
(Muḥarram 10) A. H. 329 (= October 15, A. D. 940), and was received with the utmost honour and sent to Sārī. As he was returning thither from Damāwand, the commander-in-chief Abu ʿAlī came to Dāmghān, marching on ʿIrāq. Washmgīr turned back from Ray to Wīma near Damāwand, and sent to Mākān to join him. Mākān, leaving his cousin Ḥasan [b.] Fīrūzān at Sārī, went to Washmgīr, and they met at Isḥāq-ābād. On Saturday, the 21st of Rabiʿ I, A. H. 329 (= December 24, A. D. 940) they drew up in battle-array against the commander-in-chief [of the Sāmānids]. At the first attack of the Khurāsānīs (f. 1396) Washmgīr fled; but Mākān stood firm, till, 1400 of his Gīlī and Daylamite guards having been slain, twenty Turkish champions hurled themselves upon him, dragged him from his horse, and slew him. His head, with a number of notable Daylamites who had been taken prisoners, was sent to Bukhārā. His wasir, the father of Ustād Ibnuʿl-ʿAmīd Muḥammad Qumī, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, known as kala, one of the finest scholars of the age, was also slain, and his head sent to Bukhārā. Thither also was sent his secretary, who, because of his accomplishments, was received with honour at the Sāmānīd court, where he remained for the rest of his days.

Washmgīr, meanwhile, fled to Lārijān, whence, ten days later, he came to Muṣalla of Amul. There, on Wednesday, the 28th of Rabīʿ II, A. H. 329 (= December 31, A. D. 940) he received the news of Mākān’s death. Ḥasan [b.] Fīrūzān, Mākān’s cousin, and his clansmen agreed that Washmgīr had purposely deserted their kinsman, and so rebelled against the latter, who sent Shīrāj b. Laylá to fight them. He drove them out of Sārī, and they fell back on Astarābād. Shīrāj came to Amul, and advanced on Astarābād,

For the celebrated despatch written on this occasion by Iskāfī, see Anecdote III of the Chahār Maqāla, pp. 28—30 of my translation.
while Ḥasan [b.] Fīrūzán fled to ʿIrāq and joined the Sāmānīd commander-in-chief, whom he induced to invade Ṭabaristān. Washmgir then retired from Gurgān to Sārī, where, at a place called Walajūy, a battle took place, wherein Washmgir stood firm; and even in the midst of it (f. 150a) news arrived of the death of Naṣr b. Aḥmad and the succession of his son Nūḥ. Thereupon the Sāmānīd general made peace with Washmgir, and set out for Bukhārā, accompanied by Ḥasan [b.] Fīrūzán, who, on the way thither, treacherously slew his chamberlain Mushawwiq, and, with the plunder which he had seized, returned to Gurgān, while the Sāmānīd general proceeded on his way to join Nūḥ b. Naṣr the new sovereign. All this happened in the year A.H. 331 (= A. D. 942—943). Washmgir made Isfahān governor of Ṭabaristān and himself went to Ray.

At the end of Ramaḍān, A.H. 331 (beginning of June, A.D. 943) Ḥasan the Buwayhid advanced from Isfahān by way of Qazwīn, and Washmgir came forth from Ray to give him battle. Shīr Mardī and Gūrgīr deserted him and went over to his enemy, and Washmgir, filled with apprehension, was defeated, and fled to Muṣallā near Amul. Ḥasan the Buwayhid seized Abū ʿAlī the scribe, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿUmārī and Abū ʿUmar the wazīr, and bade them disclose Washmgir’s treasures. They indicated to him as the treasurer Abuʾl-Ḥasan Māmṭīrī, who, under torture, gave up all his own wealth, but not a grain of his master’s. On reaching Amul, Washmgir sent Binān b. al-Ḥasan as an ambassador to Ḥasan [b.] Fīrūzán, who, however, imprisoned him in the castle of Jahīnā, and again came to Sārī, where Washmgir then was. A battle ensued, and Muḥammad b. Dabīrī and Ismaʿīl b. Mardūchīn deserted to Ḥasan [b.] Fīrūzān’s side. Thereupon Washmgir again fled to the Ispahbad Shahriyār b. Sharwīn in the highlands, and, taking all his kinsmen and women-folk with him (f. 140b), made his way
to Bukhara, where Nūḥ b. Naṣr the Sámanid came out to meet him and received him with honour. Washmgír's lieutenant Isfáhí came to Amul, whence, learning that Washmgír had fled, he moved to the castle of Kuhrúd. A riot ensued in Amul, wherein many officers and myrmidons of the government were slain, and Jaʿfar b. Alánbán was hanged, and the people of Qum who were there were maltreated, till Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán came to Amul and encamped at Shaʿbú-Dasht, whence he went to Láriján and captured the castle and slew Isfáhí b. Akharyár, and seized all his property, and sent the spoils to his own castle in Daylamán.

Then Nūḥ b. Naṣr the Sámanid sent Qarátakín at the head of 30,000 horsemen with Washmgír to Šábaristán. When he reached Gurgán, Ḥasan b. Fírúzán pretended that he was going to attack him, but suddenly slipped past him from Astarábád to Amul, destroying the roads and bridges, by way of Mámṭír and Tarícha. He was pursued by Washmgír to Sári, whence, by way of Amul, he made good his escape to Daylamán. Washmgír advanced to Jálús, and Qarátakín demanded money of him, so that he was obliged to turn back to Amul and give him a share of his possessions, besides presenting all the men of learning and position to him in the mosque, in order that they also might he laid under contribution. Meanwhile Ḥasan b. Fírúzán remained in his castle, and encamped his men at a place called Dúládář. Washmgír marched thither, while Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán encamped on the sea-shore beyond Darband. Washmgír put his horse into the sea and attacked them, and captured Abuʾl-Qásim b. al-Ḥasan ash-Shaʿrání, whom he at once beheaded. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán then took refuge with Mázyár b. Justán, while Washmgír came to Amul and there abode. [Ḥasan] b. Fírúzán then retired to Rúyán and took refuge with the Ustundář. Washmgír, learning this, suddenly attacked (f. 141a) them and dispersed their troops.
Hasan [b.] Fírúzán next fled to Láriján, whence, by way of Damáwand, he went to Astarábád and took up his abode in the castle of Kachín. Washmgír came from Amul to Gurgán, but no sooner had he arrived there than Hasan the Buwayhid came from Ray by Amul to Astarábád, where he was joined by Hasan [b.] Fírúzán. They then proceeded to Gurgán and fought and defeated Washmgír, who retired to Níshápúr. The Ispabhad Shahriyár came to Hasan the Buwayhid, who was now in possession of Ţabaristán, where he left ʿAlí b. Níkáma, and himself returned to ʿIráq and settled at Ray. The Ustundár brought forth Abuʾl-Faḍl ath-Tháʾír al-ʿAlawi (the grand-nephew of an-Násír al-Kabír) and established him at Jálús. The people collected round him. Hasan the Buwayhid, on hearing this, sent an army under Abuʾl-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, known as Ibn al-ʿAmíd, to Amul to help ʿAlí b. Níkama, but Abuʾl-Faḍl ath-Tháʾír deserted the Buwayhid force at Tamanjádiya, and came to Amul, where he established himself in the Sayyid’s palace, while the Ustundár took up his abode at Kharmazar above Amul. After some time, these two quarrelled, and ath-Tháʾír al-ʿAlawi went to Glán. Hasan the Buwayhid gave an army to Hasan [b.] Fírúzán, and sent him to Ţabaristán. At this juncture Hasan the Buwayhid’s mother died at Ray, and was buried with great pomp at Jálús near Amul, and all Ţabaristán passed under the sway of Hasan [b.] Fírúzán, who discovered Abú Jaʾfar the brother of Mákán at Sári. Washmgír sent to Núḥ the Sámánid to ask his help, and received in response to his appeal several thousand troops, with whom he suddenly attacked Gurgán, and surprised and defeated Hasan [b.] Fírúzán, whose army joined Washmgír (f. 1418), while their late captain fled by night to the castle of Kachín. Washmgír then obtained control of the country.

At this date the Buwayhids had over-run the two ʿIráqs,
al-Ḥijāz and Syria, as is fully set forth by Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl as-Ṣābī in his Kitābū't-Tājī fi ʿathārī ʿd-Dawlati ʿd-Daylamīyya, and had made Baghdad their capital. Ḥasan the Buwayhid, the father of ʿAḍuduʾd-Dawla Fanākhusraw, made his brother Muʿizzuʾd-Dawla governor of Ray, while he himself held sway over Ḥiraq. As soon as he heard of the return of Washmgīr, he set out with a large army of Persians and Arabs to attack Ṭabaristān. Washmgīr fled to Daylamān, but its people refused to shelter him for fear of the Buwayhids. Ruknuʾd-Dawla Ḥasan the Buwayhid advanced as far as Jálūs, and Washmgīr took refuge with Abu ʿl-Faḍl ath-Ṭhāʾir, but for whose protection the Daylamites would have surrendered Washmgīr to his foes. Ruknuʾd-Dawla the Buwayhid retired to Amul and remained there a month, till news of the death of his brother ʿAlī reached him, whereupon he left Ṭabaristān and returned to Ḥiraq. Thereupon Washmgīr and ath-Ṭhāʾir al-ʿAlawī, accompanied by a host of Gilīs and Daylamis, came to Amul and appointed their own governors. Leaving the Sayyid at Amul, Washmgīr himself marched to Gurgān. Shīrāj b. Laylā, Wardānshāh and Abūʾl-Ḥasan the brother of Nāṣir conspired together and slew the chief supporters of ath-Ṭhāʾir, while Muḥammad b. Wahrī, one of his chief intimates, joined them, so that the Sayyid was left alone, and fled by night to Daylamān, while the conspirators plundered and looted Amul (f. 142a).

When Ruknuʾd-Dawla had concluded the mourning for his brother, he collected a large army, marched on Gurgān, attacked Washmgīr, and drove him by way of Nasā and Bāward to Merv, which was then governed for Nūḥ the Sāmānid by Mansūr Qaratākin. Nīshāpūr had been seized by Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾr-Razzāq, who had revolted against Nūḥ. Washmgīr and Qaratākin made a combined attack on him, and he, unable to withstand them, retired
to Gurgán, where he joined Ruknu’d-Dawla’s governor, Hasan [b.] Fírúzán. In Shawwál, A. H. 337 (= April, A. D. 949) Qarátakin and Washmgír entered Gurgán, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbduʾr-Razzáq fled to Ray and took refuge with Ruknu’d-Dawla. Qarátakin returned to Níshápúr and there died. Amír Núḥ thereupon appointed Abú ʿAlí Muslim commander in chief in Khurasán, and sent him against Ruknu’d-Dawla. He reached Ray in A. H. 342 (= A. D. 353—4), besieged Ruknu’d-Dawla in the citadel, and finally made peace with him on the condition that he should pay to the Court of Bukhárá a yearly tribute of 200,000 dínárs. Thereupon Abú ʿAlí Muslim retired, to the great vexation of Washmgír, who wrote to the Amír Núḥ saying that, if he had pressed his advantage, he might have taken Ruknu’d-Dawla captive. Amír Núḥ, incensed at this, dismissed Abú ʿAlí Muslim from his office of commander in chief, and gave it to Abú Saʿīd Bakr b. Malik. Abú ʿAlí Muslim, being informed of his dismissal, revolted against Amír Núḥ, omitted his name from the khūṭba, and seized Níshápúr. And about the same time, as it chanced, in A. H. 343 (= A. D. 954—5) Amír Núḥ died, and was succeeded by his son ʿAbduʾl-Malik. Thus Abú ʿAlí Muslim’s power became greater, and he concluded (f. 142b) an offensive and defensive alliance with Ruknu’d-Dawla. They agreed to invade Ṭabaristán, the former by way of Shahriyár-Kúh, the latter by Hurmazd-Kúh; but soon after they had effected a junction, Abú ʿAlí Muslim died, and his Khurasání soldiers dispersed, whereupon Ruknu’d-Dawla retired to Ray, and Washmgír remained unmolested, though enmity continued to exist between the two, until, when Manṣúr b. Núḥ the Sámaníd came to the throne, he sent a large army under Muḥammad b. Ibráhím Sínjúr to help Washmgír against the Buwayhid. Thereupon Ruknu’d-Dawla, being alarmed, sought for help from Baghdad and Fárs, from his brother

One day about this time Washmgīr wished to go for a ride, but was advised by his astrologer not to do so. He waited till the afternoon prayer, at which time some horses were brought for him to see. Amongst these was a very fine black horse from Bukhārā. He ordered it to be saddled, mounted it, and rode forth a little way, when he remembered with vexation the astrologer's advice. Thereupon he turned back, when suddenly he was attacked by a wild boar, which gored his horse, while he fell to the ground with blood pouring from his nose, eyes and ears, and shortly afterwards expired. This was in Muḥarram, A. H. 357 (= December, A. D. 967).

Washmgīr left two sons (f. 143a), Bahistūn and Qābūs, of whom the former was at this juncture in Tabaristān and the latter with his father. The nobles swore allegiance to Qābūs, to whom [Abu'l-Hasan] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Simjūr also gave his support. Bahistūn, greatly disappointed, thereupon made overtures to Ruknu'd-Dawla, and went to him at Ray, while his brother Qābūs continued to strengthen his hold on Tabaristān and Gurgān, and to conciliate the nobles by gifts of lands and money. Amongst others he was joined by his maternal uncle the Ispahbad Rustam b. Sharwīn b. Shahriyār Bāwand. And on Muḥarram 25, A. H. 366 (= November 28, A. D. 970) Ruknu'd-Dawla died.

