انتشارات دانشگاه تهران
۷۷۵

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شامل مقالات تحقیقی مربوط بمطالعات ایرانی

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V. Minorsky
1962

Frontispiece

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IRANICA

TWENTY ARTICLES

By
V. MINORSKY
Professor Emeritus in the University of London

1964

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FOREWORD

THE fondest ambition of an author whose activities have spread over threescore years is to rescue some of his dispersed *scripta minora* and present them in suitable perspective. Everyone will understand my deep gratitude to the University of Tehran for having given me such an opportunity.

A detailed list of my publications appears at the beginning of the present selection of my 'Iranica'. Despite the variety of problems which have attracted my attention, Iranian subjects stand definitely in the forefront of my interests. But Iran, its history and its literature have ever been linked with the life of many peoples both near and far, and I have often been tempted to trace these contacts and interactions. Some of the articles included in the volume originally formed part of such other series as 'Caucasica', 'Turkmenica', 'Mongolica', but even in these cases Iranian sources and background formed the starting-point of my research.

At the successive stages of my life, my approaches to Iranian problems have varied and widened (see my lecture in Tehran 159*a*).

As a second-year student of the Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow, I paid my first visit to Iran in the summer of 1902. At that period E. G. Browne's studies of the Babīs and Bahā'īs captivated the imagination of Persian scholars, and by a kind of indirect induction I turned my mind to another esoteric sect, that of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq (*vulgo* 'Alī-Ilāhi), and was fortunate in acquiring the first authentic epitome of their beliefs. The study of the manuscript, complemented by prolonged contacts with the representatives of this popular religion, led to research in various directions. My Russian book on the Ahl-i Ḥaqq appeared in 1911 followed by other studies on the same subject.[1]

Meanwhile my travels in north-western Persia (in 1903–5 and 1911) and the active part which I took in the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier, from the Persian Gulf to Mt. Ararat (1913–14), intensified my interest in the historical geography, ethnology, and antiquities of Iran. This resulted in a number of special studies [2] and in numerous and sometimes lengthy contributions to the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (1926–36).

My main work on historical geography was the translation, with extensive commentary, of a description of the world, written in Persian *circa* A.D. 982 and entitled *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (1937). Later on I undertook similar editions of the Arabic texts of Sharaf al-zamān Marvazī, Abū-Dulaf Khazrajī, and the ancient history of Shirvān and Darband.[3]

Persian art and literature enjoy the greatest popularity among Iranian scholars. My contacts with the former resulted mainly from my work at the

[1] See the List of publications Nos. 18, 20, 42, 80, 158, 181; cf. 35 (Shabaki).

[2] On antiquities see Nos. 16, 17, 69, 125; on the Kurds Nos. 14, 40, 53, 58, 74, 109, 142, 144, 155; on the Lurs and other western tribes Nos. 44, 51, 139, etc.

[3] Nos. 88, 91, 111, 139, 169, 170, 188.

Exhibition of Persian Art in London in 1930–31.[1] As regards the literature, apart from some general surveys in encyclopedias, I contributed studies of the *Shāh-nāma*, *Vīs-u-Rāmīn*, Bābā Ṭāhir, 'Omar Khayyām, Khaqānī, and the little known but curious Pūr-i Bahā.[2]

For many years, in Paris and in London, the courses on the history of Persia fell to my lot. While collecting material for my lectures I was struck by the gaps in our knowledge of intermediate periods, between the more clearly defined epochs. Moreover, the existing general surveys have to a great extent followed the narrative of political events related in Persian chronicles, paying little attention to items on administration, on finance and economics, on ethnical changes, and on popular movements often connected with, or veiled by, religious divisions. No one will deny the necessity of general guiding surveys of Iranian history[3] but, for the time being, our attention needs to be concentrated on preparatory studies for a future comprehensive digest.

A number of my contributions to the *Encyclopedia of Islam* should be considered in this light. So, too, the more detailed lectures and essays on the 'Iranian intermezzo' (i.e. the period between the withdrawal of the Arabs and the arrival in Iran of the Ghaznavids and Seljuks); on the fifteenth-century movements leading to the advent of the Safavids; on the liquidation of the Afghan interregnum by Nādir shah, etc.[4]

The governmental and economic problems of Safavid Persia were treated in detail in my translation of the rare Manual of Administration, called *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, and in other contributions on similar themes.[5] The progress of historical studies on Persia formed the subject of my reports to five International Congresses of Orientalists.[6] New publications bearing on the same problems have been considered in numerous reviews,[7] in the hope that my remarks and suggestions might prove helpful in re-editing the texts or for further research.

The present volume contains only a selection of my 'Iranica', though it is meant to reflect the trends of my studies, as explained above. The articles might have been arranged in groups under such headings as 'History', 'Geography', 'Religion', etc., but after some deliberation I have left them in their natural chronological order. Above their titles one will find printed IN BLACK the year and the number under which they figure in the List of my publications where all the bibliographical details are indicated. It might have

[1] Nos. 56, 58, 59 (where for the first time the Luristan bronzes were connected with the Cosseans), 60, 190, 194.

[2] Nos. 48, 86, 123, 127, 131, 133, 159 (Avicenna), 163, 174, 176.

[3] cf. my Nos. 173, 175.

[4] Nos. 68, 72, 79, 187.

[5] Nos. 101, 108, 110, 124, 197.

[6] Nos. 66, 90, 145, 185 (my report to the Congress of 1960 is still unpublished).

[7] See Nos. 77 and 84 (Seddon), 94 (Hinz), 105 (Lockhart), 132 (Roemer), 157 (Spuler), 160 (Vernadsky), 189 (Dunlop), 193 (Lang), 198 (Duda), 199 (Busse), etc.

saved me a good deal of trouble to have the articles reprinted from the original copies, but, in view of recent publications and additional material collected, some of them have been drastically revised (see Nos. 110, 131, 181, etc.). My intention was to indicate all such alterations by brackets and other special signs but I must confess to having failed to carry this plan through.

It remains for me to acquit myself of the pleasant duty of expressing my personal gratitude.

First of all I wish to offer my most sincere thanks to the authorities of the University of Tehran—the Rector, Dr. A. Farhād, the Secretary-General, Dr. A. Shaibānī, the Director of the Department of Cultural Relations, Professor Dr. Z. Ṣafā, and his successor, Dr. H. Farmān-Farmāyān—who in their personal correspondence with me encouraged and helped me to carry out my task.

The oldest of my friends in this world, His Excellency S. H. Taqizadeh, as well as my much younger friend Professor E. Yarshater (now of Columbia University), acted as my trusted sponsors in Tehran.

The Managing Director of Messrs. Stephen Austin and Sons (Hertford), Mr. R. L. S. Harrison, has been helpful in many problems that arose in the course of publication. I must express my admiration for the staff of expert compositors and readers who produced practically faultless proofs from typescript bristling with Oriental words and numerous references.

And last but not least, my acknowledgments go to my life companion. She accompanied me on many of my travels; her collaboration is mentioned several times in the List of publications [1]; for nearly fifty years almost every script of mine has passed through her hands; and I remember chapter 22 ('Majgharī') in the commentary to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* which, as a result of numerous revisions, had to be typed eleven times! My eyesight is now poor, and in passing this book through the prism of my great age I have depended more than ever on the invaluable help and long experience of my wife.

V. MINORSKY.

Cambridge, 6th June, 1963.

[1] Nos. 63, 152, 178, 191, 200.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS BY PROFESSOR V. MINORSKY

VLADIMIR MINORSKY was born on 5 February, 1877, in Korcheva, a small town on the Volga, now lying submerged at the bottom of the Moscow sea. He was educated in Moscow. As a gold medallist of the Fourth Grammar-School he entered the University of Moscow where he read Law from 1896 to 1900. On his graduation he studied Oriental Languages at the Lazarev Institute of Moscow (1900–3).

In 1903 he entered the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, serving from 1904 to 1908 in Persia and from 1908 to 1912 in St. Petersburg and Turkestan. In 1911, jointly with a British representative, he carried out a mission in North-Western Persia. In 1912 he was appointed to the Russian Embassy in Constantinople, and in the following year acted as Imperial Russian Commissioner on the international commission for the delimitation of the Turko–Persian frontier. He was next appointed to the Russian Legation in Tehran, from where, in 1919, he went to France, remaining for some years at the Russian Embassy in Paris. In 1923 he began to lecture on Persian literature at the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, and later taught Turkish and Islamic history in the same institution. From August, 1930, to January, 1931, he acted as Oriental Secretary to the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House, London. His association with London University began in 1932 when he was appointed lecturer in Persian at the School of Oriental Studies; in 1933 he became Reader in Persian Literature and History, University of London, and, in 1937, Professor of Persian in succession to Sir E. D. Ross. In 1944 he retired, receiving the title of Professor Emeritus and being appointed Honorary Fellow of the School of Oriental and African Studies. In 1948–9 he acted as visiting professor at the Fu'ad University (Cairo).

Other academic titles Professor Minorsky has received include that of Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy (1943), Honorary Member of the Société Asiatique of Paris (1946), Doctor *honoris causa* of the University of Brussels (1948), Honorary Member of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (1957), and Miembro de honor del Instituto Peruano de Altos Estudios Islamicos (1961). In 1962 he was awarded the triennial gold medal of the Royal Asiatic Society. At the invitation of the Iranian Government he attended the celebrations of the Firdausi millenary in Tehran and Tus (1937), and of Avicenna's millenary in Tehran (1954). He took part in the International Congresses of Orientalists in London (1923), Leiden (1931), Rome (1935), Brussels (1938), Paris (1948), Stamboul (1951), Cambridge (1954), and Moscow, with visits to Baku, Erivan, and Tiflis (1960). He also attended the International Congress of Linguists in Geneva (1931), the Convegno Volta in Rome (1956), the Islamic Colloquium in Lahore (1958), and the First Congress of Turkish Art in Ankara (1959). [See Addenda.]

The following is the Bibliography [1] of his publications :—

ABBREVIATIONS

BSO(A)S—Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.
Drevnosti—Древности восточные, Москва.
EI—Encyclopedia of Islam (1st and 2nd editions).[2]
GJ—The Geographical Journal, London.
JA—Journal Asiatique.
JRCAS—Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society.
JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Materialī—Материалы по изучению Востока. Издание Мин. Иностр. дел, С. Петербург.
OLZ—Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung.
PSEI—Publications de la Société des Etudes Iraniennes, Paris.
RIS—Revue Internationale de Sociologie, Paris.
SZ—Современные Записки, Париж.
Trudī—Труды по востоковедению, издав. Лазаревским Институтом, Москва.

1901

1. TRANSLATION INTO RUSSIAN : Th. Nöldeke, Die semitischen Sprachen, Eine Skizze, 1900 (pages 1–41 of the original ; remaining part translated by B. V. Miller). Edited by A. E. Krymsky in *Trudī*, fasc. v, 1903.

1902

2. У русских подданных Султана (' A visit to the Russian Cossacks in Asia Minor, subjects of the Ottoman Sultan '), *Etnograficheskoye Obozreniye*, Moscow, 1902, kniga 52, No. 2 ; also separately printed, 56 pp.

   Reviewed by V. Barthold in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Westasiatische Studien, 1903, p. 207.

1903

3. Константинопольские увеселения (' Constantinopolitan popular entertainments '), Tiflis, Izdaniya G. Melik-Karakozova, No. 4, 13 pp.
4. (In collaboration with A. E. Krymsky) Очерки из истории востоковедения в XVI и XVII в. (on Matthiae Wasmuth Holsati, *Grammatica Arabica*, Amsteloduni, 1654). *Drevnosti*, tome II/3 ; offprint, pp. 16–27.

[1] This Bibliography is a revised and up-to-date edition of the List published by Dr. M. Ishaque, Calcutta, 1940, and of that included in the ' Studies presented to V. Minorsky ', *BSOAS*, 1952, XIV/3, pp. 669–81.

[2] Of the 110 articles contributed to the first edition of *EI*, only the article of Omar Khaiyām was written for the English edition of the Encyclopedia, the originals of the remaining 109 articles being in French.

5. Движение персидских рабочих на промысла в Закавказье (Persian labour in Transcaucasia). Сборник консульских донесений, St. Petersburg, 1905, fasc. III, 204–12.
6. Национальные стихотворения Эмин-бея в связи с новым направлением османской поэзии (on Emin bey's *Türkche-shiirler*, etc.). *Drevnosti*, II/3 and III/1 ; offprint 24 + 14 pp.
7. REVIEW in *Etnograficheskoye Obozreniye*, vol. 57, No. 2, pp. 140–5 : Horn, Geschichte der Türkischen Moderne.

1907

8. Поездка в Марагу и район рек Джагату и Татаву ('A visit to Maragha, etc.'). *Izvestiya shtaba Kavkaz. voyennago okruga*, Tiflis, No. 20, pp. 34–53.

1908

9. Поездка в Макинское ханство в 1905 году ('A visit to Maku in 1905', etc.). *Materialī*, fasc. I, pp. 1–62.
10. Казвин-Хамаданская дорога ('The road Qazvin-Hamadan'). *Materialī*, fasc. I, pp. 161–196.

1911

11. Материалы для изучения персидской секты «Люди истины» или «Али-Илахи». Part I. Introduction, texts, translation ('Matériaux pour servir à l'étude des croyances de la secte persane dite les "Ahlé-Haqq ou 'Alī-Ilāhī"'). *Trudī*, fasc. XXXIII, XXVI + 127 pp. (this work was awarded the gold medal of the Section of Ethnography of the Imperial Society of Natural Sciences of Moscow).

    Reviewed : by C. Huart, *JA*, mars 1914, pp. 474–6.

1915

12. А. И. Ияс (an obituary notice to accompany) A. I. Iyas, Poyezdka-po severnomu persidskomu Kurdistanu. *Izvestiya Ministerstva Inostrannīkh Del*, St. Petersburg, No. 4, offprint 24 pp.
13. EDITORSHIP AND PART-AUTHORSHIP : *Materialī*, fasc. II, 591 pp. This volume, devoted to the Turco–Persian frontier, contains : Minorsky and H. S. Shipley, Объезд оккупированных Турцией персидских округов в 1911 году, pp. 1–131 ; Minorsky : Турецко-персидская граница, pp. 319–432 ; Minorsky : Сведения о населении некоторых пограничных округов, pp. 433–480.
14. Курды. Заметки и впечатления ('Kurds. Notes and impressions'). *Izvestiya Ministerstva Inostrannīkh Del*, St. Petersburg. No. 3 ; offprint 43 pp.

    Reviewed : in *Istoricheskiy Vestnik*, Sept. 1915, p. 969.

1916

15. Турецко-персидское разграничение ('Delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier'). *Izvestiya Imperatorskago Geograficheskago Obschestva*, LII, pp. 351–392.
16. Древности Маку. ('Antiquities of Maku.') *Vostochnïy sbornik Obschestva russkikh orientalistov*, Petrograd, II, pp. 41–69; offprint 29 pp.

    Reviewed: by A. L. *Izvestiya Imperatorskago Geograficheskago Obschestva*, XXIV, No. 2, pp. 253–4.

1917

17. Келяшин, стела у Топузава и древнейшие памятники в районе Урмийского озера ('On the steles of Kelashin and Topuzava and other ancient vestiges in the basin of Lake Urmiya'). *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obschestva*, Petrograd, XXIV, pp. 145–193; offprint 49 pp.

1920

18. NOTES SUR LA SECTE DES AHLÉ-HAQQ. *Revue du Monde Musulman*, XL (1920), pp. 20–97 and XLV (1921), pp. 205–302. In book form, Paris, 1922, 182 pp.

    Reviewed: by Basset, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, juillet 1922, pp. 96–8; *The Moslem World*, July, 1921, p. 326, and January, 1927, pp. 103–4; *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires*, 1921, No. 7; F. Cumont, *Syria*, III (1922), p. 262.
19. L'AZERBAÏDJAN ET LES INFLUENCES EXTÉRIEURES. Bulletin de l' 'Union', Paris, 15 janvier 1920, No. 28.

1921

20. UN TRAITÉ DE POLÉMIQUE BÉHAÏE-AHLÉ-HAQQ. *J.A.*, janvier 1921, pp. 165–7.
21. Заметки о Закавказье: Отделение от России. Положение в Грузии. ('Notes on Transcaucasia: Situation in Georgia.') *SZ*, Paris 1921, III, pp. 203–222.
22. LA RUSSIE ET LA TURQUIE. *Journ. des Débats*, 16 November, 1922.

1923

23. LA GÉORGIE. *RIS*, janvier 1923, pp. 54–8, mai 1923, pp. 275–8.
24. Россия и нефть ('Russia and Oil'). *Volya Rossii*, Prague, Sept., 1923, No. 15, pp. 67–74, October, 1923, No. 16, pp. 61–9.
25. GOBINEAU ET LA PERSE. *Europe*, 1 octobre 1923, pp. 116–126.
26. Цена крови Грибоедова ('A. S. Griboyedov's blood-money'). *Russkaya mïsl*, Prague, 1923, III–V. Offprint 15 pp.

    Reviewed: by Krachkovsky, *Vostok*, IV, 1924, p. 187.
27. Система Малой Антанты ('The system of the Little Entente'). *SZ*, XVI, pp. 248–265.

1924

28. LES ÉTUDES IRANIENNES EN FRANCE. *RIS*, mars 1924, pp. 165–174.
29. REVIEW in *SZ*, 1924, XVIII, pp. 461–7 : V. Sanders, *Fünf Jahre Türkei.*
30. Востоковедение в России (' Oriental studies in Russia '). *SZ*, 1924, XX, pp. 403–417.

1925

31. L'INDE. *RIS*, juillet 1925, pp. 406–8.
32. Внешняя политика Грузии (' Georgia's external policy '). *SZ*, 1925, XXIII, pp. 452–472.
33. REVIEWS in *Pravo i khozyaystvo*, Paris, Nos. 1–2, and *SZ*, 1925, XXIV, p. 468 : S. F. Oldenburg, *Otchet o deyatelnosti Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk za 1923.*
34. REVIEW in *JA*, octobre 1925, pp. 340–5 : I. Orbeli, *Arkheologicheskaya expeditsiya* 1916 *v Van.*
35. L'AFGHANISTAN, *RIS*, janvier 1925, pp. 52–61.
36. ARTICLES IN *EI* : fasc. B—Ṣaḥna (p. 66), Ṣā'in-kal'a (p. 78), Sakkiz (p. 85), Salmās (pp. 121–2), Ṣamṣām al-Salṭana (pp. 144–5) ; fasc. C-Sarpul-i Zohāb (pp. 180–1), Sāwa (pp. 190–1) ; fasc. D-Sāwdj-bulak (pp. 194–9), Senna (pp. 233–7), Shabak (pp. 247–8), Shāhī-sewan (pp. 276–8) ; fasc. E—Shakāk (p. 300), Shakākī (p. 300).

1926

37. IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND PERSIAN LITERATURE. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14th edition, XII, pp. 586–7, XVII, pp. 607–10.
38. REVIEW in *The Economic Review*, London, 8 October, 1926, pp. 312–14 : Millspaugh, *The American task in Persia.*
39. THE MOSUL QUESTION, *Bulletins of the Reference service on International Affairs of the American Library in Paris*, 15 April, 1926, Nos. 9–10, 44 pp., 2 maps.

    Reviewed : by Sir A. T. Wilson, *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, 1926, XIII/4, p. 397.
40. ARTICLES IN *EI* : fasc. F—Shehrizūr (pp. 356–8), Shekkī (pp. 358–360).

1927

41. ARTICLES IN *EI* : fasc. G—Shughnān (pp. 404–6), Shūlistān (pp. 406–8) ; fasc. 36–7—Khatā'ī (pp. 974–5), Kuban (pp. 1149–1151), Kubba (p. 1151), Kurdes (pp. 1196–1219), Kurdistān (pp. 1220–2), Kutlugh-khān (pp. 1238–9) ; fasc. H—Sindjābī (p. 454), Sipihr (p. 458), Sīsar (pp. 475–6 ; fasc. I—Somāi (pp. 503–4).

1928

42. ETUDES SUR LES AHL-I HAQQ. I. ' TOUMARI ' = AHL-I HAQQ. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, janvier 1928, tome XCVII, No. 1, pp. 90–105.

43. (In collaboration with Sir E. D. Ross): PROFESSOR J. MARKWART, *BSOS*, v/4, pp. 897–902 (in revised form v.i. 52).
44. ARTICLES IN *EI*: fasc. 37—Lāhīdjān (pp. 8–9), Lak (pp. 11–12), Banū-Lām (pp. 12–13), Lankorān (p. 15), Lār (pp. 15–18), Lāz (pp. 20–2), Linga (p. 29), Lūlī (pp. 39–41), Lur (pp. 43–8), Lur-i buzurg (pp. 48–9), Lur-i kūchik (pp. 49–51), Luristān (pp. 51–4); fasc. J—Sulaimāniya (pp. 563–5), Suldūz (pp. 565–6), Sulṭānābād (pp. 573–4), Sulṭān Isḥāk (p. 572), Sulṭāniya (pp. 574–5), Sunḳur (p. 581), Tabrīz (pp. 612–623).

1929

45. DÉCOUVERTE D'INSCRIPTIONS PEHLÉVIES À DERBEND, *JA*, avril 1929, pp. 357–8.
46. REVIEWS in *JA*, juillet 1929, pp. 166–179, and octobre 1929, pp. 352–4: Mann-Hadank, *Kurdisch-persische Forschungen*, Band I, Abt. III. Vavilov-Bukinich, *Agricultural Afghanistan*.
47. DROGMANAT EN PERSE. *Répertoire de droit international*, publié par La Pradelle et Niboyet, v, pp. 706–8.
48. ARTICLES in *EI*: fasc. 39—Maiyāfārikīn (pp. 166–170); fasc. 39–40—Mākū (pp. 191–4), Ma'lthāi (p. 228), Ma'muret al-'Azīz (p. 239), Mand (pp. 251–2), Mānd (pp. 252–4); fasc. K—Bābā Ṭāhir (pp. 641–4), Tahmūrath (pp. 647–9); fasc. L—Tārom (pp. 709–712), Tasūdj (pp. 727–8), Tāt (pp. 733–6), Tawakkul b. Bazzāz (p. 739), Teherān (pp. 750–6).

1930

49. LE NOM DE DVIN. KASAL = KAZAKH. *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, x/1, pp. 117–123.
50. REVIEW in *BSOS*, v/4, pp. 903–10: Hadi Hasan, *Falakī-Shīrwānī*.
51. TRANSCAUCASICA, *Journ. As.*, juillet 1930, 41–111. (1) Le nom de Dvin; (2) Soghdabīl et Ardabīl; (3) Kasāl et Kazakh; (4) La forteresse Alindjak; (5) Min-Göl et les expéditions de Timur; (6) Bāb al-Lāl = Lālvār.
52. ESSAI DE BIBLIOGRAPHIE DE J. MARKWART, *JA*, octobre 1930, pp. 313–324 (v.s. 41).
53. LIVRES SCOLAIRES EN KURDE. *Revue des études islamiques*, 1930–1, pp. 157–160.
54. ARTICLES IN *EI*: fasc. 41—Manisa (pp. 261–2); Marāgha (pp. 177–182), Marand (pp. 283–4), Mardīn (pp. 290–3); fasc. M—Tiflis (pp. 791–802), Timur-Tash (pp. 822–3), Ṭufaili (p. 863), Tughā-Timur (pp. 863–5).
55. A. J. Wilson, *A Bibliography of Persia* (collaboration).

1931

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200. (In collaboration with Mrs. T. Minorsky) TRANSLATION of V. V. Barthold's *Mīr 'Āli Shīr* and *An outline of the history of the Turkman people*, Leiden, Brill, 180 pp.

1962

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203. VĪS-U RĀMĪN (IV), in *BSOAS*, XXV/2, 275–86.
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205. A Russian translation (revised) of A HISTORY OF SHARVAN AND DARBAND (see above, 188), Baku.
206. How far did the ancient Rūs travel? (In Russian.)

Addenda

Curriculum. In 1963 the University of Cambridge conferred on Professor V. Minorsky the degree of Litt.D. honoris causa. Elected Associate Member by the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (December 1963).

In 1948, at the invitation of the Orientální Ústav of the Czechoslovak Academy he attended the International meeting of Orientalists in Prague.

7a. Шиитский праздник убиения Омара (*Omar-koshān*) in A. E. Krymsky, История Персии, часть III, Москва 1906, стр. 350–7.
159a. Avicenne l'homme. Le livre du millénaire d'Avicenne, Téhéran 1954, vol. IV, pp. 3–12 (abrégé du No. 159).
200a. Les manuscrits turcs dans la collection Chester Beatty. In 'First International Congress of Turkish Art', Ankara 1961, pp. 266–9.

LE NOM DE DVIN EN ARMENIE

§ 1. Dvin dans les sources arméniennes
§ 2. Les *duvīn* d'Astarābād
§ 3. Leur antiquité
§ 4. A quelle langue appartient *duvīn* ?
§ 5. Sa transmission vers l'ouest
§ 6. Ancienne population de Dvin
§ 7. *Duvīn* au Kurdistān
§ 8. Le nom Dvin dans les sources hétérogènes

LA capitale de la dynastie des Aršakides arméniens était à Vaḷaršapat. Lorsqu'en 426 le dernier Aršakide fut déposé par le Sasanide Bahrām Gōr, le marzpān de l'Arménie persane s'établit dans la ville de Dvin, laquelle, après la conquête musulmane, servit aussi de résidence aux wālīs arabes. Après de nombreux désastres, qui au cours du xe siècle frappèrent Dvin du fait des invasions des princes musulmans venant du côté de l'Āzarbaiǰān,[1] le Bagratide Ašot III (961–977) fixa définitivement sa capitale à Ani. Le déplacement de la route de commerce reliant Trébizonde à la Perse qui en fut le résultat, paraît avoir porté le coup de grâce à la prospérité de Dvin.

Si l'emplacement de la ville de Dvin doit être cherché à l'intérieur du groupe des villages qui portent son nom et sont situés près de l'endroit où la rivière Gaṙni sort dans la plaine,[2] l'origine du nom de Dvin était restée jusqu'ici énigmatique.[3]

§ 1. La première mention du lieu Dvin (ou Dəvin) se trouve dans Fauste de Byzance (ve siècle). L'aršakide Ḫosrov II (381–389) aurait fait planter dans la localité Ayrarat deux forêts dont l'une s'étendait « à partir du solide château royal Gaṙni jusqu'à la plaine de Metsamaur, jusqu'à la colline qui s'appelle Dvin et est située au nord de la grande ville Artašat, en suivant le courant de la rivière jusqu'au palais Tiknuni ». Cette forêt reçut le nom de Tačar-mairi. L'autre forêt s'appelant Ḫosrovakert fut plantée au sud de la première. Ici fut construit le palais royal.[4]

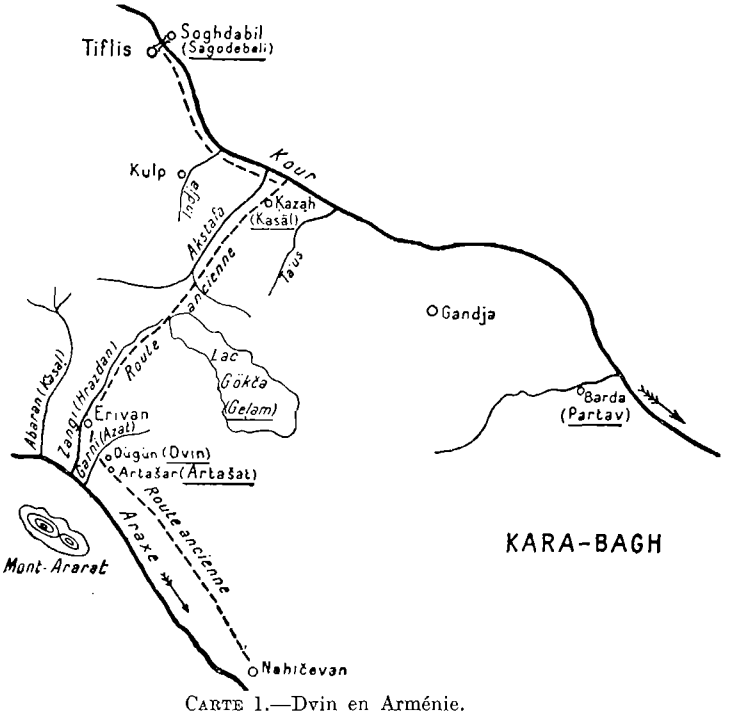
[1] Les Sājides, les Rawwādides, les amīrs de Goḷtn. Voir l'histoire d'Asoḷik de Tarōn, livre III, ch. 4, 5, 13, 18, 19 etc.

[2] Les ruines Berd (« forteresse ») situées entre le hameau musulman Torpaḫḳal'a et le village arménien Ardašar, à en juger d'après ce dernier nom, se rapportent plutôt à l'ancienne ville Artašat. Les sondages que M. Marr y fit en 1899 (jusqu'à une profondeur de 3,3 à 5 mètres) ont mis à jour quelques objets de l'époque musulmane. Seule une entaille représentant un lion et un bœuf (ailé) a un caractère plus ancien. *Otčet Imp. Archéol. Komissii* (pour 1899), SPb. 1902, p. 91–94.

[3] Hübschmann, *vide infra*; Thopdschian, *Zeit. f. Armen. Phil.*, II, 1903, p. 51, note 6; Streck, *Dwin*, dans l'*Encycl. de l'Islam*.

[4] Fauste, III, ch. 18. Voir la traduction de Hübschmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen, Indogerm. Forschungen*, XVI, Strasbourg 1904, p. 434, *sub verbo* Xosrovakert. Cf. les traductions de J. B. Emine dans *Fragm. hist. graec.*, éd. Müller, v/2, Paris 1872, p. 216 et de Lauer, Köln, 1879, p. 14.

Selon la version de Moïse de Khorène (VI–VIIe siècle ?) Ḫosrov planta une forêt près de la rivière Azat (= Gaṙni) et transféra sa cour sur un point élevé de la forêt : « il y bâtit un palais...qui en langue persane (*parskakan*) s'appelle Dvin ce qui se traduit par colline (*blur*).» [1]



CARTE 1.—Dvin en Arménie.

Hübschmann [2] qualifie d'erreur (*Irrtum*), l'explication de Moïse de Khorène, car d'une part il le croit inspiré directement de Fauste et d'autre part il invoque le témoignage de l'historien du Xe siècle Thomas Artsruni, lequel aurait employé le mot Blur comme le nom propre de la localité où était située la ville Dvin.[3]

Pour sa part Hübschmann déclare l'étymologie de Dvin obscure et laisse sans commentaire l'allégation de Moïse de Khorène quant à la signification du mot *dvin* en persan.

Libre à nous d'accepter ou de rejeter les conjectures de l'historien arménien mais le fait est sûr qu'il a connu un mot « persan » *dvin*, jusqu'à présent ignoré aussi bien en iranien ancien qu'en persan moderne.

§ 2. Or le mot *duvīn* « butte, colline » correspondant de très près à Dvin [4]

[1] Moïse de Khorène, III, ch. 18, trad. russe de N. Emine, Moscou, 1893, p. 148, cf. la traduction française dans Langlois, *Collection fes historiens...de l'Arménie*, II, p. 137.

[2] *Op. laud.*, p. 422 : « ein Irrtum, der durch die Quelle des Moses, Faustus Byz. 18–21, veranlasst ist.»

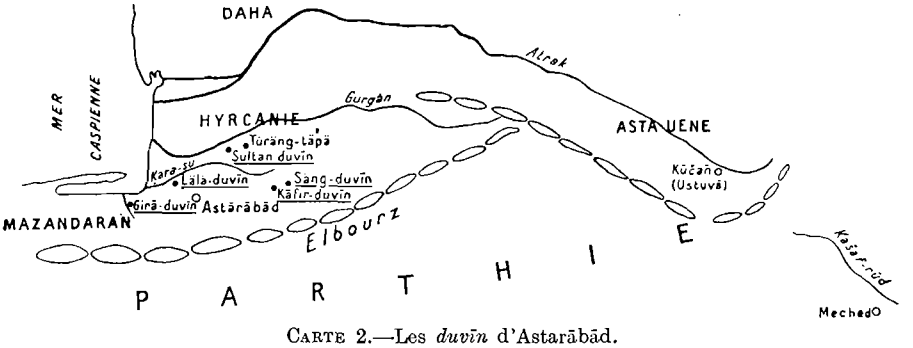
[3] Toutefois la traduction de Brosset, *Coll. d'hist. Arm.*, I, St-Pétersbourg 1874, p. 184, porte : « ce qu'on appelle le blour-plateau sur lequel est assise Dovin du Chahastan.»