'Aḍudu'd-Dawla Abū Shujā'c Fanākhusraw, the son of Ruknu'd-Dawla, was in Fārs with his brother Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla. The mother of both of these was the daughter of Ḥasan [b.] Fīrūzān, the cousin on the father's side of Mākān Kākī. Fakhru'd-Dawla, the third brother, was in Hamadān. Him the other two attacked, and he fled before them to Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs in Tabaristān, who received him
with honour. His two brothers (f. 1436) offered Qábús the revenues of Ray for a year if he would surrender Fakhru’½-Dawla to them, threatening him with war in case of refusal; and on his rejecting their proposals with scorn, ʿAšdu’½-Dawla collected a great army of Kurds, Lurs, Arabs, Daylamites and Turks, and sent them under the command of his brother Mu’ayyidu’½-Dawla to invade Ţabaristán. They met and defeated Qábús at Astarábád, and he fled with Fakhru’½-Dawla, bearing with him his treasures, to Níshápúr, where he placed himself under the protection of Tásh, who was ordered by Amír Núḥ the Sámaníd to help him to recover his kingdom. Tásh thereupon marched on Gurgán, sending Fá’iq by way of Qúmish, and, aided by Qábús, besieged Mu’ayyidu’½-Dawla in Gurgán for two months. In spite of the scarcity of provisions to which the garrison was reduced, Mu’ayyidu’½-Dawla, at the advice of the astrologer Abu’½-Faḍl of Herát, waited till Mars, the planet fortunate to the Turks, had begun to decline. At this juncture news of the death of ʿAšdu’½-Dawla reached him, and he secretly bribed Fá’iq and other captains of the besieging army to flee when battle should be joined, which happened on Wednesday, Ramaḍán 22, A. H. 371 (= March 21, A. D. 982). In consequence of the desertion of these faithless officers, Tásh and Qábús were defeated and compelled to retire to Níshápúr. At this time Fírúzán b. Ḵaṣan [b.] Fírúzán ruled over Daylamán, his brother Naṣr b. Ḵaṣan [b.] Fírúzán over Qúmish, and the Ispahbad Sharwín Báwand over Ţabaristán.

On the death of ʿAšdu’½-Dawla (f. 144a) quarrels arose between his sons, and Fakhru’½-Dawla proceeded to ʿIráq, but shortly afterwards died at Ray. Qábús meanwhile returned to Gurgán, and, by gifts and promises, tried to conciliate the chiefs of that country. Núḥ b. Manṣúr the Sámaníd died, and was succeeded by Amír Raḍí. Abú ʿAlí b.
Hasan Sîmjûr rebelled against him, and Khurasân was plunged in confusion. Amir Radí fled to Ghazna, and appealed for help to Sabuktagîn, who had succeeded Alptagîn as ruler of that place. Sabuktagîn collected an army and marched on Nîshâpûr against Abu ʿAlî Sîmjûr and Fâʾîq, whom he met in battle at a place called Tafsûr. Qâbûs, though at heart sympathizing with the Sâmânids, had been compelled to place his son Dârá as a hostage in the hands of Abû ʿAlî. During the battle Dârá escaped and joined the Sâmânid Amir Radí. Abû ʿAlî was defeated, and Sulṭân Maḥmûd b. Sabuktagîn, to whose efforts the victory was largely due, was appointed by Amir Radí commander in chief of Khurasân, and given the title of Sayfuʾd-Dawla, while his father, Sabuktagîn, received Balkh as his reward, and withdrew to Herât. Amir Radí retired to Bukhârâ, where he shortly afterwards died.

Sulṭân Maḥmûd, now in secure possession of Khurasân, allied himself with Ilak Khân, and the two came to Bukhârâ, seized Amir Radí’s son, Ibrâhîm al-Muntasîr, and put to death some other Sâmânid princes. Muntasîr, however (f. 1448), succeeded in effecting his escape to Nîshâpûr, and, being pursued thither by Maḥmûd, fled to Gurgân, where he was well received and generously treated by Qâbûs, together with Abûʾl-Qâsim b. Sîmjûr and Arslân Bálû, who were with him. Qâbûs further advised them, having regard to the strength of Maḥmûd and Ilak Khân, to abandon for the present all hopes of recovering Khurasân, and rather to turn their attention to Ray, which was ruled by the boy-king Majduʾd-Dawla b. Fakhrûʾd-Dawla. Thither, accordingly, they marched, accompanied by the two sons of Qâbûs, Dârá and Minûchihr, but Abûʾl-Qâsim and Arslân Bálû, bribed by the nobles of Ray, induced them to retire without molesting the city. The sons of Qâbûs left them and returned to their father, while Muntasîr made another attempt to
recover Nishápúr, whence he was driven back by Sulţán Maḥmúd to Gurgán. This time, however, Qábús, seeing that Muntasîr could effect nothing, sent 2000 men to oppose his entrance, and thenceforth (f. 145a) concerned himself no further with the fortunes of the House of Sáman. He sent the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharwín to subdue the district of Shahriyár, which was held by Rustam b. al-Marzubán, the maternal uncle of Majdu’d-Dawla Abú Ṭalîb Rustam b. Fakhru’d-Dawla, whom he defeated, and proclaimed Qábús ruler of that country.

Bátí b. Sa‘îd was dwelling amongst a section of the Jîl-i-Isfandárfi, but, though outwardly their ally, his heart was with Qábús. Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b. Fîrûzán], driven by famine from Daylam, attacked and defeated them, and took prisoner the Ispahbad Abû’l-Faḍl, who shortly afterwards died. Bátí fraternized with Naṣr, and the two agreed to attack Amul, whence they drove out the governor, Abû’l-ʾAbbâs the chamberlain. Having occupied Amul, Bátí wrote a letter to Qábús, informing him of the victory, and tendering his allegiance. Leaving Naṣr, he then proceeded to Astarábad and easily persuaded its inhabitants to accept the rule of Qábús, who sent the Ispahbad Shahriyár to support him (f. 145b) ¹. Fîrûzán b. al-Ḥasan [b. Fîrûzán], hearing of this, marched from Gurgán to attack them, and had almost succeeded in defeating Bátí outside Astarábad when a number of the Kurds and Arabs in his army suddenly raised the battle-cry of Qábús, and deserted to his enemy. In consequence of this Bátí not only put his army to flight, but captured him and a score of his chief officers. The fugitives were opposed and turned aside from Gurgán by the Sálár Khargásh, a

¹ [From the beginning of this page as far as l. 21 of p. 234 is entirely extracted from al-ʾUtbi’s Taʾrikh al-Yamini (Delhi ed. of A. H. 1263, pp. 2.1—1.33 and 1401—1404; Buláq ed. of A. H. 1286, vol. I, pp. 57 to end, and Vol. II, pp. 1—1v and 48—5v) A. G. E.].
kinsman of Qábús; and the latter was soon afterwards crowned at Gurgán in Sha'bán, A. H. 388 (= August, A. D. 998).

The fugitives were received at Ray with reproaches, and the minister Abú 'Alí Ḩamúla¹ at once proceeded to collect an army of Turks, Arabs and Daylamites ten thousand strong, with which he set out for Gurgán, accompanied by Manúchíhr² b. Qábús, Asfár b. Kurdúya, Abúl-'Abbás b. Já'í, 'Abdu'l-Malik Mákán, Músá Ḥájib, Bísitún b. Tíjásaf, Kinár b. Fírúzán, and Rashámúj, all leading men of Day-lam. When they reached the district of Shahriyár, Qábús resolved to oppose them. Abú 'Alí Ḩamúla sent messengers to try to win over to his side Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán, of whose attitude he felt doubtful, urging him, out of regard for the bond of kinship between him and Majdu’d-Dawla (f. 146a), to espouse his cause, and promising to reward him with the district of Qúmissible. Naṣr, deceived by these promises, came to Sári, and, taking the right hand one of the two roads to Gurgán, advanced to within a short distance of Qúmissible. Here he made known to his soldiers the real reason why he had espoused the cause of Majdu’d-Dawla. Thereupon they differed in opinion, some being for Gurgán and others for Ustundár, while Naṣr, with the rem-

¹ For this correction of the reading "Ḥamawayh" (حَمَوْيَهُ) of the MS. I am indebted to Mr. Ellis, who has looked it up in the Yamini (Delhi ed., p. 99; Add. 7310 of the Museum, dated A. H. 696, f. 112a, and Or. 1513, dated A. H. 767, f. 108a. "In all these texts," he adds, "the full name of this personage appears as ابوبعلي لخسني بن أحمد بن كولمة. The same is the case in the Bodleian MS. of the Muṣjam’ul-Udabá of Yáqút. (Bodl. Or. 753, f. 17a), as I am informed by Mr. Amedroz. The Delhi ed. of the Yamini vocalizes the name as حَمِوْيَهُ, whilst the Buláq ed. (Vol. II, p. 2) and Add. 7310, f. 112a, agree with Ibn Isfandiyár in reading ابن جَمِوْيَهُ.

² Ibn Isfandiyár has "Maṣár b. Qábús", but, as Mr. Ellis informs me, "Minúchíhr" is the reading of all texts of the Yamini (Delhi ed. p. 99; Buláq ed., Vol. II, p. 9; Add. 7310, f. 112a; Or. 1513, f. 108a.)
nant which clave to him, advanced to Qúmish, and requested Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla to put him in possession of the citadel. They assigned to him the castle of Júmand, where he placed his family and his baggage and stores.

Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla, leaving Naṣr b. Fírúzán at Qúmish, returned by Sáří to Gurgán, where he encamped outside the city by the Mausoleum of the Dáʾí. For two months fighting continued between him and the allies of Qábús, till famine prevailed in Gurgán, and food became hardly obtainable. Rain, floods and storms presently combined with dearth to render the position of the besiegers more and more difficult. Thereupon the soldiers of Qábús made a sortie, and a fierce fight ensued in which some 1300 men were slain. The Daylamites were defeated, and many of their chiefs, including Sipahsálár b. Kúrángjí, Zarhawájastán b. Ashkalí, Ḥaydar b. Sálar, and Muḥammad b. Wahsúdán were taken captive, while Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla retreated to Qúmish, where he urgently summoned Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan [b.] Fírúzán to assist him. Fearing the advance of Qábús, however, he dared not remain in Qúmish, but retreated to Ray, while Naṣr marched to Samnán. Here he halted and demanded re-inforcements from Majduʾd-Dawla, who sent (f. 147a) the son of his chamberlain Baktakín with six hundred Turkish horsemen. Qábús, on the other hand, despatched Báṭí b. Saʿíd, and subsequently the Ispahbad Shahriyár, against the Daylamites. Báṭí, however, suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Naṣr, and his army was annihilated.

Majduʾd-Dawla, greatly encouraged by this victory, sent his maternal uncle, Rustam b. al-Marzubán, with 3000 men to re-inforce Abú ʿAlí Ḥamúla, appointing him Ispahbad of Shahriyár. Naṣr came out to meet Rustam as far as Damáwand, and helped him to take effective possession of the district assigned to him. The Ispahbad Shahriyár fell back on Sáří to seek aid from Prince Minúchíhr, the son of
Qābūs, and watched his opportunity, until, Rustam having been separated from Naṣr, he attacked him and drove him out of the country back to Ray, and established himself in his place.

After this Majdu'd-Dawla made peace with Qābūs, and the two agreed to make an end of Naṣr b. Ḥasan [b.] Fīrūzān, who, notwithstanding his ancient and noble lineage, was generally hated for his exactions and oppressions (f. 147b). Naṣr discovered their intention, and, hearing that Sultan Maḥmūd's governor of Quhistān, Arslān Hindū-bacha, had attacked and driven back Abu'l-Qāsim [b.] Simjūr, he went to the latter, and, eager to avenge himself on Majdu'd-Dawla, persuaded him to attack Ray. He was, however, easily repulsed; and, while retiring in disappointment, was attacked and routed by the troops of Qābūs, whereupon he and his confederate Abu'l-Qāsim offered their services to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Abu'l-Qāsim, for reasons set forth in al-Ütbi's Ta'rikh-i-Yamini, was soon compelled (f. 148a) to flee from the Sultan's court, but Naṣr remained in the Sultan's service, and was finally given in fief Biyār and Jūmand. These, however, did not satisfy him, and he suffered himself to be beguiled by specious promises to Ray, where he was put in chains and sent as a prisoner to the castle of Ustūnāwand, while Qābūs subdued all the surrounding strongholds, and bestowed them on his chief officers and nobles.

About this time the Ispahbad Shahriyār, having collected a large army, began to shew signs of restiveness, and Rustam b. Marzubān was sent against him from Ray, followed by Bīsītūn b. Tijāsīf, who defeated and took him prisoner. Rustam, being a partisan of Qābūs and ill-disposed towards the ruler of Ray, proclaimed Qābūs king, with the acquiescence and approval of Bīsītūn. Qābūs conferred Gīlān on his son Minūchīhr, and shortly afterwards reduced the dis-
tricts of Ustundáriyya, Rúyán and Jálús, so that his dominions now included, besides these regions, Gurgán, Ṭabaristán and Daylam to the shores of the Caspian Sea (f. 148b). He also entered into friendly relations with Sulṭán Māḥmūd.

For all his noble qualities, his learning, piety, munificence, magnanimity, wisdom, prudence and intelligence, Qábús was, however, arrogant, harsh, and sometimes cruel. No one was secure against his occasional acts of violence, and many men of condition suffered death at his hands, so that a growing discontent became apparent. Now he had a chamberlain called Naʿím, a simple and guiltless man, whom he had made governor of Astarábád; and him, on the mere suspicion of his inclining to the Muʿtazilite heresy, he condemned to death. Naʿím craved a respite, that he might establish his innocence (p. 149a), but his request was refused, and he was put to death by Qábús. This so exasperated the nobles and officers that they determined to depose Qábús, who had gone for change of air to Janáshk, and knew nothing of their disaffection until one night they surrounded and attacked his camp and plundered his baggage, but were driven off by his retainers. They then went to Gurgán, seized the city, and brought thither Prince Minúchihr, the son of Qábús, from Ṭabaristán, threatening him that, unless he would consent to depose his father and accept the crown at their hands, they would find another ruler and cast off their allegiance to his house. Minúchihr, being unable to oppose them, deemed it best to agree to their demands.

Meanwhile Qábús, with his retainers and baggage, came to Bistám, there to await the upshot of the affair (f. 149b), and his son Minúchihr was compelled by the rebels to march against him. Qábús summoned Minúchihr into his presence, which he entered with every mark of respect and with tears in his eyes. After bewailing the untoward events
which had forced him in appearance to oppose his father, Minúchihir offered, if Qábús wished it, openly to espouse his cause; but the latter, recognizing the hopelessness of his own position, gave Minúchihir his blessing and handed over to him his signet-ring and the keys of his treasuries, and retired to Janáshk, there to end his days in prayer and pious exercises. The rebels, however, could feel no security as long as Qábús was alive, and soon found on opportunity to put him to death secretly (f. 150a). He was buried beneath a dome outside Gurgán on the road to Khurásán.

After mourning for three days, according to the fashion of the Daylamites, Minúchihir ascended the throne and assumed the reins of government, while Qábús was soon forgotten:

Letters of condolence from the Caliph al-Qádir Bîlláh, conferring on him the title of Falaku'l-Ma'áli, soon reached Minúchihir, who made it his first business to conciliate, with presents and professions of loyalty, the powerful Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna, who recognized his sovereignty in Gurgán, Ṭabaristán and Qúmish, and sent Abú Muḥammad b. Mihrán as an ambassador to confer on him a robe of honour and other marks of his favour; while he on his part agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 50,000 dinárs, and, on the occasion of the campaign against Nárdín, supplied a contingent of a thousand picked soldiers of Daylam (f. 150b).

Later Minúchihir sent Abú Sa'd Sawák, the greatest noble of Gurgán, to Sultán Maḥmúd to pray that he would bestow on him, for the confirming of the alliance, the hand of one of his daughters. To this request a favourable answer was brought back by the ambassador, who was then

1 See Dawlatsháh, pp. 48–49 of my edition.
sent to Ghazna a second time accompanied by the Qâdı of Gurgán to draw up the marriage-contract and bring back the bride (f. 151a).

Having thus secured his position, Minúchihr prepared to take vengeance on his father's murderers, which he had hitherto feared to do, and did not rest until he had put most of them to death, save the son of Khargásh, who fled into exile, and none knows what fate overtook him. Abu’l-Qásim Ja’dí, who had been in command of the army of Qábús, long evaded capture, and finally (f. 151b) took refuge with the Sulṭán at Níshápúr, who, however, handed him over to Minúchihr, from whom he met with his deserts.

To return now to Minúchihr’s brother Dárá, who, as we saw (p. 227 supra), escaped from the custody of Abú ‘Alí b. Símjúr and joined the Sámánid Amír Radí. When his father Qábús had established his rule, Dárá continued for a time in his service, but presently, his fears and suspicious being aroused, he again fled secretly into Khurásán, where he was at first well received (f. 152a) by the Sulṭán, but presently, falling under suspicion, he escaped to Sháh Shár of Ghars, between whom and himself an ancient friendship existed, but who dared not persist in refusing his surrender to the Sulṭán. He was imprisoned by the Sulṭán for some time — more rigorously after he had once succeeded in escaping —, but was finally received back into favour, and sent with Arslán Jádhib¹ to assume the government of Ta-baristán and Gurgán, whence, however, owing to the wisdom of his brother Minúchihr in conciliating Sulṭán Maḥmúd, he was speedily recalled, and attached to the Sulṭán’s personal service. At this juncture (f. 152b) Amír Abu’l-Fawáris,

¹ The India Office MS. (A) has “Hárib”, but the British Museum MS. Add. 7633 (B.), f. 182b, “Jádhib”, which is, as Mr. Ellis points out, certainly correct, as it is confirmed by all texts of the Yamini (Delhi ed., p. 104; Buláq ed., Vol. II, p. 114; Add. 7310, f. 177a; Or. 1513, f. 170a.

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son of 'Adudu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid, came from Kirmán to the Sultan to complain of the wrongs which he had suffered at his brother's hands, and a dispute occurred between him and Dará as to the nobility and antiquity of their respective families in the course of which the latter made use of expressions so insulting and improper that he was again disgraced and imprisoned till Muḥarram, A.H. 409 (= May-June, A.D. 1018), when, at the intercession of the Prime Minister, he was released, and his estates were restored to his stewards.

In A.H. 424 (= A.D. 1033) Minúchihr died, and was succeeded by his son [Abú] Kálanjár, who was the contemporary of Sultan Ma'súd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna. In A.H. 425 (= A.D. 1033—4) the latter, in spite of the urgent dissuasion of his ministers and nobles, decided to visit the former in Gurgán and Ţabaristán. Abú Kálanjár answered (f. 153a), “I am thy servant: the king does but visit his own house;” but he retired to one of his castles, and even ventured a remonstrance at the exactions and irregularities committed by Mašúd’s troops. Finally, as summer advanced and the weather grew warm, Mašúd retired to Gurgán, where, on the very day of his arrival, he learned that two thousand Seljúq Turkmáns had reached Merv, and had been joined by two of the sons of Seljúq, Yaghmur and Búqá. This was the first revolt of the Seljúqs, and their power continued to increase until Jaghrí Beg Dášúd seized Khwárazm, and thence marched to Ţabaristán and Ray, occupying and annexing most of the realms of the House of Washmgír (or Ziyárids) except the mountains. And in A.H. 441 (= A.D. 1049—1050) Abú Kálanjár died ².


2 Ibnu'l-Athfir places his death in A.H. 440.
He was succeeded by his cousin Kay-Kā'ūs b. Iskandar b. Qābūs, chiefly celebrated as the author of the Qābūsnāma ¹, who was contemporary with Rustam b. Shahriyar, and ruled in the mountain districts until A.H. 462 (= A.D. 1069—1070), when he died, and was succeeded by his son [Giláns há], to whom there remained but a shadow of power. For Tughril the Seljūq had traversed Tabaristán and Gilán, levying taxes and appointing governors (f. 153b), and thence had passed on to Ray [and Baghdad], restored the authority of the Caliph al-Qā'īm bi-amrīlláh and put down the agents of the Fāṭimid Anti-Caliph al-Mustansīr, and in return for all his services received the title of Sultán. Giláns há died, and was succeeded by his cousin Anúshirwán b. Minúchíhr b. Qābūs, in A.H. 471 (= A.D. 1078—9) ².

[Here follows some account of Alp Arslán’s conquests, and in particular of a wonderful march which he made with 100,000 men from Balásághún to the Euphrates to relieve the Caliph al-Qā'īm, who was hard pressed by the Byzantines. This march he is said to have accomplished in sixteen days. The author now turns back to trace the history of the Ispahbads of the House of Bálw from the earliest times down to the period which he has now reached.]

(F. 154a). To the Ispahbads of this ancient and noble house was given the title “King of the Mountains” (Maliku'll-Šibál). Their ancestor Bálw was a vassal of Khusraw Parwíz, whom he aided in his wars with the “Romans” and

¹ An excellent edition of this interesting book of counsels was lithographed at Tihrán in A.H. 1285.
² The chronology here seems very confused, this same date being given for the death of Tughril, who really died in A.H. 455 (A.D. 1063). A little further on, however, the date of Alp Arslán’s death is correctly given as A.H. 465 (A.D. 1072), but on f. 158a the same erroneous date is repeated.
with his rebellious subject Bahram Chubina, and for whom he successively governed Ištakhr, Adharbayján, ʿIrāq and Ṭabaristán. Over the latter province he maintained his sway for 15 years after the Arabs had overrun the rest of Persia, but was at last treacherously slain by Walāsh, who struck him from behind with a brick, and usurped his authority, driving his son Suhráb into exile. The latter, however, aided by the men of Kūlá, Khúrzád, Khusraw-isfáhi and Qárin-kúh, attacked Walāsh at Panjáh-hazár and slew him, and was crowned at Farím. From that time until the death of Fakhruʿd-Dawla, though they were partially subdued at different times by the ʿAlawi Sayyids, the House of Gáwbára, the Qárinwands, the Buwayhids and the Ziyárids, no king or ruler was able to destroy or extirpate them, or (f. 154b) to take undivided possession of their domains.

Suhráb was succeeded by his son Mihr-mardán, and he, after a brief reign, by his grandson Sharwín b. Surkháb, who was the contemporary of Wandád-Hurmazd, and first took the title of “King of the Mountains”. He and Wandád-Hurmazd united to drive the Arabs out of Ṭabaristán. The sons of these two, Shahriyá r b. Sharwín and Qárin b. Wandád-Hurmazd were contemporaries of Hárúnuʿr-Rashíd, to whom the former had been given as a hostage by his father.

Shahriyá r was followed successively by his two sons Jaʿfar and Qárin. The latter, in the Caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim, in the year A. H. 227 (= A. D. 841—2) abandoned the Zoroastrian religion and embraced Islám. He was the contemporary of the Dáʿiʾl-Kabír, who sent the Ustundár Paḍhúsbán to rage his lands until he submitted to the Sayyid, and committed to him his sons Mázyár and Surkhá b in the year A. H. 252 (= A. D. 866). The latter died young, and was succeeded by his son Rustam. When the
Dâ'i, who was still reigning, punished the Daylamites for their disobedience by cutting off the hands and feet of about a thousand of them, the remainder of them fled to this Rustam, who led them to Qúmish, captured it, and banished the Dâ'i’s viceroy, Sayyid Qásim, to Sháh Dizh in Hazár Jaríb.

Rustam, being on bad terms with the Sayyid Muḥammad b. Zayd (f. 155^a) joined Ráfi‘ b. Harthama, the governor of Khurásán, and with him ravaged Mázandarán, Daylam and Rúyán. After a while Ráfi‘ returned to Khurásán, and, being routed by ḍAmr b. Layth, fled to Gurgán and made peace with the Sayyid, but sent a message to Rustam informing him that this truce was only a stratagem, and inviting him to meet him at Astarábád. On his arrival, however, Rustam was treacherously seized by Ráfi‘ as he sat at meat, and was cast into prison, where he died in Ramaḍán, A. H. 282 (= October—November, A. D. 895).

He was succeeded by his son Sharwín, who made peace with Sayyid Náṣir-i-Kabír, and was contemporary with Mákán b. Kákí. Sharwín was in turn succeeded by his son Shahriyár, who was contemporary with Ruknu‘d-Dawla the Buwayhid and Washmgír b. Ziyár. His son, who predeceased him, bore the name of his grandfather, Sharwín. Shahriyár survived till the time of Qábús b. Washmgír and Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna.

[Here the author cites from the Chahár Maqála the account of Firdawsí, and how he took refuge from Sulṭán Maḥmúd with this prince, given in that work by Nidhámí-i-Aruḍí-i-Samarqandi; which account has been published with a German translation by Dr. Ethé at pp. 89—94 of the Z. D. M. G. for 1894, Vol. XLVIII, and criticised by Nöldeke in his Iranische Nationalepos, pp. 21—30 of the tirage-à-part. A full English translation of this passage, which extends from f. 155^a, l. 17 to f. 157^b, l. 12, will be found
at pp. 77—84 of my translation of the Chahár Maqdála, so that it may be passed over in this place.\]

(F. 157b). The Ispahbad Shahriyár was succeeded by Dárá, who reigned but a short time, and was followed by his son Shahriyár, who accompanied Qábús b. Washmghír in his 18 years' exile, conquered Shahriyár-kúh and expelled its governor Rustam b. Marzbán, and, assisted by Bátí b. Sa'íd, in A. H. 387 (≈ A. D. 997) defeated Fírúzán b. al-Ḥasan, and afterwards Naṣr b. Ḥasan. ¹ But towards the end of the reign of Qábús (f. 158a) Shahriyár rebelled against him, and, being defeated by Rustam b. Marzbán, was imprisoned till his death. After this none of the House of Báwand dared shew themselves or claim any power, until, when the Seljúqs conquered Khurásán, and the power of the House of Washmghír was destroyed, the Ispahbad Ḥusámu'd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin restored in some degree the power and fortunes of his house.

[The author now returns to the history of the Seljúqs at the point where he left it to recount the history of the Báwands, namely the death of Ṭughríl and the accession of Alp Arslán. Most of what follows belongs to the general history of Persia from this to the Author's own time (first half of the thirteenth century of our era), while another hand has carried on the chronicle to A. H. 750 = A. D. 1349—1350.]²

(F. 158b). During the reign of Alp Arslán, Šábaristán suffered much from the constant passage of his troops, but the Ispahbad Qárin b. Surkháb of the House of Báwand succeeded in re-establishing his power to some extent in the mountains, while the power of the House of Washmghír continually grew less. Qárin died in A. H. 486 (≈ A. D.