[4] *U* bref, en dehors de la syllabe finale, devait disparaître en arménien, Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, I, p. 14.

nous a été conservé dans la toponymie de la province persane d'Astarābād au sud-est de la mer Caspienne, et plus exactement de la lisière des steppes qui s'étendent au nord de la chaîne d'Elborz. En allant de l'ouest à l'est on y trouve :

Girā-duvīn, colline à l'ouest d'Astarābād, گرا دوین de la géographie persane moderne (1235/1859) citée par Dorn. Ce point est bien connu par le meurtre de Muḥammad Ḥasanḫān Ḳāǰār, qui eut lieu dans ses environs en 1171/1758, et surtout par la tentative infructueuse des Russes d'y créer un point fortifié en 1782. Dans les relations contemporaines russes le nom de ce point a d'habitude la forme russifiée de Gradovin ou Gorodovin.[1] D'après Melgounov,[2] au-dessus de la colline 'Imārattäpä, près de la rivière Gälūga, « est située la butte [en russe *bugor*] appelée Girey-dügün, où se trouvaient les restes du bastion (*batareya* ?), construit en 1782 par le comte Voïnovitch ». Ce Girey-dügün, en turk « la noce de Girey », n'est qu'une adaptation due aux Turks (dont une tribu au Māzandarān porte justement le nom de Gireyli), et il est curieux de noter que les ruines de l'ancien Dvin figurent sur les cartes (voir Lynch, *Armenia*) sous la même forme turquisée : Dügün. Si la première partie du nom Girā-duvīn s'est obscurcie au cours du temps,[3] la finale *-duvīn* est pleinement confirmée par les autres exemples.

Lälä-duvīn, village sur le Ḳara-su, cf. Rabino, p. 80 et 125. Melgounov, p. 65, transcrit le nom Läldabīn mais en caractères arabes donne للدوين Lälduvīn (?).



CARTE 2.—Les *duvīn* d'Astarābād.

Sulṭān-duvīn, butte entre les rivières Ḳara-su et Gurgān. Son nom est souvent mentionné dans l'histoire persane. Là fut tué en 754/1353 le khan mongol Tuġā-Tīmūr, dont c'était le quartier d'hiver.[4] Rabino, p. 128, mentionne Sulṭān-duvīn dans la liste des buttes qu'on voit dans la steppe à l'est de la route Astarābād-Aḳ-ḳal'a.

[1] Cf. *grad, gorod* « ville », Boutkov, *Materialî po nov. istorii Kavkaza*, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1869, II, 85. Dorn, *Kaspii*, 1875 (éd. russe), p. 26–27, donne en plus les formes Gradovind, Gerey-dügün.

[2] *O yužnom berege Kasp. mor'a*, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1863, p. 47.

[3] Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 1928, p. 128, écrit قره دوين (? !) en turk « le Duvīn Noir ».

[4] Mon article *Tugha-Tīmūr* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*.

Kāfir-duvīn, butte dans le canton Kātūl à l'est d'Astarābād.[1]

Säng-duvīn (actuellement Nuṣrat-ābād), village du Kātūl, Rabino, p. 128.[2]

Ainsi donc il est parfaitement établi que le terme *duvīn* avec la signification « butte, colline » existe dans la toponymie d'une petite région clairement délimitée, tandis qu'il est inconnu ailleurs en Perse. La seule exception est le village Dawīn que Yāḳūt, II, 548, connaît au Khorasan dans les environs d'Ustuwā (= Kābūšān, actuellement Ḳūčān). Mais à la rigueur ce *Duvīn, très proche des steppes d'Astarābād, appartient à la même région des prolongements orientaux de l'Elborz. Le témoignage de Yāḳūt montre qu'au XIIIe siècle la série des *duvīn* s'étendait un peu plus vers l'est. D'autre part la présence de ce Duvīn près d'Ustuwā paraît confirmer l'hypothèse énoncée plus loin sur la voie de l'expansion de ce nom.

§ 3. D'après de Bode « la plaine turcomane...contient de 62 à 65 tépés similaires dont les dimensions varient et dont chacun porte un nom spécial ».[3] En 1841 une découverte très importante fut faite dans le Tūranǰ-täpä, situé à 12 milles anglais au nord-est d'Astarābād, sur un ruisseau qui se jette dans le Ḳara-su. Les ouvriers qui y creusaient un canal auraient remarqué une ouverture qui conduisait dans « une chambre souterraine où plusieurs jarres de cuivre étaient attachées au mur par une chaîne ». Des ossements humains et divers objets en or et en cuivre furent trouvés à l'intérieur de la chambre. Seulement une partie de ces objets fut dirigée vers le palais du Chah à Téhéran, où le baron de Bode eut la chance de les voir. Sa description et ses dessins sont les seuls documents dont on dispose actuellement sur cette trouvaille.[4] En 1900 M. S. Reinach, ayant retrouvé la planche oubliée de Bode, l'a reproduite [5] en attribuant l'ensemble des objets trouvés à la fin de l'âge de bronze et à l'époque mycéenne (vers 1500 avant J.-C.). En 1920, M. Rostovtsev a consacré au trésor d'Astarābād une étude plus détaillée [6] dans laquelle il recule la date du

[1] Häntzsche, *Topographie d. Pers. Turkomanie, Zeitschr. f. Allgem. Erdkunde*, 1862, XIII, p. 100 : « Tepe (Hügel) Kaferdwin.»

[2] Il est probable que ces deux derniers villages sont identiques à Kāfirduvīn et à Säng-duvīn [mentionnés dans un acte de 1581] que Rabino, p. 127, inventorie dans le rustāḳ d'Astarābād. Parmi les autres noms composés avec *-duvīn* on peut citer : 1. Tarduvīnī (تردوینی ?) sur la rivière Miyān-durūd qui se jette dans la Caspienne à l'ouest du golfe d'Astarābād [mentionné dans Ibn-Isfandiyār (vers 1200), trad. Browne, p. 101] ; 2. Šahr-duvīn, endroit où se trouvait le fort Ḳal'a Valabun détruit par Šāh Ardašīr de Māzandarān (mort en 602/1205), cf. Ẓahīr al-dīn, p. 253.

[3] Voir également de Morgan, *Études géographiques*, I, 1894, p. 86, 110.

[4] C. A. de Bode, *On a recently opened tumulus in the neighbourhood of Asterabad, forming part of ancient Hyrcania, and the country of Parthians, Archeologia . . . publ. by the Soc. of Antiquarians of London*, 1844, XXX, p. 248–255. Bientôt après, de Bode visita la région d'Astarābād mais toute trace de la découverte et des hommes qui l'avaient faite avait déjà disparu ! Voir de Bode, *Očerki turkmenskoy zemli, Otečestv. zapiski*, 1856, n° 7, p. 152–160 (description du Turäng-täpä).

[5] *Revue Archéologique*, 1900, II, p. 253.

[6] Rostovtzev, *The Sumerian treasure of Astrabad, Jour. of Egyptian Archeology*, 1919, VI, p. 4–27, résumé par M. S. Reinach dans la *Rev. Archéologique*, 1920, II, p. 382. M. Reinach ne mentionne que le nom du rédacteur de *Archeologia* et même M. Rostovtzev n'est pas renseigné sur l'identité de l'auteur de l'article originel. Or C. A. de Bode, premier secrétaire à la Légation de Russie à Téhéran vers 1837–1843, était un explorateur très éclairé. On lui doit de nombreux

trésor à une époque encore plus ancienne en le rattachant aux antiquités sumériennes,[1] aux trouvailles de l'expédition américaine de Pumpelly à Annau (en Transcaspienne) etc. Les problèmes préhistoriques dépassant le cadre de la présente étude, on ne retiendra ici que le fait de la haute antiquité des tertres de la région d'Astarābād.

On peut seulement ajouter que Dorn [2] avait déjà rapproché le nom de Tūräng-täpä de celui de la ville fortifiée de l'Hyrcanie *Σύριγξ* [3] qu'Antiochus le Grand avait prise sur les Parthes en 209 avant J.-C., Polybe, X, 31. D'après cette hypothèse, qui n'a pas perdu de sa vraisemblance,[4] Tūrang-täpä ne serait qu'une étymologie populaire turco-persane,[5] où le dernier élément *täpä* a facilement pu se substituer à l'ancien *duvīn* tombé en désuétude. Tūrang-täpä est encore entouré de tertres dont les noms sont composés avec *duvīn*.

Les événements historiques qui se rattachent à Sulṭān-duvīn et à Girā-duvīn attestent également l'importance ancienne de ces tells, au point de vue politique et militaire.

§ 4. On connaît maintenant assez bien les caractéristiques des deux dialectes différents du moyen persan : le *pahlavīk*, langue du nord et plus particulièrement celle des Parthes aršakides, et le *pārsīk*, langue du sud et plus particulièrement celle des Sasanides. La transcription Lälä-däbīn (?), citée dans Melgounov, pourrait représenter la forme méridionale, parallèle à la forme septentrionale *duvīn*, mais en général le mot qui nous intéresse est assez incolore au point de vue dialectal. Du reste dès le début il pouvait avoir un caractère strictement local et provincial, indépendamment des nuances septentrionale ou méridionale de sa prononciation persane.[6] Dans le domaine de l'iranien, et même de l'indo-européen, le mot n'a pas de parallèle sûr.[7]

travaux en anglais, en français et en russe. Voir son remarquable *Travels in Arabistan and Luristan*, L., 1845, 2 vol., où dans les chap. XIV et XVII il donne la description des bas-reliefs proto-élamites de Tang-i Saulek et de Mālamīr découverts par lui-même ; *Aperçu géogr. et stat. de la province d'Asterabad, Nouv. Annales des Voyages*, 1852, I ; *Les Turcomans à l'Orient de la mer Caspienne, ibid.*, 1852, II ; une description du voyage aux sanctuaires de la secte 'Ali-Allāhī au Zohāb (en russe, 1854) etc.

[1] Ces rapprochements ont naturellement un caractère provisoire. M. Rostovtzev lui-même, p. 16, admet que la rosette d'Astarābād ne se retrouve pas en Chaldée.

[2] Dorn, *Kaspii*, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1875, p. 73, 207, 485 [éd. allem., p. 49, 134, 272]. D'autre part Marquart, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Eran*, II, 1905, p. 62, rapproche Syrinx de Turunǰē, Iṣṭaḫrī, p. 216, Turunǰa, Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 302, laquelle était située beaucoup plus à l'ouest d'Astarābād, entre Āmol et Sārī. Toutefois les leçons du nom choisies par Marquart ne sont pas du tout certaines. Dans les historiens du Māzandarān il a la forme *Twǰy*, *Tryča*, etc. Cf. Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Tabaristans, Islamica*, vol. III, fasc. 1, p. 131–132.

[3] Plus souvent cette ville a été identifiée à Sārī.

[4] Pour la correspondance de *s/t* voir le nom de la ville *Σουσία*, Arrien III, 25, 1, qui correspond à Tūs, voir mon article *Ṭūs* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*.

[5] *Tūräng* en persan « faisan », *täpä* en turk « colline ».

[6] Par exemple, le nom de la ville Āmol au Māzandarān, dans lequel Andreas, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* [2], I, 1, 1729–1733, et Marquart, *Ēranšahr*, p. 136, ont reconnu celui du peuple *Ἄμαρδοι*, a une forme méridionale (*l* < *rd*), sans que cela préjuge de l'origine du nom lui-même qui à la rigueur peut être non-iranien.

[7] Une note dans ce sens m'a été très aimablement communiquée par mon ami L.-H. Gray. [Note de correction.]

La localité où *duvīn* a survécu jusqu'à nos jours appartient à l'ancienne Hyrcanie (Vəhrkāna), région voisine de la Parthie. Mais si géographiquement *duvīn* est un mot hyrcanien, cette constatation ne nous avance pas beaucoup car nous ne sommes pas renseignés sur la langue ancienne de cette région. Dans la toponymie transmise par les Grecs [1] certains noms ont une tournure iranienne (*Ἄδραψα, Ἀβαβθήνα, Βαράγγη, Κασάπη*) mais, dans l'ensemble, il est difficile de juger à quel point, la province était iranisée. Dans le voisinage de l'Hyrcanie on connaît les peuples *Μάρδοι* (ou *Ἄμαρδοι*) et *Τάπυροι* (*Τάπουροι*). Les premiers [2] se groupaient d'abord autour d'Āmol d'où le roi parthe Phradate Ier (vers 176 avant J.-C.) les transplanta dans la région de Charax (خوار) près de Raiy. Les Tapyres [3] du temps d'Alexandre vivaient dans la montagne au nord de Simnān (Ptolémée : *Σήμινα*), mais plus tard prirent la place des Mardes dans la région d'Amol et donnèrent leur nom à la province de Tabaristān. Un autre groupe des Tapyres paraît avoir vécu près de Tūs, où on trouve une ville Tābarān. On ne sait rien de positif sur le caractère ethnique des Mardes dont les colonies s'étendaient de l'Oxus (une autre ville Āmol = Čār-J̌ūy) jusqu'au lac de Van (canton arménien Mardastan), mais on croit généralement (Marquart) que les Tapyres étaient d'origine non-aryenne. La tradition avestique, qui peuple le Māzandarān de *daēva*,[4] indique aussi le caractère particulier de l'ancienne population de ce pays.[5]

Il est par conséquent possible que le mot *duvīn* eût été légué aux Iraniens par les anciennes populations non-aryennes qui dans la haute antiquité devaient descendre jusqu'en Hyrcanie. Les tells qu'on trouve maintenant dans cette région représentent probablement les anciens points d'appui contre les invasions, venant de la steppe, qui s'étend entre le Ḫwārizm et l'Hyrcanie, et leur nom *duvīn*, comme terme culturel, remonte peut-être à l'époque pré-iranienne.

§ 5. Or si réellement la patrie de ce mot rare est aux environs d'Astarābād, il est assez inattendu de le retrouver dès le IVe siècle à un millier de kilomètres vers l'ouest sur les bords de l'Araxe, et il est surtout curieux qu'au VIIe siècle Moïse de Khorène pût en connaître le sens exact. La seule explication plausible de ces faits serait que le mot eût été introduit en Arménie par les Aršakides sortis de régions proches de l'Astarābād. La tradition arménienne elle-même n'attribue-t-elle pas la construction de Dvin à un rejeton des Aršakides ?

[1] Les historiens d'Alexandre, Polybe, X, 29–31, Strabon, XI, chap. VII, Ptolémée, VI, chap. IX.

[2] Andreas, *Amardoi*, Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1729–1733. Dans *Die Assyriaca des Ktesias, Philologus*, Supplement band VI/2, 1891–1893, p. 648, Marquart considère les Mardes comme un peuple non-aryen à l'origine (« ursprünglich-nichtarischer Stamm »). Cf. aussi Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, II, p. 57, *Ērānšahr*, p. 136.

[3] Marquart, *Unters.*, II, p. 28–29, 57. *Ērānšahr*, p. 136.

[4] *Māzainya dāeva*, les références dans Bartholomæ, *Altir. Wörterb.*, coll. 1159 et 1371 (sub verbo *varəna*) ; cf. Geiger, *Ostir. Kultur*, 1882, p. 184. A la rigueur Vəhrkāna > Gurgān est également « pays des loups » !

[5] Voir mon article *Māzandarān* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*.

Les chefs parthes avaient occupé l'Hyrcanie dès 237 avant J.-C.[1] Mais déjà avant cette date le terme *duvīn* pouvait leur être familier par l'intermédiaire des Dahae. Ce dernier peuple nomadisait sur l'Atrak (ancien *Σάρνιος*) et devait bien connaître le mot qui désignait les tertres appelés à défendre l'avant-montagne tout d'abord contre les incursions des Dahae. Or la dynastie parthe elle-même était issue de la peuplade dahienne Parnoi et ces liens ont dû persister, car c'est parmi les Dahae que fut élevé le restaurateur de l'empire parthe Artabān III (10–40), lequel suivant toute probabilité était l'oncle de Tiridate (55–100), fondateur de la dynastie aršakide d'Arménie.[2]

On ne sait rien sur l'époque de la fondation du village Dawīn (*Duvīn) près d'Ustuvā (voir plus haut), mais on n'ignore pas que *'Ασαάκ*, ville du fondateur de la dynastie parthe, était justement sise dans la localité *'Αστανυηνή* (= Ustuvā).[3] Ce détail renforce les chances de la transmission ultérieure du terme *duvīn* par les Aršakides. Ces derniers devaient tenir à la terminologie géographique des lieux de leur origine. C'est ainsi que plus tard les Turks-Ġuzz, venus au XIe siècle de l'Asie centrale, importèrent en Āzarbaiǰān persan et en Transcaucasie le mot *kand* « village » qu'ils avaient emprunté au soġdien ou à une autre langue de l'Asie centrale.[4]

§ 6. La localité riche et fertile d'Ayrarat où se trouvait Dvin était habitée depuis une haute antiquité mais les Arméniens ne l'occupèrent que postérieurement à l'époque d'Hérodote.[5] Ainsi le nom de la capitale la plus ancienne de la région au nord de l'Araxe, Armavir, paraît dater de l'époque pré-arménienne. On admettra également que dans les vieux pays les villes surgissent rarement sur des emplacements vierges. D'habitude un village, un fort, un sanctuaire forment le point de départ d'un centre plus important. Tel est le cas de Tiflis, de Baġdād, de Téhéran. Il est donc possible que Ḫosrov II eût trouvé à Dvin quelque amorce de la future ville, d'un nom pré-arménien assimilé plus tard à **duvīn*. Seulement on ne saurait sacrifier l'explication de Moïse de Khorène à une possibilité purement hypothétique.[6]

[1] Justin, XL, chap. 4, qui attribue la conquête de l'Hyrcanie au fondateur de la dynastie parthe Arsaces, appelle ce dernier « duarum civitatum imperio præditus ».

[2] Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, 1873, p. 29 et 110. Sur les Dahae voir Tomaschek, *Daai*, dans Pauly-Wissowa [2]. Les Dahae sont pour la première fois mentionnés à lépoque d'Alexandre, Justin, XII, chap. 6, 13. Ce peuple scythique vivait à l'est de la mer Caspienne, au nord de l'Hyrcanie, ainsi que le long de la localité parthe Nisaia arrosée par Ochos (= Areios, actuellement Teǰen). Le canton Dihistān sur l'Atrak doit son nom aux Dahae, voir Barthold, *Histoire de l'irrigation au Turkestan* (en russe), Saint-Pétersbourg 1914, p. 31–35. Le Dihistān est constamment mentionné par Firdausī dans les récits des luttes de l'Irān et du Tūrān, éd. Vullers, I, 175, 251, 252 etc.

[3] Isidore de Charax (éd. Paris, p. 251) : *πόλις Ἀσαὰκ, ἐν ᾗ Ἀρσάκης πρῶτος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδείχθη· καὶ φυλάττεται ἐνταῦθα πῦρ ἀθάνατον.* Cf. Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. v. Persien*, 1883, I, p. 85.

[4] Voir les noms Taškend, Samarḳand, et les nombreux noms à base de *-καθ* dans le bassin du Sir-Daryā, Barthold, *Turkestan*, éd. angl., 1928, p. 161, 166, 174. Le mot *kand* est inconnu en Perse dans les régions purement persanes.

[5] Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 207, 279.

[6] Dans son important travail *Arménie à l'époque de Justinien* (en russe), Saint-Pétersbourg, 1908 [XIV + 526 pages], M. Adontz, p. 222, à titre d'étymologie locale « pré-aršakide », a proposé

Quelle que fût l'origine du mot *duvīn*, pour Moïse de Khorène il portait l'estampille de ceux qui l'avaient transmis. Il l'appelle donc « mot persan » et lui assigne une signification conforme à celle qui résulte de la toponymie d'Astarābād. D'autre part le témoignage de Fauste est formel quant à l'existence d'une colline portant le nom de Dvin. Moïse de Khorène aussi parle d'un *blur* réel et concret. L'interprétation de Blur comme d'un nom propre, si jamais elle a existé, est certainement d'une époque tardive lorsque fut oubliée l'étymologie aršakide de Dvin.

§ 7. A part la capitale arménienne, on reconnaît le même élément *duvīn* dans deux places du Kurdistān : d'après les cartes anglaises un Duwin-ḳal'a existe 40 kilomètres au nord d'Arbil, et une petite rivière Dara-Dowin (*Därä-Duvīn) se jette du côté droit dans le Diyālā (Sīrwān) à l'endroit où cet affluent du Tigre tourne vers le midi.

M. C. J. Edmonds me communique aimablement l'extrait suivant de son journal de voyage 1926 : « Duwīn-ḳal'a, a typical fort of Muhammad-pāšā of Rowānduz, perched up on the top of a ridge above the stream (that flows down from Shaklava). The Kurds here say that Duwīn was once a considerable town and was the original home of the family of Saladin. There are certainly signs of many buildings, now in ruins.» De cela il résulte : 1° que Duwīn-ḳal'a est situé sur une hauteur ; 2° que la confusion de Duwīn-ḳal'a avec Dvin témoigne de l'identité des deux noms pour l'oreille des indigènes.

En ce qui concerne le petit courant de Dara-Dowin, il est à retenir qu'il traverse une localité très mémorable : il baigne le pied sud du fameux monument de Paikuli érigé par le sasanide Narsē (293–303).[1] Avant les Sāsānides, les Aršakides devaient certainement utiliser la route importante [2] passant par le col de Paikuli, car, ainsi que le prouvent les documents d'Awrāmān, datant du Ier siècle avant J.-C.,[3] la domination des Parthes s'étendait loin au nord du Sīrwān.

Paikuli est certes un monument sāsānide, mais il est d'environ quatre-vingts ans antérieur à la date traditionnelle de la construction de Dvin par un rejeton de la dynastie aršakide. A l'instar de ses prédécesseurs Artašīr et Šāpuhr, Narsē fit rédiger son inscription en deux textes parallèles, *pārsīk* et *pahlavīk* ; seulement l'inscription de Paikuli est la dernière connue dans laquelle le

**dava*, géorgien *daba* « village », avec comme illustration le nom de la ville Dabana en Petite Arménie. Toutefois dans Pauly-Wissowa [2], IV, p. 1906, Fraenkel explique le nom de Dabana (Davana), château fort en Osrhoène ; Amm. Marc., XXIII, 37, comme araméen Dahewānā « doré ». Un autre fort *Δάβανα* est mentionné dans Procope, *De aedif.*, II, 4, entre Dara et Amida ; voir *ibid.*

[1] Voir Herzfeld, *Die Aufnahme des sasanidischen Denkmals v. Paikuli, Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1924, n° 1, p. 1–29, et Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Berlin, 1924, I.

[2] Elle bifurquait de la route royale (reliant la Mésopotamie à la Perse) près de Ḥulwān pour se diriger vers le Šahrazūr, cf. mon article *Shehrizūr* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*. M. Herzfeld a aimablement attiré mon attention sur le fait que cette localité se trouve déjà mentionnée dans le *Kārnāmak-i Artašīr-i Pāpakān*, voir trad. Nöldeke, p. 50.

[3] E. H. Minns, *Parchments of the Parthian period from Auroman in Kurdistan*, 1915, p. 41–42.

pahlavīk soit employé et elle se trouve très isolée des autres monuments sāsānides. Par conséquent, l'existence d'une version *pahlavīk* à Paikuli peut être rapportée au fait qu'on entendait mieux dans la région du Diyālā cette variété aršakide de la langue officielle moyen-persane.

La pénétration du terme *duvīn*, ainsi sur le Diyala que sur l'Araxe, s'explique mieux par l'influence aršakide que par l'influence sāsānide. Et même si le terme Dara-Dowin, interprété comme « vallée de la colline [fortifiée ?] » avait un rapport direct avec l'édifice de Paikuli, construit sur une éminence, on pourrait supposer qu'à une époque antérieure cette éminence devait être couronnée d'un fortin contrôlant le col (qui se trouve juste au nord de Paikuli), et le gué de Bān-Ḫēlān (à trois heures de distance vers le sud-est) où la route passe de la rive gauche à la rive droite du Diyālā.

§ 8. Il nous reste à considérer les formes étrangères du nom Dvin. Les Byzantins appellent la ville *τὸ Δούβιος*,[1] **τὸ Τιβή*,[2] **τὸ Τίβιον*.[3] Les deux dernières formes supposent une réduction du *u* (**duvīn*) que fait encore sentir *Δούβιος*. Il n'est pas aisé de se prononcer sur la valeur de *β* (intervocalique !) car, si, d'une part la transcription de *β* par *ν* arménien n'est relevée qu'à partir du xe siècle,[4] d'autre part déjà Strabon, xi, 14, § 5, rend Vaspurakan par *Βασοροπέδαν* (restitué par Kiepert en **Βασοποράκαν*).[5]

Les transcriptions araméennes : *'dbyn* (Dionyse de Tell Maḥrē, éd. Chabot, texte, p. 79, sous l'année 640–641), Dw*b*yn, Dwyn, D'wyn,[6] sont assez ambiguës à cause du caractère spirant du *b* araméen.

En arabe la forme ancienne est دبيل Dabīl.[7] Seulement un manuscrit d'Ibn Ḥauḳal, p. 240*d*, donne دوين (à côté de Dabīl) et au xiiie siècle Yāḳūt transcrit séparément les deux formes Dabīl et Dawīn, comme s'il ne se doutait pas de leur identité.[8] Seule la dernière forme était vivante comme le montrent l'histoire selǰukide *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, *Gibb Memorial*, p. 299, et J̌uvainī, même série, II, 160, qui écrivent دوِن Divin.

[1] Procope, *Persica*, II, 24–25 et 30 (éd. Bonn, I, 263_1 ; 263_4 ; 297_{21}) ; ville distante de huit jours de Theodosiopolis (Erzeroum), célèbre par le commerce des Indiens et des autres gens.

[2] *Ἕως τοῦ Τιβή*, *Hist. Haeresis Monothelitarum* (vers 700), cité par Gelzer dans l'édition de Georgius Cyprius, Leipzig, 1890, p. liv ; Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imp.*, cap. xliv, mentionne *Τιβή* parmi les domaines de Ašot le Grand (862–890). Cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 463.

[3] Const. Porphyr., *De admin. imperio*, cap. xlv, parle sous 932 de l'expédition byzantine *κατὰ τοῦ κάστρου Τιβίου* au delà du pays des Phasiens (Basiān = Pasīn, à l'est d'Erzeroum). Cf. également Muralt, *Essai sur la chronog. byzantine*, p. 630, sous les années 1045 et 1046 où il s'agit du šaddādide Abū-Suvār, maître de Tibion.

[4] Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, I/2, p. 326.

[5] Cf. toutefois Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 210.

[6] Ghazarian, *op. laud.*, p. 209.

[7] Ibn Ḫurdāḏbih, 122, etc. ; Balāḏurī, 199 ; Ṭabarī, III, 1409, Dubīl (*sic*) ; Iṣṭaḫrī, 198, etc. ; Ibn Ḥauḳal, 244, etc. ; Muḳaddasī, 51, etc.

[8] Sous *Dabīl*, II, 548, il mentionne : 1° une localité limitrophe de Yamāma ; 2° la ville en Arménie ; 3° un village de Ramla ; — sous *Dawīn*, II, 632 : 1° une ville de l'Arrān, sur les confins de l'Āḏarbaijān près de Tiflīs et 2° un village d'Ustuwā (= Kūčān au Ḫorāsān).

Dans la forme traditionnelle Dabīl, l'alternance *n/l* est un phénomène naturel et fréquent [1] dont on peut citer en arabe de nombreux exemples :

Ardahan (?) aux sources du Kour (arm. Artahan, géorg. Artan), dans les manuscrits de Balāḏurī, p. 203, s'appelle ارتهان et ارطهال.[2]

Manazkert < arm. plus ancien Manavazakert, Hübschmann, *D. Altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 449, est rendu par les Arabes tantôt comme منازجرد (منازكرد), Iṣṭ., 188, Ibn Ḥauḳal, 245–246, tantôt comme ملازجرد (ملازكرد), Iṣṭ., 188, note *o*, Muḳaddasī, 51, Yāḳūt, IV, 648 [et Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī, p. 106].

Arduvān اردوان, Mukaddasī, p. 258 *o*, ville du Ḫūzistān porte dans Yāḳūt, I, 204, le nom de اردوال.

Quant à *b* de Dabīl, on peut le rapprocher de celui de Busfurraǰān. Dans cette dernière forme, par laquelle Balāḏurī, p. 100, et Ṭabarī, III, 1410, rendent l'arménien Vaspurakan, *b* est la correspondance du *v* labio-dental, distinct du *w* bilabial arabe. Toutefois les Arabes n'ont pas été conséquents dans la transcription du *v* arménien comme le montrent les formes ويص, Balāḏurī, p. 195, 200, et ويذور, Ibn Ḥauḳal, p. 254, qui correspondent à Vayots (-berd ou -dzor) arménien, Ghazarian, p. 216. Il est vrai que le cas du *b* intervocalique de Dabīl présente un caractère spécial, mais en arabe *dabīl* veut dire « endroit dépourvu de sable au milieu des sables » [3] et, de toute façon, les Arabes devaient être influencés par cette étymologie populaire.[4] Finalement, il ne faut pas

[1] Cf. en géorgien *amıralmumli* < امير المومنين (avec dissimilation), Čubinov, *Dictionnaire*, p. 15.

[2] Yāḳūt, I, 204, mentionne une forteresse Ardahn appartenant à Raiy (Rhagès) et une *nāhiya* Ardahn entre Dunbāwand et le Ṭabaristān. Un village Ardahan (?) existe dans l'Āzarbaijān entre Sarāb et Miyāna, et un autre Ardahen (?) à l'ouest de la route Hamadān-Zanǰān (sur le parallèle de Bīǰār). Dans la région de Raiy le nom اردهن que Ḥasan Rūmlu (sous l'année 909/1503) transcrit اردهند cf. Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 398, se rattache à la série de Rūdihin, Būmihin (ancien Bāmihind, ainsi au lieu de نامهد dans l'édition de Iṣṭaḫrī, p. 114). Mais aux sources du Kour le nom peut avoir une autre origine, cf. la forme géorgienne Artan qui rappelle le nom de l'ancien peuple Arṭān aux sources du Tigre, cf. Balaḏurī, p. 211.

[3] Cf. Yāḳūt, II, 548, et les dictionnaires arabes, tels que le *Tāǰ al-'arūs*.

[4] A la rigueur on pourrait également admettre que ce *b* soit dû au milieu kurde. La présence des Kurdes dans la région voisine de Dvin est un fait historique. Moïse de Khorène, I, ch. 30, dit qu'Artavazd, fils d'Artašes, étant allé parmi les Mars (Mar < Mād « Mède [= Kurde] ») bâtit Marakert sur la prairie de Šarur (immédiatement au sud de Dvin). Habīb b. Maslama vers 22/643–644 étant arrivé à Artašat (اردساط) « passa la rivière des Kurdes (نهر الاكراد) et descendit sur la plaine de Dabīl ». Cette rivière peut correspondre seulement à Azat, où Gařni-čai de nos jours, qui coule immédiatement à l'ouest de Dvin, cf. Balāḏurī, p. 200, Ṭabarī, I, 2674. Au XIe siècle le prince Abūsuvar, de la dynastie kurde šaddādide, était le maître de Tibion (Dvin), cf. Muralt, *op. laud.* Le grand Saladin était de par son origine un Ḳurde de Dvin ; voir Ibn Ḫallikān, trad. de Slane, IV, 48, qui précise le lieu de sa naissance à Aǰdanaḳān, cf. sur ce nom Moïse de Khorène, I, ch. 30. Encore de nos jours un des villages surgis sur l'emplacement de Dvin s'appelle « Dvin Kürdäkänd [< Kurd-känd] ». Or en kurde, comme en persan, *b* correspond à *v* initial plus ancien conservé dans les autres parlers iraniens. On pourrait imaginer une étymologie populaire kurde où l'élément *du-* serait interprété comme « deux » : **du-vīn*. Alors le *v* de *-vīn*, passé à l'initiale, aurait pu aboutir à **bīn*.

exagérer l'importance de la vocalisation Dabīl, Dawīn, car la *fatḥa* n'est qu'un expédient pour résoudre le groupe consonnantique à l'initiale des mots étrangers. Dans Ṭabarī on trouve aussi la vocalisation Dubīl, probablement plus ancienne.