¹ See above, pp. 228—231.
²"This continuation," observes Mr. Ellis, "is absent from Add. 7633, f. 188a."
1093), and was succeeded by Ḥusámu’d-Dawla. About this
time began the power of the Assassins. The ‘New Propa-
ganda’, begun by Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh in Ray, was soon extended
to Dámghán, Shahríyár-kúh, Damáwand and Qazwín, till
finally the mountain fastness of Alamút, “the Eagle’s Nest”,
was surrendered to them by its warden, Ḍalawi Mahdí, on
Wednesday, Rajab 6, A. H. 483 (= September 4, A. D.
1090), a date which, by a most curious coincidence, is
represented by the sum of the numerical values of the letters
composing its name. Ḍalawi Mahdí received from Ḥasan-i-
Šabbáh an order for 3000 dinár on the governor of Gird-i-
Kúh and Dámghán, Ra’ís Mudhaffár, who, though ostensi-
bly subordinate to Amír Dád Ḥabash b. Altúntásh, had
secretly accepted the doctrine of, and sworn allegiance to,
Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh. It was a great surprise to Mahdí when, on
his presenting this order, it was at once honoured. The
growing power (f. 159b) of Ḥasan-i-Šabbáh aroused the
alarm of the Nidhamú’l-Mulk, who, however, was assassi-
nated on the eve of Friday, Ramaḏán 12, A. H. 485 (=
October 16, A. D. 1092) at Sihná near Naháwánd by one
of Hasan-i-Šabbáh’s fidd’ís named Ṭáhir-i-Aráání, who had
disguised himself as a Ṣúfí.
Very shortly after this, Maliksháh (f. 160a) died, and the
civil war which broke out between his sons Muḥammad and
Barkiyáruq permitted the Assassins to strengthen their po-
sition unmolested. On the death of Barkiyáruq, Muḥammad
sent his brother Sanjar to attack them in Khurásán. He
began by capturing a stronghold named Qal’á-i-Atash-Kúh

1 This coincidence is remarked in the Ta’rikh-i-Guzida and many other
histories. The name of the castle must, however, to yield the correct sum,
be written in its full form ًل ًة، Ṭāḥ-āmút. I believe that Ibnu’l-
Athír’s explanation of the name as meaning “the Eagle’s Teaching” is cor-
rect, for ṭāḥ occurs in Pahlawi meaning an eagle, and āmút certainly stands
for āmúkht (“taught”).
("the Castle of the Mountain of Fire")\(^1\) which they had seized at the very gates of Isfahán, and putting several thousand of them to death there. He also ordered the Ispahbad Ḫusámuʾd-Dawla Shahriyár b. Qárin to co-operate with him in extirpating the Assassins; under pain of dismissal, but he, displeased at the peremptory and minatory tone of the message, refused to do so. Thereupon\(^2\) the Seljúq monarch sent 5000 horsemen under the command of Amír Sunqur of Bukhárá to Mázandarán, ordering his governors in Láriján, Rúyán and Amul to join him and assist him. At Amul, accordingly, he was met by a number of local magnates (f. 160b), who proposed to accompany him by the sea-shore to Sáří. The Ispahbad Ḫusámuʾd-Dawla, being informed of this, collected to himself Amír Mahdí of Lafúr, one of the Qárinwands, and all the amírs and notables of Shahriyár Kúh, at a place called Aram, and together they marched on Sáří, of which they proceeded to repair the fortifications. Sunqur encamped at a place called Atrábin. The Ispahbad promised his black Persian kulákh, round which he had wound a turban, to whichever of his sons would attack and rout the enemy. Najmuʾd-Dawla Qárin at once alighted from his horse, took a Gílí shield, opened the gate and went out, followed by his son, Fakhruʾl-Mulk Rustam. Ḫusámuʾd-Dawla had with him four hundred Gílís, all with shields and white plumes (parčam), and these he drew up in ranks before Sunqur’s army. Then Farámagrz b. Shírzád came forth with his horsemen.

Now Husámuʾd-Dawla had induced an Amír named Bekcherí to desert Sunqur as soon as battle was joined; this he did, and was received with honour and sent to the Is-

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\(^{1}\) See \textit{J. R. A. S.} for 1902, pp. 606–609. The castle in question is generally named Dizkūh or Sháh-Dizh. It fell on Shaʾbán 6, A. H. 500 (= April 2, A. D. 1107).

\(^{2}\) ["In A. H. 500 (= A. D. 1106–7)"] so Add. 7633, f. 191a. A. G. E.
pahbad's palace. Najmu'd-Dawla Qārin then attacked Sunqur; the noise of battle scared all the water-fowl in the surrounding marshes (f. 161a) and they rose into the air with tumultuous cries, so that Sunqur thought that he was being attacked by another force in the rear. His army gave way, and fled, pursued by Najmu'd-Dawla, who killed and took captive many of them, especially the foot-soldiers of Amul. The people of Sārī blackened the faces of the captive Amulis, branded on their foreheads the names of Muḥam-mad and ʿAlī, and paraded them through the town, after which they were released. Then the Ispahbad divided the abundant spoils which had fallen to their lot, and dismissed the marzubāns and other local chiefs who had helped him with presents and robes of honour.

Sunqur meanwhile fell back on Gurgān, and thence returned to Isfahān, where he told the Sulṭān that by force they could effect nothing in that wild country, but only by political stratagems. So the Sulṭān sent another embassy to the Ispahbad, telling him that Sunqur had exceeded his orders in making this attack, and asking him to send one of his sons to the court at Isfahān. To this proposal the Ispahbad finally consented, on receiving the Sulṭān's solemn promise, confirmed by an oath, that the son thus sent should be treated with all honour; and, summoning his sons before him, communicated to them the Sulṭān's proposal, and asked which of them would go. Najmu'd-Dawla Qārin, having taken part in the attack on Sunqur, dared not venture, but his brother ʿAlāʾu'd-Dawla ʿAlī b. (f. 161b) Shahriyār volunteered to go, and was accordingly sent off to Isfahān with a pious Sayyid named Muntahi as his tutor, and an escort of a thousand horse and two thousand foot. His father accompanied him from Sārī as far as Farrīm, and sent him on his journey by way of Asrān and Samnān.
At this time the castle of Ustúnáwand was in the hands of the Assassins, and also the castle of Manṣūr-kūh. Some of the garrison of the latter had come to Dāmghán, and the Amīr Qachghuz attacked them and slew many. Then he joined ʿAlāʾu’d-Dawla ʿAlí, and, being under obligations to his father Ḥusámu’d-Dawla the Ispahbad, took charge of him and brought him to Isfahán, where he was most graciously received by the Sultān, who was still more favourably impressed when he saw the young Prince’s prowess in polo, hunting, and throwing the mace, which he could throw as far as the Sultān could shoot an arrow. The Sultān then offered him the hand of his sister in marriage, but he, fearing the jealousy of Najmu’d-Dawla, suggested that this honour should rather be accorded to his elder brother. The Sultān approved this suggestion; the marriage contract was drawn up, and ʿAlāʾu’d-Dawla was sent back to Ṭabaristān with presents and robes of honour to convey the news. At Amul he was magnificently received by all the notables, and there he tarried ten days, when he was joined by the chief men of Shahriyār-kūh, who accompanied him to Sārī. His father, after congratulating him on his success, sent him to his brother Najmu’d-Dawla Qārīn, who, however, refused to receive him, and, being rebuked by their father the Ispahbad, sought permission to go to Baghdad, which he was suffered to do.

On reaching Baghdad, Najmu’d-Dawla, who was a brave and skilful horseman, perfect in all knightly accomplishments, was met by the Sultān, who soon afterwards took him with himself to Isfahán, where he married him to his sister. Then he set out to return to Ṭabaristān, on hearing which his younger brother ʿAlāʾu’d-Dawla craved permission from their father the Ispahbad to retire into seclusion, for he feared his brother (f. 162b). Ḥusámu’d-Dawla met his son Najmu’d-Dawla at Farīm towards Sam-
nán, and gave him the castle of Kúzá. This vexed ʿAláʾuʾd-Dawla, since it had been given to him, and, though his father sent Amír Mahdí of Láfir to Zárim, where he was, to pacify him, he retired in anger to Gulpáyagán, and took up his abode in a village called Mírwand-ábád, which was his mother’s property. Najmuʾd-Dawla came to Sári, and, charging his father with being privy to his brother’s withdrawal, threatened him, ill-used his servants, and desired to claim for himself the symbols of authority; and his father, being then 75 years of age, finally gave way to his violent and unfilial conduct, abdicated, and retired to Ámul. Thither Najmuʾd-Dawla, fearful of what men might say of him, followed him, offered profuse apologies, and brought him back to Sári; but, as his conduct did not greatly amend, Ḫúsámuʾd-Dawla again withdrew to Húsam into religious seclusion. “I have heard from my father,” says the author, “that when he reached Ámul, he passed by the gate of a Mosque where was a school for children, and said (f. 163a), ‘O my children, when you grow up, say, ‘Shahriyár, abandoning his throne, fled to Daylamán from the hands of his own son Qárín.’” All the people of Gil and Daylam rallied round him at Húsam, but he, wearied of sovereignty, occupied himself in building, farming and religious exercises. After a while he fell ill, and his son Najmuʾd-Dawla, again repenting of his harshness, sent several notables to Ámul to bring his father thither. There he met him, fell at his feet and apologized for his conduct, and brought him with him to Sári, leaving the care of the estates of Húsam to an old servant called Amír Ḥasan.

The Sultán, Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, had a young son named Malik Aḥmad, whom he entrusted to the care of an Amír named Sunqur-i-Kúchak, and sent to Ray, making him governor of that town, together with Awa, Sáwa, Arrán, Khwár, Samnán, Rúyán, Láriján, Ṭabaristán and Gurgán.
But every agent sent by Sunqur-i-Kúchak to Amul was expelled by Najmu’d-Dawla Qárin. This continued for some time, till at last Sunqur sent to ʾAláʾu’d-Dawla ʾAlí, Najmu’d-Dawla’s brother, offering to appoint him governor of Amul and Ṭabaristán, if he would come to Malik Aḥmad. So ʾAláʾu’d-Dawla (f. 1636) came to Ray, where he was well received, and sent with Sunqur’s brother Jáwáli an army to Amul. There the notables came out to meet him, with Amír Ḥassán Baháʾu’d-Dawla the governor of the town, and installed him in the palace called Kúshk-i-Jáwáli, which in the author’s time was razed to the ground by Sháh Ardasír. Ḥusámu’d-Dawla, on hearing this, came with the army of Shahríyár-kúh to Lák-Abándán, and made an agreement with Jáwáli, whom he sent with Sháh Gházi Rustam to Aram, where he was entertained for a week, and then sent back to ʿIráq.

About this time a quarrel arose between the Ispahbad and the Assassins, because they had killed a certain Abú Jaʾfar Báwandí. One day the Ispahbad Sháh Gházi Rustam was passing through the quarter of the Mosque of Zanakú when an Assassin sprang out on him and tried to stab him, but failed and was slain by the clubs of the companions of his intended victim. To his father Sháh Gházi made light of this event, but a little later, while on his way from Sári to Amul, two Assassins attacked him while he was out hunting in the plain of Walíkán, at a moment when he had alighted to drink water, and inflicted a deep gash in his side. One of these Assassins was killed by Ḥusayn Shírzíl; the other drew his knife (f. 1647a), rushed amongst the Ispahbad’s servants, and wounded several of them ere he was himself slain. Sháh Gházi recovered from his wound, which, though deep, had not involved the intestines. His father the Ispahbad came to Amul on hearing the news, and wept bitterly over his son’s misfortune.
About this time Sulṭán Sanjar commanded the Ispahbad to wait on him, but he apologized on the ground of his age, and offered to send his sons. Sanjar was angry at this, and sent his nephew Sulṭán Masʻūd with an army to Astarábád to take Shahriyár-Kúh from the Ispahbad, who, however, defeated him near Tammísha and slew many of his men. He was joined by Kiyá Buzurg ad-Dá'í ila'í-Haqq [b. al-] Hádí with 5000 Daylamites, and soon afterwards by his son Sháh-i-Ghází, who had recovered from his wound (f. 164b); and with their aid inflicted a second still more severe defeat on Masʻūd, who, having lost half his army, together with the Amír Jáwálí, fled to Gurgán. This happened in A. H. 521 (= A. D. 1127).

Sanjar, infuriated at this reverse, invited one of his amírs to volunteer to avenge it. Bazghash offered his services, which were accepted, and came to Dámghán, whence he sent harsh messages to the Ispahbad, who was at the castle of Kúzá, and who received his threats with derision. It was then Ramadán, but, as soon as the fast and ensuing festival were over, he moved to Tammísha, while Bazghash came to Astarábád and besieged the castle of Rúhín. The Ispahbad left his son Tájúl-Mulúk Mardáwíj in Tammísha, and came to Sárá. Mardáwíj remained for eight months (f. 165a) in Tammísha, so that Bazghash could not move, while Qárín b. Garshásf continued to defend the castle of Rúhín successfully. Then news arrived that Qarája the cup-bearer had gone to Baghdad with the army of ʻIráq and was acting as Atábek, or guardian, to Seljúqsháh, and that Masʻūd also had gone to them from Gurgán; and Bazghash, being recalled by the Sulṭán, was compelled to retire.

The Ustundár Kay-Káʻús and Fakhru’d-Dawla Garshásf agreed together to rebel against the Ispahbad. When each had returned to his own country, the latter first revolted at Gulpáyagán, and ravaged the district of Astarábád. The
Ispahbad retaliated by attacking Gulpáyagán, plundering and burning the neighbourhood, and killing several of Fakhru’d-Dawla’s men. Meanwhile the Ustundár Kay-Ká’ús took advantage of the Ispahbad’s absence to attack Amul, burn the Ispahbad’s palace of Baqrá-Kaláta, and expel his retainers from the town. Fakhru’d-Dawla meanwhile, being driven out of Gulpáyagán, retired to the castle of Jahína. The Ispahbad despatched his son ʿAláʾu’d-Dawla Ḥasan to attack Kay-Ká’ús, who, however, set an ambush for him and defeated him, so that he fled, and, by the help of one Dárgfl, crossed over by boat into Gilán and betook himself to the house of Sulţán-Sháh-i-Gíl. After a while he desired to return to his father the Ispahbad, who, however, being vexed at his defeat, refused to receive him, and ordered that he should retire to Karkam, and that certain of his officers, Amír ʿAlí Sábiqú’d-Dawla, Mudhaffar-i-ʿAlawi (f. 1656), Majdu’d-Dín Dárá and Abú Háshím-i-ʿAlawi, should for a period of one year not ride on horseback, and should each retire to a different place, which in each case he specified. But Amír ʿAlí Sábiqú’d-Dawla propitiated the Ispahbad with a gift of a thousand sheep, though he was still kept out of his fief-holds for a year. Shortly afterwards the Ispahbad succeeded in surprising and putting to flight the Ustundár Kay-Ká’ús, and plundering his palace.

One of the Ispahbad’s vassals named Minúchíhír had embellished his estate of Kuhrúd with all sorts of rare merchandise from India, Asia Minor, Egypt and Syria. He had several daughters and eighteen sons, of whom the eldest, Abú Ḥarb, was violent, undutiful, shameless, and without fear of God. One day he fled from his father, who sent soldiers in pursuit of him. He had reached the dyke called Dar-band-i-Shínúh when they came up with him, and he, to escape, leaped his horse into the river Hurmuz, which there runs like a mill-race. The soldiers, supposing him to have
perished, returned, but he reached the shore and made his way to Amul, where he was furnished with clothes (f. 166a), and sent to the court of the Ispahbad, who treated him with kindness and sent him back to his father.

His father, meanwhile, had disinherited him in favour of a younger brother, which so infuriated him that one night in Ramaḍán he invited his brothers to a banquet, and caused each one to be murdered as he was leaving the house. Then he came to his father, and, taking him unawares, smote him on the head with a mace and slew him (f. 166b), while his followers cut down one or two servants who offered resistance. He then announced to the people that he had done this deed by order of the king of Mázandarán, and sent a message to the Ispahbad, saying what he had done, and promising to appear before him if summoned. So the Ispahbad, who was just setting out for Amul from Kajúr, bade him come, and Abú Ḥarb joined him with 300 soldiers, horse and foot. The combined armies marched by way of Daylamán, Kalár, and Gúrshírad to Kajú, which they set on fire. Near this place they were met by the Ustundár Kay-Kā'ús, and a fierce fight ensued, in which 900 of the Ustundár's men were killed and 400 taken prisoners, though he himself escaped with a few retainers. The Ispahbad (f. 167a) than returned to Amul, where he bound the 400 unfortunate captives to the staircase of the Palace which Kay-Kā'ús had burned, wrapped it in reeds and matting, and burned them all. The Ispahbad then set out for Daylamán, but when he reached Banafsha-gún, Kay-Kā'ús came before him with a sword and a winding-sheet to make his submission. He was ordered to collect his army and join the Ispahbad at Amul to help him in dislodging Garshásf from his castle of Juhína. There he received, at the Ispahbad's command, 1000 gold dinárs of Amul from the marzubán of that city, whose exactions had,
as he declared, driven him into rebellion, and a remission of certain sums of money for which he was responsible.

(F. 1676). The Ispahbad Sháh Ghází Rustam was now sixty years old. On the first of Farwardín, the Persian Nawrúz, he reviewed his army at Sári, in the maydán of Atrábin, Sábiq of Qazwín being on one side of him, and on the other Abú Ḥarb of Láriján. He bade them bring him a polo-stick and ball, and struck the ball, saying, “O sixtieth year, I know not whether thou art come for sickness or death!” Then he threw down the polo-stick and dismissed his army; and on that very day he fell sick. He retired to the village of Zínwán, distant one parasang from Sári, and there died on the 17th of Farwardín, A. H. 558 (April, A. D. 1163), leaving two sons, Sharafu’l-Mulük Ḥasan b. Rustam and ʿAláʾuʾd-Dawla, and a daughter, whom Sháh Ardashír gave in marriage to the Ispahbad Naṣíruʾd-Dawla Dárá b. Bahman. ʿAláʾuʾd-Dawla was put to death by Sháh Ardashír near Tarícha. On the death of Sháh Ghází Rustam a poet has the following verses:

The Ispahbad Sháh Ghází was buried by the notables of Ṭabarístán, such as the Ispahbad Majduʾd-Dín Dárá, king of Daylamán, Amír ʿAlí Sábiquʾd-Dawla, Sayyid Háshim the ʿAlawí and Amír Surkháb, in the college where ʿAláʾuʾd-Dawla had been buried. After the funeral these notables met in the house of Shahrásán b. Asán, and (f. 168a) wrote to Sharafuʾl-Mulük Ḥasan to inform him of his father’s death. He, though ill at the time, at once came to Sári,
and despatched his boon-companion Kay-Kâ'ūs with fifty horsemen to Aba-sar to seize his brother Nâšîru'l-Mulk, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the late Ispahbad Shâh Ghâzî, and cut off his head.... The warden of the castle of Ţabarâk sent to the Ispahbad offering to surrender it, as he was a Turk, and could not hold it. "Old country," he added, "like Mâzandarân, is thine: send thy warden to Ţabarâk, and take possession of Ray, for I have business before me." So, though it was bitter cold that year, the Ispahbad sent 300 men and a warden to take possession of that country, and ordered the marzubân of Lârijân and the Ustundâr to keep a daily watch on the state of the castle and the Amîr Inânj.

When the Ispahbad used to sit late drinking wine, none of his servants dared go to his home, for, if he wanted one of them, and did nor find him, he would on such occasions punish him with death. So only when he fell asleep towards morning did they dare to depart to their homes to rest. One night 300 of these servants conspired together to kill him, and those who were on duty, watching their opportunity, fell upon him, and so plied their swords and maces that, when they left him dead, not one of his limbs was whole. Then (f. 168b) they went out, saying that the Ispahbad desired to be left alone, and bade all disperse, which they did. Shâh Ardâshîr, learning what had happened, desired to pursue the murderers, but was dissuaded; but such as were recognized were arrested wherever they were found and sent to him, singly or in batches, and he caused them to be hung up and shot with arrows, until in the course of a year, all had been taken and killed.

The Ispahbad had four sons and one daughter. Two of the sons, Yazdîgard and ʿAlî, died before their father, while Ḥusâmu'd-Dawla Shâh Ardâshîr and Fakhru'l-Mulûk Rustam survived him. His daughter was noted for her piety, de-
voutness and virtue. Nāṣîru'd Din Rúz-Bihán composed the following verses on the death of the Ispahbad:

When the Ustundár Hazárasp obtained control of his dominion, he ordered his son Zar-miwand Máníwand and his brother Shirwánsháh to be put to death. Both fled for protection to king Ardashír, who (f. 169α) sent a message of remonstrance to the Ustundár, saying:

Admonition, however, availed nothing. The Ustundár was abandoned by ‘Aynu’d-Dawla Siyáh, Arslán, Ťanṭíq and the Turkish Amírs, who joined themselves to the King, and were re-enforced by Arjásf, who, having obtained king Ardashír’s permission, raided the marches of Daylamán, and brought in all the inhabitants and the soldiers of that district into Amul, on which Hazárasp began to march. King Ardashír collected an army of 14,000 Turks and Tájíks, set out for Rúyán, and came as far as Nátil, where he heard that Hazárasf was engaged in battle with Khwájak. The King sent on his standards and insignia, and as soon as these were seen, Hazárasp’s men took to flight, and many were taken and killed, while he himself fell back on Kajú. The King encamped at Siyáh-rúd, where he remained two days, till the people of Rúyán came in to make their submission to him. Then he marched on to Kajú, ravaging the country as he went, and then returned to Qúr-shírád and Kalár (f. 169β).
In this year Sultan Tughril and the Atabek Muhammad rebelled, and demanded help from the King, having already received it from the Caliph, the Amirs of Aywa, and the armies of Arrán, Adharbayján, Akhlāṭ and Marāghta. The Ispahbad Bahā’u’d-Dīn was accordingly sent to join them, and he came to Lāfur with so splendid an equipment of weapons adorned with gold that he was nick-named "the Golden Amīr" (Amīr-i-Zarrīn). He aided in defeating the Atabek Darkala, and was dismissed to his country with honour and presents, while the Ispahbad was thanked for the aid which he had lent.

In this year a noble, brave and accomplished ‘Alawī waited on the king, and was by him given rank and insignia, and assigned the district of Daylamān, which belonged to Kiyā Buzurg ad-Dā’ī ila’l-Haqq ar-Riḍá b. al-Hādī. He at once entered into possession, and ruled justly, and put to death the Ispahbad Shahriyār and Rustam, and liberated Bārkala after he had been imprisoned for some years, and imprisoned the governor of the city (shahr-dār) for sixteen years (f. 170a) in the castle of Kūzā...

In this year also Tāju’d-Dīn Tūrānschāh b. Zardastān died. Arjāsf obtained permission to go to Alexandria (sic!) and raise an army wherewith to invade Gīlān, but died there. King Ardashīr made his cousin Hizibru’d-Dīn Khurshīd commander-in-chief of his army, and made him governor of Amul and viceroy of Rūyān. Hazārasp and his brother went to Hamadán to Sultan Tughril and the Atabek Muḥammad, and prayed these to intercede for them that they might be permitted to return home. The Atabek ‘Izzu’d-Dīn was there-

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1 That is, I suppose, the Atabek Muḥammad the son of ʿIlīduguz, to whose wise administration the prosperity of the first ten years of the reign of Tughril b. Arslān (reigned A.H. 573—590 = A.D. 1177—1194) was due, according to the historian of the Seljūqs, Najmu’d-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ar-Rāwandī. See J. R. A. S. for 1902, p. 876.
fore sent as an ambassador to Amul to the king of Má-
zandarán, who, however, declined to overlook Hazárasp’s
previous misdeeds. Hazárasp was told that he must himself
go to the king and seek to conciliate him:

غزارسه خواص پاره از دانش‌های که مالوزمت درگاه او بهبود کرد و رضای او
جلست پانشیشت‌ها همیشه خورشید‌دار مدفون‌اند از بهتر کردن درازگوشنار
تا بذر دروازه‌های بدنی از داشته‌اش دلهاشنده و شاعری می‌گوید
ملک مازندران اینچنان توان کرد بی‌بیکی و ترکی جنگ عاجز
که کمون غیره‌ی از صد من ابراش شو نکنند صد مرد مطهر

(F. 170b). The following verses were also improvised on
Hazárasp by other poets:

(بیت)

تیزیر ران چون غزار اسبرا یک اسپ نماند
درازگوش طلب کرد و زو حمایت خواست

(رباعی)

شاگان بیوش مرکب نازی جویند خورا ز پی مزاج و باری جویند
شاپید که غزار اسب یس از عمر دراز فوت ز درازگوش رازی جویند

(رباعی)

شمرکز رستم ز نیباز باری رزید با ردت زبانگ طبل باری رزید
شاپید که غزار اسب اگریز اوسط شمرکز ز دراز راکش رازی رزید

(رباعی)

نه بلغ و نه بوستان گریزم بی تو نه با می ودوستان نشینم بی تو
نواه مؤنخ بالد در دیده مون گر عید گل جهان بچینم بی تو

He left a little son named Sanjar Sháh, born of Turkán
Khátún, and one of تحديشباها’s retainers named Manklí-
tukuz undertook to be his guardian, or Atabek. He put to
death the Qādī Burhán, and on this a poet says:

\[
\text{جور تنو ز جور آل مروان بيش است}
\]

\[
\text{پرمان کشتني ز خون عنامان بيش است}
\]

\[
\text{امصاح بد به اشک مظلومات}
\]

\[
\text{گر جمع شود زاب طوفان بيش است}
\]

Shāh Ardashīr soon afterwards (f. 171a) hanged Maniktukuz for this deed. Sanjar Shāh and his mother carried off
Qiwám ʿAlí and other notables to Khwárazm, and seized
the king of Khurásán, Qūṭbūʾd-Dín Khán, who was his
eldest son, and cut off his head, which he sent to the king
at the Palace of Dawlatábád at Sáří, on which a poet says:

\[
\text{غمر سر كه به بر سر رضای تنو بود}
\]

\[
\text{بي تن سر او چون سر زردنستان با}
\]

..... (f. 171) Verses on the untrustworthiness of women:

\[
\text{زن گرنه يکي غوار باشد در عهد كم استوار باشد}
\]

\[
\text{چون نقش وفا وعهد بستند بر نام زن نقل شکستند}
\]

\[
\text{زن نبيك بود ولي زمانى تا جر تنو نيافت مهياني}
\]

\[
\text{چون با دگري فرو نشيند خواهد كه وجود تنو نييند}
\]

\[
\text{ابن كار زنان راست پارست افسون زنان به درارست}
\]

Qızıl Arslán was assassinated at Hamadán by four men,
at the instigation of Záhida Khátún 1, who plucked the ring
from his finger, gave it to the Atabek Abú Bakr, his ne-
phew, and said, “Go, assume control of Arrán and Adhar-
bayján.” This Abú Bakr did, and reigned in peace for
twenty years.

1 This took place in A.H. 587 (= A.D. 1191).
At this time took place the accession and coronation of the Ispahbad Shamsu‘l-Mulúk Rustam. Ruknu‘d-Dawla Qárín, accompanied by the nobles of Ṭabaristán, came to make him their offerings at the castle of Dárá. The day fixed for the coronation was declared by the astrologers to be unlucky, but the Ispahbad paid no heed to their objections. The coronation festivities lasted seven days, according to the old Persian fashion, and included the usual feastings, rejoicings, and giving of presents, while the notables and Ispahbads and Báwands assembled from all the country-side. When (f. 172a) these congratulations were finished, on the eighth day the Ispahbad ascended the throne, and girded on the royal girdle, and confirmed the governors in their appointments, and caused the Ispahbads and Amírs to cast aside their mourning, and clad them in robes of honour.

Ruknu‘d-Dawla Qárín was dissatisfied with the Ispahbad on account of the inheritance of his elder brother Sharafu‘l-Mulúk, and appealed to the Sulṭán, who sent ʿAlí Sháh, governor of Dámghán and Bístám, with some soldiers to bid the Ispahbad, first with gentleness, and, if this failed, with a show of force, to surrender Sharafu‘l-Mulúk’s inheritance to his brother Ruknu‘d-Dawla. He also ordered the Amírs of Ray and Gurgán to help him in this. So ʿAlí Sháh came by way of Fírúzkúh to Láriján, and encamped at Rúdbár-pích, and sent his brother-in-law on with a message by way of Mankúl; but the people of Shaláb waylaid him and killed him. There was a certain ʿAlawí named Músá, who, before Tukush b. ʿIl-Arslán became king ², had fled from Khwárazm and taken refuge with king Ardashír, and had long been a source of trouble and sedition in Tammísha. He induced the Sulṭán to appoint him wasír to ʿAlí Sháh,

1 Till A. H. 607 (A. D. 1210). See S. Lane-Poole’s Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 171.
2 i.e. King of Khwárazm, which he did in A. H. 568 (= A. D. 1172).
whom he tried to persuade (f. 172b) to seize the Ispahbad and take from him the kingdom of Mázandarán. Failing in this attempt, he strove to provoke the Ispahbad against 'Alí Shah, who sent his head to the Ispahbad, by whom it was paraded for three days in the market. His sons, who were at Amul, were also arrested and imprisoned for some time in the castle of Kuhrúd. Peace was then concluded between the Ispahbad and 'Alí Sháh, and the former restored to Ruknu'd-Dawla the estates of his elder brother Sharaf-'ul-Mulúk. Ruknu'd-Dawla then surrendered the castle of Kúzá to the Ispahbad's warden Afrásiyáb, and himself waited on the Ispahbad, who received him with all honour.