Telles sont les pérégrinations dans l'Occident du mot *duvīn*, sorti des steppes du sud-est de la Caspienne, et tels sont ses avatars dans des milieux hétérogènes.

Postscriptum

Je laisse en suspens la question de l'origine du terme *duvin* lequel ne manque pas d'analogies indo-européennes tentantes.

LA DOMINATION DES DAILAMITES *

LA région du Dailam [1] est peut-être moins inconnue que ses habitants; et encore Dailam fait-il tout d'abord penser au petit canton Dailamān, situé dans le Gīlān au sud de la ville de Lāhīdjān, bien que ce canton [2] ne soit qu'un restant, ou même une colonie, de l'ancien Dailam. Quant aux Dailamites, leur rôle dans l'histoire de la Perse commence à se dessiner avec clarté seulement depuis très peu de temps, grâce surtout à la publication de l'ouvrage d'Ibn Miskawaih, l'historien de la dynastie Būyide.[3]

La renaissance persane, qui sous l'égide des Samanides (875–999) s'était opérée à l'extrême est de la Perse, a éclipsé pour les générations postérieures la vie de la Perse occidentale. On ne pouvait certainement pas ignorer l'importance de la dynastie Būyide, mais ses liens avec l'élément dailamite dont elle était sortie et qui constituait son appui principal, n'ont pas été suffisamment mis en évidence.

Or cette tribu iranienne qui, entre 928 et 1055, exerça son influence sur la vaste aire s'étendant de l'Océan Indien jusqu'aux confins de la Syrie, mérite pleinement notre attention. En partant de cette base ethnique, nous chercherons surtout à montrer que pendant plus de cent ans les Dailamites furent les porte-étendards de l'iranisme dans toute la partie de l'Iran qui est située à l'ouest du grand désert central.

1. Tout d'abord parlons du pays des Daïlamites. Au xe siècle, alors que le pouvoir des Būyides était à son apogée, le terme Dailam avait désigné toutes les provinces de la côte méridionale de la Caspienne; et le grand géographe Muqaddasi (985 après J.-C.), dans son ardeur de réformer la terminologie géographique, comprend, sous la rubrique « Dailam », la totalité des territoires autour de la Caspienne.[4] Toutefois le Dailam proprement dit,[5] ce véritable berceau des Dailamites, était une région montagneuse déterminée qui formait une sorte d'antichambre du Gīlān.

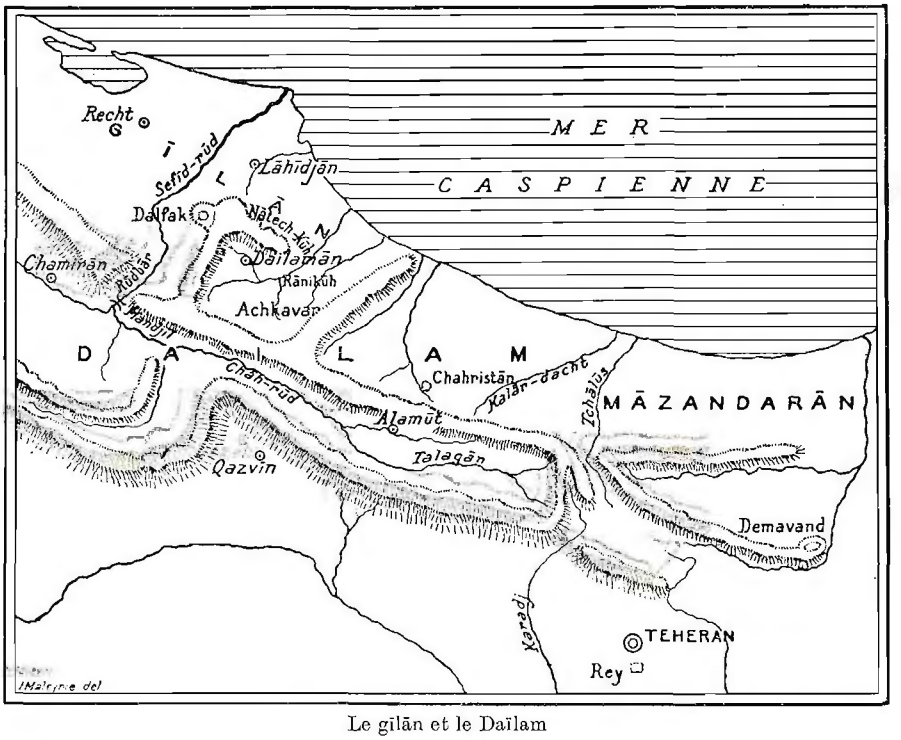
Tous ceux qui de Téhéran sont allés vers la Caspienne ont dû suivre la grande trouée par laquelle le Sefīd-rūd, né au sud de la grande muraille de l'Elborz, s'échappe vers la mer. Après Qazvīn la route gravit l'obstacle secondaire qui sépare le plateau iranien du bassin du Sefīd-rūd et ensuite descend vers le pittoresque pont de Mendjīl, bâti en aval de la jonction du Sefīd-rūd avec son affluent de droite le Chāh-rūd, et en amont du défilé par lequel leurs eaux réunies franchissent la chaîne principale. C'est dans l'avant-montagne de l'Elborz, située au sud de la chaîne principale mais arrosée par les eaux qui ensuite trouvent une issue vers le nord, qu'on doit chercher la patrie des Dailamites. Sur le versant nord de l'Elborz les mêmes tribus occupaient les cantons montagneux entre le Sefīd-rūd et la rive gauche de la rivière

* Conférence faite à la Société des Etudes Iraniennes, Paris, le 28 mai, 1931. [Cf. maintenant Minorsky, ' Daylam ', dans *Encycl. of Islam*², 1962, pp. 189–194.]

Tchālūs qui se jette dans la mer à environ 180 km. à l'est de l'embouchure du Sefīd-rūd.[6]

Par contre la partie plate et marécageuse du littoral était occupée par les Gīl-s dont le nom explique celui de la province de Gīlān.

Au point de vue du climat le pays élevé de Dailam avait tous les avantages, tant sur le Gīlān, avec ses marais et ses paludismes, que sur le plateau central, avec sa grande sécheresse énervante. Ce pays « ni trop grand, ni trop beau » (Muqaddasi), avait produit une race forte et très nombreuse, renommée pour



Le gīlān et le Daïlam

son courage extraordinaire (*djalādatun 'adjībatun*) et sa grande endurance, et dont les représentants avaient une belle prestance et de belles barbes. Une source arabe appelle les Dailamites *achqar* « au teint vermeil » [7]. Les cheveux longs et en désordre des Dailamites ont de tout temps fait les frais des métaphores des poètes. Ces derniers mentionnent également une calotte dailamite de couleur noire.[8]

2. Il est malaisé de se prononcer sur les origines lointaines de ces montagnards. On sait que, dans les provinces Caspiennes, il existait dans l'antiquité des peuples probablement non-iraniens qui avaient disparu depuis (les Tapur-s, les Amard-s, etc.). Peut-être les Dailamites étaient-ils apparentés à, ou issus d'un de ces peuples. Le géographe Istakhri, qui écrivait en 951, constate tout d'abord que la langue des Dailamites est différente de l'arabe, du persan et de l'arranien, et ensuite que dans leur montagne il y a une tribu qui parle

une langue différente même de celles des Dailamites et des Gīl-s.[9] La survivance sporadique des anciennes langues était possible ; mais il est sûr qu'à l'époque musulmane la plupart des Dailamites étaient déjà iranisés, à en juger par leurs noms propres que nous connaissons : Mākird, Mākān, Māfannāh, Vehsūdān, Marddūst, Mardāvīdj (« qui s'attaque aux hommes »), Lachkarsitān, Lachkarvarz, Vandādkhurchīd, Vuchmgīr (« preneur de cailles »), Gōrgīr (« preneur d'onagres »), Asfār (« cavalier »), Chīrasfār, Bilasuvār (« grand écuyer »), Chīrzīl « cœur de lion » (*zīl* = *dil* en persan) etc. La toponymie du pays dailamite (*Purdasar* « tête de pont », où *purd* = *pul* en persan) corrobore l'impression que la langue des Dailamites à l'époque arabe était un dialecte iranien du nord assez distinct du persan (*fārsī*), lequel est un dialecte du sud et tout d'abord de la province de Fārs.[10] Les Persans devaient éprouver quelque difficulté à comprendre ce patois, comme actuellement il leur est malaisé de comprendre le kurde et même le gīlakī.

3. Déjà Polybe au IIe siècle avant notre ère parle du peuple Delymaïoï et le géographe Ptolémée au IIe siècle après J.-C. connaît leur pays Delymaïs.

Leur pays paraît n'avoir jamais été conquis, du moins d'une façon solide, par les anciens rois de Perse : Achéménides, Parthes et Sāsānides.[11] Mais les Dailamites s'engageaient volontiers comme mercenaires et c'est ainsi que les Byzantins, qui, depuis le IVe jusqu'au VIIe siècle, étaient constamment en guerre avec les Persans, mentionnent les contingents dailamites dans les troupes persanes.[12] Les Dailamites organisaient aussi pour leur propre compte des expéditions lointaines ; et le géographe Yāqūt (II, 711) signale l'existence au Chahrazūr d'un endroit Dailamistān, lequel sous les anciens rois de Perse aurait servi aux Dailamites de point d'appui lorsqu'ils descendaient vers la plaine mésopotamienne, et de dépôt du butin qu'ils rapportaient de leurs razzias.[13]

Les Dailamites avaient certainement des princes, car au moment de la conquête musulmane leur chef Mūtā (ou Mūrthā) organisa la résistance aux Arabes sur la rivière Vādjrūd (entre Hamadān et Qazvīn), et il devait avoir un rang élevé, car les autres chefs des provinces caspiennes lui étaient subordonnés.

Les Dailamites avaient une organisation de clans qui s'appuyait sur l'autorité des chefs de famille. Du moins le grand savant al-Bīrūnī reproche à l'Alide Nāṣir al-Uṭrūch (c'est-à-dire Hasan al-Uṭrūch, vers 914) d'avoir décomposé l'ancienne organisation du Dailam qui datait du roi légendaire Farīdūn et dont l'élément essentiel était les katkhudā (« maître de la maison », *pater familias*) : ceux-ci auraient été remplacés par un système de collaboration des rebelles (brigands) avec le peuple.[14]

La religion des Dailamites était d'un caractère assez vague. Le zoroastrisme et probablement le christianisme pénétraient chez eux, mais Mas'ūdī déclare formellement qu'au Dailam il y avait des gens qui vivaient dans l'ignorance de toute religion établie.[15] Les auteurs musulmans enregistrent parmi les Dailamites de nombreux usages et coutumes qui les frappaient beaucoup. D'après Muqaddasi ils pratiquaient une stricte endogamie, c'est-à-dire, se mariaient toujours dans leur tribu ; et un jour l'auteur vit de ses propres

yeux un homme qui un glaive à la main poursuivait une femme pour la punir d'avoir épousé un étranger. En ceci les Dailamites se distinguaient de leurs voisins du Gīlān chez qui les mœurs étaient assez relâchées. Du reste les femmes dailamites étaient les égales des hommes et au même titre participaient aux affaires.[16] Les jours de marché les Dailamites s'exerçaient à la lutte devant tous les habitants du village. Tous les auteurs parlent des lamentations auxquelles les Dailamites se livraient sur leurs morts. Nous reviendrons encore sur ce point important.[17]

4. Encore au temps des Sasanides Qazvīn était le grand rempart contre les Dailamites ; la forteresse Tchālūs, à l'est du Dailam, avait aussi une importance considérable. Les musulmans n'eurent qu'à fortifier ces points dirigés contre la peuplade turbulente. Mais « dans la montagne de la ville de Tchālūs et au delà d'elle vivait la nation dailamite qui n'avait jamais manifesté d'obéissance ».[18]

Les nombreuses expéditions contre le Dailam n'obtinrent pas de résultats durables. Pourtant la montagne des Dailamites n'était pas totalement inaccessible au point de vue géographique. On raconte que le célèbre Hadjdjādj avait fait préparer une carte du Dailam et la montra au chefs dailamites pour leur prouver l'inutilité de la résistance, une fois que les secrets de leur pays étaient connus. Mais les Dailamites regardèrent la carte avec indifférence : « O amīr », dirent-ils, « la carte est incomplète, on n'y voit pas les cavaliers qui gardent la montagne ».[19]

L'historien contemporain Seyyid Ahmad Kasrawi, non sans quelque exagération du reste, remarque à propos des Dailamites : « Les musulmans avaient déjà pénétré jusqu'à la Loire en France, tandis que cette poignée d'hommes résistait encore ».[20]

Toutefois l'Islam s'infiltra au Dailam d'une manière paisible. Par crainte de persécutions des Abbāsides certains descendants d'Ali cherchèrent refuge au Dailam (175/791) où ils furent reçus comme des alliés éventuels contre les caliphes de Baghdad.

A partir de 250/864 ces Imams jouèrent un rôle important, faisant du Dailam un nouveau centre de résistance, également hostile à Baghdad et aux dynasties du Khorasan qui, s'étant émancipées de Baghdad, cherchaient à étendre leur domination dans les provinces caspiennes.

5. Pour mieux comprendre le rôle des Dailamites dans l'histoire de la Perse il nous faudra rappeler brièvement les destinées de l'iranisme depuis le VIIe siècle de notre ère.

Les derniers succès iraniens dataient d'environ 614, lorsque les armées des Sasanides, déjà en possession du Yemen, s'étaient avancées jusqu'à Jérusalem, l'Egypte et Constantinople.

Vers 628, par un coup de théâtre, tous ces succès furent neutralisés par le jeune et vaillant empereur de Byzance, Héraclius, qui occupa l'Azarbaidjan et brûla le grand temple du feu de Ganzak.[21] Le roi Khosrou II, déposé par son fils Chiroyé, fut assassiné dans sa prison. Les fleuves mésopotamiens avaient

débordé cette année-là; et l'inondation fut suivie d'une terrible épidémie de peste à laquelle succomba Chiroyé. En quatre ans, douze personnes se succédèrent sur le trône et lorsque finalement le jeune Yazdagird prit le pouvoir, il était trop tard, car les Arabes — jouant le rôle du troisième larron — étaient aux portes de la Perse. Battu dans toutes les batailles, Yazdagird s'enfuit à Merv et y périt en 651, tandis que son fils Fīrūz chercha asile à la cour de Chine.

Pour environ deux siècles, le nom de la Perse allait se fondre dans celui du califat et la renaissance persane fut lente et pénible.

Les deux systèmes d'administration — celui des Califes Omayyades et celui des 'Abbāsides — étaient très différents.

Sous les Omayyades (660–750) l'état était purement arabe et les indigènes n'existaient que pour être gouvernés par les Arabes.

Sous les 'Abbasides, qui eux-mêmes étaient sortis du Khorasan, l'iranisme pénètre dans toutes les administrations et dans tous les domaines de la vie culturelle bien que l'idée arabe trouve des défenseurs très convaincus parmi les Persans eux-mêmes. Ces derniers sont partout les bienvenus, naturellement à condition qu'ils consentent à marcher dans la voie impériale du califat et même à se servir de l'arabe comme langue officielle et littéraire !

Toutefois, même pour un tel système mitigé, les territoires soumis aux califes étaient trop grands: tandis qu'à l'ouest toute l'Afrique septentrionale s'émancipe de Baghdad, à l'extrême est trois dynasties d'anciens gouverneurs du calife acquièrent successivement l'autonomie:

les Tāhirides (821–873);
les Saffārides (867–903);
les Sāmānides (875–999).

Les Samanides étaient déjà de véritables souverains persans et on connaît les splendeurs de leur cour à Bokhārā et leur rôle dans le développement de la littérature persane.

Le morcellement du califat ne s'était pas arrêté au Khorasan. Plus à l'ouest des Sāmānides se dressa une deuxième zone de territoires autonomes et c'est ici que dominèrent les Dailamites qui s'étaient emparés des territoires entre les Sāmānides et le califat.

6. A la lumière de cette digression nous sommes maintenant à même d'apprécier l'avènement des Dailamites à sa juste valeur.

Nous les avons laissés (vers 800), au moment où les Alides chassés par les 'Abbāsides s'étaient établis parmi eux. Graduellement la propagande alide obtint ce que les armes n'avaient pas réussi à imposer — la conversion de la majorité des Dailamites à l'Islam sous sa forme chi'ite-zaidite.[22] A leur tour les imāms se dailamisèrent et embrassèrent la cause des populations locales. Tant que les Dailamites résistaient aux tentatives de conversion, leur pays était considéré comme un « territoire de guerre » (*dār al-harb*), ce qui permettait aux musulmans d'organiser la chasse aux esclaves. L'Alide Hasan ibn Alī

al-Utrūch (302/914) mit fin à ces pratiques et fit détruire la forteresse de Tchālūs dirigée contre le Dailam.

Pour protéger les droits des Dailamites sur les pâturages communaux que les gouverneurs Tāhirides voulaient s'approprier, les Alides s'allièrent d'abord à la dynastie des princes locaux (de la dynastie **Djustānide**). De Dailam les imāms conduisent leurs ouailles à travers toutes les provinces caspiennes. Ainsi ils habituent les Dailamites à l'idée d'expansion et les rendent conscients de leur force. Plus tard, vers 302/914 les Alides, donnant à leur mouvement un caractère démocratique, ameutent la population contre les princes Djustānides et prennent eux-mêmes le pouvoir. D'après Tabarī (III, 2292) les hommes n'avaient jamais vu un gouvernement plus juste que celui de Hasan al-Utrūch.

Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawi a pu tracer l'existence de six princes de la maison djustānide entre les années 804 et 927.[23] Leur centre était à Rūdbār, sur le Sefīd-rūd, en aval de Mendjīl,* et on se demande si la forteresse dont on voit encore les ruines au milieu du fleuve n'a pas quelque rapport avec les Djustānides.[24] Des rejetons obscurs de la famille purent exercer un pouvoir éphémère même jusqu'au XIe siècle, mais l'avenir appartenait aux éléments nouveaux.

7. Encore au temps où régnaient les Djustānides, la famille des **Kangari** (Musāfirides) qui leur était apparentée par mariage, apparut à Chamirān sur le Sefīd-rūd, en amont de Mendjil, pour rayonner de là vers l'Azerbaidjan et même en Transcaucasie.[25]

Mais l'effort principal des Dailamites fut dirigé vers le sud, vers la grande et célèbre ville de Rey (Rhages) dont les ruines, comme on sait, sont situées à 7–8 km. au sud de Téhéran.

Une série d'anciens chefs aguerris au service des Alides s'avance maintenant au large pour commencer la conquête de la Perse occidentale et méridionale.

Tout d'abord, vers 308 (920) parut le Dailamite **Leili ibn Nu'mān**,[26] qui s'empara de Nichāpūr au Khorasan mais l'année suivante les Samanides envoyèrent sa tête à Baghdad.

Vint ensuite le courageux général des Alides **Mākān ibn Kāki** [27] qui prit Rey mais dut la quitter pour passer au service des Samanides et finalement tomber dans une révolte contre ses nouveaux maîtres (en 329/941).

Il fut remplacé à Rey par le farouche **Asfār ibn Chirōyé**, qui était natif de Lāridjān et appartenait au clan Vardādāwandan.[28] Mais bientôt il fut mis à mort par son général Mardāvīdj ibn Ziyār.

Ce dernier est le fondateur de l'importante dynastie des **Ziyārides** qui avait débuté à Rey, à Isfahān et à Ahwāz pour aller se cantonner finalement dans la région de Gurgān, près d'Astarābād, où de nos jours on voit la tour funéraire du Ziyāride Qābūs. Les Ziyārides, issus du clan Arghich, étaient originaires de Gīlān et par conséquent n'étaient Dailamites qu'au sens large de ce mot, car les Gīl étaient les cousins des Dailamites,[29] et de plus les Ziyārides étaient entourés de Dailamites. La dynastie des Ziyārides (928–1042) fut la première dynastie iranienne qui d'une façon stable s'établit à l'ouest des Samanides.

* Voir les corrections dans les notes 6. et. 24.

La succession des chefs aux noms bizarres qui apparaissent sur la scène après 920 est intéressante comme un indice de la force qui bouillonnait dans le réservoir trop étroit de Dailam et qui devait finalement aboutir à l'avènement de la plus importante des dynasties dailamites, celle des **Būyides.**

8. Ses fondateurs étaient les trois frères : 'Alī (le futur 'Imād al-daula), Hasan (Rokn al-daula) et Ahmad (Mo'izz al-daula). Leur père Būya (d'où leur nom patronymique), appartenait au clan Chīrzīl-āvand et résidait dans le village Kiyākalīch au Dailam.[30] Plus tard on a inventé pour lui une généalogie fictive remontant au roi sasanide Bahrām Gōr.[31] Les trois frères étaient de véritables condottieri et avaient débuté au service de Mākān. Lorsque ce dernier, passé au service des Samanides, fut envoyé comme gouverneur à Kirmān, les trois frères, très candidement, lui demandèrent l'autorisation de le quitter en faisant valoir un argument assez spécieux : « Il est mieux pour toi, disaient-ils, que nous te quittions pour alléger ton budget et pour faire tomber cette charge sur le dos de quelqu'un d'autre ».[32] Ce « quelqu'un d'autre », c'était justement les Ziyārides, rivaux plus fortunés de leur ancien maître.

Bientôt l'aîné des trois frères 'Ali se fit apprécier par le Ziyāride Mardāvīdj qui lui donna le petit gouvernorat de Karadj ([32a]), d'où, d'une façon inattendue pour lui-même, il s'empara d'Isfahan après en avoir vaincu le gouverneur. Ce dernier avait 4.000 hommes, tandis que 'Alī ne disposait que de 700, mais les mercenaires du gouverneur étaient les Dailamites, compatriotes de 'Alī.

Mardāvīdj courroucé envoya contre Isfahan son frère Vuchmgīr. 'Alī se retira vers l'ouest à Arradjān mais de nouveau eut la chance de remporter une grande victoire sur le gouverneur de la province de Fārs qui relevait encore directement du calife. En 322/934 le jeune Husain, qui n'avait que 19 ans, occupa Kirmān. De ce fait le calife ne gardait que la bordure occidentale de la Perse : au Khorasan dominaient les Samanides, à Rey et à Isfahan les Ziyārides, et le sud était entre les mains des frères Būyides.

Mais le règne de Mardāvīdj ne dura pas longtemps. C'était un homme de caractère difficile et peu aimé de ses proches. La veille de son assassinat, il devait célébrer l'ancienne fête zoroastrienne Sadhak, qui pendant longtemps fut maintenue par les musulmans. La cérémonie consistait en un festin accompagné d'illumination et d'embrasement. On avait préparé de grands tas d'arbustes, rassemblé du naphte et des tubes pour le lancer, et pris deux mille corbeaux et milans qui devaient s'envoler avec de petites torches attachées à leurs serres. Mardāvīdj voulait faire grand, mais lorsqu'il eut examiné ces préparatifs il fut pris de dégoût pour l'effet mesquin que ce spectacle produirait dans le cadre de la vaste plaine. Il s'enveloppa la tête de son burnous, se coucha sous sa tente et tourna le dos aux invités, qui devant un tel affront se retirèrent. Toujours de mauvaise humeur, Mardāvīdj s'emporta contre ses palefreniers turks, leur fit attacher au dos les selles de leurs chevaux et les fit conduire à l'écurie en les tenant par le licou. Les Turks trouvèrent cette insulte intolérable et assassinèrent leur maître dans son bain.[33]

C'était en 323/935. Le Būyide Hasan, gardé comme otage à la cour de Mardāvīdj, se rendit auprès de son frère 'Alī, et, tirant avantage de la disparition de leur rival, les Būyides s'empressèrent d'occuper Isfahān et Rey. En 329/940 Hasan poussa même une pointe vers le Tabaristān.

D'autre part l'expansion des Būyides vers l'ouest continuait. Dès 326/937 Ahmad était descendu dans le Khūzistān, qu'il garda malgré toutes les oppositions qu'il y rencontra. Les plans des Būyides devenaient de plus en plus ambitieux. Sous l'année 328/939 on apprend pour la première fois que l'aîné des trois frères se propose de marcher vers la Mésopotamie. Mais c'est le cadet Ahmad qui, par cinq fois (entre 942 et 945), envahit les possessions du calife, pénétrant chaque fois plus profondément en Mésopotamie.[34]

9. A cette époque le califat traversait une profonde crise. Il suffit d'énumérer le sort des califes depuis le commencement du IVe/Xe siècles.

Le calife Muqtadir, qui régnait depuis 295/908, fut accusé d'avoir gaspillé pour ses menus plaisirs 70 millions de dinars d'or et déposé en 929 par l'eunuque Mu'nis. Remis sur le trône quelques jours après, il fut tué en 932 dans une révolte par les soldats berbers du même Mu'nis.

Son successeur Qāhir (932–4) était un homme dont la bigoterie couvrait de multiples faiblesses. Il fit exécuter deux dignitaires pour avoir acheté les musiciennes sur lesquelles il avait jeté son dévolu. Malgré les bienfaits que lui avait fait la mère de son prédécesseur, il la fit suspendre par un pied et la flagella de sa main pour qu'elle lui révélât les cachettes où étaient gardés les trésors. Deux ans après, Qāhir fut déposé par les soldats qui envahirent son palais, et ensuite aveuglé dans sa prison.

Sous son successeur Rāḍī (934–40), de toute la Perse seuls quelques cantons occidentaux restaient au califat. A Baghdad, depuis 324/936, le pouvoir avait passé aux mains d'Ibn al-Rā'iq qui ouvre la série des maires du palais parmi lesquels déjà en 329/941 on voit un Dailamite Gōrāngēdj (« chasseur d'onagres »).[35] Les vézirs du calife ne sont plus que des exécuteurs de la volonté de ces militaires.

Le calife suivant, al-Muttaqī (940–4), avait dû quitter Baghdad par peur de son amīr al-omarā le Turk Tuzun, qui finalement s'empara de son maître et le fit aveugler, non sans s'être d'abord prosterné devant lui.

Son successeur Mustakfi (944–6) dut son élection à la recommandation d'une dame de Chīrāz appelée Husn et qui devint l'intendante du palais (*qahramāna*).[36]

10. C'est alors que l'heure sonna pour les Būyides de s'établir à Baghdad. Lorsque la dynastie des astucieux Barīdīs disparut de la Basse Mésopotamie (Wāsit-Basra) et que le brave soldat Tuzun mourut d'une attaque d'apoplexie, le Būyide Ahmad entra en pourparlers secrets avec Mustakfi et occupa Baghdad sans coup férir le 17 janvier 946.

Le calife vint à sa rencontre à la porte de Chammāsiya. Ahmad jura de ne pas persécuter les dignitaires de l'entourage de Mustakfi, lequel de sa part conféra à Ahmad le titre de Mo'izz al-daula et à ses frères ceux de 'Imād al-daula et Rokn al-daula.

Mais la situation se gâta rapidement. Tout d'abord l'intendante du palais donna un festin en l'honneur des chefs dailamites. Mo'izz y vit une intrigue destinée à détacher de lui ses généraux.[37] D'autre part le calife mit aux arrêts le chef des Chiites de Baghdad, oubliant que son nouveau maire du palais était leur coreligionnaire.

Le 29 janvier — douze jours après l'entrée à Baghdad — Mo'izz se rendit à l'audience au palais.

Le calife était assis sur le trône et les dignitaires avaient pris place autour de lui suivant leur rang. « Alors, dit l'historien Ibn-Miskawaih, Mo'izz al-daula entra et, ayant selon la coutume baisé la terre et la main de Mustakfi, resta debout en conversation avec le calife. Ensuite il s'assit sur une chaise et ordonna d'introduire les ambassadeurs arrivés de Khorasan... A ce moment deux Dailamites s'avancèrent tendant leurs mains vers Mustakfi et parlant en persan. Le calife croyant qu'ils désiraient lui baiser la main l'étendit vers eux. Mais ils le saisirent par cette main, le précipitèrent par terre, placèrent son turban sur son dos et continuèrent à le traîner. Alors Mo'izz al-daula se leva. La confusion devint générale et des cris s'élevèrent. Les Dailamites arrêtèrent l'intendante et sa fille. Le peuple courut vers la porte et il y eut grande bousculade et grand pillage. Les deux Dailamites traînèrent Mustakfi à pied au palais de Mo'izz où il fut enfermé. Le palais du calife fut pillé jusqu'à ce que rien n'y fut laissé ».[38] Mo'izz fit venir Abul Qāsim, fils de Muqtadir, et le même jour le proclama calife, sous le nom de Muṭī'lillāh, ce qui veut dire « Obéissant à Dieu » !

Tels étaient les événements dans toute leur brutalité. On ne saurait se méprendre sur leur portée : après trois siècles d'assujettissement politique les Iraniens allaient s'installer dans la capitale de la Mésopotamie. Un « commissaire » iranien contrôlait maintenant l'administration du chef suprême de l'état islamique et, fait plus étrange encore, un adhérent du chiisme, lequel allait un jour devenir la forme nationale persane de la religion arabe, commandait au centre même de l'orthodoxie musulmane.

Plusieurs fois les califes essayèrent de secouer la tutelle des Būyides mais en somme la lettre du calife al-Mutī' datée de 361/971 peut donner une idée de la situation. Invité par le Būyide Bakhtiyār à contribuer au succès d'un projet de guerre sainte, le calife répondit : « Tout ce que j'ai est une pitance qui ne suffit même pas à mes besoins, tandis que le monde est entre vos mains et entre celles des gouverneurs des provinces. Ni la guerre sainte, ni le pélerinage, ni aucune autre matière demandant l'attention du souverain n'est de mon ressort. Tout ce que tu peux me réclamer est mon nom prononcé dans la prière publique (*khuṭba*)... Et si tu veux que je renonce à ce privilège là aussi, je suis prêt à le faire et à abandonner tout à toi ».[39]

11. Nous ne pouvons pas suivre en détail le sort de la dynastie būyide. La famille resta partagée en plusieurs fiefs avec les grands centres à Chiraz, à Rey et à Baghdad, mais les premiers Būyides se distinguaient par le sens profond des liens de famille et ne manquaient pas de sentiments chevaleresques.

Lorsque Mo'izz al-daula mourut à Baghdad son fils et successeur Bakhtiyār se montra prince adonné aux plaisirs et dépourvu de toute habileté. Mécontent de ses mercenaires turks Bakhtiyār s'avisa de les exterminer. Une terrible révolte éclata et le chef turk saisit le pouvoir à Baghdad. La domination des Būyides en Mésopotamie était ébranlée.

Le chef de la famille, Rokn al-daula, restait à Rey, tandis que son fils 'Aḍud al-daula gouvernait à Chiraz. D'accord avec son père, 'Aḍud al-daula partit en 364/974 pour Baghdad et y rétablit l'ordre ; mais en même temps, par une pression discrète, il fit abdiquer Bakhtiyār afin d'occuper sa place. 'Aḍud al-daula crut toutefois de son devoir d'obtenir de son père la sanction de cette combinaison. Des ambassadeurs habiles furent envoyés à Rey mais dès qu'ils eurent ouvert la bouche, le vieux Rokn sursauta, saisit une lance et en la brandissant chassa les émissaires. Il fit dire à 'Aḍud al-daula : « Ton expédition avait-elle pour but d'aider mon neveu ou de t'emparer de son royaume ? Plusieurs fois moi-même je suis allé secourir Ḥasan ibn Fīrūzān (de la famille de Mākān) qui n'était pas mon parent et chaque fois je lui ai abandonné ses possessions bien que j'eusse risqué ma vie en combattant ses puissants ennemis (le Ziyāride Vuchmgīr et les Samanides)... Je n'ai même pas accepté de me faire rembourser un seul dirham, et je n'ai fait tout cela que pour acquérir une bonne renommée et maintenir la chevalerie ».[40]

La protestation fut si énergique que 'Aḍud al-daula se vit obligé de rétablir Bakhtiyār ; et ce fut seulement lorsque cet insensé lui-même marcha contre Chiraz que 'Aḍud réoccupa Baghdad en 367/977 et pacifia tout le pays jusqu'à Āmid (Diyar-Bekir).

'Aḍud al-daula était le plus célèbre des Būyides et régna 34 ans (au Fars 949–978 et à Baghdad 978–983). Sous lui les troupes buyides occupèrent le Balūtchistan et le Makrān et même opérèrent avec succès dans le 'Omān, sur la côte septentrionale de l'Arabie.[41] 'Aḍud était un grand constructeur. Son magnifique palais à Chiraz est décrit en détail par Muqaddasi qui dit que les murs de ses 300 salles tantôt imitaient la porcelaine de Chine (*al-ghaḍār al-ṣīni*), tantôt étaient revêtus de marbre, tantôt étaient dorés et couverts de peintures. Dans la province de Fars 'Aḍud al-daula fit construire le fameux barrage appelé en son honneur Band-i Amīr et la ville Sūq al-Amīr ; en Mésopotamie, les sanctuaires de 'Ali et de Ḥosain, l'hôpital de Baghdad, le palais de Sarāy Sultān également à Baghdad ; en Arabie — le mur de Médine, etc.[42] 'Aḍud al-daula décéda en Mésopotamie et fut enterré à Nadjāf.

Les deux frères de 'Aḍud, Moayyid al-daula et Fakhr al-daula (dont le centre était Rey), étaient surtout connus à cause de leur vézir, le célèbre lettré Sāhib Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād, mort en 385/995.

Fakhr al-daula mourut (997) laissant un fils de neuf ans. Le gouvernement était exercé par sa mère, une personne très énergique et sage, connue sous le nom de Seyyida « Madame ».[43] Lorsque son fils grandit et lui enleva le pouvoir, elle s'en alla auprès du prince kurde Badr ibn Hasanōyé et avec l'aide de ses troupes réoccupa Rey. De son temps la première dynastie turke apparut à

l'horizon. Maḥmud de Ghazna somma la Seyyida de frapper la monnaie à son nom, sous peine d'une expédition, mais la Seyyida lui envoya le message suivant : « Le sort des armées est incertain. Si le sultan me bat, la victoire sur une veuve ne lui vaudra pas une grande gloire ; si au contraire, il essuie une défaite de ma part, la marque de cette flétrissure ne disparaîtra pas du front de sa fortune jusqu'au dernier jugement ».[44] Et lorsque la Seyyida mourut (selon Miles en 419/1028) ce fut la fin. Son fils, Madjd al-daula lui-même invoqua le secours de Maḥmūd : en 420/1029 le grand conquérant se rendit à son appel mais seulement pour exiler la branche de Rey dans l'Inde et pour accaparer leurs possessions.

Dans le midi il convient de signaler le règne agité mais prolongé du fils de 'Aḍud al-daula, Bahā al-daula (989–1013), qui de Baghdad étendit son pouvoir au Fars et à Kerman. Grâce aux continuateurs d'Ibn Miskawaih, Rudhrāvari et Hilāl ibn Muhassin, on connaît en détail l'histoire de ce prince.

Les dernières années de la dynastie se passèrent en luttes entre les épigones, tandis qu'à l'est les Turks préparaient leur équipée vers la Perse. Après les Samanides, balayés par les Turks Qara-khanides et Ghaznavides, les Būyides furent écrasés par les Seldjuks. En 447 (1055) Toghrul beg entra à Baghdad et, proclamé sultan, rétablit l'orthodoxie sunnite tandis que le dernier buyide (al-Malik al-Raḥīm) fut enfermé dans la forteresse de Ṭabarak, près de Rey, pour y terminer ses jours. En 448 (1056) son frère (al-Malik al-Manṣūr) perdit le Fārs qui lui fut enlevé par la dynastie rivale de Chabānkara. Les Seldjuks qui étaient arrivés peu de temps après traitèrent honorablement un autre frère d'al-Malik al Manṣūr et lui laissèrent l'usage des tambours et des étendards, mais lorsque ce dernier rejeton des Būyides mourut en 487 (1094) un gouverneur turk prit sa place.[44a]

Ainsi disparurent successivement les branches de Rey, de Baghdad et de Chiraz.

12. Nous avons déjà parlé des précurseurs des Būyides mais la domination dailamite avait permis à d'autres éléments iraniens de s'organiser et de relever la tête.

La dynastie **Kākōyide** était directement liée aux Būyides. Le mot *kākōyé* veut dire « oncle maternel » et il est certain que c'étaient des cousins de la fameuse Seyyida, mère de Madjd al-daula, elle-même fille d'un roitelet de Tabaristān. On suit les destinées des Kākōyides (Hamadān, Isfahān) entre 398–513 (1007–1119), mais, à titre d'atabeks, leurs rejetons gardèrent Yazd jusqu'à 673 (1274).

Au nord-ouest dans l'Azerbaidjan oriental et dans l'Arrān les Dailamites **Musāfirides** (voir plus haut) dominèrent environ jusqu'à l'an 1000. Les Kurdes **Chaddādides** régnèrent dans l'Arrān (capitale Gandja) entre 340 et 409 (951–1018), et leur branche occidentale posséda Ani de 458 à 595 (1065–1199). Plus au sud, à Tabrīz et ensuite à Marāgha, les Kurdes **Ravvādides** s'étaient maintenus à partir de 344 (955) non seulement jusqu'à l'apparition des Seldjuks, mais même jusqu'à l'invasion mongole (vers 1221).[45]

Dans le Zagros, entre Kermanchāh et Qasr-i Chīrīn, les Kurdes formèrent deux principautés, celle de Barzikān avec la dynastie des **Hasanvaihides** de 348 à 406 (959–1015) et celle des Chādandjān avec la dynastie des **Banū 'Annāz** de 387 à 550 (997–1155).[46]

Même dans la région éloignée de Diyār-Bakr un chef de la tribu Ḥumaidī, Bādh, réussit à créer vers 372 (982) une principauté, qui, sous ses parents **Marvānides,** joua un rôle important dans l'histoire des Kurdes occidentaux et ne disparut qu'en 489 (1096) sous la poussée seldjuke.[47]

Ainsi partout, sur toute l'étendue de la Perse et sur sa périphérie, les éléments iraniens reprenaient courage, réapprenant à se gouverner eux-mêmes. Mais bientôt les invasions turkes et mongoles allaient liquider les principautés iraniennes et leur substituer une nouvelle organisation de fiefs militaires. Les Dailamites qui s'étaient expatriés de leur pays en restèrent séparés et finirent par s'amalgamer aux peuples qui les entouraient. Le Dailam proprement dit fut attiré dans l'orbite de la vie locale des provinces caspiennes et plus spécialement dans la sphère d'influence de la dynastie des princes (*kārkiyā*) du Gīlān oriental (Biyāpīch) dont la résidence était à Lāhīdjān. Au xve siècle les *kārkiyā* réprimèrent sévèrement les Dailamites et en tuèrent un grand nombre.[48]

Néanmoins on peut toujours espérer que les recherches révèleront un jour des îlots dailamites tant dans leur ancienne métropole que dans ses colonies.[49] Il suffit de mentionner ici l'ingénieuse théorie de F. C. Andreas sur l'origine dailamite des tribus zaza (Dimla), sur laquelle je compte revenir ailleurs.

13. Il est sûr que les Dailamites étaient d'abord des gens très simples et mal dégrossis. Voici le récit d'un homme que le Ziyāride Mardāvīdj, après ses succès, envoya au Dailam pour ramener son frère Vuchmgīr (« preneur de cailles ») : « Je le trouvai entouré de gens qui cultivaient le riz. Quand ils m'aperçurent, ils s'approchèrent de moi ; c'étaient des hommes sans chaussures, nus, revêtus de caleçons rapiécés de chiffons de diverses couleurs et de vêtements en loques. Je transmis à Vuchmgīr le message de Mardāvīdj... Alors il fit le geste de cracher sur la barbe de son frère et s'écria : « Voilà qu'il a revêtu les vêtements noirs (des 'Abbāsides) »... J'ai constaté chez lui une telle ignorance que j'aurais honte d'en parler... (Mais) plus tard il devint l'un des rois connaissant le mieux l'administration de ses états et la politique à suivre à l'égard de ses sujets ».[50]

En ce qui concerne Rokn al-daula, l'historien des Būyides explique ainsi les échecs des réformes de son grand ministre Ibn al-'Amīd : « Rokn al-daula, quoique supérieur aux princes dailamites contemporains, restait toujours au niveau du soldat pillard qui n'avait rien de plus pressé que le pillage, sans considérer les effets de sa conduite sur l'avenir de ses sujets. Pour rémunérer ses troupes, il leur permettait de commettre des actes dont personne autre ne pouvait les retenir et qui plus tard devenaient irréparables. Il était obligé d'agir ainsi parce qu'il n'était pas un prince royal et n'avait pas parmi les Dailamites l'autorité d'un autocrate ».[51]

Mais le même historien cite de nombreux traits de noblesse des Būyides. On a vu les protestations de Rokn al-daula contre la mauvaise foi de son fils. Lorsque en 322/934, après la prise de Chiraz les officiers de 'Imād al-daula lui proposèrent de faire parader les prisonniers chargés de fers, leur chef répliqua : « Non, pardonnons plutôt aux ennemis que Dieu a mis en notre puissance. Remercions-le plutôt de cette bonne grâce ».[52]

Il est clairement visible que les Dailamites s'inspiraient des gloires passées de l'Iran et voulaient se poser en continuateurs de l'ancienne tradition. Même le fantasque et barbare Mardāvīdj s'était fait fabriquer un trône d'or et avait commandé une mitre ornée de pierres précieuses « sur le modèle de celle de Chosroès Anūchirvān ».

Déjà en 404 (1013) Bahā al-daula avait obtenu du calife le titre de *chāhinchāh* que personne n'avait porté depuis les Sasanides. Ses fils eux aussi briguèrent la même distinction. Les juristes de Baghdad furent interrogés sur la légalité de cette distinction et finalement, malgré la divergence de leurs opinions, le nom de Djalāl al-daula fut prononcé, avec l'adjonction de ce titre à la prière publique en 421 (1030).[53]

Les Būyides étaient les protagonistes du chiisme iranien. A cette époque même les voisins immédiats des Dailamites, les habitants du Gīlān, étaient sunnites. Les Buyides avaient anticipé sur la politique des Safavides qui 500 ans plus tard érigèrent le chiisme en religion nationale persane, lorsque cette forme de l'Islam s'adapta bien au caractère national persan, en approfondit et en souligna les tendances inhérentes.

La première mention des cérémonies publiques au mois de Moḥarram se rapporte justement au temps des Būyides. Voici ce que dit l'historien Ibn al-Athīr : « Le 10 Moḥarram de l'année 352 (963) Mo'izz al-daula donna l'ordre de fermer les boutiques à Baghdad et de tenir des lamentations publiques (*niyāḥa*). Des tentes (*qibāb*) couvertes de tissus grossiers devaient être érigées et les femmes ayant défait leurs cheveux, noirci leurs figures et déchiré leurs vêtements devaient parcourir Baghdad en poussant des cris et en se frappant la figure en signe de deuil pour Ḥasan fils de 'Alī. Les sunnites ne pouvaient pas empêcher ces manifestations car les chiites étaient nombreux et le pouvoir public (*sulṭān*) était avec eux ».[54]

Comme les lamentations sur les morts étaient de tout temps une des coutumes connues des Dailamites,[55] et que, d'autre part, des lamentations publiques décrites par Ibn al-Athīr sont évidemment sorties les *ta'ziya* persanes (deuil, processions de Muḥarram et représentations de mystères) nous pouvons considérer les Būyides comme les promoteurs de ces pratiques typiquement persanes.

Les Samanides éclipsaient les Būyides par la splendeur de leur cour et par le nombre des talents littéraires ; mais parmi les vézirs des Būyides il y avait aussi des hommes remarquables comme Abul Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd (vézir de Rokn al-daula) et Ṣāhib Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād (vézir de Moayyid al-daula et de Fakhr al-daula, lui-même natif de Talaqān). Avicenne, dont la philosophie

PLATE I

1.—VALLÉE DU CHĀH-RŪD

2.—HAUTE VALLÉE DE KALĀR-DACHT

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ne le préservait pas de niaiseries politiques, fut fait vézir par Madjd al-daula, quoique bientôt il dût partager le sort de son maître, emprisonné par l'énergique Seyyida. Les poètes persans des Būyides étaient: Ustād Manṭiqī, protégé d'Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād, Bundār qui écrivait en dialecte de Rey (997–1029) et Kiyā Ghaḍā'iri (« le faïencier ») mort en 1034 (?). Le grand panégyriste Qaṭrān (mort en 1073?) qui vécut en Azerbaidjan peut être également considéré comme un écho de l'époque buyide. Parmi les Arabes al-Mutanabbi composa des odes en l'honneur de 'Adud al-daula. Au moins trois parmi les princes Būyides étaient très connus comme poètes (en arabe) et les cours des Būyides attiraient de nombreux littérateurs et savants.[56]

14. Les Būyides étaient tombés victimes d'une invasion étrangère, mais, à part les dissensions qui marquèrent les dernières années de leur règne, il faut relever une cause intérieure et perpétuelle de leur faiblesse.

Leur armée manquait de discipline et, pour contenter la soldatesque, il fallait avoir recours à toutes sortes d'expédients, et surtout distribuer des terres dont l'entretien perdait ensuite tout intérêt pour le bénéficiare. A cette époque tout le monde voulait jouir de l'avantage de se nommer Dailamite. Le recueil d'anecdotes de Tanūkhī contient une histoire amusante d'un jeune adhérent du célèbre Manṣūr al-Ḥallādj qui voulait à tout prix faire une carrière à la dailamite; à cet effet il avait appris la langue dailamite et s'était habitué à avaler de grandes quantités d'ail.[57] Il fallut plusieurs fois reviser les listes des détenteurs de fiefs pour biffer les noms des personnes qui n'avaient jamais vu le Dailam.[58]

D'autre part l'armée était minée par la discorde qui existait entre ses deux éléments constitutifs: l'infanterie dailamite et la cavalerie turke.[59]

Les Dailamites étaient surtout des fantassins. Ils se battaient en formant une haie de leurs boucliers peints de couleurs éclatantes, et en accablant l'ennemi de leurs javelots à deux pointes (*jūpīn*).[60] Pour développer plus d'initative il leur fallait l'aide de la cavalerie et ici les Turks leur rendaient des services inappréciables. Pour la défensive également les Turks étaient plus solidement armés.

Les princes dailamites étaient impuissants à arrêter les conflits qui éclataient à chaque instant.[61] On a vu le projet insensé de Bakhtiyār, d'exterminer tous ses Turks. En 385/995 Ṣamṣām al-daula ordonna le massacre de tous les Turks dans le Fārs. D'autres princes, à bout de patience avec leurs compatriotes, essayaient de s'appuyer sur les Turks.[62] Mais comme le chiisme était la base du pouvoir des Būyides [63] ils ne pouvaient d'une façon durable se détacher des Dailamites. Aussi étaient-ils voués à des crises continuelles.

15. Tels sont les traits essentiels qui caractérisent l'époque intéressante de la domination des Dailamites. Nous avons essayé de présenter la naissance et le développement des dynasties sorties de la petite région caspienne. Le temps qu'elles ont régné n'a pas été très grand, moins d'un siècle et demi. Mais on ne peut suffisamment insister sur ce fait: sans l'intermède iranien, représenté par les Sāmānides à l'est et les Būyides à l'ouest, la tradition iranienne

eût été interrompue ; et, plus tard, la Perse aurait eu infiniment plus de peine à rétablir sa conscience nationale, après tant d'épreuves qu'elle allait encore subir jusqu'à l'avènement des Safavides.

NOTES

[1] *Daïlam* n'est que la transcription arabe de ce nom, dont la prononciation véritable était probablement *Dêlam*, ou *Dêlum*.

[2] Le canton Dailamān est situé à l'altitude de 1400–1300 m. entre la montagne Nātech-kūh, qui le sépare au nord de Lahidjan, et le haut pic Dalfak qui commande la rive droite du Sefīd-rūd. On cherche dans « Dalfak » une survivance du nom du peuple ancien (non-iranien ?) *Derbik*.

[3] Ibn Miskawaih, *Tadjārib al-umam*, dont les volumes I, II et VI ont été reproduits photographiquement dans le *Gibb Memorial*, et dont les volumes V et VI et la continuation ont été édités et traduits par H. A. Amedroz et D. S. Margoliouth sous le titre : *The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate*. Nos références (*The eclipse*) se rapportent partout au texte arabe de cette excellente édition qui comprend les années 295/907–393/1002. Il faut également mentionner ici les études minutieuses et pénétrantes du savant persan Seyyid Aḥmad Kasrawī, *Chahriyārān-i gumnām*, I–III, Téhéran 1928–1930, qui traitent en détail de l'histoire des dynasties du nord-ouest de la Perse avant l'arrivée des Seldjuks.

[4] Muqaddasi, *Bibliotheca geogr. arabicorum*, éd. de Gœje, vol. III, pp. 353–373, énumère les cinq provinces du « Dailam » : Qūmis, Gurgān, Tabaristān, Dailamān et Khazar (! !).

[5] Istakhri, *Bib. geogr. arab.*, I, 204, *al-Dailam al-maḥḍ* ; le *Hudūd āl-'ālam* (écrit en 372/982), éd. Barthold, Léningrad, 1930, f. 30b, *Daïlam-i khāṣṣa*.

[6] D'après Istakhri, p. 204, la résidence du roi de Dailam était à Rūdbār (dans le défilé du Sefīd-rud ?). D'après Muqaddasi, p. 360, le chef-lieu (*qasaba, chahristān*) était Barvān et les autres points habités étaient : la forteresse Samīrūm dans le canton Salārvand (actuellement ruines de Chamirān, à 3 farsakhs en amont de Mandjīl) ; la ville Khachm, où vivait le chef alide ; (la ville ?) Tārim (actuellement le canton Tārom) et le canton at-Tālaqān (sur le Chāhrūd). Le chef-lieu de ce dernier devait être Chahristān, au nord-est d'Alamūt. La courageuse exploratrice Miss F. Stark, qui a parcouru le Dailam en 1931, me confirme l'importance de ses ruines. Le chef-lieu des Gīl-s était Dūlāb. Au sens plus large Muqaddasi, p. 207, mentionne déjà Rey comme la plus grande ville du Dailam. [Le grand savant persan feu M. Qazvini (*Histoire de Djoveïni*, III, 434–5) exprime l'opinion que la capitale des Djustânides se trouvait à Chahristân (Chahrak) et que par *Rûdbâr* on doit comprendre le Rûdbâr d'Alamout, et non pas celui en aval de Mandjîl. En vue de la position inexpugnable d'Alamout et du fait que les attaques Daïlamites étaient dirigées surtout contre Qazvin, cette identification gagne d'importance. D'autre part, l'autre Rûdbâr était aussi bien placé en arrière des deux vallées principales contrôlées par les Daïlamites et permettait à ses possesseurs d'intercepter les communications vers le nord et le sud.]

[7] *Sīrat 'Antar*, III, 29, cité dans Goldziher, *Muhamm. Studien*, I, 268, qui toutefois croit que *achqar* se rapporte au teint clair de la peau (?).

[8] Muqaddasi, pp. 360, 368 ; *The eclipse*, II, 141 (sur la frugalité des Dailamites). Khāqānī, *Jour. As.*, 1865, vol. V, p. 346, dit : *Rūy-i dailam dīdam az gham mūy jūpīn chud marā ; hamtchu mūy-i Dailam andar-ham chikast a'ḍā-yi man.* « J'ai vu la face du malheur (*dailam*, ici mot arabe), et à cause de la douleur mes cheveux se sont dressés comme des javelots (dailamites) ; mes membres se sont recroquevillés, pareils aux cheveux d'un Dailamite ». Niẓāmī mentionne le bonnet dailamite (*kulāh-i dailamī*) de la Nuit. L'instrument musical des Dailamites était le *ṭanbūr*, « sorte de mandoline », Mas'udi, *Murūdj*, VIII, 91. [Gorgânî dans son poème *Vîs-o-Râmîn*, éd. Minovi, p. 494, chante le pays inconquis de Daïlam et le courage de ses habitants.]

[9] Istakhri, p. 204, Ibn Hauqal, p. 267.

[10] Les noms dailamites Zoanab et Saramēs que cite Théophylacte Simocatta ont également une allure iranienne. Dans les historiens arabes on trouve quelques mots dailamites isolés : *lwk* « bon », Muqaddasi, p. 359 (cf. *lauk* « jeune homme » en kurde) ; *uchtulum*, cri de guerre des Dailamites (le mot est donné dans les dictionnaires persans avec le sens « violence, oppression ») [mais la racine *ślm* doit être arabe]; selon Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane II, 263, le nom *Chābuchti* est d'origine dailamite, cf. *The eclipse*, I, 301, mais en toute probabilité il est dérivé

de quelque nom de lieu *Chāpucht. Certains emprunts aux dialectes du nord-ouest qu'on trouve en persan sont évidemment de provenance dailamite (*jōpīn*).

[11] Depuis le commencement du VIe siècle le Dailam paraît s'être trouvé sous la dépendance des Sāsānides. Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 126, croit que le représentant sāsānide au Dailam portait le titre de *vahriz*. Balādhuri, p. 280, mentionne des Dailamites à la cour de Khusrau Parvīz.

[12] On trouve les données grecques groupées dans Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 126–7, et dans Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, IV, col. 2432–3 (article de Weissbach). Agathias appelle les « Dilimnites » la plus importante peuplade parmi celles qui vivent sur la frontière persane en deça (?) du Tigre. Procope dit que les « Dolomites » sont les barbares qui, bien que vivant parmi les Perses, ne se sont jamais soumis aux rois de Perse.

[13] Les colonies dailamites devaient contrôler la plupart des cols dans la chaîne frontière turco-persane, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aux syrischen Akten*, pp. 245 et 207. Le chef-lieu actuel de Salmās s'appelle Dilmān (Dilmaqān). De la même origine dailamite doit être le nom du canton Lâhidjân (au sud-ouest du lac d'Ourmiah), homonyme du canton du Gīlān, lequel était le fief des princes dailamites de la famille de Vehsūdān, Yāqūt, III, 149, cf. Kasrawi, I, 131. En Géorgie on trouve un Dilama-chen (*chen* en arménien = persan *ābād*), Prince Vakhoucht, *Description géogr. de la Géorgie*, trad. Brosset, St. Pétersbourg, 1842, p. 467, no. 297.

[14] *Al-āthār al-bāqiya*, p. 224 : *wa qad azāla al-Nāṣir al-Utrūch dhalika wa a'āda ichtirāk al-marada ma'a al-nās fil-kadhkhudhāhiya.*

[15] *Murūdj*, IX, pp. 4, 8, 279. [Qudâma, 267 (trad. 202) : la condition des Daïlamites a toujours été incertaine et changeante parcequ'ils n'ont ni une loi bien consolidée, ni un gouvernement fixe.]

[16] *The eclipse*, III, 313 (sous l'année 388) : « les femmes égalaient les hommes en force de décision, en justesse de jugement et en participation aux affaires ».

[17] Muqaddasi, p. 368, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, f. 29b–31a (beaucoup de détails curieux sur les mœurs). Cf. plus bas note 54.

[18] Ibn Rusta, p. 151, d'après lequel les points fortifiés dirigés contre le Dailam étaient Tchālūs, fondé (rebâti !) par Ma'mūn, et Muzn. Plus souvent que ce dernier est mentionné Kalār, situé à une étape à l'ouest de Tchālūs vers la montagne, Tabari, III, 1524, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, IX, 5, Istakhri, p. 206. Sur l'importance de Qazvin voir les sources citées dans Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 707.

[19] Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 283. La mention des cavaliers (*fursān*) est assez inattendue, voir plus haut § 14. Il est vrai que dans *The eclipse*, III, 427, on trouve une fois la mention de « cavaliers dailamites et turks ». Ibid., III, 423, il s'agit de fantassins transportés à dos de mulets et de chameaux.

[20] Kasrawi, I, 6. Mais les Arabes étaient restés très peu de temps dans le bassin de la Loire, et en 759, furent délogés même de Narbonne.

[21] On cherche Ganzak à Takht-i Sulaimān ou à Lailān (au sud-est du lac d'Ourmiah).

[22] Istakhri, p. 205 ; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, p. 4, mais du temps de Mas'ūdī, *ibid.*, p. 10, l'hérésie s'était propagée parmi les Dailamites (*alḥada aktharuhum*).

[23] Kasrawi, I, 23–37.

[24] Vers la fin du Xe siècle Muqaddasi, voir plus haut note 6, mentionne Barvān au lieu de Rūdbār. [Sur cette dernière localité voir plus haut l'addition à la note 6.]

[25] Le document cité dans Yāqūt, III, 149, *sub verbo* Samīrân, fait supposer que les Kangarī s'étaient aussi emparés de al-Ustāniya (Rūyān, fief des Ustundār ?) tandis que les anciens rois Djustānides furent réduits à se contenter de al-Lā'idjiya (Lāhidjān). Cf. Kasrawi, I, 133.

[26] Leili (Līlī ?) paraît être issu de la dynastie ancienne, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, p. 414, ligne 5, cf. Tabarī, qui sub 216/831 cite un « Abū Lailī, roi de Dailam ». Le nom pouvait être héréditaire dans la famille. Cf. le village Leil au S. de Lāhīdjān.

[27] La famille de Mākān était native d'Achkavar (dans le Rānikūh). Cf. le nom d'un chef dailamite Achkavardj, probablement **Achkavar-idj*, « natif d'Achkavar » (?), *The eclipse*, II, 84.

[28] Hamza Isfahāni, éd. Gottwaldt, pp. 241–2. D'après Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, IX, 8, Asfār n'était pas musulman : *wa kāna la yadīnu bi-millati 'l-Islām* ; à Qazvin il fit précipiter du haut du minaret le muezzin qui disait la prière, ibid., IX, 10. [D'après Abû Mansûr al-Baghdâdî, *al-Farq baïna al-firaq*, Cairo, 1328/1910, p. 267, un ismaïlien (*bātinî*) nommé Abû Ḥâtim, pénétra dans le pays de Daïlam où un certain nombre d'habitants, y compris Asfâr b. Chirûya, prêtèrent oreille (*istadjâbû*) à sa prédication.]

[29] D'après Muqaddasi, p. 353, la plupart des gens distinguaient à peine (*lā yakādūna*

yufarriqūna) entre les Dailamites et les Gīl-s. Toutefois les historiens nomment séparément les Djīl (Gīl) à côté des Dailamites, cf. *The eclipse*, I, 301 ; III, 377, etc. Cf. al-Tanūkhī, *Nichwār*, p. 156 (trad. 171). Sur les discordes entre les deux peuplades voir Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, IX, 7. Les Dailamites étaient chiites et la plupart des Gīl-s sunnites, Muqaddasi, p. 367, ligne 2 ; cf. *The eclipse*, III, 305.

[30] *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, éd. Gibb Memorial, p. 414. Miss F. Stark (lettre du 23 mars 1932) me suggère l'identification de Kiyā-K.līch (?) avec Kiyā-Kalayā, un faubourg de Chahristān. Un village dans le canton Somām porte le nom de Būya.

[31] Hamza, p. 241, Ibn Khallikān, tr. Slane, I, 155 (sous Mo'izz al-daula), mais déjà Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār*, pp. 31–8, critiquait cette généalogie factice en disant que le premier membre de la famille connu était Buwaih b. Fanākhusra. Cf. Marquart, *ZDMG*, 1895, p. 660 : Der Stammbaum d. Būjiden.

[32] *The eclipse*, I, 277.

[32a]. Il s'agit du Karadj Abī Dulaf, près du Sultānābād de nos jours, entre Isfahan et Hamadan.

[33] Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, XLII, 1922, pp. 377–384.

[34] *The eclipse*, II, 37 et suiv., sous les années 331–4.

[35] Ibid., II, 17. [Lire le nom ainsi, au lieu de *kūrankīdj*.]

[36] Ibid., II, 75, 89 : la dame Husn, plus tard surnommée 'Alam.

[37] Selon Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, VIII, 410, Mo'izz soupçonnait le calife de solliciter l'aide des Hamdānides de Mossoul.

[38] *The eclipse*, II, 86–87.

[39] Ibid., II, 307.

[40] Ibid., II, 350 : *ṭāliban lil-dhikril-djamīl wa muḥafizatan 'ala'l-futuwwa*. [Cf. ibid., II, 230 : Rukn al-daula rejette la proposition de son ministre Ibn al-'Amîd de supplanter le prince Musâfiride de l'Azarbaïdjan, Ibrâhîm b. Marzubân.]

[41] Ibid., II, 213 : déjà en 354/965 le gouverneur de 'Omān s'était soumis à Mo'izz al-daula.

[42] Ibid., II, 404–408 et III, 69 (constructions à Baghdad) ; Muqaddasi, pp. 210, 430–1, 449. Cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, pp. 48–50, 311, 321, 405, 482. Pour les constructions à Baghdad voir Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 1900, chap. XVII : The Buyid palaces, et G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdad*, Paris, 1904 (traduction d'une partie de l'Histoire de Baghdad de al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī), à l'index.

[43] Son nom était Chīrīn ; elle était la fille de l'ispahbad Rustam II (1006–1028), roi de Tabaristān (de la dynastie Bāvandide).

[44] *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, p. 428 ; Wilken, *Geschichte d. Sultane aus d. Geschlechte Bujeh* (le texte de Mirkhond), 1835, p. 42. Toutefois la version la plus ancienne, *The eclipse*, III, 291, attribue le succès de la « seyyida » aux sages conseils du prince Hasanwaihide Badr.

[44a] See H. Bowen, ' The last Buwayhids ', *JRAS*, 1929, II, 225–45.

[45] Voir Huart, *Les Musāfirides de l'Adherbaidjan* dans *A volume... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 228–56 ; sur les atabeks de Maragha, Minorsky, l'article *Marāgha* dans l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam et surtout Kasrawi, *Chahriyārān-i gumnām*, II et III.

[46] Huart, *Les Banou-'Annāz*, *Syria*, 1922, pp. 265–279 et pp. 66–79. Cf. Minorsky, ' Annāzids ', *Encycl. of Islam*², I, 312–13.

[47] On pourrait également mentionner les aventures du Dailamite Lachkarī à Isfahān, *The eclipse*, I, 213 ; celles d'un Gīl Lachkarī b. Mardī en Azerbaidjān, ibid., I, 398 ; celles du Kurde Daisam, ibid., I, 398, II, 161.

[48] Etendant leur pouvoir de la plaine de Gīlān vers la montagne les seyyids *kārkiyā* délogèrent graduellement : d'Achkavar, les princes locaux Hazāraspī (en 776/1364), d'Alamūt, les rejetons des grands-maîtres ismā'īliens, et de Dailamān et de Rūdbār le clan de Kūchīdj. En 819/1416 le seyyid Razī de Lāhīdjān et son frère seyyid Mohammad, sous prétexte de mobilisation firent venir les Dailamites sur la rive du Sefīd-rūd, et lorsqu'ils s'y présentèrent, donnèrent ordre aux troupes de Gīlān de les exterminer (*Qatl-i 'āmm*) à l'improviste. 2–3.000 Dailamites, y compris leurs chefs, périrent dans ces Vêpres siciliennes, voir Zahīr al-dīn, *Tārīkh-i Gīlān va Dailamistān*, ed. Rabino, Racht, 1330, pp. 57 et suiv., 118 et 122–6.