Shortly after this the Assassins (f. 173a) treacherously murdered Ruknu'd-Dawla, and obtained various signal successes. Shamsu'í-Mulúk had no son, but he gave his sister in marriage to the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Kínkhwár b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár, who was "the Father of kings" (Abú'í-Mulúk). This sister bore a son named Kínkhwár, who was cousin on the father's side to king Ḥusámí'd-Dawla Ardashír b. Kínkhwár. Ḥusámí'd-Dawla Shahriyár lived in the reign of Maliksháh the Seljúq, who used to address him as his "father", as witnessed by the verse of the poet Ráfí'i:

\[
\text{م ملک خواند ؟ پدر سلطان عشرش در جهان} \\
\text{گر نداری باید از من نامه سلطان نگر} \\
\text{بر جهان و بر برگان جهان تا روز حشر} \\
\text{شیرهی قاری سرخبارا فرمان نگر} \\
\]

while in another verse he says:

\[
\text{داند ملک از قدر ترا داور گیتی خواند پدر از فخر ترا خسوس عالم} \\
\]

At this period Sulṭán Jalálú'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, taking advantage of the growing weakness and dis-
ruption of House of Báwand, took possession of sundry castles and lands outside Tammísha, and garrisoned them with his own men. Abú Rûdá Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Abu "l-ʿAlawí al-Mamṭrí, on Shawwál 21," A. H. 606 (= April 1, A. D. 1210) treacherously murdered Naṣíruḍ-Dawla Shamsuʾl-Mulúk. This caused further confusion and disorganization, and many of the nobles of Ṭabaristán submitted to Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh. But in a little while this dynasty in turn was brought to an end by the terrible Mongol Invasion (f. 173b). The destruction and devastation resulting therefrom included Ṭabaristán as well as other provinces of Persia, and for thirty years it was without a king or ruler, while the armies of destroying Mongols traversed it to and fro.

At last, after this period of anarchy, the people of Mázandarán and Ṭabaristán met in council at Sári, and chose as their ruler Malik Ḥusámuḍ-Dawla Ardashír b. Kíkhwár (or Kíkhwáż) b. Rustam b. Dárá b. Shahriyár, who for some time revived the glories of his ancient house and kingdom. But soon he too was overtaken by misfortune, even as Shamsuʾl-Maʿálí Qábús b. Washmgír says in well-known verses:

\[\text{F. 174a} \]

On his accession, Ḥusámuḍ-Dawla Ardashír transferred the capital from Sári, which the House of Báwand had always hitherto made its metropolis, to Amul, where he made his palace at Qará-Kaláta on the banks of the river Hurmuz. Once, says the author, when he was walking through it, he

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1 These verses are also cited at the end of the third volume of the Yatimmatuḍ-Dahr (Damascus edition, p. 290). I have translated them at p. 470 of my Literary History of Persia.
read, amongst the paintings on the wall a long bilingual (mulamma) gaśida by Sirāju‘d-Dīn Qumrī, beginning as follows:

وَصَلَ الْعَبْدُ إِلَى مَقَدَمٍ كَسِيَّةٍ الْثَنَائِي
مَلَك الْعَادِلِ ذِي الْعَرَْةِ وَالْبُرْقَانِ
بَسْطَ الْحُبُّ عَلَى الْقَاَشِمِ وَالْخَلَّانِ
سَمَّى الْوَعْدُ قَُلَّا يَخُلَّفُ كَالْخُوَّرَ
اردِ شِيرُ أنَّ شَبِّ يَرُ دَلَّ كَيْ خَشَشْ وَجَنُّكَ
نَزَالُ الدِّيْنِ أَتَّرَ دِيْنًا دِيْنًا وَنَهِنُكَ
آَنَكَ بِهِرَامٍ فَلَكَ رُوَى سَوَى غُورٍ نَهِدَ
جْيَهِنٌ هَيْ آَنَ كَيْشَ بَرْأْدَ بِكَ جَنُّكَ خَذَنُكَ

His father Kīnkhwār (or Kīkhwāz) was the nephew of Shāh Ardashīr b. al-Ḥasan, while he himself was the nephew of Jalālu‘d-Dīn Ḥasan b. Ḍālī‘u‘d-Dīn Muḥammad [Khwārazmshāh]. But in the year A. H. 647 (= A. D. 1249—1250) he died, having reigned fifteen years.

[It is not clear at what point the record written by Ibn Isfandiyār ends, and the continuation supplied by another hand and carried down to A. D. 750 (= A. D. 1349—1350) begins, but it seems unlikely that Ibn Isfandiyār continued the history beyond this point].

At this time Mangū Qādnān (the grandson of Chingiz Kān) sat on the Mongol throne. Ḥūsāmu‘d-Dawla Ardashīr was succeeded by his elder son Shamsu‘l-Mulūk Muḥammad (f. 174b). Mangū Qādnān sent an army under the Amīr Kat Būqā to subdue the castles and strongholds of the Assassins. Many of these he reduced, but Gird-i-Kūh, Alamūt, Tūn und Qā’in still held out. Mangū than sent his brother, the redoutable Hūlāgū, who first took Tūn and Qā’in, and captured so many prisoners that Khurāsān was filled with slaves.
He then laid siege to Gird-i-Kúh and Alamút. Kiyá Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, entitled by his followers al-Qāʾim bi-ʾamriʾlláh, was at that time Grand Master of the Assassins, but he was killed by one of his sons, and his son Ruknuʾd-Dín Khúrsháh (or Khwarsháh), who was but an inexperienced lad, succeeded him. The philosopher Naṣīruʾd-Dín Ṭúsí, whom Kiyá Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan had forcibly detained and compelled to act as his wasīr, while professing friendship for the heretics, was inwardly eager to compass their destruction, and when Ruknuʾd-Dín Khúrsháh asked his advice as to how he should answer Húlagú Khán, he counselled him (f. 175a) not to give battle, for which the stars were not propitious, but to surrender Alamút, which he accordingly did. He was at once put in chains and sent off to Mangú Qâzán, who, however, on hearing what had been done, sent a messenger to meet him and put him to death. Alamút was destroyed, and its priceless treasures and library delivered to the flames. But Naṣīruʾd-Dín Ṭúsí was treated with honour, and retained in Húlagú Khán’s service.

Húlagú Khán now marched on Baghdad, [sacked the city and] destroyed the last ʿAbbasid Caliph, al-Mustaʾṣim biʾlláh, as is well known]. As regards the remaining stronghold of the Assassins, Gird-i-Kúh, orders were issued to all the princes, potentates and nobles of the district to besiege it in turns; and after two or three years the turn came to the King and the Ustundár of Mázandarán. So the King of Mázandarán, Shamsuʾl-Mulúk Muḥammad b. Ardashír, and the Ustundár, Shahráḵím b. Namáwar, set out to conduct the siege; and a daughter of the latter had been betrothed to the former. It was spring, and there was in Rúyán (f. 175b) a poet named Quṭb-i-Rúyání who composed a tarjī-band in the dialect of Ṭabaristán on the spring season and the hunting in Rúyán, as follows:
[The following additional verses are given only in B.]

[The following additional verses are omitted in A.]
When Shamsu’d-Mulúk was killed, his brother ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla ‘Alí was made king, and he was aided by his brother-in-law the Ustundár Shahrákím, but a fresh inrush of Mongols reduced his power to nothing and filled the land with ruins. He died in A.H. 663 (= A.D. 1264—5), in the same year in which his brother had been killed, and the devastation of Rustamdár, Mázandarán and Rúyán took place at the same time.

(F. 176). Malik Táju’d-Dawla Yazdí Shírújí next succeeded, and in his time such order prevailed that a single officer, armed only with an axe, Ḥasan Qádí Kal by name, used, alone and on foot, to collect all the taxes of Mázandarán from Tammísha to Alísha-rúd, and bring them to the capital. Táju’d-Dawla maintained the most friendly relations with the Ustundár Sháh Gházi. He reigned 30 years, overcoming many difficulties in his relations with the Mongols, and died in A.H. 701 (= A.D. 1301—2). He left a son named Sikandar, who, however, died soon after him, and he was succeeded by another son named Naṣírú’d-Dawla Sháhriyár. In his days there were still seventy flourishing colleges in Mázandarán.
Shahriyár, following the example of his predecessors, allied himself by marriage with the Ustundár Sháh Kay-Khusraw. The Mongol dominion, however, left them but little power or security, and Shahriyár, after a reign of twelve years, died in A. H. 714 (= A. D. 1314—1315), and (f. 176b) was succeeded by his brother Malik Ruknu‘d-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw b. Táju‘d-Dawla Yazdigird. At this juncture Amír Mú‘min, Amíru‘l-Umará, represented the Mongol government in Tabaristán, and between him and Ruknu‘d-Dawla there was perpetual warfare. The latter entrusted his women and children to the care of the Ustundár Naşíru‘d-Dawla Shahriyár, who placed them at Íwájan in Kalá-Rustáq; but could not prevail against Amír Mú‘min, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Mongol sovereign Úljáytu Sulţán Muḥammad Khudá-banda, and who, having obtained authority to that effect from the Mongol camp (urdû), sent his son Amír Qutlugh Sháh to invade Mázandarán. Several battles took place between him on the one hand, and Shahriyár and the Ustundár on the other. One of the most celebrated of these battles, in which the latter were victorious, and many Turkish amírs and notables of Mázandarán who were with Qutlugh Sháh were killed, took place at Lít-Kúh on the road to Yásamín-Kaláta. At length Amír Mú‘min himself invaded Mázandarán, and Sháh Kay-Khusraw, unable to withstand him (f. 177b), set out for the [Mongol] camp (urdû). By chance Amír Talish Chúbán had been appointed Amír of Khurásán, and was proceeding thither. Kay-Khusraw met him, courted his favour, and promised to bring the Ustundár Naşíru‘d-Dawla Shahriyár to his presence. They journeyed on together to Amul, and alighted in the Maydán-i-Rúdbár Báqalí-pazán. There Sháh Kay-Khusraw brought the Ustundár before Amír Talish Chúbán, who treated them both with honour, and remained that winter at Amul. Amír Mú‘min’s power was thus checked. Kay-Khusraw, fearing
the Mongol Amirs, who were constantly going and coming, conveyed his women and children and baggage to the Ustundár, from whom he bought for them the village of Fímat near Ganjáwarúz, and there abode; and there his descendants dwell to this day. He died in A. H. 728 (= A. D. 1327—8).

He was succeeded by his son Sharafu'l-Mulúk, a handsome and well-dispositioned youth, whose accession was hailed with joy by all the notables of Mázandarán. His reign was peaceful and happy, but short, (f. 177b), for he died in A. H. 734 (= A. D. 1333—4).

He was succeeded by his brother Malik Fakhru’d-Dawla Ḥasan b. Sháh Kay-Khusraw, the last of the Báwand kings, whose accession was nearly contemporary with Sulţán Abú Sa’id’s death 1. This practically coincided with the end of the Mongol Power in Persia, which lasted about 80 years from the date of Húlágu Khán’s capture of Baghdad in A. H. 656 (= A. D. 1258). The author speaks highly of the order and good government which prevailed during this period, especially during the reigns of Gházán Khán, Úljáytú Khudábanda, and Abú Sa’id, which, says he, one might think that the poet Dhahfár-i-Fáráyábí was describing when he said:

\[
\text{آرام یافت در حرم انس و حش و طیبیر}
\text{آسوده دشت در منف عادل انس و جان}
\text{گردید فرو گشاده مبان از جفای تیغ}
\text{ایلام بر گشوده، رو از گردن کمان (f. 178a)}
\text{ملکی چنین مساقر و حکمی چنین مطلع}
\text{دیسرت تا نداد فدک از کسی نشان}
\]

On Abú Sa’id’s death anarchy supervened, each amir striving

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1 He died in A. H. 736 (= A. D. 1335—6).
to seize what he could for himself out of the general wreckage. Amongst those who thus rose to power was Amîr Mas'ûd Sarbadâl [or Sar-ba-dâr], who rose up in Sabzawâr, killed his brother Pahlawân 'Abdu'r-Razzâq, gathered round himself a number of rogues and vagabonds, and established himself in a citadel which he made for himself in Sabzawâr. Tughâ-Tîmûr was nominally Sultan of Khurasân, but his wasir, 'Alâ'u'd-Dîn Mûhammad, had practically (f. 178b) got possession of all the power, and used it most oppressively. His tyranny, and that of a tribe of Turks called Jataz, reduced the people of Khurasân to desperation. The disaffected joined themselves to Amîr Mas'ûd Sarbadâl, whose power thus rapidly increased, so that he defeated many of the Mongol and Turkish amîrs, and even Arghûn-Sháh and his brothers, until he finally held possession of Khurasân from Jâm and Bákharz to Màzandarán. His popularity largely depended on the fact that all spoils of war were equitably shared by him with his followers, and that he in no way distinguished himself from them.

He now marched on Herât and attacked Malik Mu'înu'd-Dîn Husayn-i-Kart. The battle lasted three days and nights, and 7000 men are said to have perished in it, including Amîr Mas'ûd's spiritual director Shaykh Hasan Jûrî; and Amîr Mas'ûd was finally defeated and fell back on Màzandarán. At Bayárû-kamand he had another battle with Tughâ-Tîmûr, whose brother, Shaykh 'Alî Kâwân, he killed. He defeated Tughâ-Tîmûr and took captive Pîshîn Khâtûn and other ladies of his house (f. 179a), and pursued, captured and put to death his wasir 'Alâ'u'd-Dîn Mûhammad at Qal'a Kamîn. Tughâ-Tîmûr fled from him to Lâr and Qâsrân, where he was re-inforced by Malik Fakhru'd-Dawla and the Ustundâr.

Amîr Mas'ûd soon succeeded in re-establishing his power in Khurasân, which, from Herât to Gurgân and Qûmîsh, fell
under his sway, and he placed his governors in each important town. He then came to Astarábád, intending to subjugate Tabaristán, and sought by all means to win over to him its kings and rulers. Kiyá Jamálu’d-Dín Aḥmad Jál, a powerful, sagacious and experienced noble, obtained permission from the King of Mázandarán to go with his nephews Kiyá Táju’d-Dín and Kiyá Jalál, to Astarábád, and try to come to terms with Amír Mas’úd, who received them well, but forced them to accompany him on his onward march to Sári, whence he sent to the kings at Amul (f. 179b) desiring to see them. After prolonged consultation, Malik Fakhru’d-Dawla of Mázandarán and Malik Jalálu’d-Dawla Iskandar the Ustundár determined to resist Amír Mas’úd by force, and sent him a harsh answer. Thereupon, leaving some of his men at Sári, Amír Mas’úd marched on Amul. The two armies met outside Amul on Dhul-Qa’dá 17, A. H. 743 (= April 13, A. D. 1343), in the plain of Búrán, where the Mázandaránís had constructed at Qará-Kaláta by their King’s Palace a temporary stockade, which they prepared to defend with the utmost stubbornness. Jamálu’d-Dín Aḥmad Jál, seeing that battle was inevitable, and that Amír Mas’úd would not hearken to his advice (f. 180a), sent repeated and urgent messages to his friends and kinsmen to “defend the honour of Mázandarán”, and not to concern themselves about his possible fate; “for,” said he, “I am an old man, who have lived my life: if I perish and Mázandarán continue in honour it is better than that ye should submit to subjection and abasement.” The Mázandaránís responded to this heroic advice, and all, from Tammísha to the frontiers of Gílán, forgetting their private quarrels and jealousies, presented a united face to the foe. Amír Mas’úd, alarmed at their firmness, requested Kiyá Jamálu’d-Dín Aḥmad Jál and his nephews to extricate him from Amul (f. 180b). Amír ʿAlí Hawákhún (?) Mawákhún deserted him for the Mázandaránís, which added
to his alarm, and he gave Kiyá Aḥmad Jál five kharwárs of dirhams to guide him out of the country. The Kiyá sent this money to his kinsmen, and bade them construct earthworks from the river Hurmuz to Sári and close the roads. After ten days’ sojourn in Amul, Amír Mašúd quitted it with his army. At Yásamín-Kaláta, one parasang’s distance from the city, he was confronted by the Ustundár Jalálu’dd-Dawla, while the soldiers of Mázandarán attacked him in the rear. Mašúd, seeing that he was out-maneuvered, killed Kiyá Jamálu’dd-Dín Aḥmad Jál and his nephews, and fled towards Láwich, making for the mountains. The woods and thickets which he was compelled to traverse were swarming with his foes, while the Kings closely pursued him, and one vast battle raged from Yásamín-Kaláta to Rúdbár-i-Núr; until the Khurásánis, after sustaining heavy losses, were finally completely disorganized and scattered:

جع آلمه بردند چو پروین یکچند گردن چو بنات نعنشان یبراکند

Finally (f. 181a), after two days’ flight, Amír Mašúd, with a few of his followers, reached the mountains by way of Rúdbár-Bálú, and began to ascend. The path was barred by the scouts of Taju’dd-Dawla, the Ustundár’s brother, Malik-i-Muṣʿadhham Sharafu’dd-Dawla Gustahm, and he was forced to turn back by way of Rúdbár-Ūz; but, losing his way, was taken captive.

Amír Mašúd, wounded and captive, was brought before Malik Fakhru’dd-Dawla, who asked him as to the original size of his army. He answered that provision had been made for 4000 horses, 600 mules and 400 camels, from which could he deduced the size of the army. He was then sent on to the Ustundár Jalálu’dd-Dawla, who, after two days’ consideration, put him to death. His body was buried on the road to Kálíjar under a mill on the east side of the stream.
(F. 1816). His head was cut off, stuffed with straw, and exhibited to all men at the very place where he had, a few days before, encamped with so great and well-equipped an army.

The people of Ṭabaristán, except the learned and religious classes, used to wear their hair long and hanging loose — sometimes as much as a yard (gaz) in length; but, some days after the execution of Amír Mas'úd-i-Sarbadál, Malik Jalálu'd-Dawla, seeing that his late foe had his hair shaved, adopted the same practice, together with the wearing of the turban, and first his own kinsmen, and then the rest
of the people, imitated him, so that the new fashion became general, and the long locks, called kalálak, and the head-dress called kalá-band, were finally abandoned.

It has been already described how, in the reign of Malik Ruknu’d-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw, Amír Mú’min and his son Qutlugh-Sháh caused dissension in Mázandarán which led to great disorganization, and how Malik Shamsu’l-Mulúk Muḥammad treacherously slew his brother ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla ‘Alí, and assumed the reins of government. Malik Ruknu’d-Dawla Sháh Kay-Khusraw went to the [Mongol] camp (urdú) and brought back an order for the dismissal of Malik Shamsu’l-Mulúk, who retired to Gilán for a while, but was presently summoned thence by Ruknu’d-Dawla, who, at the advice of Amír Qutlugh Sháh, put him to death, together with his brother Malik Ardashír and ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla ‘Alí (f. 182b) in the summer-palace of Ardáshír-ábád.

Thus Malik Sháh Kay-Khusraw, being left alone, was weakened, and Qutlugh Sháh strengthened; and the former, gradually pushed back, conveyed his family and possessions to the domain of the Ustundár, whose people helped and supported him. There his sons, and those of Sharafu’l-Mulúk, Fakhru’d-Dawla, and the other brothers, grew up, honoured and treated in every way like the princes of Ustundár; until, moved by false suspicions, he put to death Kiyá Jalál b. Aḥmad Jál, which caused universal disgust and consternation amongst the nobles who had hitherto supported him, save the rival Kiyás of Chaláp, with whom he was now compelled to ally himself. Of these, Kiyá Afrásiyáb of Chaláp was his principal ally.

In Mázandarán, thus distracted, there now appeared the dervish orders, pírs, and muríds, which had already appeared in Khurásán. Afrásiyáb (f. 183a) and his kinsmen became

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1 This statement cannot be reconciled with that on p. 261 supra, ll. 9—10, but the meaning of the text seems clear in both passages.
enthusiastic for this doctrine, and desired to persuade Malik Sháh Kay-Khusraw to it. The Kiyás of Jalál attached themselves to the chief Ustundár, Malik Jalálú’d-Dawla Iskandar. Malik-i-Mu’adhhdham marched on Amul and ravaged the surrounding territory. Fakhru’d-Dawla came with two or three thousand men to the camp of the king of Ustundár to sue for peace, which was granted; and the united forces then expelled the Kiyás of Chaláp from Amul. These allied themselves with their former foes, the Kiyás of Jalál. The king of Mázandarán tried to regain their confidence, but could not overcome their mistrust. Amír Sayyid Qiwámu’d-Dín, whom the Kiyás of Chaláp regarded as their saint and spiritual director, disliked Malik Fakhru’d-Dawla on account of his real or supposed heretical tendencies. Finally on Muḥarram 27, A. H. 750 (= April 17, A. D. 1349) Malik Fakhru’d-Dawla was treacherously murdered in the bath at Amul by ʻAlí Kiyá b. Afrásiyáb and his brother Muḥammad Kiyá (F. 1838). His family, having no other place of safety, again took refuge with the supreme Ustundár Jalálu’d-Dawla Iskandar, who received them with all hospitality and kindness.

Malik Fakhru’d-Dawla left four sons, all of tender years, Malik Sharafu’l-Mulúk, Sháh Gházi, and Malik Ká’ús 1, of whom the eldest was but ten years of age. Malik Jalálu’d-Dawla not only protected and cared for them while they were young, but when they were grown up he undertook several campaigns with a view to restoring them to their kingdom. On one occasion he attacked Kiyá Afrásiyáb, the Kiyás of Jalál and Sayyid Qiwámu’d-Dín at Marán-Dih near Amul (f. 184a), and killed the former, but finally, with his men of Rustamdar, was out-numbered and driven back by the Mázandaránís. In this battle 330 of the men of Rustamdar were slain, and it was the last attempt of the kings of Báwand.

1 The name of one son is evidently omitted.
to assert their power, which had endured in Mázandarán for 705 years; for the founder of the Dynasty, Báw-i-Shápúr, established his independence in A.H. 45 (= A.D. 665—6), while the last of them, Malik Fakhru’d-Dawla Ḥasan, was killed, as above stated, in A.H. 750 (≈ A.D. 1349).

Colophon of India Office Manuscript.

تمت في شهر سنه 560 كتبه عبد الله الجاني

عملت بين رستم ناث المازندراني
NOTES.

(The following notes by Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum comprise such observations as he was kind enough to send me on the proofs which I submitted to him, and which could not be incorporated in the text either as corrections or foot-notes.)


“With regard to the Shi‘a “rijāl” (notable men) all the authorities that I quoted contain much the same matter; but I could not tell which of them might be accessible to you. Of -Najáshi, I think, no MS. is at present recorded in Europe. I have a Bombay lithograph, which can easily be procured. The Fihrist of -Túsí (contemporary with -Najáshi) you have in the Bibliotheca Indica. Concerning -Astar-ábádí and his Manhaju‘l-Maqāl, see Rieu’s Arabic Supplement, No 635. I have a Persian lithograph of the book. The Muntaha‘l-Maqāl of Muḥammad b. Isma‘il al-Ḥā’irī is a quite recent work, compiled from all accessible older authorities, and extremely useful, though somewhat condensed. Of this also I have a Persian lithograph. Another book of which I possess a Bombay edition is the Ikhtiyār of Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Kashshí (see Rieu’s Arabic Sup-
plement, No 833). It often contains useful information, but is not very easy of reference. I have also a Persian edition of the Naqdur-Rijal of at-Tafrisi (Rieu’s Arabic Supplement, No 636); but it is rather meager, and does not add much to the contents of the first-named works.”

“In the following notes I have quoted several times from a book which you may perhaps know, namely ‘Umdatut-Talib fi ansabi Ali Abi Talib (‘the Student’s Mainstay for the [verification of the] genealogies of the House of Abú Talib”). It was composed in Arabic under the Amir Timur by Ibn ‘Utba (‘Uqba, ‘Inaba) Jamálu’d-Dín Aḥmad b. ‘Alí, who died in A.H. 828 (= A.D. 1424—5).”


P. 32. “Abdu’r-Rahmán b. Khúrzád, author of a Kitabuld-Masálik wa’l-Mamálik is cited. May not this be intended for Ibn Khurdádhbih? It is true the last is usually called ‘Ubaydu’lláh. Still there is some slight uncertainty with regard to his name, and we know next to nothing about the man. The remark about the excellence of Samarqand will be found on p. 172 of De Goeje’s edition of his book, together with the saying of ar-Raqqáshi, with some variation. On p. 171 of the same edition Ibn Khurdádhbih says of Ṭabaristán that it is احسم الأرض مغروفة. De Goeje omits these words in his translation, and gives no explanation. In his critical notes he says that al-Muqaddasí has مغروفة in place of مغروفة. Al-Muqaddasí says that he got this rhyming notice from a book which he found in the library of ‘Adu-du’d-Dawla, and adds ورَزْتُ فيه ما لا يَجْبِب تَرْكَ. Abdu-lláh b. Khurdádhbih, the father of ‘Ubaydu’lláh, was, I may mention, according to -Ṭabarí (Series III, pp. 1014—1015) governor (wálí) of Ṭabaristán.”

Ibid. “Ḥusayn b. Mundhir ar-Raqqáshi was the Imám
Ali's standard-bearer and an Ansârî. There are brief notices of him in the Manhaj-ul-Maqâl, p. 118, and the Muntaha-ul-Maqâl, p. 115. There is nothing to show how he came to know anything about either Samarqand or Tabaristan. He may, however, have been a Persian, as his kunya is Abû Sásán."

P. 36. "Concerning 'the son of Amîr Ká', compare 'Um-datu't-Ṭâlib, pp. 71, 72, where Amîr Ká appears as —

أُلْسَمِينَ إِمْرُ كَالْقَمِّ الْمَلَقِبِ بِشَكِينَّهِ بِنِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ المَعْروَفِ بَابِي عَلِيَّة

a descendant from Ismâ'il Jâlibu'l-Ḥijâra by eight generations."

P. 37. "'A Jew named Shamûn (Simon)'. Or. 7633 has شمّون بن خلداد. This suggests a reminiscence of the Jewish Maccabean hero Shim'on ben Mattathyah. Mattathyah = Gift of God = Khudádád."

P. 39. "In the Akhbâr-i-Barmakiyân of Dîyâ'u'd-Dín Barâni (Bombay ed., pp. 6—7) allusion is made to this talisman. Barâni, however, speaks of it as an armlet, and does not mention its origin. The anecdote connected with the ring is as follows. The courtiers introduced Barmak into the presence of 'Abdu'l-Malik, who, as soon as he saw him, ordered him to be severely beaten and thrust out. Afterwards the courtiers prayed the Caliph to make known to them Barmak's offence. 'Abdu'l-Malik replied that Barmak carried poison upon his person, and that upon his own arm were two jewels which, whenever anyone should come before him having poison upon him, would be attracted towards one another. When Barmak entered, these two jewels were so strongly drawn together as to cause pain to the Caliph's arm. Angered at this, 'Abdu'l-Malik ordered Barmak to be chastised."

P. 47. "May not 'Abu'l-'Amr' perhaps be the same person as أبو مٰعِرُ بِنِ ابن سعیَدِ الانسیَلیِ (Yatîmatu'd-Dahr, Damascus ed., vol. III, p. 274) and الاستاذ أبو المعر بعبر بن الحسنین
all that we seem to know about these three names is that they all belonged to the same part of Persia."

Ibid. “There is a biographical notice of Muḥammad b. Zayd at pp. 71 et seqq. of the ‘Umdatut-tālib.’