[49] Rabino, ' Le Guilan ', *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1915–16, XXXII, 280, écrit : « quelques descendants des anciens Deilamites ne se trouvent que dans les villages de Kelârdeh et de Tschoousal, dans la plaine, en hiver, et à Kelâtch-Khânî, en été. Les habitants du village de Deilemân étaient aussi Deilemites, mais il ont vendu leurs terres et vivent à Barfdjân ».

[50] Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 182. Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, p. 370.

[51] *The eclipse*, II, 279.

[52] Ibid., I, 283.

[53] Hilāl ibn-Ṣābī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā*, éd. Amedroz, p. 388 (= *The eclipse*, III, 358) : le vézir Muwaffaq dans une lettre à Bahā al-daula, datée du 4 juin 1000 l'appelle *chāhānchāh*. Le *Tchahār-maqāla*, p. 17, donne le titre *chāhinchāh* au patron de Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbad (voir plus bas n. 56). Yāqūt, *Irchād al-arīb*, II, 120 : le titre de *chāhinchāh* attribué à Djalāl al-daula sous 403. Amedroz, *The assumption of the title Shāhānshāh by Buwaihid rulers*, *Numism. Chronicle*, 1905, vol. V, pp. 393–9. Cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 21. Dans le *Tchahār maqāla* de Niẓāmī 'Arūdī, p. 82, le titre *chāhinchāh* est donné an Kākōyide 'Alā al-daula. [G. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York, 1938, p. 170, croit que sur le dirham de Fakhr al-daula frappé en 374/984 le titre de *châhânchâh* apparaît pour la première fois. A. H. Siddiqi, *Caliphate and kingship*, Lahore, 1952, p. 55, croit que Djalal al-daula (1025–44) fut le premier à recevoir le titre de *châhânchâh* des mains du caliphe et que ses prédécesseurs assumaient ce titre iranien à leur propre gré. De toute façon le témoignage d'I. Athîr, VIII, 11 (peut-être basé sur *al-Kitâb al-Tâdjî* d'Ibrahîm al-Ṣâbî) est clair pour montrer que déjà du temps de Bakhtiyār (tué le 29 mai 978) et de son rival Aḍud al-daula (mort le 26 mars 983) le titre en question avait été employé par les secrétaires des princes daïlamites.]

[54] Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 407. Voir des remarques similaires sous les années 353, 357, et 358, ibid., pp. 413, 435 (le deuil du 10 Muḥarram et les réjouissances du jour du Ghadīr), 443. Comme l'a remarqué Krymski, *Théâtre persan*, Kiev, 1925, p. 7, la source d'Ibn al-Athīr doit être Hilāl ibn-Sābī, qui justement dans le fragment sur l'année 389 (éd. Amedroz, p. 371) parle de « l'habitude des chiites » de célébrer le *yaum al-ghadīr*.

[55] Muqaddasi, p. 369 ; *The eclipse*, II, 137 (Rokn al-daula lamente son frère pendant 3 jours), 182 (Mo'izz al-daula étant malade se lamente lui-même), III, 260 (Ṣamṣām al-daula après sa défaite jeûne et revêt des habits noirs). Cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, p. 233 : le deuil dailamite est de 3 jours.

[56] Tha'ālibi consacre un chapitre spécial aux poésies arabes de 'Aḍud al-daula, de son fils Tādj al-daula et de Khusrau b. Fīrūz b. Rukn al-daula, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, livre II, chapitre I. Les chapitres suivants, 2 et 3, sont consacrés aux vézirs būyides al-Muhallabi et Abū-Ishaq al-Sābī : le chapitre 4 aux écrivains de l'époque būyide (éd. de Damas II, pp. 1–105). Le chapitre 9 cite les vers de 15 poètes dédiés au vézir de Bahā al-daula Sāpūr b. Ardachīr (ibid., pp. 290–7). Le livre III contient des chapitres sur le vézir Ibn 'Amīd (ibid., pp. 2–25), sur son fils Abul-Fatḥ (ibid., pp. 25–31), sur Ṣāhib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād (ibid., pp. 31–118) et sur les panégyristes de ce dernier (ibid., pp. 163–194). Très connu est le poète Mihyār ibn Marzūya al-Dailaimi qui écrivait en arabe ; ce zoroastrien, mort en 428 (1037), fut converti à l'Islam seulement en 394 (1003), voir Ibn Khallikān, trad. de Slane, III, 517, ses œuvres ont été récemment publiées au Caire. Sur les poètes persans voir *Tchahār maqāla*, pp. 28, 80, et le commentaire de Mīrzā Muḥammad Khan Qazvīnī. Sur les célébrités du temps de 'Aḍud al-daula voir aussi Ibn Isfandiyār, pp. 90–91. Sur les maîtres de 'Aḍud al-daula voir Abul-Faradj, *Mukhtasar*, éd. Pocock, p. 325 (trad. latine p. 214). Voir l'éloge de 'Aḍul al-daula, ibid., p. 320 (trad. p. 211) et dans l'histoiren arménien Asolik, II, chap. XVI, trad., Macler, 1917, p. 63. Les chrétiens devaient être reconnaissants à 'Aḍud al-daula d'avoir autorisé le vézir Nasr b. Hārūn (qui lui-même était chrétien) de construire des églises. *The eclipse*, II, 408. Un des secrétaires de Mo'izz al-daula était aussi un chrétien de Rey, Sa'd Isrā'īl b. Mūsa, ibid., I, 298. Un détail curieux de la tolérance religieuse des Būyides : le gouverneur de l'important port de Sīrāf en 379/989 était un Juif, ibid., III, 155.

[Parmi les protégés d'Ibn 'Abbād se trouvait le poète et voyageur Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil al-Khazradji, voir *Yatīmat al-dahr*, III, 174–94, cité dans Minorsky, ' The travels of Abu Dulaf in Iran ', Cairo, 1955, p. 10.]

[57] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, éd. Margoliouth, p. 88, trad. p. 95.

[58] *The eclipse*, III, 312 : en 388/998 Ṣamṣām al-daula vérifia les registres des Dailamites et en exclut à Fasā 650 hommes et à Kermān 400, « dont les généalogies n'étaient pas irréprochables ». Cf. ibid., III, 361.

[59] Subsidiairement les Būyides se servaient d'autres nationalités. Sous 360/971 Ibn Miskawaih, *The eclipse*, II, 300, mentionne dans les troupes de 'Aḍul al-daula : les Dailamites, les Gīl-s, les Turks, les Arabes, les Kurdes et les Zuṭṭ (Indiens), et sous 360/970 et 366/976 les fantassins Qufṣ (Kūfitch, montagnards de Kerman) et Balūtch, ibid., II, 298 et 368.

[60] Tabarī, III, 1693. Le poème de *Vīs-o Rāmīn* (écrit en 1048), cf. Kasrawi, I, 2, parle des

boucliers dailamites « pareils au mur et peints de cent couleurs ». Les boucliers étaient portés par des pages, *The eclipse*, II, 153. Les Dailamites se servaient de lances spéciales pour projeter du naphte enflammé (*mazāriq al-naft wal-nīrān*), *The eclipse*, I, 272. Toutefois leurs adversaires étaient parfois plus habiles dans l'emploi du naphte, Tabarī, III, 1693.

[61] *The eclipse*, III, 132, en 376/936 sous Ṣamṣām al-daula 19.000 Dailamites et 3.000 Turks s'étaient battus sur l'hippodrome à propos des écuries. Cf. ibid., III, 265.

[62] *The eclipse*, II, 166 : en 346, après la révolte de Rūzbihān, Mo'izz néglige les Dailamites et choie les Turks ; ibid., III, 158, en 379 Bahā al-daula transfère sa tente parmi les Turks qu'i, trouve plus loyaux. Cf. la critique du caractère dailamite par le célèbre vezir ibn al-'Amīdl ibid., II, 272.

[63] Ibn-al-Athir, VIII, 177 : « Les Dailamites étaient chiites et (dans le chiisme) ne connaissaient pas de mesure ». Kasrawī a justement relevé le fait qu'Alamūt, le célèbre centre des Assassins-Ismā'īlites, surgit plus tard sur le territoire dailamite ! D'après un *Tārīkh-i Djīl wa Dailam* dédié à Fakhr al-Daula, la construction de la forteresse d'Alamūt fut commencée par un ancien roi de Dailam en 246/860, voir Djuwaini, III, 105 (éd. de la Royal Asiatic Society, 1931). [Ed. M. Qazvini, 1937, III, 270.]

A PERSIAN GEOGRAPHER OF A.D. 982 ON THE OROGRAPHY OF CENTRAL ASIA

IT is a matter of regret that the achievements of Muslim geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. are still very insufficiently known outside a narrow circle of orientalists. The fault lies to a considerable extent with those who keep this treasure [1] without thinking of rendering it accessible in European languages. No partial adaptations, even so excellent as le Strange's 'The lands of the Eastern Caliphate' [2] and P. Schwarz's 'Iran im Mittelalter',[3] can give an adequate idea of the prodigious wealth of accurate information collected by the early Muslim scholars and travellers. Marco Polo's exploration is an outstanding event but it must not be forgotten that, three centuries before him, Muslims possessed most detailed descriptions of the countries, peoples, roads, and products of the area extending from Spain and Morocco to the outskirts of China and Tibet. The object of the present paper is to analyze the ideas of the Muslims on the orography of Central Asia, as they appear in the Persian geography written in A.D. 982, and bearing the title of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, which may be translated as 'The regions of the World'. The author, whose name is unknown,[4] dedicated his work to the local ruler of Gozgan (Northern Afghanistan) and presumably himself lived in the same region. From the point of view of Persian literature, the importance of the book is obvious, for it is earlier than Firdausi's famous 'Shah-nama' (A.D. 994). As regards its contents, the 'Hudud al-'Alam' is a compilation based chiefly on earlier books in Arabic, but the writer has preserved to us some very valuable data on such countries as China, Tibet, India, and Central Asia which are not found elsewhere. There are good reasons for believing that the original authority for these particular data is Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn-Ahmad Jayhānī, of whom it is known that in A.D. 913–4 he became Vazir during the minority of the Samanid king Nasr ibn-Ahmad. Jayhani's famous work, which consisted of seven volumes, is now lost and only known to us from occasional quotations. Owing to his high position in Bukhara, Jayhani was able to gather much new and valuable information. According to Muqaddasi (about A.D. 985) 'he assembled foreigners, questioning them on the kingdoms, their revenues, the kind of roads leading to them, the height of the stars and the length of the shadows in their land in order in this wise to facilitate the conquest of provinces, to know their revenues', etc.

[1] See 'Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum', ed. by J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1870–94, eight volumes (of which only one is translated). 'Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen', ed. by H. von Mžik, Leipzig, 1926–31, four volumes published (only a few chapters translated).

[2] London, 1905, reprinted 1930.

[3] Vols. I–IX, 1896–1936, pp. 1–1600—left unfinished.

[4] On the presumed author see now Minorsky, 'Ibn Farīghūn and the Ḥudūd al-'Ālam', in *Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London, 1962, pp. 189–196.

The author of the 'Hudud al-'Alam'[1] often mentions a map prepared by himself, on which he evidently transferred the details found in Jayhani and the other sources accessible to him. This map has unfortunately not come down to us, but some idea of the 'Face of the Earth' as represented by the author may be derived from the general chapters (§§ 3–7) in which he enumerates and describes the seas, islands, mountains, rivers, and deserts existing in the world.

The chapter on the mountains (§ 5) opens with the mention of [1] some Far-Eastern peninsula called *al-Tā'in fil-bahr* ('Thrusting into the sea') and by a very detailed description of [2–5] a composite range[2] which must represent the longitudinal chains of Indo-China, continued by the mountains of the eastern Tibet, then by those stretching to the south of Sinkiang (Nan-shan, Kunlun), and finally the westernmost parts of the Tien Shan connected with the mountains which form the eastern and northern watershed of the Sir Darya (Jaxartes). Among the branches of this range are separately mentioned [6] Tafqan (Turfan ?) which according to the details given corresponds to the Eastern Tien Shan, and [8] Tulas, which seems to be the Altai wrongly located to the north of the Issiq Köl.

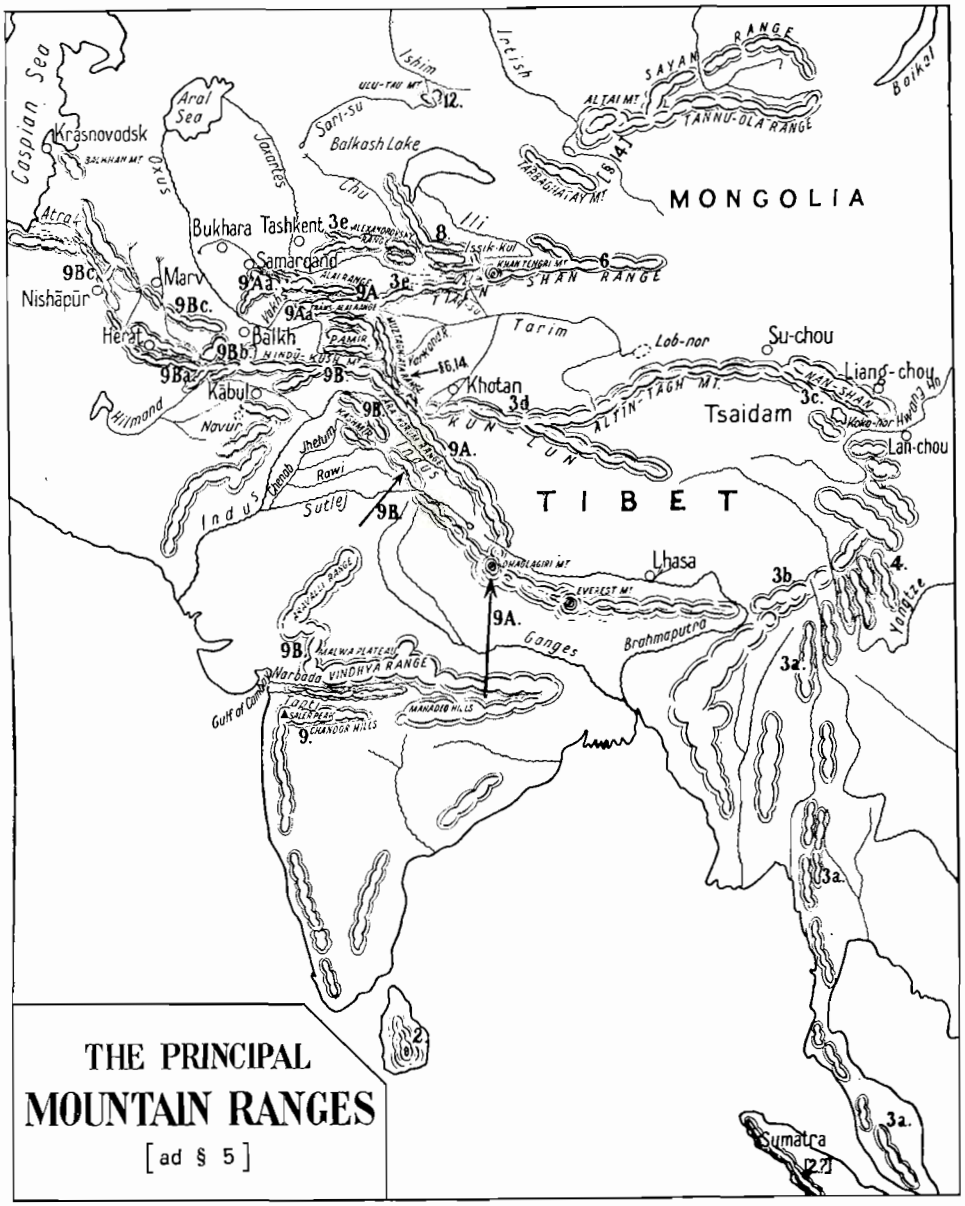
After this comes the description of the 'Belt of the Earth', which is the particular subject of the present paper. All the controversial points are fully discussed in my book and here we shall touch only on the geographical aspects of the question. Some names marked by asterisks have been restored to their better-known forms. The text runs as follows :

'9. Another mountain stretches from the district of Kūlī in Kanbāya belonging to Hindūstān. It follows an easterly direction, to Ṣāmūr, then takes a northerly direction, passing between Dahum's country and that of the raja of the Hindus up to the limits of Hītāl. Then this mountain splits into two branches.'

Commentary.—As the Lesser Mihran (Narbada) is said to flow through Kuli the initial point of the chain is probably to be sought to the south of this river (the Saler peak ?). The name Samur is somewhat doubtful but, if we restore it as *Saymur*, the latter is the usual name of the modern Chaul. It is also possible that, by a mistake of orientation frequent in our author, 'eastern' must be understood as 'southern'. In any case the further extension of the range must be imagined in the direction of the Mahadeo hills and then across the Ganges valley to some point in the Himalaya. It is noteworthy that our author entirely overlooks the existence of the Ganges though the latter is well known to the Arab geographers. By the 'raja of the Hindus' the master of Kanauj is meant, whereas Dahum is said to be the king of central

[1] 'Hudud al-'Alam', translated and explained by V. Minorsky, published by the 'E. J. W. Gibb Memorial', New Series, vol. 17, 1937. The text of the translation has been divided into paragraphs, and the system of references has been retained in this paper. Signs of length have been used in rarer names when they are first mentioned.

[2] Called *Manisa*, a name which may have been inaccurately transmitted.



The 'Belt of the Earth' according to the author of 'Hudud al-'Alam'
Published by V. Minorsky, 1937, p. 197.

and eastern India.[1] Hital (or Hibtal) is one of the three sub-Himalayan principalities named by our author in the region of Nepal.

'9A. One branch running northwards enters the confines of Tīthāl and Nītāl and passes between the farthest border of India and Tibet, while it runs north of the confines of Bolor, Samarqandaq, *Shughnan and Wakhan, and south of the desert; then on the confines of Zhāsht it takes a north-westerly direction and crosses the region of Buttamān belonging to Transoxiana, until it reaches the confines of Usrūshana. This mountain has numberless ramifications in the districts of Shughnan, Wakhan, and Zhāsht.'

Commentary.—Hital, Tithal, and Nital are three sub-Himalayan countries, and the form *Nital* in Arabic characters can be very easily read as *Nepal.* The point from which this branch continues northwards can be tentatively taken for Dhaulagiri. Bolor is the region of Ladakh, etc., and Samarqandaq is probably Sarhad near the sources of the Oxus. The chain represents the Karakoram continued by the Pamir knot and the Alai mountains. Zhasht (usually Rasht) is Garm on the middle course of the river Vakhsh. This river rises in the Alai valley and in its lower course is the most important right-bank affluent of the Oxus.[2] The further extension of the range is the northern watershed of the Oxus separating it from Samarqand. Usrushana is the old name of the province lying between Samarqand and Khojend.

'9Aa. From the interior of Wakhan and Zhāsht start numerous mountains spreading out inside the region of Khuttalān. One of the branches of Khuttalān separates and joins another stretching from the district of Buttamān. From them numerous ramifications run into the district of Chaghāniyān, where they scatter. And where the said original ridge of the mountain [9A] comes near Buttamān it splits into two, but near Usrūshana (these two branches) unite again. From the region of Buttamān a branch shoots off which passes between the Buttamān-of-Daryāzha and Chaghāniyān and skirts the confines of Samarqand and Soghd down to the confines of Bukhara. . . .'

Commentary.—This paragraph refers to the mountainous country corresponding roughly to the area of the present-day Soviet republic of Tajikistan on the northern bank of the Oxus. Khuttalan was the district between the Wakhan river and the Pamir; Chaghaniyan stretched to the north of Termez and to the west of the Vakhsh; Buttaman represents the parallel chains of Turkistan, Zarafshan, and Hissar stretching south of Samarqand. Daryazha (a Soghdian form for Persian *daryacha* 'small lake') corresponds to Iskandar Köl feeding the Samarqand river.

'9B. As regards the other branch, from the frontier of Hītāl it runs inside Hindūstān, follows the border of *Kanauj and passes between the country of the "continental" Jāba and the kingdom of al-Jurz, where it is called Qasak. And so it runs north of the confines of Kashmir, Vayhind [the capital of

[1] As I later found out, the king *D.h.m* whose identity puzzled scholars for a long time is to be identified with the king Dharma-pāla, who ruled in central India *circa* A.D. 769–801, see my book *Sharaf al-zamān Tāhir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India*, 1942, p. 147.

[2] Even the Greek name of the latter (Ὄξος) is supposed to be a tentative rendering of the Iranian name Vakhsh.

Gandhara], Dunpur, and Lamghān and south of Bolor, Shughnan, Wakhan, and Badhakhshan, to the south of the districts of Khuttalān. Then it enters the region of Tukhāristān, stretches between *Talaqān, Sakalkand, Khulm [Tash-kurghan], Simingan [Haibak], and south of Balkh and penetrates into the region of Sān and Chāryak belonging to Gozgan.'

Commentary.—Taking again Dhaulagiri for the starting point in the sub-Himalayan region we must identify the range with the inner chains of the Himalayas. Jaba's kingdom seems to correspond to the present-day Chamba state. Al-Jurz is the Arabic name of the Gurjara dynasty which reigned in Kanauj. The further extension corresponds to the Hindukush. Dunpur and Lamghan stand here practically for the Kabul region. Dunpur (Adinapur) is situated on the Surkh-rud tributary of the Kabul river, and Lamghan along the left affluent of the Kabul river flowing from Kafiristan. Tukharistan is the region to the east of Balkh. San and Charyak (now Sang-Charak) is the small district south of Sar-i pul (to the south-west of Balkh).

'9Ba. Then it turns westwards and in a north [read: south]-western direction penetrates into Ghor, passing south of Aspizār [Sabzar], Herat, Bushang and Nishapur. Between Nishapur and Sabzawar it runs north of the [Khurasan] road and again turning westwards passes north of Semnan and Rey and enters the region of Daylaman, stretching on up to the end of the limits of Gilan.'

Commentary.—This branch corresponds to the part of the Hindukush [Siyah-koh] stretching to the south of the Hari Rud which then is brought into connection with the southern Khurasanian mountains and the southern face of the Elburz mountains.

'9Bb. And when this mountain after having deflected its course from Balkh reaches Madr belonging to Tukharistan, so many small and large branches spread out of it that only God knows their number. From each of its branches numerous spurs shoot off and spread in the region of Tukharistan, Andarab, Panjhir [Panjshir], Jāriyāna, Bamiyan, Bust, Rukhkhad [ancient Arachosia], Zamindavar and Ghazni and further stretch down to the region of Sind. And when the range of this mountain reaches the districts of Ghor, a branch shoots off from it and forms a circle like a finger-ring, then the branches unite again. . . . And from this ring of mountains a large branch shoots off which together with those other branches takes a westerly direction and spreads out in the region of Bust and Ghazni. Likewise in the neighbourhood of Aspizār this mountain possesses small offshoots which spread out in the districts of Aspizār.'

Commentary.—This is the central part of the Hindukush with its southern ramifications near the headwaters of the Helmand. The 'finger-ring' is most likely the valley of Dasht-Navur, which lies 35 miles to the north-west of Ghazni and has no outlet.

'9Bc. On reaching Sān and Chāryak belonging to Gozgan this ridge [9B] splits into two branches: the one is that which we have described [9Ba]; the other runs north of it, taking a westerly direction between Kundarm and Anber (Anbār). It stretches between Gurzivan and Jahudan [Yahudan] between Bashin and Diza, between Marvarod and Baghshur and south of

Sarakhs. Then it takes a northerly direction and runs to the region of Tus, Bāvard, and Nisā, until it reaches Gurgan. Then comes a valley three days long but narrow, called Dīnār-zārī. The mountain stretching on the other side of the valley directs its course through Isfarāin until it reaches Gurgan. Then it turns south-westwards running south of Amol and the towns of Tabaristan down to the region of the town of Rey. Then it joins the other chain [9Ba]. The two chains united go up to the end of the province of Gilan.'

Commentary.—This is the watershed of the Murghab and the Hari Rud [Band-i Turkistan] which, beyond Sarakhs, is prolonged by Kopet Dagh. Dinar-zari is the valley [Dahna-yi Gurgan] from which the Gurgan river rises. Further the description follows the watershed of the Gurgan and the rivers of Isfarain flowing towards the Iranian plateau. The range is then connected with the Elburz system, or more precisely, with its northern face overlooking the Caspian coast. According to our author the two branches meet in the region of Rey, which is not far from the truth in view of the existence of a knot of mountains to the west of Demavend.

'From Hindustan where this mountain begins up to Gilan where it ends it is called *Kamar-i zamīn* " Belt of the Earth ", or in Arabic *Minṭaqat al-Arḍ*.'

Commentary.—This conclusion leaves no doubt about the author's intention to trace a continuous system of mountains between India and the Caspian Sea.

Perhaps the most original point of the description is the clear tracing of the ranges to the north, and to the south, of the Oxus. It is curious that the point of their separation is placed not in the neighbourhood of the Pamir but at some knot in the Himalaya which we tentatively have taken for Dhaulagiri. The distinct course of the two chains presupposes some knowledge of Karakoram [9A], for the Great Himalaya range distinctly belongs to 9B. However, confusion in details, probably borrowed from different sources, was inevitable. So the position of the mountain Qasak (as described under 9B) seems to contradict the item quoted in the chapter on the rivers: 'It is said that from the summit of the " Mountain of Ice " which is Qasak, a water springs up like a fountain and . . . separates into two in such wise that one half flows northwards and it is the river Kharnab [one of the headwaters of the Oxus], and the other flows southwards and it is the river Sindrudh, which afterwards becomes the Mihran [i.e. the Indus]'. The name 'Mountain of Ice' (*Kuh-i yakh*) may be the Persian prototype of the present-day Turkish *Muz-tagh* (*-Ata*) which has precisely the same meaning. Muztagh Ata, situated to the east of the Pamir near the watershed of several rivers, is indeed more suitable for our author's story.

The idea of a 'Belt of the Earth' may be of remote Zoroastrian origin. In the *Bundahishn*[1] the Elburz is represented as stretching 'around the earth and connected with the sky', whereas the other mountains, 2,244 in number, 'have grown out of Elburz'. The term itself *Kamar-i zamīn*, or *Minṭaqat al-Arḍ*, apparently does not occur elsewhere in Muslim geographers

[1] English translation by E. W. West, 1880, ch. XII.

but Ibn Hauqal, who wrote *circa* A.D. 977 and utilized Jayhani's book, speaks of a mountain stretching along 'the spine of the earth (*'ala ẓahr al-arḍ*)'. According to him, in the east 'it starts from China where it comes out from the Ocean and runs to Wakhan. It crosses Tibet, in the western part of the latter and not in its centre, and the eastern part of the Kharlukh land [1] until it enters Farghana which is within the Islamic territory. The ridge stretches over Farghana towards the Buttam mountain situated south of Ushrushana. . . . Then it takes a direction towards Samarqand, skirts the latter in the south and runs towards Kishsh and Nasaf [Qarshi] and the region of Zamm [opposite Karki]. Then it crosses the Jayhun (Oxus) and stretches westwards to Juzjan (Gozgan) . . . and over Talaqan to Marvarud and Tus . . . leaving Nishapur to the east. Then it stretches to Rey . . . while the mountains of Jurjan, Tabaristan, Gilan, and Daylam branch off from it. Then it joins the mountains of Azerbaijan'. After that it continues along the right side of the road from Rey to Hulwan [near Sar-pul in the Zagros], turns north towards Tekrit and Amid [Diyarbekir] sending off its branches into Armenia and towards the Caucasus. Then it runs on towards Mar'ash where it joins the range coming from Syria. Through the latter the principal range is joined to the North African mountains which extend to the Atlantic.

As one sees, the idea of Ibn Hauqal is practically similar to that of the 'Hudud al-'Alam' but the tracing of the range has many independent features. It connects China with the Atlantic and in the eastern parts its description is rather vague. Our author, on the other hand, is incomparably more precise in his statements and treats the 'Belt of the Earth' separately both from the Far-Eastern chains and the range which—also with many curious details—he traces between the Sinai and the Caucasus.

In any case the 'Hudud al-'Alam' marks an important stage in the study of the orographic system of Asia, which even in our times cannot be considered as quite complete. The description given in the book is not only accurate in its general lines but contains a mass of very precise details. Down to the nineteenth century we should look in vain in European literature for an equally clear picture of the Central Asian ranges.

[1] In the neighbourhood of the Issiq Köl.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS IN PERSIAN ART

I. Landscape

THE connection of Art with Geography is obvious, but in the case of Persia the problem is somewhat different from that presented by other countries.[1]

For example, the most immediate influence of the natural environment on the landscape painters is hardly of any importance in Persia, where the miniaturists present their heroes in purely imaginary surroundings, now of radiant sunny spaces, now of fantastic rocks reminding one of coral reefs.

Very rarely, as in Muḥammadī's works (sixteenth century) does one see a clearly Iranian corner, somewhere on the Caspian shore, with small terraces of fields clinging to the steep slopes of crowded mountains, ploughmen walking after their zebus,[2] gay magpies rocking on the slender tops of cypresses, goats gathering to the piping of a herdsman, ragged and hirsute. We shall nearly have exhausted local traits when we have mentioned the stately plane-trees towering over scenes of audiences and garden parties. Later, when nature painting became realistic under the brush of Muḥammad Zamān [3] it merely borrowed the details from the Italian landscapes, to present Bahrām Ġōr as a St. George galloping under some Florentine hills.

Persian architects had undoubtedly a subtle decorative feeling. Apart from the details, they knew the value of the bright spots of domes burning amid deserts as enormous golden candles, or soothing the traveller's eye with their intense blue. The builders depended chiefly on material of the same shade as the surrounding nature, and indeed white marbles, having travelled far from their congenial sea, would not look to advantage among the grey and yellow tones of the Iranian highlands. Perhaps it would not be impossible to use in Persia stones of different colours, but, with a true instinct, the architects shunned any mauresque extravagance, better suited to more exotic skies and climes.[4]

These few points exhaust the immediate influence of natural environment on Persian Art. As in Persian poetry, so in painting and the plastic arts, this

[1] The present article, completed in December 1931, was intended for a larger circle of readers not necessarily consisting of professional orientalists. Its object lies not so much in details as in a general outline of the problem. The facts which have become available since 1931 have been referred to in footnotes. [The article is reproduced here as printed in 1938.]

[2] Zebus are found in Persia principally in the Caspian provinces. This is an important detail for locating Muḥammadī's activities, though by birth he seems to have been a native of Tabrīz or Herat, cf. Sir T. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 135, 144. [The idea that Muḥammadī was a Chinese convert (?) is entirely arbitrary. According to 'Ālī's *Menāqib-i hünerverān*, p. 64, note 3, 'Muḥammadī beg' was the son of Sultan Muḥammad Tabrīzī.]

[3] See below, ch. II, § 11.

[4] The only place with buildings in white and red stone seems to be the small defile above the Kurdish district of Somai (north-west of Urmia). These curious monuments have an immediate parallel on the Turkish side of the frontier in the castle of Khoshāb. See my article 'Somai', in *EI*. Stones of two colours are characteristic of the Armenian architecture.

influence has been very limited and quite subordinated to imaginative and decorative elements.

Perhaps the 'nature' which most appealed to the Persian artist was that arranged in gardens. Planned parks, to judge by their name [1] were a Persian invention. Directly connected with them was the special architecture of pavilions known at least since the Sasanian times.[2] But the gardens themselves are an important subject both for textiles and miniatures.

Most illuminating in this connection is the description of the carpet which the Arabs in A.D. 637 captured at the Sasanian capital Ctesiphon: 'The carpet (*qiṭf*) was 60 cubits (*dhira'*) by 60 cubits, in one piece (measuring in all) one jarīb. On it were panels (roads) as if (representing) banks (*ṣawr*), and precious stones as if (representing) canals, the interstices between them (representing) as if dwellings (*diyar*). The border was like cultivated ground covered with plants at spring time, made of silk, with stems of gold and flowers of gold, silver, and the like'.[3]

II. Persia's Cultural Centres

From these general remarks on the interdependence of Art and Geography, understood as the natural environment of the artist, we now pass to the more practical question of the places round which Persian art arose and grew. Art always gravitates to political centres. In our case, a study of artistic topography is rendered particularly useful by two conspicuous features of the history of Persia, namely by the plurality of its capitals and the constant shifting of the principal seat of the government. Our survey will be based chiefly on architectural remains, and this not only because they are the best witnesses of town life, but also because the construction of an important building necessitates a collaboration of artists representing many different branches of Art.