Ibid. “By ‘Ṭabāṭabā al-‘Alawi’ must be meant Abū ‘Abdi’llāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ṭabāṭaba al-Ḥasanī, one of the chief authorities of the author of the ‘Umdatut-tālib for the pedigrees of the earlier Sayyids. He was the Shaykh of Abūl-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-‘Umarī, another of Ibn ‘Utba’s authorities, who was in al-Mawṣil in A. H. 423 = A. D. 1032 (‘Umda, p. 364) and in Amid in A. H. 430 = A. D. 1038—9 (Ibid., p. 60). For Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā, the genealogist’s ancestor, see ‘Umda, p. 158.’

P. 50 (also p. 46). ‘As-Sarwī. As-Samʿānī (Ansāb, Add. 23,355, f. 297b, gives سروف from سرويف in the district of Ardabil, but سربية سرويف from سربية in Mazandaran. Unfortunately he does not mention anyone derived from the last named place.”

Pp. 50 and 55. “Ibnu’l-Mahdī al-Māmṭīrī and Sayyid Imám Bahā’u’d-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Mahdī al-Māmṭīrī are, I suppose, the same person.”

P. 52. “The ascription of the authorship of the Kitābu’l-Faraj ba’da’sh-Shidda to Qāḍī Abū’l-Qāsim at-Tanūkhī is an error. The real author was his son Muḥassīn b. ‘Alī, as is clearly shewn by various allusions in the book itself.”

P. 54. “Abu’l-Faraj ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn must be the poet Ibn Hindū. He was a native of Ray, and one of the Kutṭābu’l-Inshā of ‘Adudu’d-Dawla the Buwayhid. He was in Jurjān about A. H. 410 = A. D. 1019—1020 (as-Ṣafadī’s Wāfī bīl-Wafayāt), and died in A. H. 420 = A. D. 1029 (Ḥājji Khalīfa, vol. III, p. 252; vol. VI, p. 15).”

P. 59. “Concerning Zarrīn Kamar, see the ‘Umdatut-tālib,
p. 68, where he appears as Ḍā'ūr-Raḥmān ash-Shajari."  

_Ibid._ "‘Imádī is, I suppose, identical with the homonymous contemporary of Sanā‘ī of Ghazna mentioned by Dawlatsháh, p. 98, and noticed by ‘Awfī in vol. II of the _Lubáb_, pp. 257 et seqq. The author of the _Majma‘u‘l-Fusahā‘_, vol. i, p. 350, calls him ‘Imádí Shahriyári, and says that he composed poems in praise of ‘Imádu’d-Dawla ad-Daylamí and Ṭūghrīl Beg the Seljūq. He admits, however, that some critics say that there are more ‘Imádīs than one. Taqīyyu’d-Dín Kāshání in his _Khulāsatu’l-Ashbār_, (Or. 3506, ff. 449b—452a) has a long notice of ‘Imádī. He distinguishes two poets of this name, ‘Imádí-i-Ghaznawí and ‘Imádí-i-Shahriyári. The latter was a native of Shahriyár, one of the dependencies of Ray, and resided in the last-named city. In the latter part of his life he was attached to the court of Ṭūghrīl b. Arslán. He died in his native place in A. H. 573 (=1177—8)."

_Sheet 9_ (pp. 129—144). Owing to the vagaries of the Post Office, this sheet was printed off before the corrections indicated by Mr. Ellis had been made. These, therefore, are included with the longer notes in this place.

P. 129, l. 26. For "whom" read "whose". "Abū Jaysh al-Hiláli. Properly this kunya should be ‘Abūl-Jaysh, not Abū Jaysh, but perhaps in a Persian MS. the absence of the article may not be significant. Otherwise I had thought of  أبو حفص عثمان بن النعجان, who was a Badawí poet of the reign of al-Mahdí, and a friend of Bashshár b. Burd (died A. H. 167 or 168 = A. D. 783—4 or 784—5). See the _Kitābu‘l-Aghání_, vol. iii, p. 60, vol. xi, p. 65, vol. xviii, pp. 74—75. I have not, however, discovered his tribal _nisba_, and there does not appear to be any evidence of his ever having been in Ṭabaristán. Add. 7633 has distinctly أبو جبيش.
Pp. 130—131 (and also pp. 120, 124 and 125 supra). "For 'Amr b. 'Alá read 'Umar b. al-'Alá. So Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 136, 137, 493, 500, 520, and 521, and Add. 7633."

P. 130, l. 26 "The story to which reference is here made is given in brief in the Murassa of Ibnul-Athír, ed. Seybold, 1896, p. 184."

P. 132, ll. 16—23. "Either the India Office MS. or yourself has jumped a few lines. I have inserted a translation of these in their place on the proof, and enclose herewith a copy of the passage from Add. 7633." (The lines in question are, I find, actually omitted in the India Office MS. The amended translation runs as follows. "Next came Sa'id b. Salm (so Ṭabarí) b. Qutayya b. Muslim, who was replaced after six months by Ḥammáil and 'Abdu'lláh, the sons of 'Abdu'l-Azíz. Ten months later, in A. H. 177, these were superseded by Muthánná b. al-Ḥajjáj, who ruled for a year and four months, and was followed in A. H. 179 by 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Qa'qa', who remained one year..."

"For Ḥázim, Add. 7633, supported by Ṭabarí, has Kházim."

Pp. 134 and 136. "Both these alternative motives for the destruction of the Barmecides are recorded by Ṭabarí (series III, pp. 669 et seqq. and pp. 676 et seqq.)."


P. 140, l. 30. "Add. 7633 has Khalífa b. Sa'id here, as well as in l. 19 above."

Ibid. "For Mihrúya, De Goeje (Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 650 et seqq.) has Mahrúwayh."

P. 141, l. 12. "Farishí should at least be Furayshi, but Jurashi is the older and better form, and is the actual reading of Add. 7633. This nisba is thus vocalized by as-Samání (Add. 23,355, f. 127a), who derives it from Juraysh, a Ḥimyarite tribe. Ṭabarí (Series III, pp. 650 et seqq.) has al-Ḥarashi."
Ibid., l. 28. "Read Zufar for Zafr; and in l. 29 read 'Amira for 'Umayra, which is always a woman's name."


P. 144, l. 12. "Through" is, of course, a misprint for "though".

P. 147, l. 2. Correct, as above on p. 141, Juraqysi to Jalashi.


P. 174, 6. The text has Tarchí for Tarícha, but the emendation, suggested by Mr. Ellis, seems pretty certain.

P. 180, l. 4. "Here, as on the previous page, A. wrongly reads al-Musta'ín for al-Mu'ţazz, which latter is not only required by history, but is in every case the actual reading of A. Ṭabarí gives the name of this Caliph as Muḥammad, but in the Majátthu'l-'Ulüm of al-Khwárazmí and in the Wáfí of aš-Šafádí (Add. 23,858, f. 112a) he is called Zubayr."

P. 187, ll. 14—15. "Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was a Shajarí Sayyid, a descendant of a different line from Sayyid Ḥasan's. See Ḥumdatu'ṭ-tālib, p. 71, l. 18, where his relationship to Sayyid Ḥasan is expressed by خُتَنُهُ عَلَى أُخْتِهِ. This must, I think, imply 'brother-in-law'. The word خُتَنُ may be used of any relation through a woman, according to the lexica."

P. 190, l. 2. "Compare -Ṭabarí, Series III, pp. 2039—2201."


P. 193. "' Martyrdom of Sayyid Muḥammad'. Abu'l-Faraju'l-Iṣbahání, the author of the Kitábbu'l-Aghání, gives, in his Maqátilu'ṭ-Ṭalibiyyín (Ṭihrán, A. H. 1307, p. 229), rather a
different account of the death of Muḥammad b. Zayd. He relates that Isma‘il b. Ahmad, who had made himself master of Khurásán, sent against him one of his officers named Muḥammad b. Hárún with orders to attack him. An engagement took place at Báb Jurján in which the Sayyid was mortally wounded. After the battle he was found on the field still breathing, and was carried to Jurján, where he died. His funeral obsequies were performed by his adversary Muḥammad b. Hárún. These events took place in Ramaḍán, A.H. 289 (sic). Sayyid Muḥammad’s son Zayd was taken prisoner in the battle, and brought to Jurján, where he still is at the present time, i.e. A.H. 313 (= A.D. 925—6). Abu‘l-Faraj was born in A.H. 284 (= A.D. 897), five (or three) years before the above mentioned battle was fought.”

P. 194, l. 15. “This Shajara-i-ansáb-i-Ṭalibiyya is most probably identical with the Ansábu ashráf-i-amshar of Ibn Ṭabátabá, already mentioned on p. 47, l. 8.”

P. 195, ll. 17—18. “Add. 7633 (= B.) has ایِّرثم وکُّمْتَد ابناء انصا الفقهان. The vocalization and meaning of انصا are obscure. The dictionaries do not give much help. انصا is one of the nomina verbi of مَصَّا, and has amongst other meanings that of ‘carrying an enterprise to its conclusion’. I would suggest that a derivative مَصَّا should be read, but unfortunately no such form is recorded in the lexica. فقهان must, I think, be an error for فقهاء [this last is the reading of A.], for no such form as فقهاء, although quite possible, is recorded.”

P. 198, end. “The person usually known by the title of Dhu‘r-Riyásatayn was the famous waṣîr of the Caliphate al-Faḍl b. Sahl. As, however, he was murdered at Sarakhs in A.H. 202 (= A.D. 817—818), he can hardly be the
person intended here, unless ‘grandson’ could be substituted for ‘son’.

P. 199, l. 25. “Abu'l-Faql Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Bal'amí was the father of the Persian translator of -Ṭabarí, and died in A.H. 329 (= A.D. 940–941). See -Sam'ání's Ansáb, Add. 23,355, f. 90.”

P. 210, ll. 5—6. “The addition in parentheses (which is found in B.) seems necessary, otherwise the personality of Dikú on p. 216 is rather enigmatical.”

P. 210, l. 18. “The Sayyids' governor'. He was appointed by نادران; i.e. the family of an-Násiru'l-Kabír, not by Sayyid Hasan.”

P. 215, 14. “Mánkdím was a descendant of Zaynu'l-'Abi-dín, not of 'Aqíl b. Abí Talib.”

P. 219, ll. 24 et seqq. “The news was brought to Hasan b. Fírúzán at Sári, not to Washmír at Amul.”

P. 227, ll. 3—4. “Add. 7310, f. 8, vocalizes the name of Sultán Maḥmúd's father سیبکین 'Subuktigín', not 'Sabuktagín'.”

P. 229, l. 5 and note. As regards the vocalization Ḥum-múla adopted by the Delhi edition, Mr. Ellis remarks that if the name be Arabic, as it appears to be, such vocalization is inadmissible, as giving no meaning. The same edition incorrectly gives this person's full name as Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Ahmad b. Ḩummuła, Ǽlí having dropped out after Abú.

P. 229, l. 8. “As to the name Asfár b. Kurdúya the texts of the Yamíní vary. Add. 7310 reads سار; the Delhi ed. has شار; Or. 1513 and the Buláq ed. concur in reading شابور.

P. 245, l. 29. "Add. 7633 (= B.) reads شیر زیل. I take Shirzil (or Shira-sil) to be a clan name. Compare Ḥamza (Taʿrīkh, pp. 241—2), who mentions the Shirdhilównandán as the tribe or clan (قبيلة) of ʿAlī b. Buwayh, and the Wardadównandán as that of Asfār b. Shīrawayh (Shīrū?ē), both these leaders being ‘Daylamī’, as opposed to Mardāwīj, who was a ‘Jīlī’. Also Shirzilwand are named in the original Persian of Ibn Isfandiyār as forming part of the 400 prisoners burnt by the Ispahbad."
This Index includes, besides a few general references to matters of special interest, (1) names of persons, (2) names of places, and (3) titles of books mentioned in the preceding pages. In the arrangement of the Muḥammadan names, the prefixes Abū ("Father of . . ") and Ibn ("Son of . . ") are disregarded, so that, for example, the names Abūl-Faḍl and Ibn Khurrahbih must be sought under the letters F and K respectively, not under A and I. Between two names the word Ibn ("Son of . . ") is represented by b., but in the case of Persian names, the Persian idāfat (-i) is sometimes employed to indicate the same relation: e.g. ʿAbduʾllāh b. Ṭāhir and Qārin-i-Shahriyar. A hyphen prefixed to a name (generally a nisba) means that the Arabic definite article al- should precede it: e.g. Hārūn-Rashid = Hārūn al-Rashid, or, according to the phonetic transcription which I adopt, Hārūnuʾr-Rashid. Each name is written in full the first time it occurs, but some of the commonest names are occasionally abbreviated as follows: A. = Aḥmad; Ibr. = Ibrāhīm; Ism. = Ismaʿīl; Ḥ = Ḥasan; Ḥus. = Ḥusayn; ʿAb. = ʿAbbās; ʿAl. = Abduʾllāh; ʿA. = ʿAlī; ʿU. = ʿUmar; Q. = Qāsim; M. = Muḥammad; Ya. = Yahyā. Persian names I have thought it best always to write in full. Place-names are distinguished by an asterisk, while titles of books are printed in italics. In the case of names of little-known places in Ṭabaristán, where the vocalization is often extremely uncertain, I occasionally refer to Melgunof's Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres (Leipzig, 1868) as "Mel.", and to Dorn's four volumes of Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des kaspischen Meeres as "Dorn i", "Dorn ii", etc. To facilitate identification, I have occasionally indicated in brackets after a name the century of the Christian era in which the owner flourished, or, in the case of place-names, the district in which the place is apparently situated. When it is desired to indicate in which half of a century a person flourished, a small (1) or (2) is added to the Roman figure: thus (IX\^2) means the latter half of the ninth century of our era.
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K. -Idáh-‘Aḍudi (by Abú ‘Alf Fáris), 90.
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[This name, as Mr. Ellis has pointed out to me, should be ‘Abdu‘l-Qáhir, the author of the well-known Mfat ‘amīl, who died in A.D. 1078. See Brockelmann’s Gesch. d. arab. Litt., Vol. I, pp. 287—288].
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yatü’l-Qasr, Add. 9994, ff. 83a and 79a”, writes Mr.
Mr. A. G. Ellis, “Abú Ḥanífá -Astarábádí and Bári-
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