1. Spiegel has defined Iran as the country between the Indus and the Tigris. The weak point of this definition is that it ignores the northern extension of the Iranian lands which once comprised many territories of the later Turkestan, and extended beyond the northern shore of the Caspian to the Northern Caucasus and the South Russian steppes.

Only in Achæmenid, and in a much lesser degree in Parthian and Sasanian times, was the majority of the Iranian lands united under one rule. But even then Iran had no such centre as Rome in Italy or Paris in France. The

[1] Avestan *pairi-daēza* 'surrounded by wall', Persian *palēz* 'garden', Greek παράδεισος, European 'paradise' and Arabic *firdaus*.

[2] See the reconstruction of the Qaṣr-i Shīrīn buildings in de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, IV, Recherches archéologiques, II, pp. 341–360, the Safavid pavilions in Isfahān, Ashraf, and Faraḥābād, the Qājār buildings in the parks around Tehrān, etc.

[3] Ṭabarī, I, p. 2452. The carpet was sent to Mekka and there cut to pieces; a similar fate later befell the Persian imperial banner Dirafsh-i Kāviyānī. Some words in the text are dubious: *quḍbān* has been translated as 'stems' but, on a high authority, I hear that it may be rendered by 'chain' (as opposed to 'warp') if instead of *diyar* we read *dayr* (monastery) it may be an echo of the Arab view according to which Christian monasteries were very pleasant abodes.

Achæmenids in their seasonal movements travelled between Persepolis, Ecbatana, and Susa, where their great monuments are actually found. Outside this roughly outlined triangle only inscriptions of secondary importance or productions of provincial art are known.

The Parthian Arsacids were associated by their origin and dialect principally with the north-eastern marches [1] and with the north of Persia generally, but their easy overthrow by the Sasanians is chiefly explained by the excessive decentralization of their empire and their neglect of purely Persian affairs. The Parthians were irresistibly drawn westwards. Their monuments lie in the westernmost part of Persia near the Zagros (Bīsutūn, Sarpul) and in Mesopotamia (Hatra, Jazīrat ibn-'Omar, Assur, Boshat near Mayyafāriqīn, Dura-Europos, etc.).

The Sasanians sprang from Fārs. Their ancestors, connected with local sanctuaries and local dynasties, had transmitted to them a personal pride in the province and its antiquities. Most of the Sasanian sculptures are found in Fārs, often in the immediate proximity of the Achæmenid monuments. The neighbouring western provinces (Khūzistān, the Bakhtiyārī country, Luristān) are covered with great engineering works of the Sasanian kings (roads, bridges). But as the trend of Sasanian politics was also towards the west, a number of Sasanian monuments adorned the royal road leading from the centre of Media to Mesopotamia ; a Sasanian bas-relief used to exist close to Rayy ; at three farsakhs' distance from Hamadān, at Juhasta (?) there stood a magnificent castle commemorating Bahrām Gōr's exploits [2] ; the famous Tāq-i-bustān bas-reliefs are carved on the western side of the Bīsutūn rock ; the hunting castles of Qaṣr-i Shīrīn and Haush-Kurrak, as well as the summer resort Daskara (near Shahraban), were also situated in the hills immediately above the Mesopotamian plains.

It is a matter of particular moment for the development of Persian culture and art that for 950 years the great administrative centre of the two Middle Persian kingdoms (Arsacid and Sasanian) was Seleucia-Ctesiphon which stood on the banks of the Tigris, right in the cultural focus of Mesopotamia, where the population was Semitic and the civilization mixed and full of reminiscences of ancient times.

2. After the Arab conquest, the capital of the caliphate moved from Mekka to Kūfa, then to the far off Damascus and finally to Baghdād, close to the former Ctesiphon. In Persia, the Arabs had to base their power on local centres among which Rayy and Isfahān were prominent. Rayy must have been greatly arabicized though the population was mostly Iranian.[3] The 'Abbāsid Mahdi,

[1] The royal tombs of the early Parthians lay in Nasā on the northern slope of the Khorasanian mountains ; see my translation of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 326. [See now the discoveries made at Nisa by the Soviet archaeologists (M. E. Mason and others).]

[2] Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 255. See below, ch. III, § 2.

[3] Ya'qūbī, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii, p. 276, states that the inhabitants were a mixture of non-Arabs (*'ajam*), the Arabs being very few in Rayy. The contrary affirmation in Schwarz, 760, is a slip. See now my article ' Raiy ' in *EI*.

when heir apparent, built the city anew. Harūn al-Rashīd was born in Rayy and ever remembered with admiration its beautiful main street. As to Isfahān, 750 years before Shāh-'Abbās, the 'Abbāsid caliph Mutawakkil [1] had already conceived the idea of making of it the capital of his empire, and the project was abandoned only on account of the protest of its inhabitants, who had probably reason to apprehend too intimate an intercourse with the court.

Out of ninety-two buildings which Herzfeld [2] enumerates in Persia before A.D. 1000 the following admit of a further classification.

Built by the Arabs, forty buildings, and by the people more or less associated with them—thirteen. These constructions are scattered all over Persia. Associated with the Ṭāhirids are two buildings (in Khorasan), with the Ṣaffārids—seven (Khorasan, Sīstān, Fārs, Khūzistān), with the Sāmānids directly and indirectly—seven (east); with the Būyids—sixteen (south and west).

The effect of this table, which according to the author himself (*o.c.*, p. 148) does not pretend to be exhaustive, would be incomparably more decisive in favour of the eastern part of Persia, had not Khorasan been treated separately from Transoxiana.

3. This country of old Iranian culture, situated between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, was designated in the legendary Persian tradition by the misleading term *Tūrān*, which later, by a sort of phonetic calembour, became associated with the *Turks*. No less a person than the great national poet Firdausi was in a great measure responsible for this substitution, for he was too vividly impressed by the misfortunes which the Sāmānids had suffered at the hands of the recent Turkish invaders. But even for the Arab geographers of the tenth century Transoxiana, designated by the special term *Mā warā' an-nahr* i.e. 'the Land beyond the river Oxus', was distinct from the properly Turkish lands stretching east of the Jaxartes between the Muslim possessions and China.[3]

In the history of Persian art it is impossible to disregard the pre-Islamic and early Islamic epoch in Transoxiana, which for a considerable time was the cultural centre influencing Khorasan and other Persian lands.

Till the times of the Sāmānid prince Aḥmad ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr (second half of the tenth century) there stood in Farakhshah (one day's march from Bukhārā) a celebrated castle of the former dynasty of the Bukhār-khudāts. Aḥmad used its wood for his constructions.[4] In Kushāniya (actually Kashan-ata) there was a building with pictures of the sovereigns of China, the Turks, Persia, Rome, and the Hindu Brahmans.[5] In Arfūd (later called Ṭawāwis, half-way between Bukhārā and Samarqand) a temple of fire-worshippers and an idol-temple

[1] Ibn Rusta, p. 156.

[2] 'Khorasan, Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islam in Iran,' in *Der Islam*, XI, 1921.

[3] See my article 'Tūrān', in *EI*.

[4] Narshakhi, *History of Bukhara*, ed. Schefer, pp. 15–16. Russian translation by Lykoshin-Barthold, Tashkent, 1897.

[5] Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kioue*, St. Pétersbourg, 1903, p. 145.

(of Buddhists) peacefully co-existed side by side. In Rāmush too a temple of idol-worshippers survived till the Sāmānid times.[1]

4. In Bukhara the first mosque was built by Qutaiba in 713 on the site of the former temple of the idolators (Buddhists ?). The new cathedral mosque was erected by Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in 794. In 902 the Sāmānid Ismā'īl enlarged it, in 918 a minaret was added to it by the vazir Jayhānī. Burnt down in 1068, it was restored in 1069 with a new miḥrāb carved at Samarqand. In 959 the vazir 'Utbī built a mosque close to Rīgistān. The Sāmānid Ismā'īl's palace stood on the canal Jūy-i Mūliyān,[2] that of Naṣr on the Rīgistān place, that of Manṣur (967) near the New Gate in Kārak-i 'Alawiyān. Under 951 the construction of a building by Nūḥ ibn Naṣr is mentioned and in 971 Manṣūr built a new place for festival services at a distance of half a farsakh from the citadel.

Early Moslem buildings[3] in Samarqand were an old palace of the Arab amīrs, a prison, a cathedral mosque, a castle of Rāfi' ibn Layth, a tomb of the Prophet's cousin Qutham ibn 'Abbās, later known under the popular name of Shāh-zinda.[4] Under the Sāmānids Samarqand, according to Barthold,[5] could easily have had a population of 500,000.

Among the other towns of Transoxiana, there were mosques, mostly cathedral, in the following places: Balkh, Kālif, Zāmīn, Firabr, Navīda, Panjīkath, Wadhār (built by the Arab Abū Muzāḥim Subā' ibn al-Naḍr).

Just as the mighty impulse given by the **Sāmānids** to Persian poetry and historiography had echoed all over Persia, it would be incomprehensible if Transoxiana, the seat of a powerful dynasty which often occupied Rayy, had had no direct effect on Persian, and in the first place on Khorasanian, architecture, even if it is admitted that the Sāmānids themselves had been considerably influenced by Samarrā. The only building of Sāmānid times still standing in Bukhārā, viz. the mausoleum of the amīr Ismā'īl (d. 295/907), is of a rather peculiar style unknown in Persia,[6] and we can hardly expect that this particular building exhausted all the types of the numerous contemporary buildings that have now disappeared.

The influence of Bukhārā must also have been considerable on the production of textiles. According to Narshakhī (who wrote in A.D. 943),[7] a famous manufactory (*kārgāh*, *bayt al-ṭirāz*), standing near the cathedral mosque in Bukhārā,[8]

[1] For all these places see Barthold, *Turkestan*, ed. Gibb Memorial.

[2] Properly *Jūy-i Maulāyan*.

[3] The quarries which furnished stone for the city buildings in Samarqand and the clay for the preparation of vessels, glass, and depilatory stuffs, were situated at Kuhak, Iṣṭakhrī, p. 318.

[4] See its description by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1355), III, 52–4, Barthold, *o.c.*, p. 92.

[5] ibid., p. 88.

[6] Umniakov, *Architectural Monuments of Central Asia* (in Russian), Tashkent, 1929, pp. 4, 17; Cohn-Wiener, *Turan*, 1930, pl. 1–3.

[7] ed. Schefer, p. 18.

[8] It seems to have still been there in 1178 when the abridgment of Narshakhī, which alone has come down to us, was compiled.

produced carpets (*bisāṭ*), door-hangings (*shādravān*),[1] as well as yazdī-textiles, cushions (*bālish*), prayer-rugs (*muṣallā*) and the striped fabrics used at the inns (*burdī-yi funduqī* ?), for the use of the caliph. 'The kharāj (land-taxes) of Bukhārā was spent exclusively on big carpets, as every year a special agent came from Baghdād and whatever was the sum of the kharāj, he took in its stead those textiles (*jāma*).' Narshakhī, or perhaps his continuator, adds that the manufactory had then a set-back, and the masters specially trained for this work deserted Bukhārā. No such products were woven in any of the cities of Khorasan, and even when the specialists formerly resident in Bukhārā went to Khorasan and prepared there the necessary implements, they could not weave textiles of the same splendour (*āb-u-raunaq*). Formerly there was not a king, or a prince, or a chief, or an employee who had not such textiles, which were made in red, white, and green colours. Merchants used to export them to Syria, Egypt, and the Byzantine cities. At the time of the composition of the book the cotton stuff (*karbās*) produced in the village Zandana [2] and therefrom called *zandanijī*, had become much more generally known than those old Bukhārā textiles.[3]

5. Following the renaissance in Transoxiana and Khorasan, other provinces lying more to the west began their emancipation.

In the Caspian provinces, in the district of Gurgān there still stands a tower of Qābūs ibn Vushmagīr, of the **Ziyārid** dynasty which occupied an area intermediate between the Sāmānids and the Būyids.[4] This tower, built in A.D. 1006–7,[5] seems to be the oldest architectural monument standing intact in Persia and, if one remembers the close connection of Qābūs with the Sāmānids one cannot help thinking that the striking originality of this building may be accounted for simply by the disappearance of other similar buildings of the Sāmānids.

The Rādkān tower standing on the river Nikā west of Astarābād was finished in 411 (A.D. 1020–1) by the Ispahbad Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Vandarīn of the local **Bāvand** dynasty which had maintained its right since the Sasanian times, but at the date in question was eclipsed by the Ziyārids.[6]

[1] Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ēranšahr*, Rome, 1931, p. 73, explains *shādravān* as 'portière' (from **Shāh-dar-pān* 'protecting the door of the king').

[2] Zandana is situated four farsakhs north of Bukhārā. The stuff *zandanijī* was later manufactured in other villages of Bukhārā, and exported to 'Irāq, Fārs, Kirmān, and India. The *zandanijī* seems to have been of a common quality, as the grooms, who were slaves, wore garments made of it. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 227.

[3] See also a long list which Muqaddasī, pp. 323–6, gives of the articles exported from Transoxiana. [See the series of important articles by Dr. R. B. Serjeant, 'Material for the history of Islamic textiles'. (On Persia, ch. 1–12). *Ars Islamica*, 1942, IX, 54–92; 1943, X, 91–124; 1946, XI–XII, 95–135.]

[4] Qābūs depended on the Sāmānids and later on the Ghaznavids. His relations with the Būyids were strained. See C. Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, Paris, 1922, pp. 52–63.

[5] The original date is 375 in the solar era (i.e. as shown by van Berchem, the Yazdagird era) and 397 in the lunar era (i.e. the Hijra era), both corresponding to A.D. 1006. See Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1918, p. 106.

[6] See Godard in *Āthār-é Īrān*, I/1, p. 115.

The building resembles that of Gurgān and is particularly interesting on account of its Middle Persian inscription.[1]

West of the Ziyārids rose the **Būyid** dynasty, the importance of which has not yet found adequate recognition.[2] From their mountain fastness of Daylam the Būyids spread over all the Persian lands, except the north-east, and dominated Mesopotamia. For the first time the shī'a was proclaimed the official creed of a great reigning dynasty and the Iranian heretics became guards and protectors of the caliph himself. The great centres of the different branches of the dynasty were Shīrāz, Rayy, and Baghdād. The assumption of the ancient title *shāhinshāh* ('King of Kings') by the Būyids shows how they clung to the past. Very curious is the oldest Muslim inscription in Persia, which 'Aḍid [3] al-daula, following the example of the Sasanians, caused to be engraved at Persepolis in 344/955; in it he says that the ancient (Sasanian ?) inscriptions of that place were interpreted to him by a secretary and a Zoroastrian priest (*mobad*).[4] In the neighbourhood of the Muslim Iṣṭakhr, which sprang up near the site of Persepolis, stands 'Adid al-daula's famous dyke. Muqaddasī, p. 449, becomes quite lyrical in describing the monarch's palace in Shīrāz with its 360 rooms [5] and its wonderful library where all the known books of the time were gathered. The same author, while explaining that the pyramids in Egypt were originally tombs (p. 210), makes *en passant* a highly interesting remark: 'Behold the Daylamite kings (i.e. the Būyids) at Rayy, who build over their tombs lofty domes (*qubab 'āliya*), which they construct with all their zeal and erect to their utmost ability, lest they decay, while those who are under the kings build smaller (domes)'. Other Būyid monuments are scattered over Fārs, Khūzistān, Mesopotamia, and Kirmān.[6]

Very little is yet known concerning the monuments of some prosperous smaller dynasties which asserted their independence under the ægis, or behind the screen, of the Sāmānids in the east, and the Būyids in the west: the **Abū-Dāvūdids** of Balkh, the **Muḥtājids** of Chaghāniyān (south-east of Bukhārā), the **Farīghūnids** of Gūzgān (west of Balkh) on the one hand, and the **Musāfirids** of Tārom,[7] the

[1] The inscription has been deciphered by Herzfeld, *Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IV, 1932, pp. 140–7. Recently two other similar towers have been found in Māzandarān, at Lajīm and Resget (Razgat ?), and described by A. Godard, *Āthār-é Īrān*, I, 1936, pp. 125–160. For the decipherment of the Middle Persian inscription of Lājīm see Herzfeld, *Mitteilungen*, VIII/2, 1936, pp. 78–81.

[2] I tried to elucidate the historical meaning of this 'Iranian intermezzo' in my *La Domination des Daïlamites*, Paris, 1932.

[3] In Persia the name is pronounced with *i*, not with *u* ('*Adud*).

[4] S. de Sacy, *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, Paris, 1793, p. 137.

[5] Muqaddasī, p. 450: Some of the rooms were imitating the colour (*laun*) of Chinese porcelain (*al-ghadar al-ṣīnī*), others that of rock, some were panelled with marble (*mafrūsh bil-rukhām*), some gilt over, some covered with paintings (*muṣawwar*).

[6] To that dynasty also were probably due several buildings in Qazvīn, Qum, Abhar, Isfahān, Dīnavar, Nihāvand, etc., mentioned by Arab geographers, Herzfeld, *o.c.*, pp. 166–7.

[7] Great wonders are told about Muḥammad b. Musāfir's buildings in the castle of Shamīrān, where he attracted the best artisans from everywhere. The castle stood on the Safīd-rūd, at a distance of some three hours above the Manjīl bridge. See my article 'Tarom' in *EI*. I now see that Häntzsche, in Brugsch, *Reise*, II, 471–2, has given a description of the ruins, without knowing what the place was.

Rawwādids of Tabrīz and Marāgha,[1] the **Ḥasanwaihids** of Kurdistān on the other.[2]

6. The Turks who founded independent kingdoms from the end of the tenth century onwards gradually did away with the Iranian dynasties, but the change of rulers could not suddenly check or modify local culture, which in fact the conquerors themselves patronized in order to give more lustre to their reign.

The **Qara-khanid** dynasty which by 999 conquered Samarqand and Bukhārā, lasted till the year 1141. Many of these kings were great builders. Shams al-mulk in 1078 built Rabāṭ al-Malik which is the oldest non-religious building still existing, although in ruins, in Turkestan.[3] To him also were due the rabāṭ of Aq-kutal (on the road Samarqand–Khojand), the palace Shams-ābād in Bukhārā, and the new cathedral mosque in Bukhārā. Aḥmad khan (d. A.D. 1095) was the builder of a magnificent new palace at Jūybār. But the greatest number of constructions are attributed to Arslan khan who restored the citadel of Bukhārā and its walls, built an oratory outside Shamsābād (in 1119), a superb cathedral mosque (in 1121), which was destroyed by the Mongols and of which a minaret survived till 1920. He further built two palaces of which the one was turned into a madrasa, and restored the town of Paykand. Tamghach-khan Ibrahim was the builder of a magnificent palace in the Gurgīn quarter of Samarqand.[4]

The **Ghaznavids'** domination in Khorasan and Central Persia was short and precarious. Soon, under the pressure of the Seljuks, the Ghaznavids concentrated their activities in southern Afghānistān and Northern India. They gave a considerable incentive to Persian literature and historiography but, as regards architecture, did not leave any vestiges outside the immediate environs of their capital Ghaznī. The two famous towers of Ghaznī are closely akin to the similar constructions in Khorasan but, as usually happened in the Kābul valley, influences from the Indian lowlands had already under Mas'ūd (A.D. 1030–1041) made themselves felt in the style of Ghaznavid decorations.[5] A brief formula to characterize the Ghaznavid art would be that being eastern Persian it developed in the north-to-south direction.

An incomparably more important role in Islamic history belongs to the **Seljuks** who, contrary to the Ghaznavids, operated on the east-to-west line and joined Transoxiana to Mesopotamia. In 1036 they began their triumphal march from Khorasan and already in 1055 were masters of Baghdād. The buildings of the Seljuks, their kinsmen, and ministers are scattered in Marv, Rayy, Isfahān, Kirmān, and Baghdād. The rule of the great sultans lasted

[1] See my articles 'Tabrīz' and 'Marāgha' in *EI*.

[2] On the ruins of their capital Sarmāj, south of Bīsūtūn, see O. Mann, *Globus*, 1903, vol. LXXXIII, pp. 327–331. Ḥasanwaih's mosque in Sarmāj was built of hewn stone, Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 281.

[3] Umniakov, 'Rabāt-i Malik' (in Russian) in *Dedicatory volume to V. V. Barthold*, Tashkent, 1927. The rabāṭ lies in the neighbourhood of Karmīna.

[4] Narshakhī, pp. 49–50; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 319.

[5] A. Godard, *Ghaznī*, Paris, 1925, p. 59.

only some 120 years ; the empire, which shrank as quickly as it had expanded, never finally developed a natural centre. Perhaps Isfahān might have become such,[1] but when after 1118 the authority passed to the 'Irāq branch, Hamadān decidedly outweighed Isfahān. Here stood the college founded by Ay-aba, the atabek of Sultan Tughril II. Here still stands the Gunbad-i 'Alawiyān, most probably the mausoleum of the rich and influential family 'Alawī which flourished in Hamadān under the last Seljuks.[2]

Already during his reign the last great Seljuk Sanjar was made prisoner by the unruly Turkoman tribes. After his death (A.D. 1157) the east was lost to the Seljuks. In 1187 the Kirmān branch was overthrown by the Turkoman rebels and in 1194 the last of the Seljuks of 'Irāq fell in a battle with the Khwārzam-shāh, the new rising power. However, the episode of the **Khwārazmian** domination, owing to its brevity and agitated character, had no importance in the cultural life of Persia.[3]

On the other hand during the decline of the Seljuks the local dynasties of former governors (*atabeks*) had asserted their autonomy, and under their rule the provinces enjoyed some degree of tranquillity and stimulation, indispensable for the development of any craft not purely utilitarian.

The founder of the **Salghurid** dynasty of Fārs, Sunqur ibn Maudūd (1148–1162), built the cathedral mosque of Shīrāz and a rest-house (*rabāṭ*), while his successors' achievement was the embellishment of the mausoleum of the celebrated saint Abu 'Abdillāh ibn Khafīf.[4]

The extant buildings of the Āzarbayjān rulers of the **Ildegizid** family are concentrated in Nakhchivan on the northern bank of the Araxes.[5]

Sāva, situated half-way between Qazvīn and Qum, seems to have had a series of autonomous rulers whose history is still very little known. To their constructions may belong some of the stucco ornaments which came to light at the London Exhibition of Persian Art.[6]

7. The Khwārazmians were crushed by the wave of **Mongol** invasion. Contrary to the current view that the Mongol domination was of a purely destructive character—a view that echoes perhaps the resentment of the Muslims against the capture of Baghdād and the cruel execution of the caliph—the Mongols

[1] The great Masjid-i jum'a was built by Malik-shāh, see now in detail A. Godard, in *Āthār-é Īrān*, I/2, 1936, pp. 213–282. Niẓām al-mulk, the great minister of the Seljuks, was buried in Isfahān in a madrasa built by himself (Zakariyā Qazwīnī, II, 276) and which must not be confused with the better known Niẓāmiya completed in Baghdād in 1065. Sultan Bark-yaruq's (d. A.D. 1104) resting-place was in a mausoleum constructed for him in Isfahān by his favourite wife.

[2] The Gunbad was first mentioned by Khanykov (1852). Herzfeld, 'Der Gunbad-i 'Alawiyyān' in *A volume . . . presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, dates it of the reign of Uljāytū (1304–1316). But if my hypothesis is right, the date would be *circa* A.D. 1200–1250. Cf. *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 40 ; *Jahān-gushā*, I, 115.

[3] [This statement in no way diminishes the archaeological importance of the early Khwarazm in the light of the discoveries made by the expeditions of S. P. Tolstov.]

[4] *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, Gibb Memorial, pp. 505–9 (transl. pp. 120–1).

[5] Khanykoff, 'Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase', *Jour. As.*, August, 1862, and Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*. Cf. now my article 'Nakhičevān' in *EI*.

[6] To atabek Shīrgīr (towards A.D. 1107–1127) were due some constructions near Sāva.

guaranteed to the conquered races the benefits of a stable rule and opened communications with far distant countries, thus encouraging both material and intellectual exchanges, while they directly promoted sciences and arts.

The activities of the Ilkhans were concentrated in their crown province Āzarbayjān. In Hulāgū's capital Marāgha there exist five remarkable tumular towers but, as A. and Y. Godard have shown, none of them belongs to the conqueror's times.[1]

Both Hulāgū and his son Abaqa were buried on the island Shāhī where Hulāgū's treasure was also kept.[2] Already under Abaqa the capital was transferred to Tabrīz [3] and the Ilkhans gave much attention to its suburb Shanb (Shām), quite particularly associated with the name of Ghazan. He built here a mausoleum in which he was buried in state in 703/1304. This gorgeous building was surrounded by a mosque, two madrasas, a house for the sayyids (*dār al-siyāda*), a hospital, a library, an office for the archives, a tank, a bath, etc. The ministers and the nobles worked on the embellishment of Tabrīz itself. The famous vazir and historian Rashīd al-dīn's creation was the new quarter of Rab'-i Rashīdī with numerous edifices.

Ghazan's successor Uljāytū (1304–1316) [4] is particularly known by his attempt to create a new capital in Sulṭāniya, which was neither geographically nor historically suited for such a high destiny. The memento of this royal fancy is Uljāitū's mausoleum in Sulṭāniya, one of the most celebrated buildings in the whole of Persia. The last of the Mongol dynasty Abū Sa'īd (1316–1335) was also buried in Sulṭāniya but the fact that Uljāitū's own vazir 'Alī-shah built his famous mosque [5] in Tabrīz shows that the old city did not divest itself of its primacy even when the glory of its ephemeral rival [6] stood at its highest. Uljāytū was a great builder and the remarkable mosque in Varāmīn (south-east of Rayy) [7] dated 1322 (and rebuilt in 1412) was erected under his auspices. In his time too 'Aḍid b. 'Alī al-Māstarī, commissioned by the Sāḥib Dīvān Sa'd al-dīn, reconstructed the great cathedral mosque of Isfahān.[8]

Among the provincial buildings of the Mongol epoch are the funerary

[1] *Āthār-é Īrān*, I/2, 1936, pp. 125–156. Three of them are of the sixth/twelfth century. The oldest of them bears the date of 542/1148 and the name of the builder Qawwām of Āzarbayjān 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Maḥmūd b. Sa'd ; cf. *Rāḥat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 298.

[2] *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 241. The treasury was plundered before Ghazan's times ; cf. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, 340.

[3] See my article ' Tabrīz ', in *EI*.

[4] The original pronunciation of his name is *Öljeytü*.

[5] 'Alī-shāh's ambition was to eclipse the Sasanian palace (*Tāq-i Kisrā*) at Ctesiphon. We possess a detailed description of the mosque in an Egyptian relation preserved in al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-Jimān*, transl. by Baron Tiesenhausen, *Zapiski Vost. Otd.*, I, 1886, pp. 114–18.

[6] See my article ' Sulṭāniya ' in *EI*. Several buildings in Sulṭāniya belong to the later Ṣafavid and Qājār times.

[7] The mosque has been studied in detail by V. Morozov. See my article in *Apollo*, London, March, 1931, and ' Warāmīn ' in *EI*.

[8] van Berchem, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, Paris, 1909, pp. 367–378, and *Āthār-é Īrān*, I/2, p. 234.

tower of Rādkān in Khorasan,[1] the tower of Mīrī Khātūn, daughter of Arghun-aqa,[2] built in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and a series of most beautiful mausoleums of Mongol amirs at Akhlāt on the northern shore of the lake of Van.[3] Under the dynasty of the **Qutlugh-khans** (A.D. 1220–1303) Kirmān formed a considerable cultural centre.[4] Here the founder of the dynasty built a madrasa outside the city while another madrasa, known under the name of Green Dome, was constructed within the walls in 1242. The energetic Tarkān khātūn who ousted her brother from the throne erected in Kirmān a magnificent cathedral mosque in 1260. In **Luristān,** too, the atabek Nuṣrat al-dīn Aḥmad (A.D. 1295–1329), a contemporary of Ghazān and Uljāytū, was a great builder. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ascribes to him no less than 160 madrasas.[5]

After Abū-Sa'īd, who died childless, eight Mongol khans, one after the other, struggled for the supremacy in Āzarbayjān (1336–1344). Then two families of former Mongol generals (the Chobanids and the Jalāyirs) rose to prominence and finally the Jalāyirs (from 759/1358) ruled over an unusual combination of territories comprising Baghdād and Tabrīz and extending towards the eastern part of Transcaucasia. The **Jalāyirs** were patrons of the arts [6] and notwithstanding the very agitated character of their rule were regarded as the lawful rulers of Āzarbayjān. The most imposing brick building (*ark*) which towers over Tabrīz must be Shah Uwais's *Daulat-khāna*, which Clavijo calls 'Tolbatgana'.[7]

The situation in Eastern Persia after the death of Abū-Sa'īd (1336) was no less entangled. A scion of the Mongol khans, Tughā Tīmūr, was reigning in Astarābād, while Khorasan came under the sway of the Shī'ite Sarbadārs who were rather a series of rulers than a dynasty. Some parts of Khorasan were occupied by the **Karts** of Herat. On the lands between Tūs and Marv a local family of Mongol origin [8] enjoyed some sort of independence.

In the south, after a struggle between the two families of Mongol governors, the Injūyids and **Muẓaffarids,** the latter triumphed and ruled in Fārs, Kirman,

[1] This Rādkān, situated north-east of Qūchān is not to be confused with the Rādkān situated on Nikā, south-west of Astarābād, v.s. It belonged to the special fief of the famous Mongol administrator Arghun-aqa, see below, ch. II, § 7.

[2] See van Berchem in 'Materialen z. ältesten Geschichte Armeniens', *Abhand. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen*, N.F., IX, pp. 158–9; of the date one reads only seven hundred (7 ? ?).

[3] These round towers, dated 1273, 1279, 1281, strangely recall similar buildings in Persia, but here they show an influence of the Armenian style. They were first discovered by Lynch, *Armenia*, II, 280–297. For more details see Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, Leipzig, 1913, pl. 55–8.

[4] See my article 'Ḳutlugh-khan' in *EI*.

[5] See my article 'Lur-i Buzurg' in *EI*.

[6] See the Jalāyir Sulṭān Aḥmad's *Dīvān* with very curious illustrations published by Dr. Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Tīmūr*, Vienna, 1926.

[7] The rare 'Muntakhab al-tawārīkh', *Bib. Nat.*, sup. pers., 1651, fol. 327 v., definitely says that Shāh Uwais built a *Daulat-khāna*. See my article 'Tabrīz' in *EI*.

[8] The Jān-Qurbānī (probably in Mongol **Dzun-ghurban*) were the descendants of the Mongol governor Arghūn-Aqa (of Oyrat origin), see *Jahān-gushā*, II, 242–251, cf. my article 'Ṭūs' in *EI*.

Persian 'Irāq, and Khūzistān (1353–1393). Even against Tabrīz, the Muẓaffarids twice led expeditions. The court of Shīrāz in those days was frequented by such poets as Ḥāfiz, but one knows little of the architectural activity of this dynasty. Sharaf al-din Muẓaffar was buried in his own madrasa in Maybūd near Yazd (in 713/1314). Mubāriz al-din built a mosque outside the Zarand gate of the old city of Kirmān,[1] a college called *Dār al-siyāda*, etc. Shāh Shujā' is said to have spent 200,000 dinars on his own tomb and a rest-house, both in Mekka. Masjid-i Pā-minār, still existing in Kirmān, was founded by Sultan 'Imād al-dīn about 793/1390.

8. Tīmūr's invasion forcibly united the Iranian lands and, in spite of all the massacres and destruction which accompanied it, led to the formation of cultural centres round the residences of the prince-governors. Tīmūr himself did not care for any town but his own capital Samarqand whither the booty and the artisans from the conquered regions were directed.

Of Tīmūr's sons, Mīrān-shāh put at the head of an immense fief (' Hulāgū's fief ') with the capital at Tabrīz was not insensible to the charm of arts, at least of music, but even the official historians say that a fall from horseback affected his reason to such a point that he committed acts of vandalism. He is said to have destroyed several buildings and caused the bones of the famous Rashīd al-dīn to be thrown out of his tomb at Rab'-i Rashīdī.

In Shīrāz the successive rule of the princes Iskandar and Ibrāhīm offered better prospects to men of science and art.

But one of the highest epochs of Persian art was reached under those highly cultivated **Timurids** who from Herat ruled over the rapidly waning realm of Eastern Persia. From the still mighty sovereign Shāh-Rukh (1404–1447), who led expeditions to South Persia and even to Armenia and Transcaucasia, down to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqarā (1473–1506), a merely local ruler, Herat remained for a century the great centre of Persian artistic and literary life.[2]

With Herat too are associated the splendours of Persian miniature painting, both in its early virile period connected with the name of the patron prince Baysunqur (d. A.D. 1433), and in its later still more brilliant though perhaps less vigorous phase, the central figure of which is the great Bihzād.

9. The splendours of Herat in the east did not, however, exhaust the artistic activities of the fifteenth century. In the west the chief opponents of the Timurids were the **Turcoman** dynasties of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep (in Turkish respectively Qara-Qoyunlu and Aq-Qoyunlu).

The first had a moment of glory under Jahān-Shāh who extended his raids

[1] According to the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, transl. pp. 114, 184, the mosque was built in 752/1351, but Sir P. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 194, says that the inscription of Mubāriz al-dīn's cathedral mosque gives 730/1329.

[2] On the great number of poets, writers, and historians who in the fifteenth century lived in Herat see E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, III. See also the material collected by L. Bouvat in his ' Essai sur la civilisation timouride ', *JA*, April, 1926, pp. 193–299. On the Timurid monuments see Khanykoff in *JA*, 1860, XV, pp. 537–543, and recently R. Byron, *The road to Oxiana*, 1937, Index under ' Herat '.

even to Herat, and to whom the most gorgeous monument of Tabrīz, the Blue Mosque (*Gök-Masjid*), is due.[1] Jahān-shāh was a poet under the *nom de plume* Ḥaqīqī, and a copy of his Turkish and Persian poems is still extant.

When the Aq-Qoyunlu overthrew their rivals of the Black Sheep, they too concentrated their efforts on Tabrīz. There Uzun Ḥasan built the madrasa Naṣriya where he was buried, a mosque north of the maidān of Ṣāhib-ābād mentioned by Evliyā Chelebi,[2] and probably, the palace which Giosafā Barbaro calls ' Aptisti ' (*Haft-dast*).

Under Sulṭān Ya'qūb, the enlightened successor of Uzun Hasan, the court was rich in literary talents. An album of miniatures arranged for this prince is now kept at the Vieux Sérail Museum at Stambul.[3] Among his buildings was the splendid palace of *Hasht-Bihisht*,[4] with a harem ' so large that a thousand women might conveniently live there in different rooms ', a mosque, a public place, and a hospital.

10. The political and cultural centre of Persia moved several times under the great **Ṣafavid** dynasty. The original home of the family, where its ancestors had resided probably since the Seljuk times, was Ardabīl in the north-eastern corner of Āzarbayjān. This was the ancient capital of the province, where the Sasanian governor (*marzpān*) was living at the time of the Arab invasion. Later, especially after the Mongol domination in the thirteenth century, the first place in Āzarbayjān passed to Tabrīz, but Ardabīl lived on, as a sort of autonomous theocractic state, in the odour of sanctity of its shaykhs, the ancestors of Shāh Ismā'īl I. Ardabīl and its environs are a unique example of a museum-city full of saintly memories. The Ṣafavid monarchs never resided in Ardabīl but retained pious recollections of the home of their fathers. Sarre [5] thinks that the Ardabīl mosque was erected in the second half of the thirteenth century, the famous tomb of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the rest of the buildings composing the sanctuary, in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.[6] Ardabīl has never been known as a centre producing artists, but only as a place for keeping the treasures.

No sooner had Shāh Ismā'īl expelled the Aq-Qoyunlu (1502) than he established his headquarters in Tabrīz. The days of Herat, the rival centre, were numbered. In 1507 the founder of the new Central Asian dynasty, the Uzbek Muḥammad Shibani, took Herat and abducted the numerous artists

[1] According to W. Hinz, the date of the mosque is 25th October, 1465, and its architect's name is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *ZDMG*, 1937, 91, pp. 59 and 422. [J. Sauvaget was not sure whether the name belonged to the architect, see *Ars Islamica*, 1938, v/1, p. 105.]

[2] *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 217 ; Evliyā Chelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, II, pp. 245–278. Cf. Hinz, loc. cit.

[3] Sakisian, *Miniature persane*, Paris, 1929, pp. 34–7. The album (No. 37084) contains specimens of calligraphy, etc., by Sultān 'Alī, Shaykh Muḥammad, 'Abd ar-Rahmān, etc., who call themselves *Ya'qubī*.

[4] *The Anonymous Italian Traveller*, Hakluyt Society, 1873, p. 173, calls it ' Astibisti ' and says that on its ceiling were represented all the great Persian battles, embassies, etc.

[5] *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Textband.

[6] Even under the Qājārs the sanctuary continued to be repaired and embellished as shown by an inscription of 1309/1891.

whom he found there. His triumph, however, was merely transitory, for he was defeated and killed by Shāh Ismā'īl in 1510. This time the artists of the former Herat school, including the great Bihzād, were transplanted to Tabrīz [1] which now seemed destined for a great artistic career.

In 920/1514 Shāh Ismā'īl was utterly defeated in the battle of Chaldiran (north-west of Khoy) by the Ottoman Sultan Selim who for a short time occupied Tabrīz and led away the craftsmen to Constantinople.[2] A long series of Turco-Persian wars began and Shāh Ismā'īl's successor Tahmāsp (1524–1576) had to remove the capital farther back to Qazvīn, but even at the beginning of Shāh 'Abbās I's reign this city could not boast of any particular beauty.[3] The seat of the government was at the *daulat-khāna*, probably a block of public buildings [4] to which belonged the often named pavilion Eyvān-i Chihil-Sutūn (' the portico of Forty Columns '), evidently the prototype of its later namesake in Isfahān. Public rejoicings were held at the *maydān-i asp* (' race-course ') situated near the garden of Sa'ādat-ābād.[5]

Qazvīn was only a temporary abode of the Shahs pending the final settlement with Turkey.[6] The weak Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda twice made an attempt to return to Tabrīz but in 1585 that city was more strongly occupied by the Ottomans and not definitely recovered by Shāh 'Abbās till 1603.

As Shāh Tahmāsp was a great amateur and patron of the Art of the Book, it may be assumed that many of the characteristic miniatures of the glorious ' early Ṣafavid ' epoch were produced under his direct supervision in Qazvīn. Yet, in spite of its political vicissitudes, Tabrīz continued to be the greatest city of the realm [7] and, as such, presented specially favourable conditions for arts and industries. In this respect we possess at least one important indication : the celebrated manuscript of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* (British Museum, Or. 2265), the preparation of which took four years (1539–1543), was executed for Shāh Tahmāsp in Tabrīz.[8]

Sultan Murād III's death in 1595 gave hope for a better outlook for Persia

[1] Bihzād (d. in 942/1536) was buried in a Tabrīz cemetery, according to the preface of the album arranged for Bahrām mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'īl (now in Stambul).

[2] cf. also Angiolello, ed. Hakluyt Society, p. 121 : ' The Turk came to Tauris and immediately seeking out 700 families of skilled workmen sent them to Constantinople '.

[3] *Relation d'un voyage de Perse faict es années 1598–9 par un gentil-homme à la suite du Seigneur Scierley* (= Shirley), Paris, 1651 : ' (Qazvīn) est un peu moins grande que Londres en Angleterre et aussi longue, mais fort mal bastie de terre foulée . . . sans que la ville ait murailles ni rivière hors un petit ruisseau qui coule par un quartier d'icelle '. Tectander von der Jabel (1602), ' Iter persicum ', ed. Schefer, 1877, p. 46, compares Qazvīn with Breslau.

[4] Built under Shāh Tahmāsp, *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 268.

[5] cf. *'Ālam-ārā*, pp. 297, 341, 346 (I take *Maydān-i asp* as identical with *Maydān-i Sa'ādat-ābād*).

[6] Teixeira, French transl., p. 379, says that Qazvīn became the residence of the kings of Persia, ' after the loss of Tabrīz '. Tabrīz was successively occupied by the Turks in 1514, 1534, 1548, 1585–1603, 1610, 1618, 1635 (town entirely ransacked), 1724, 1725, 1727–9, 1731–6.

[7] According to the *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 224, it had 100,000 inhabitants.

[8] [cf. on Tabriz : Qāḍī Ahmad, ' Calligraphers and painters ', transl. by V. and T. Minorsky, Washington, 1959, p. 33.]

in the region occupied by the Ottomans, but the other terrible enemy was menacing Persia from the east, the Uzbeks. Here, too, liberation was near, but, for the moment, all Shāh 'Abbās's energy could not stem the incursions of the raiders who penetrated through Khorasan as far as Yazd (1596), Kāshān, and Khwār (1597). These political circumstances may have influenced Shāh 'Abbās's momentous decision to remove the capital farther south to Isfahān. It must be borne in mind that four cities in Persia at that time enjoyed the title of *dār as-salṭāna* ('residential city'): Herat, Tabrīz, Isfahān, and Qazvīn, but the first two were occupied by the enemy, and only Qazvīn was called *maqarr as-salṭana* ('seat of the government, capital'). This last term was now transferred to Isfahān.

11. Shāh 'Abbās, king since 1587, made his first sojourn in Isfahān in 1591 and returned there in 1593 and 1597. The ceremony of *naurūz* ('New Year') of 1006/1598 was held at Qazvīn, where extraordinary cold prevailed that year, and this may have quickened a resolution which had been ripening for some time.[1] The *naurūz* of 1007/1599 was celebrated in the new capital.[2]

The great city possessed at that time numerous vestiges of the past, but Shāh 'Abbās impressed on it his own indelible seal by decreeing a radical replanning of its streets, squares, and markets.[3] The Shāh fixed his residence at the government offices (*daulat-khāna*) in the garden Naqsh-i Jahān. By the spring new buildings were ready there. From the gate of Daulat, near the harem of Naqsh-i Jahān, an avenue was opened down to the river, with four gardens [4] and many beautiful buildings constructed along it. This avenue of Chār-bāgh was continued on the southern side of the river and plots distributed among the amirs and nobles with the injunction to erect there buildings embellished with gold and lapis lazuli. At the end of the avenue a vast garden with nine terraces (*nuh tabaqa ?*) was planted and called 'Abbās-ābād. The two banks of the river were spanned by a bridge of forty arches. The total length of the avenue was 1 farsakh (4 miles). On both sides of it were planted cypresses, plane-trees, firs, and *'ar'ar*-trees (*Pinus gherardiana*). On both sides, too, and in the middle of the avenue rills were running. There was a large pond in front of each of the buildings of the Chār-bāgh. To the west of the avenue the town of 'Abbās-ābād was built for the immigrants from Āzarbayjān.[5]

The Isfahān period of the history of Persia (approximately A.D. 1600–1722) is marked by wonderful achievements in all branches of art, but most of all perhaps in architecture. The great square (*maydān*) with its system of mosques, palaces, and avenues was a bold attempt at rebuilding an old Asiatic town on

[1] *'Ālam-ārā*, pp. 287, 309, 324, 361.

[2] ibid., p. 374.

[3] An excellent and complete survey of the monuments of Isfahān, due to the pen of A. Godard, has just appeared in *Āthār-é Īrān*, II/1, 1937, pp. 1–176.

[4] Or: four gardens on each side.

[5] *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 373, where the author (writing in 1616, when Isfahān was completely rebuilt) gives 1005/1597 as the year in which the Chār-bāgh was planned.

a deliberate plan.[1] New luxurious edifices required all sorts of artistically prepared or fabricated materials and embellishments: tiles, carved wood, painted panels, decorative pottery, wrought metals. Specialists were therefore welcome from all parts.

A great number of foreigners, both European and Asiatic, living in Isfahān, contributed to a contact between Persian and foreign art. To quote only Tavernier,[2] Shāh 'Abbās II had a Dutchman paint a drinking-party of Englishmen and Dutchmen on the walls of his audience hall (*tālār*); the merchants of Julfā presented to him two oil paintings brought from Venice and Leghorn; the two Dutch painters Angel (1616–1683) and Lokar (?) whom the Dutch Company sent to Persia and who became the Shāh's teachers, made of him an able draughtsman. We even know purely Persian miniatures directly influenced by Dutch and Italian art. Muḥammad Zamān (second half of the seventeenth century), who studied in Italy, is a curious and attractive figure. The way in which he tried to reform Persian painting is a memorable piece of pioneer work, not devoid of importance even for present-day Persian artists. The carpets and textiles continued to be produced at the usual places [3] but the Isfahān market stimulated their production and controlled the excellence of their designs.

No one would attribute the splendours of the Isfahān period exclusively or chiefly to its geographical situation, but the choice for the capital of an ancient town, advantageously situated in the centre of the country, and in the purely Iranian part of it, certainly gave opportunities to the local craftsmen and encouraged commerce not only with this or that outlying part of Persia, but harmoniously with all the provinces, so that each could contribute to the glory of the capital towards which the roads converged.

The accession of the Ṣafavids to power coincided with the discovery of the sea route round the Cape of Good Hope. While the western frontier was practically closed for Persia, owing to the long struggles with Turkey, the establishment of the Portuguese in Hormuz and other parts of the Persian Gulf opened for Persia a new outlet in the south. So the transfer of the capital to Isfahān was in fact a move towards a closer touch with Europe.

The activities of the Ṣafavids, however, were by no means confined to the capital. It is enough to mention here the embellishments of the Ardabīl sanctuary, the building of an imposing mosque in Herat [4] by Shāh 'Abbās I, the creation of two beautiful residences in Māzandarān, Faraḥābād (1612) and Ashraf (1613), with their richly decorated palaces and parks, and finally

[1] Many times described (Chardin, Tavernier), cf. Diez, 'Isfahān', in *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, XXVI, 1915, pp. 90–104, 113–128 (but above all, A. Godard's latest work, *v.s.*).

[2] *Voyages*, book IV, chapters vii and xviii.

[3] Among the gifts which Shāh 'Abbās in 1598 presented to the sanctuary of Mashhad figure precious lamps and candlesticks, various vessels and 'sumptuous carpets (*qālīhā-yi bā-takalluf*) of Kirmān and Jūshaqān', *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 398.

[4] 'Abbās I in his early childhood was the governor of Khorasan of which the capital was Herat. After a war with his father, 'Abbās was first proclaimed Sulṭān of Khorasan in 995/1587.

of the innumerable resting-houses (*karvān-sarāy*) at nearly all the principal passes.

12. The **Afghan** invasion was a short, but painful experience. Western provinces were sacrificed to the Turks, the Caspian shore to the Russians, while ruins accumulated both in Isfahān and on the route of the retreating hordes as they were driven out by **Nādir.**

This new star of the Persian firmament had a meteoric and rather erratic career. Isfahān may have remained the capital, for, at the outset, Nādir pretended to be the restorer of the Safavīd might, modestly calling himself Tahmāsp-quli, i.e. 'Shāh Tahmāsp II's slave'. But the ultra-shī'ite Isfahān was uncongenial to a man whose dream was the reunion of the shī'a and the sunna and it is significant that Nādir's coronation took place in a remote camp, on the Mūghān steppe (north of Ardabīl). If the new sovereign, ever warring, ever on the move, had any predilection, it lay rather with his native Khorasan.[1] To keep the immense spoils brought from India, Nādir fortified that extraordinary natural fastness on the northern frontier of Khorasan which received the name of Kalāt-i Nādirī.[2] The short-lived dynasty of Nādir very rapidly lost most of Persia, and only in Khorasan and its capital Mashhad the Nādirids and the representatives of a lateral line of the Ṣafavids maintained themselves till the accession of the Qājārs. Nādir beautified the buildings of the shrine of Imām Rizā and covered some of them all over with 'gold bricks'. He also built in Mashhad a lofty mausoleum for himself.[3]

Meanwhile, the whole of southern, western, and northern Persia passed under the ægis of the capable Kurdish chief Kerīm khan **Zand** who installed his headquarters in Shīrāz in the province of Fārs, that cradle of the Achæmenids and Sāsānians and one of the mainstays of the Būyids. But while these other dynasties largely expanded from Fārs, the Zands, whose only great representative contented himself with the title 'Regent' (*vakīl*), never sufficiently reduced the north where the Nādirids continued to rule in Khorasan and the Qājars were lying in wait for a better opportunity. Shīrāz was considerably embellished by Karīm khan, who built a mosque and a bazaar, and of whom we possess several portraits by his court artists.[4]

13. After the supremacy which the south enjoyed between 1750 and 1794, the **Qājārs,** whose Turkish tribe was occupying the steppe in the south-east corner of the Caspian near Astarābād, moved the centre of the reunited kingdom to the north. The new capital Tehrān had been in olden times an insignificant village in the neighbourhood of Rayy,[5] and only under the Ṣafavids rose to

[1] He belonged to the Afshar tribe established on the northern outskirts of Khorasan at Abīvard (ancient Apovarktikene). See my article 'Bāvard' in *EI* (Supplement).

[2] Its original Persian name was probably *Kalāg dizh*, cf. *Bundahishn*, VII, 35.

[3] 'Alī Ḥazīn, *Tārīkh-i aḥwāl*, London, 1831, p. 252. On Nādir's buildings cf. my *Esquisse d'une histoire de Nadir-chah*, Paris, 1934, p. 39.

[4] Under Aqa Muḥammad Qājār the paintings, mirrors, and marble columns of Karīm khan's palace were transported to the new palace in Tehrān.

[5] The first undoubted mention of it in the existing sources is in the *Fārs-nāma* written in A.D. 1160; see my article 'Teheran' in *EI*

some importance. The situation of Tehrān was appreciated by Karīm khan, who built there a series of government buildings. The Qājārs wanted first of all to be in the proximity of their hereditary fief and tribe in Astarābād. On the other hand, since the Afghan interregnum permitted Turkey and Russia to concert their action for the occupation respectively of the north-western and Caspian provinces, the new dynasty was anxious to keep a close watch on this new menace. Armenia in the west, and Herat in the east, over which the Qājārs tried to establish their dominion lay also in the north. Tehrān was half-way between Āzarbayjān and Khorasan, and the importance of the region was shown by the glorious past of the great city of Rayy whose tradition Tehrān was intended to continue.

The achievements of the Tehrān period in the history of Persia must not be underestimated. It is a time of gradual unification and modernization of the country. Tehrān, now the most populous town of Persia [1] has become the undisputed pivot of the intellectual life of Persia. Here are the government offices and the schools, the chief newspapers, and the numerous foreign colonies. In the book market only Tabrīz cuts some figure by the side of Tehrān.

It cannot be denied, however, that under the Qājār regime the arts did not reach such remarkable standards as under the Mongols or the Ṣafavids. Any more important architectural achievements in the capital date only from the later part of the reign of Nāṣir al-dīn Shāh, or more precisely, since the reconstruction and aggrandizement of the city about 1870. The best edifice, ' the Sipahsālār's Mosque ', was begun in 1878 and finished in 1890. A prominent feature of the capital are numerous suburban villas of the princes and other magnates in a special elegant style carrying on the tradition of the Ṣafavid buildings.[2]

The Qājārs built several government buildings in the provinces, but such structures have very rarely, e.g. in Kermanshah, had any but practical aims. The shāhs kept up the sanctuaries in Mashhad, Qum, Ardabīl, and Mesopotamia, but evinced little interest in ordinary antiquity. In general Persians prefer to build anew rather than to keep up the existing monuments.

The early Qājār miniature is still insufficiently known in Europe, though these representations of slightly europeanized gentlemen in tall Persian lambskin hats, of eunuchs and fair inhabitants of the harem, are much more interesting than the more frequent large oil portraits of the shāhs (especially of the long-bearded and wasp-waisted Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh), or of traditional dancers in unnatural attitudes. The Qājār miniatures very rarely illustrate books. They are mostly painted on loose sheets and especially on lacquer pen-boxes, mirror-backs, etc. They are often quite artistic, and precious too for the study of vestimentary

[1] Before the world war Tabrīz with its presumed 250,000 inhabitants was considered to have the largest population. Now Tehrān is said to possess a population of 350,000 and with its country-side even 450,000 to 500,000. [1,838,900 on July 1, 1960.]

[2] In Tehrān itself must be mentioned the building called Shams al-imāra within the precincts of the Shāh's palace ; cf. d'Allemagne, *Du Khorasan au pays de Backhtiaris* [*sic !*], Paris, 1911.

changes and successive modes in which the Qājār capital played the role of *arbiter elegantiarum.*

Minor arts were not unknown in Tehrān, but the best carpets were produced at the usual places of manufacture; for wood-carvings and metal-work one had to look to the region of Isfahān; the appliqué panels came from Rasht' some elegant thin glassware from Qum and Qāshān, etc. Great havoc has been wrought amongst Persian textiles by the growing importation of silks, velvets, and prints from abroad.

The attempts of the Qājārs to immortalize their likenesses on the rocks in the Achæmenid and Sasanian way are very curious. Among such are Prince Muḥammad 'Ali's group at Tāq-i Bustān,[1] Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh's hunting scene at Rayy, Nāṣir al-dīn Shāh's portrait in state on the roads to Māzandarān and Chālūs and at Chashma-yi 'Ali (near Rayy).[2]

14. It would be too early to prophesy about the **Pahlavi** dynasty, the founder of which has so far remained faithful to the Qājār capital. But great improvements in mechanical transport, railways, and air-lines are changing the aspect of Persia. The still growing impulse from the capital is towards a general modernization. Tehrān is being actively rebuilt, Persian youths acquire abroad occidental methods and ways of expression. It is impossible to expect the new generation to think and to create in the ways of the old naïve tradition. The synthesis of the old and new, so far asunder, is not an easy task. One may foresee that the influence of occidental standards will become paramount before long, unless a special training at the schools of art and industries helps to preserve the national tradition by giving the support of reasoned theories to the inborn instinct.

PS.—Our survey stops on the threshold of the Pahlavi reign. Enormous changes have taken place in Irān during the last twelve years. On the occasion of the celebration of Firdausi's millenary in 1934 I had myself the great privilege of witnessing the political and cultural risorgimento of the ancient kingdom. Great progress has been achieved in the study, as well as in the teaching, of Persian national arts and crafts. However, the synthesis of the tradition and of the new artistic ideas and methods flowing in from the west still remains a problem, similar to that which Iranian artists solved in the thirteenth century when Far Eastern influences were so harmoniously blended with the legacy of the local pictorial art!

III. The East and West in Persian Culture

Another basic question of the history of Persian art, and even of the whole cultural life of Persia, is the respective rôles of the western and eastern parts of Iran. The subject dominates the fortunes of those political centres round which artistic activity gravitated at different epochs.

[1] Local name: *Tāq-i Vastām!*

[2] To say nothing of a purely European monument of Nāṣir al-dīn which stood in Bāgh-i shāh (Tehrān).

1. The Central desert, like an unnavigable internal sea, is the great natural feature of Persia. The roads on its southern skirts are roundabout tracks linking up regions of secondary importance. It is true that Fārs is the cradle of the Persian state and one of the vital parts of the kingdom,[1] but, even at the periods of its ascendancy, Fārs had no particular interest in the south-eastern provinces, such as Kirmān, Balūchistān, Sīstān, which hardly ever have risen above their local interests.[2] Fārs naturally gravitated towards the west, as the examples of the Achæmenids, Sāsānians, and Būyids clearly show.

Much more important was the great 'Khorasan road' running along the fertile belt of land that stretches between the northern fringe of the desert and the southern foot-hills of the Elburs range. But even this historical artery is but a slender thread drawn between Mesopotamia and Central Asia. The region of Tehran (ancient Rhages, Rayy), the most advanced part of North-Western Persia, is separated by some 550 miles from Nīshāpūr, the centre of the westernmost 'quarter' of Khorasan. Yet Khorasan possessed three other 'quarters': Herat, Balkh, and Marv, and beyond them stretched Transoxiana (Bukhārā, Samarqand) which down to the end of the rule of the Sāmānids (A.D. 999) still preserved its Iranian character.[3]

The direct historical influences which the West and East of Persia had undergone were very dissimilar, and the aboriginal populations which the Iranians on their arrival (towards the tenth century B.C.) subdued and with whom they mixed were equally distinct.

In the west we know the Elamites, Kassites, numerous Zagros tribes, Mannæans in the region of the lake of Urmiya and different peoples round the Caspian Sea (Kaspians, Kadusians, etc.).

The Western marches were strongly influenced by the Mesopotamian civilization (Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian). Farther north the kingdom of Urarṭu (tenth-seventh century B.C.) with its centre in Van expanded towards Āzarbayjān and Transcaucasia.

The farthest point in the East which the Assyrians knew was the mountain Bikni (probably Damāvand) but in fact the Mesopotamian conquerors hardly ever penetrated farther than the belt of the Zagros valleys. Eastern Iran never experienced their direct action.

We know practically nothing of the earliest populations of Eastern Iran but the Iranian nomads who came to occupy the Central Asian steppes greatly differed from the sedentary Persians and the existence of the steppe with its nomads was a factor unknown in the West. In the Avesta, and still more in the Iranian epics, finally moulded by Firdausi, the chief trait is the struggle

[1] See above, ch. II, § 2.

[2] The only exception is the rise from Sīstān of the Ṣaffārid dynasty (867–903), which, during its short existence, tried to unite Eastern and Southern Persia along the road south of the Central desert.

[3] The small Soviet republic of Tājīkistān unites now the remnants of the different Iranian elements to the north of the Oxus.

between the settled population and the nomads.[1] So the creation of the *Shāhnāma* is due to the East, and it is now generally admitted that the great national hero Rustam belongs to the particular lore of the Saka, who towards 131 B.C. occupied the region to which they gave their name Sakastān (now Sīstān).

Under the Achæmenids almost the whole of Iran was united and the inhabitants of the remote satrapies followed the kings on their campaigns. That the truly imperial art of the Achæmenids was very eclectic has long been known, and recently an inscription found at Susa has shed new light on the rôle of the far-distant provinces in the supply of building-materials used by the Achæmenid architects. It is characteristic, though, that the contribution of the Eastern satrapies was relatively insignificant.

Alexander's conquest (331–23 B.C.) may have been detrimental to the national tradition, but by carrying their high culture far into the heart of Asia the Greeks contributed to a new union of the west and east of Iran, on the basis of the new ideas and tastes. Although Greek culture, and even the Greek language, keep their prestige under the Arsacids (250 B.C.–A.D. 224), the Greek colonies and rulers in Central Asia (Bactriana, etc.) at an early date lose the direct contact with their western brethren and follow their independent line of evolution. Under the pressure of new peoples arriving from the east they are thrust southwards towards India and exercise their hellenizing influence on the peoples south of the Hindukush, but in their turn become Buddhists and open the door to the penetration into Eastern Iran of Indian influences. While the Arsacids were active in the West, Eastern Iran was submerged by the newcomers hailing from the lands of Chinese culture.

Bukhārā,[2] Tirmidh, Balkh, Bāmiyān, Kābul, and even Sīstān have remains of Buddhist origin and the Buddhist writings in Iranian languages found in Chinese Turkestan reflect the existence of a Buddhist Eastern Iran, rather provincial but having a personality of its own.

Indirectly this isolation favoured a new penetration of western influences. While the growing power of the Zoroastrian clergy enforced the state religion in the Sasanian empire, the Christians and Manichæans successfully carried on their propaganda in the more indifferent atmosphere of Eastern Iran.

2. Islam is the great roller levelling the Near and Middle East, but even in Islamic times, the characteristic opposition between East and West continues. The state of our knowledge is still insufficient for an adequate presentation of the whole problem but, failing such a survey, it may be helpful to sum up the arguments of an important and illuminating discussion on the respective rôles of the East and West in Iranian culture, which took place among such

[1] The early 'Turanians' are not to be confused with the Turks, as has been done by the authors of later times. See above, ch. II, § 3.

[2] Its name means: Buddhist *vihāra*.

scholars as the late M. Hartmann, J. Strzygowski, Diez, Herzfeld, and the late V. Barthold.[1]

The originator of the discussion was Martin Hartmann, a scholar of inquiring mind, who, in sometimes unexpected connections, raised curious and important problems.[2] Already in 1905,[3] reviewing F. Sarre's work on some clay-figured vessels from Mesopotamia [4] Hartmann vindicated the claim of Central Asia to be the focus from which the culture of the Islamic Middle Ages radiated.

Sarre retorted in a decisive way [5]: 'In Mesopotamia and Iran, not in Turan . . . have we recognized the ground (Kulturboden) on which the Sasanian and Perso-Islamic art arose and further developed'. Very little is known of the supposed high standards of Central Asiatic production. The Buddha-statues are neither artistic nor original. If the Mongolian type is represented by Persian painters, the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century account for it. In a time when the Mongols were a ruling class 'the ideal of beauty' became Mongolian, but the execution and the art remained Irano-Mesopotamian in the hands of the subject classes. The latter remained faithful to their artistic feelings, even though outwardly they made concessions to the taste of the ruling caste. We know that the Persians who accompanied the Seljuks to Asia Minor created there the wonders of Persian architecture,[6] we know that Timur brought Persian architects from Isfahān in order to transform Bukhārā and Samarqand into gorgeous residences [7]; we know that under his successors Persian architecture and Persian miniature painting were transplanted to India, where they flourished independently.

In an article on a very abstruse subject,[8] M. Hartmann took up again his defence of Central Asia: 'The most brilliant names of the spiritual evolution of early Islam—Bukhārī, Samarqandī, Abul-Laith Tirmidhī, etc.—point to the *trapezium* Marv—Samarqand—Herat—Balkh. Especially its eastern part covering Transoxiana and the neighbourhood of the mysterious Badakhshān fructifies ceaselessly and in every respect (unablässig . . . in allen Beziehungen) the western parts of the Islamic world'. The Turkish hordes which arrived from the east had certainly no great artistic taste, but they had no prejudice

[1] *Grosso modo* we are dependent on the indications contained in Barthold's article 'Vostochno-Iranskiy vopros' ('The Eastern Iranian question'), in *Izvestiya materialnoy Kulturï*, II, 1922, pp. 361–384, which, on account of the language, has remained almost unknown in Western Europe, in spite of its great importance.

[2] M. Hartmann's name must be gratefully remembered by the scholars using his collection of books, now a part of our School Library. The present writer owes a special homage to M. Hartmann's memory for the encouragements received at the dawn of his Oriental studies (1904–1914).

[3] *OLZ*, 1905, July, pp. 277–283.

[4] 'Islamische Tongefässe aus Mesopotamien' in *Jahrb. d. K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XXVI, II Heft, 1905.

[5] *OLZ*, 1905, December, p. 541.

[6] Sarre refers to the inscription on the Sircheli madrasa in Konia, quoted in his *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1896, p. 54.

[7] See the inscription on Timur's mausoleum, Sarre, *Denkmäler pers. Baukunst*, fasc. 5.

[8] 'Die Tradenten erster Schicht im *Musnad* des Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal', *MSOS*, 1906, IX/2, p. 148.

against the representation of living beings, and with them came artists from Uyghuristan, the country where artistic production was still going on, the country of numberless Buddha statues and of a crowd of other pictorial types (bildliche Darstellungen), male and female.

In 1917 Professor Strzygowski [1] joined the discussion and developed the thesis which had been only outlined by Hartmann. Coming back to the figures which are represented on the vases described by Sarre, he thus formulated the question: 'Are the human figures occurring in the eastern-islamic art of ancient-oriental and hellenistic, or of Chinese-Indian origin?' By a comparative analysis, in which a considerable rôle is assigned to some statuettes found in the ruins of Afrāsiyāb (near Samarqand),[2] Strzygowski comes to the conclusion that the 'Mesopotamian' [3] vessels have their prerequisite (Voraussetzung) in the Saka-Turkish oases of pre-Islamic time. The patterns of the latter were perpetuated on Perso-Mesopotamian soil by that art of the nomads which forms the subject of the author's *Altai-Iran*.

Soon after, Strzygowski's pupil Diez,[4] following in his master's footsteps, claimed a leading cultural rôle for Khorasan, this geographical term being taken in the original broad sense and referring to the provinces stretching in the eastern direction down to the Oxus.[5] Khorasan, says Diez, has ever been the melting pot (Tummelplatz) of hordes of peoples. Zoroastrianism and Mithraism spread from Balkh. In Khorasan the decisive battles of the 'Abbāsids were fought. Here the first independent dynasties of the Ṭāhirids, Ṣaffārids, and Sāmānids sprang up. 'In Khorasan only absolute strength and worth ever ruled—in a word, the Sword' [*sic!*—V. M.]. Here Maḥmud of Ghaznī inaugurated the series of Muslim conquerors of the world and for the first time accomplished the fusion (Zusammenschweissung) of Iran and India. He was followed up by the Seljuks, Mongols, and Timurids. Under the latter Khorasan reached its cultural zenith. In Khorasan, too, originated nearly all the decisive cultural factors that influenced Muslim Persia. Here and in Transoxiana Persian poetry was born: Firdausī, Nāṣir-i Khusrau, 'Omar Khayyām, Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār were natives of that province. The four historical cities of Khorasan were important focuses of culture, etc.

Diez's arguments are neither first-hand nor free from misunderstandings [6] and his conclusions somewhat sweeping: 'In strange contrast to the scanty consideration which Khorasan has hitherto found in historical studies, stands its extraordinary importance as the centre and the starting-point of the Iranian culture from the most ancient times'.[7] It would have been certainly more

[1] *Altai-Iran*, Leipzig, 1917, pp. 259–272.

[2] Strzygowski's examples could be now considerably multiplied by objects both from Eastern Turkestan and Afghanistan.

[3] The author always uses this attribution in inverted commas.

[4] *Churāsānische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1918, pp. 4–10.

[5] *Khorāsān* means 'place where the sun rises'.

[6] The Nau-Bihār (*vihāra*) of Balkh was not a Zoroastrian, but a Buddhist, temple.

[7] 'Seine ausserordentliche Bedeutung als Zentrum und Ausgangspunkt der iranischen Kultur seit den ältesten Zeiten', *o.c.*, Preface, p. 6.

prudent to limit the first part of the statement to the historical studies of Persian Art only,[1] and to mitigate the exaggeration of the final part as it stands.

In a richly documented rejoinder [2] E. Herzfeld took exception to the views represented by the Strzygowski school and tried to show the importance of the western provinces of Persia.

It is true that no Achæmenid structure has yet been brought to light east of Hamadān and, as regards the Sasanian monuments, even the Arab geographers [3] were struck by the fact that they do not extend east of the Alvand pass which overlooks Hamadān. But Herzfeld rightly insists on the close connection of the Median and Achæmenid art with the western civilizations (Elam, Babylon, Niniveh, Urarṭu), and further shows that, out of one hundred towns founded by the Sasanians, eighty-four lay in the west.

The only two periods for which Herzfeld acknowledges the leading role of the East are the Hellenistic epoch and that of the Persian Renaissance (from about A.D. 830). He thinks (p. 173) that during the first of the two periods the fructifying effect of Greek art is to be explained by the 'virgin soil' which Eastern Iran represented, while during the second, the simplicity of artistic forms [4] presupposes hardly any previous development.

The chief interest of Herzfeld's article lies in its documentary evidence, but as a counter-thesis to that of Diez it is not wholly convincing. Eastern Iran, as we have tried to explain above, ought to be understood in the wider sense of both Khorasan and Transoxiana, and its artistic role should not be limited to architecture alone, though, even in that sphere, the Eastern Iranian monuments of Islamic times occupy a very honourable place.[5] The Herat school of painting (fifteenth century) alone would be of great weight in the scale of Greater Khorasan.

A much more complex historical view is taken by V. V. Barthold in the above-mentioned article, which sums up the arguments of the easterners and westerners.

Barthold lays stress on the rôle of the East in the formation of the Iranian epics and thinks that the existence of a Buddhist part of Iran had for Muslim culture no less importance than the Sasanian Iran.[6] The equestrian figures on the Arsacid and Sasanian bas-reliefs, unknown under the Achæmenids, find their explanation in the westward movement of such horse-loving peoples as the Parthians and the Saka. Under the Sasanians the great and important

[1] But we possess the penetrating studies on Khorasan by W. Geiger, Wellhausen, Marquart, and Barthold!

[2] 'Khorasan, Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran,' *Der Islam*, XI, 1921, pp. 107–174.

[3] Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 229; Yāqūt, IV, p. 985. However, both Ibn al-Faqīh and Ibn Rusta mention two Sasanian castles east of Hamadān.

[4] Evidently *architectural* forms are meant here.

[5] Here lies the great merit of Diez's book and its supplement: 'Persien, Islamische Kunst in Chorasan', 1923. For Transoxiana, see now Kohn-Wiener, *Turan*, 1930.

[6] See Barthold: 'Die persische Šu'ūbija und die moderne Wissenschaft' in *Z.f.Assyr.*, XXVI, 1912, p. 260.

town of Nīshāpūr was founded in Khorasan, and Marv was larger than Jayy (the future Isfahān). The ruins discovered in Sīstān by Sir A. Stein [1] and the ossuaries found near Samarqand [2] will be of great weight for the study and interpretation of Sasanian and Greco-Buddhist art. From various sources we hear of the sculptural representation of animals practised in Eastern Iran.[3]

To complete Herzfeld's enumeration of monuments, Barthold quotes the following important fact: near the ruins of Balkh the Arabs built a new town Barūqān, but finally in A.D. 725 rebuilt the old Balkh under the direction of Barmak, an offspring of the former Buddhist priests of Balkh. 'Only in the Eastern, Buddhist Iran the culture of the subject race won such a victory over the Arabs as the destruction of the town founded by the Arab victors, in favour of the reconstruction of a pre-Islamic town'. Some elements of culture become known much earlier in the East; in Samarqand, rag-paper was in use in the middle of the eighth century, while it reached Egypt only in the beginning of the tenth century. When the Caliph's new residence Samarrā was built about the middle of the ninth century, specialists were still invited from Egypt to prepare papyri-rolls. On the other hand, if domes (squinches ?) spread from Eastern Iran, tiles were brought to the East from the West.

The decline of Khorasan cannot be explained by the political storms that raged over it: Khorasan particularly flourished immediately after Timur's invasion. More probably the factor which brought about the ruin of Khorasan was the foundation under Islam of the great towns of Central Persia. In the eighth-ninth centuries the 'Abbāsids rebuilt Rayy and simultaneously Isfahān rose to prominence.

As in all similar phenomena of cultural history, the decline of Khorasan cannot be fitted to a simple chronological date. For a long time Khorasan lacked cultural homogeneity. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, under a Mongol ruler who had formerly been governor of Khorasan, sunnī theologians expanded westwards from that province,[4] while in the same century the old Shī'a centre Sabzavār launched a Shī'a political movement which spread all over Khorasan. By the time of Timur and his successors no signs

[1] See the new explorations in Afghanistān by Godard, Hackin, and Bartoux.

[2] They bear 'Sasanian' ornaments and Greek heads.

[3] Barthold, *o.c.*, 379. In A.D. 743 the Arab governor of Khorasan (residing in Bukhārā) Naṣr ibn Sayyār gave an order for sending, as presents to the West, vases in gold and silver shaped as antelopes, ibexes, etc., Tabari, II, 1705. The Bukharan historian Narshakhi (born in A.D. 899) says that in his time at a market in Bukhārā were sold 'idols', i.e. probably clay figures of men and animals. Ibn Ḥauqal (second half of the tenth century), p. 365, saw in the public place of Samarqand 'astonishing figures, carved in cypress wood, of animals, such as horses, oxen, camels, and wild beasts; they stand confronted as if trying to avoid each other or drawing near each other with menacing attitudes'. [As parallels in the West, can be quoted the Sasanian (?) castle Mushkūya (between Rayy and Sāva) where there stood figures of carved wood, Ibn Rusta, p. 168, and the castle of Juhasta, near Hamadān, each corner of which was adorned with figures of young girls, Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 255.]

[4] Barthold refers to the ḥanafī theologians who arrived in Āzarbāyjān under the ægis of Öljeytū, see his review of Blochet's 'Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols' in *Mir Islama* 1912, I/1, p. 101.

of eastern influence can be discovered on western architecture, while in the East the builders were natives of the western cities, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Tabriz. Only in painting were there perhaps instances of an Eastern influence: it is reported that this art was introduced into Turkey under the sultan Bāyazīd II (1481–1512) by a native of Turkestan Bābā Naqqāsh.[1]

Barthold admits that in the present state of our knowledge much in the cultural interdependence of the Eastern and Western Iran remains obscure. 'But even now we may say that the one-sided and often arbitrary theories of Strzygowski and his school on the one hand, and on the other the artificial simplicity and lucidity of Herzfeld will prove to be equally inconsistent. As a result of future studies, we may foresee a very complex picture full of seeming contradictions, which will not be removed except by a careful and thorough examination not only of the bulk of the cultural evolution but of each of its manifestations. There is no doubt a grain of truth, but only a very small one, in M. Hartmann's opinion that plunging into minute details hampers the comprehension of the fundamental traits of phenomena and of their mutual dependence, instead of contributing thereto. But in all the branches of Oriental studies, including Oriental Art, superficial dilettantism and foregone conclusions will long remain incomparably more dangerous than a partiality for seemingly unimportant details.'

[1] Evliyā chelebi, VI, 152. [For Turkish miniatures see the List of my publications Nos. 190, 200a, and most recently G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish miniatures*, British Museum, 1963.]

NAṢĪR AL-DĪN ṬŪSĪ ON FINANCE

[The text on which I comment in the present article had been established by my friend Professor M. Minovi and printed together with my translation in *BSOAS*, 1941, x/3, 155–6.[1] At that date we did not know that two years before, the text, with a Turkish translation, had been published in Turkey by Professor Şerefeddin Yaltkaya.[2] Recently the Memorandum in question has been included in a collection of six essays by Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī edited by Mudarris Raḍavī (abridged *MR*). The latter has carefully collated his MS, bearing the date of 757/1356, with the text of M. Minovi. This publication [3] makes it possible to dispense with the reproducing of the text set up in 1941, but I have revised my translation and included in it the additions and the more important variants found in *MR*. I hope my work has retained its usefulness as a commentary on the administrative matters and terms, especially those of non-Iranian origin. My article had appeared even before my translation of the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (Gibb Memorial Series, 1942) had seen light and it has needed a few additions and corrections which I have duly put in square brackets, or marked with an asterisk.]

I. Introduction
II. Translation
III. The system of taxation
IV. Some technical terms

I. Introduction

IN the opening paragraph of the document discovered by M. Minovi its authorship is attributed to the famous astronomer and philosopher Naṣīr al-Dīn of Tūs (b. 11 Jamādī i 597/18 February 1201,[4] d. 18 Dhul-Ḥijja 672/26 June 1274). The author's name is accompanied by epithets which would have been excessive on the author's own tongue. Such formulas were introduced by editors and scribes, and in themselves cannot invalidate the authenticity of the document.[5] The formula following Naṣīr al-Dīn's name clearly shows that the original copy of the Memorandum was copied only after his death. There

[1] On the basis of two manuscripts, one (defective) of the fifteenth century and the other modern (but said to have been copied from a manuscript of the eighth/fourteenth century).

[2] *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuasi*, 1939, II, 1–16. The photograph of the MS belonging to the Velieddin efendi Library, No. 1542, ff. 169–71, is very indistinct and the commentary is quite short.

[3] *Majmū'a-yi rasā'il-i khwāja Naṣīr al-din*, Publications of the University of Tehran, 1957, No. 308, pp. 28–35. The MS used belongs to the Madrasa of Sipahsālar, Tehran. The editor comments chiefly on single words and has not made use of my remarks.

[4] Strothman, Die *Zwölfer-Schī'iten*, 1926, p. 17.

[5] The *Naurūz-nāma*, ed. Minovi, 1933, is attributed to 'Omar Khayyām in a similar grandiloquent formula, while there are considerable doubts concerning this attribution, cf. Minorsky, *'Omar Khaiyām* in *EI* (English edition), and F. Gabrieli in *Annali d. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, VIII, Giugno, 1939 ; on the other hand the *Naṣīḥat al-mulūk*, ed. J. Humā'ī, 1317, in spite of such an introduction, seems to belong to Ghazālī, for only one century after the latter's death the book was recognized by the translator into Arabic as Ghazālī's work.

are other indirect considerations to support the attribution. The language of the document is characteristic of the Mongol epoch,[1] and contains numerous Turkish and Mongolian terms (*ūzān, b.lārghū, ärkävün*) which do not occur in later times. The concise form of the Memorandum tallies with Naṣīr al-Dīn's style in his other works.[2]

This brings us to the question of the identity of the 'Universal Sovereign', to whom the memorandum was presented.[3] The non-Islamic *pādshāh-i jahān* seems to echo some Mongolian title, probably *Dālāy-khān* 'the Oceanic, i.e. Universal khan', although it could be used only as a term of politeness with regard to the īl-khān of Western lands who was under the suzerainty of the Great Qā'ān of Mongolia.[4] The Memorandum was destined to throw some light on the administration of 'the Iranian provinces (*vilāyāt-i 'Ajam*)', and it would have been useful to Hūlāgū, coming as he was straight from Mongolia. On the other hand, Abāqā, too, on his accession to the throne, A.D. 1265, may have wished to possess a brief statement on the financial organization of his dominions. Very curious is the particular stress which the author lays on the appointment of a trusted person for the supervision of the vaqfs. It may specially point to the time of Abāqā Khān, during whose reign the versatile astronomer was appointed inspector of the pious endowments and died on an inspection tour in 'Irāq. [See below, § 20*d*.]

Naṣīr al-Dīn wrote on Islamic law (*fiqh*), dogmatics, philosophy, mysticism, mathematics, physics, astronomy, medicine, mineralogy, and auguries, but finance is not represented among the fifty-seven works which still go by his name.[5] It is probable that our document is one of the occasional reports *de omni re scibili* which the court sage had to supply at the beckoning of the king's finger. This explains the hurried style of the Memorandum and its abrupt, though natural, ending. Naṣīr al-Dīn reports on matters which needed

[1] See Naṣīr al-Dīn's record of the capture of Baghdād printed in the Appendix of Juvayni's *Jahān-gushā*, III, 280–92: the title given to Hūlāgū, p. 280 (*pādshāh-i jahān, mādda-yi amn-u-amān*), is identical with that found in our document; p. 281, the use of the verbal particle *bi*: *tartīb bāyad kard va bi-firistād* can be compared with our *bi-rafta bāshand* and then *furūkhta bāshand*. The title of the Memorandum *Faṣl* is a favourite term with Naṣīr al-Dīn: one of his works is called *Fuṣūl*, and his *Auṣāf al-ashrāf*, ed. Tehran, 1306, is also subdivided into *faṣls*.

[2] M. Bāqir Majlisi, *Biḥār al-anwār*, XXV, i, p. 4, praises Nāṣir al-Dīn's *Fuṣūl*, which contains everything a student needs, 'in spite of its unusual conciseness, reaching the limits of the permissible', quoted in Strothmann, op. cit., p. 57.

[3] At the Seljuk period attempts to introduce the element 'Universal' into the appellations of the kings were somewhat timid. Thus Niẓām al-mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 114 (ch. XXXV), has a curious phrase about 'the Sultan being the Sheriff of the World (*kad-khudā-yi jahān*)'; this may be an imitation of Firdausi who uses the title of *jahān-kadkhudāy* with regard to several ancient kings from Zohhāk (ed. Mohl, I, 70) to Khusrau Parvīz (ed. Mohl, VII, 322). In a poem addressed to Sultan Tughril b. Arslan, the author of the *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, GMS, p. 363, calls him 'Lord of the World' (*khudāvand-i jahān*)'.

[4] Juvayni calls Möngke: *pādshāh-i jahān farmān* (I, 3), or *pādshāh-i jahān* (III, 2).

[5] Brockelmann, *GAL.*, I, 508–9, Supplement, I, 925. But the historical memorandum on the capture of Baghdad is also missing in this list. A general characteristic of Naṣīr al-Dīn's theological and mystic works is found in Strothmann's book on the 'Twelver Shī'a', pp. 51–81. [On Baghdad see now J. A. Boyle, *J. Semit. Studies*, Manchester, 1961, VI/2, 145–61.]

no special research ; but some of his references to earlier times seem to reflect a knowledge of the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā*, which was completed by 'Aṭā Malik Juvayni about 658/1260, and which contains important passages on the financial reforms of Möngke Khan.[1]

Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum on Finance is a responsible and independent outline compiled by a shrewd contemporary. Even though the ' mathematical ' arrangement in which the taxes are presented in groups of four [2] is artificial, the desire to systematize the facts is praiseworthy. The author lived at a time when the established foundations of Islamic civilization were revolutionized by the intrusion of entirely distinct principles and habits hailing from the Farther East. For obvious reasons, Naṣīr al-Dīn could not overtly take sides in the conflict of the two cultures, but his personal feelings, seeping as they do through his classification, form a particularly interesting feature of his survey. In any case the Memorandum is a welcome supplement to the sources on the economic conditions of Iran under Mongol dominion.[3] The subject has already been treated in several special works,[4] and for a general revision of the system of taxes one must wait for the publication of the remaining portion of Rashīd al-Dīn's work,[5] of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh's *Dastūr al-kātib* and of the sources discovered in Turkish libraries by Professor A. Z. Validi. For the present it will suffice to translate and interpret Naṣīr al-Dīn's work.

In order to facilitate the study of the Memorandum we have divided it into the following paragraphs :—

A. *Introduction.* § 1. The origin of the treatise. § 2. Causes of the variety

[1] Both Naṣīr al-Dīn and 'Aṭā Malik Juvayni were in Hūlāgū's suite in 655/1257, see Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 264. Naṣīr al-Dīn dedicated his *Auṣāf al-ashrāf* to Juvayni's brother Shams al-Dīn. Cf. also a story reported by Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, II, 187, quoted in the Preface to Juvayni, I, p. QKD.

[2] [The addiction of Naṣīr al-Dīn to fourfold divisions can be traced in the work of his pupil al-Fuwaṭī, ed. Baghdad, p. 343. When in Ḥarrān Hūlāgū saw some mendicant dervishes (*al-fuqarā' al-qalandariya*) he asked Naṣīr al-Dīn who they were and the philosopher replied : ' A redundance in the world '. So Hūlāgū ordered them to be killed but inquired about the meaning of Naṣīr al-Dīn's remark. The latter said : ' the people consist of four classes (*ṭabaqāt*), namely rulers, merchants, craftsmen, and agriculturists, and those who are besides them are a burden (*kall*) on them '.]

[3] Juvayni, *Jahān-gushā*, II, 256, 261, on qopchur ; III, 75–9 (= Rashīd al-Dīn, II, 308–17, 340), on Möngke's institutions ; Rashīd al-Dīn, III (ed. Jahn), 263–8, etc., on Ghazan's reforms ; Rashīd al-Dīn on *chao*, see Jahn, *Das iranische Papiergeld*, in *Archiv Orientální*, X (1938), Nos. 1–2 ; Vaṣṣāf, who was himself a financial agent, frequently speaks of taxation, ed. Bombay, 161, 405, 435, 441–5, etc. ; Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, gives passim very valuable data on assessment (analysed by Barthold, A. Z. Validi and Petrushevsky).

[4] Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpis na stene aniyskoy mecheti Manuche*, 1911, has analysed the terminology of a decree of ilkhān Abū Sa'īd. In his important article *Mogollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadî vaziyeti*, Istanbul, 1930, 42 pp., A. Z. Validi has surveyed the sources on Mongol taxation. I. P. Petrushevsky's *Ḥamdallāh Qazvīnī kak istochnik . . . Vostochnogo Zakavkazya, Izv.Ak.Nauk SSSR*, 1937, pp. 873–90, is a remarkable study of the economic structure of Āzarbāyjān and Transcaucasia in the fourteenth century. The new book by B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 1939, according to the prospectus, contains a special chapter on taxation (' Steuerwesen ', pp. 306–31). [1st ed., Leipzig, 1939 ; 2nd ed., Berlin, 1955 ; see additions to Bibliography.]

[5] [The record of A.D. 1265–90 published by K. Jahn, Prag, 1941.]

of administration in western lands. General principles of administration, as referring to: § 3. Men of the Sword, and § 4. Men of the Pen.

B. *Royal Revenue.* § 5. Its sources. Private and state revenue. Various taxes: § 6. Taxes on land and their rates. Survey of lands. Evaluation of taxes in cash. Lands lying fallow. § 7. Immunities. § 8. Provincial cadastre (*qānūn*). § 9. Taxes on capitalists and merchants. § 10. Taxes on animals. § 11. Casual revenue. § 12. Booty. § 13. Revenue from *kafāyat*. § 14. Additional levies. § 15. Illicit levies. § 16. Novelties: poll-tax, qopchur. § 17. Revenue from good luck.

C. *Royal Expenditure.* § 18. From the khāṣṣa. § 19. For the needs of the kingdom.

D. *Conclusion.* § 20. Exemptions. Vaqfs. § 21. Principles of economy.

II. Translation

A. *Introduction*

In the name of God, Clement and Merciful.

§ 1. The Universal Sovereign, the Mainstay of tranquillity and security, requested the Exalted Maulānā, Master of mankind, the most learned among the ancient and the modern, Naṣīr al-ḥaqq wal-dīn, the Proof ('paragon') of Islām and the Muslims, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, may God hallow his beloved spirit—saying: 'Put down in writing and submit to us the ways and regulations of the ancient kings in those provinces,[1] which (regulations) maintained the world in a flourishing state, and the army and the subjects in contentment and (good) order'. In obedience to the puissant instruction (Naṣīr al-Dīn) drew up the following memorandum (*faṣl*).

§ 2. As the sovereigns of Khitāy [2] possessed an ancient kingdom (*mulk*) dating back a thousand years, more or less, and vast provinces (*vilāyat*), their habits and laws were one, and always remained in vigour. Meanwhile, in the Iranian provinces (*vilāyat-hā-yi 'Ajam*) the sovereigns often changed—as is still the case now—and as they had small provinces, their customs used to undergo alterations, and each province had a special rule.

§ 3. Paragraph (*faṣl*).[3] What the ancient sovereigns and the sages of the provinces said [f. 1r.] [4] and what their customs were, is as follows. They said that the foundations of the kingship depend on two things, viz. the Sword

[1] Evidently in the western, non-Mongol provinces, which are referred to in the following paragraph.

[2] M. M. restores: 'of Khitāy and Khotan'? After all, *chūn* may be expletive, but should a restoration be necessary, one would suggest: 'of Khitāy and China (*Chīn* instead of *chūn*)'. Khitāy stands for Northern China, and Chīn (*Mahā-Chīn* > *Māchīn*) would refer to the southern territories of the Sung kingdom, usually called in Persian sources Manzī.

[3] This division does not mean that the introductory § 2 does not belong to Naṣīr al-Dīn's memorandum.

[4] Here begins the extant part of the older copy.

and the Pen, of which the former is in the hand of the military, and the latter in the hand of the scribes.

Four qualifications are necessary for the military: (*a*) they should be in agreement with one another; and (*b*) of one heart with the king; (*c*) they should act only on the king's orders; (*d*) they should be warlike (*mardān-i kār*), and taught the wielding of arms (**ādāb-i silāḥ*). He who does not possess these four qualifications (*sharṭ*) is not suitable for the army; if he enters the army, he will disgrace it.

With regard to the army the king must observe four rules: (*a*) the military should not suffer from a deficiency in keep, clothes (*jāma*), arms, and (riding) animals; (*b*) the king should place the great in great places and the small in small places; (*c*) he should secure a better living to *bahādurs* ('stalwarts') who render greater services, and after their death, show his sympathy to their children; (*d*) the booty taken from the enemy should be equitably [f. 1v.] assigned to them, as will be said hereafter (§ 12).

The utility of the army is fourfold: (*a*) for the King's might, majesty, and pomp; (*b*) the repelling of enemies; (*c*) the security of his subjects; (*d*) protection of roads from thieves, and of pastures from wild animals.

If the king has enemies, he must observe four points: (*a*) if he has no strength for war, he must make peace, and to have peace is preferable; (*b*) if he makes war, he must make dispositions for military operations, men, the place, and the time, in conformity with an appropriate plan; (*c*) he must not [1] be apprehensive of a bad (issue), so that things turn out well; should the enemy overpower him, he should have taken the (necessary) measures and (required) precautions for his wives and children, as well as for the army, treasury, baggage, and his subjects; (*d*) should he overpower the enemy, he must not be (too) elated and must not be precipitate, but complete the affair with caution, cleverness, justice, reasoning, and consideration (*raviyyat*).

Even though the king has no foe, he must observe four points: (*a*) he must keep the army as fit as in time of war; (*b*) he must not ignore (the possibility) of a sudden appearance of the foe; (*c*) he must not under-estimate a small foe; (*d*) he must not leave the marches of his kingdom bare of men and arms.

These words refer to the Sword.

§ 4. The Pen is in the hand of four classes of people: (*a*) divines; (*b*) scholars in such subtle sciences as philosophy, astronomy, and medicine; (*c*) men who perform important duties, such as vazirs, yārghūchis ('judges, prosecutors'), scribes who transmit or commit to writing the words which the king addresses to friends [2] and enemies; (*d*) persons who keep the accounts (*ḥāṣil*) of income and expenditure.

The utility of the Pen is fourfold: (*a*) it maintains the path of the Almighty among the people, lest it suffer an alteration; (*b*) it renders covert news manifest; (*c*) it records (*yād-dihad*) words lest they be forgotten; (*d*) it maintains truthfulness among men.

[1] *MR*: 'he should be apprehensive'. [2] i.e.: 'those with whom there is peace'.

[B. *Discourse on the Revenue of the King*]

§ 5. The Sovereign's revenue (*dakhl*) is from four sources: (A) from the heritage of those who have passed away; (B) from the taxes (*māl*) of the subjects (§§ 6, 9, 10, and 11); (C) from his own *kafāyat* ('lawful exertions') (§ 13); (D) from what is granted by the Almighty (§ 17).

The king's resources (*māl*) are of two categories: (*a*) his personal property (*khāṣṣa*), and (*b*) the resources destined for the welfare of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*).

(A) What the kings receive from those who have passed away, such as their fathers and brothers, becomes their *khāṣṣa*. [*MR* adds: and what reaches them from the *mamlakat* (i.e. state resources) of the ancient kings (joins) the resources of the kingdom.]

(B) The levies collected from the subjects are of four classes [1] (coming as they are from): (*a*) agriculturists (§ 6); (*b*) merchants (§ 9); (*c*) cattle-breeders (§ 10); and (*d*) casual sources (*ṭayyārāt*) (§ 11). What the king conquers (*yābad*) from the kingdoms of (other) kings (*mamlakat-i pādshāhān*) becomes his property (*māl*).[2]

§ 6. (*a*) What the king levies from the subjects (*ra'iyyat*), if the latter are engaged in agriculture, (may apply) either to the wealthy (*tavāngar*) or to the poor (*darvīsh*), and the crops may be (either) from gardens and good irrigated lands (or from poor lands ?). Should the (man) be wealthy and the soil good, he must give a tithe, called *'ushr*; should the soil be bad and the man poor, (the tax) is one-twentieth, which they call a half-tithe. Moreover (from the produce of) the poor (the levies called) *ulūfa* 'fodder' and *kharj* 'expenses' should be deducted (*az sar bi-nihand*) [3]; from the surplus (*ān-chi az sar āmad*) they must pay one-tenth or one-twentieth; should there be no surplus, they should not pay anything. Such was the ancient custom; but when the number of provinces increased, the partition (of crops?) (*qismat*) became difficult.[4] Moreover, the subjects (were) unable to take possession (*taṣarruf*) of what they have (produced) before the tithe has been deducted from it.[5]

(*b*) (Therefore) the just and equitable kings have ordained that income (*dakhl*) from lands and gardens should be estimated (*ḥisāb bar-girifta*) [f. 2r.] in a good, middling, and bad year, and the amount of the tithe or half-tithe (for each of them fixed). At the beginning of each year, the average price (*bahā*) [6] (of the produce from the tithes) was fixed in all exactness and (divided into) several

[1] *Qaum* means 'people', but this meaning does not cover *ṭayyārāt*.

[2] This sentence seems to announce § 12, but it is badly formulated.

[3] That is, the amount of the casual levies exacted from the subjects for the fodder (*'ulūfa*) of the troops, for the needs of officials (*kharj* 'expenses'), etc.

[4] Meaning by this probably that the individual assessment had to be replaced by a pre-arranged system of survey, see below.

[5] This circumstance is meant to indicate a further complication under the older system.

[6] i.e. the money equivalent?

instalments (*ḥiṣṣa*).[1] [These sums] were fixed on the said lands and gardens, and (in this way) the *kharāj* is collected from them. If the land is not sown annually, and if the garden does not bring fruit annually, the *kharāj* is not levied and the procedure follows the principle ' there is no kharāj on what is not cultivated (*kharāb*) '. Every few years the lands and gardens are surveyed, and, if eventually cultivation has been replaced by non-cultivation, the *kharāj* is written off. If the fallow (*kharāb*) [2] (lands) have come under cultivation, the case is twofold : if the abandonment of cultivation is ancient, dating from a *qarn*, i.e. a period of thirty years, the land is exempted [3] for three years, after which, for (another) ten years, the *kharāj* is fixed at half-rate, in order that the land should continue in cultivation (*ābādānī*), and that there should be an incentive for men. If the abandonment of cultivation has been of recent date (and then the land) has become cultivated, the sum due from it as *kharāj* shall be considered. If a piece of land (*zamīn*) has been converted into a garden, or vice versa, the request will be made in true proportion, without excess or diminution.

§ 7. The lands and gardens which for some reasons the ancient (previous) sovereigns had not assessed with *kharāj* [f. 2v.] are called ' free ' (*ḥurr*),[4] and their price (*bahā*) [5] is more elevated. There are also some people exempted from *kharāj* ; this is called at some places *isqāṭ* and at some others *mauḍū'*. There are also some people to whom a definite sum of money (*zarī*) has been fixed as a permanent stipend (*idrār*) ; (either) it is counted in payment of their *kharāj*, or some subsidy (*jihat-i ma'yishat*) is given to them. These three (privileges), i.e. ḥurr, isqāṭ, and idrār, are transmitted by heritage,[6] or (may be) ceded to others by sale ; they are considered as a part of the man's property and establishment (*māl va dastgāh*) and are never abrogated (*bāṭil*). The Great Yasa of Chengiz Khān (requests) that this be maintained in order that the property (*māl*) of men should not decrease.[7]

§ 8. For the provincial *kharāj*, special registers (*qānūn*) are kept in each province, and in accordance with them action is taken. At each place (the *qānūn*) is such as to suit (the local conditions of) the province. These taxes (*māl*) are considered (as destined) for the welfare of the kingdom (*jihat-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*).

[1] [*MR*, instead of *ba-rāstī mu'ayyan*, gives *ḥiṣṣa-yi har sālī bā zar karda-and barātī mu'ayyan* ' and in an explicit *barāt* (demand note ?) expressed in money '. This would confirm my surmise that the author refers to a change of ' levies in kind ' into ' levies in money '. Cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Jahn, p. 264 : *vujūh al-'ayn.*]

[2] *Vide infra* § 13, *kharāb*, ' lying fallow ', is distinguished from what from the beginning was *not* ' cultivated ' (*ābādān*).

[3] Lit. : ' the pen is withdrawn from it '. Cf. Minorsky, *A soyūrghāl*, *BSOS*, IX, 4, p. 933.

[4] [In *MR* : *j.r* which is unintelligible.]

[5] Here apparently ' the sale price ' is meant.

[6] Curious construction with verbal particle *bi-* : *ba-mirāth bi-rafta bāshand.* The translation is meant to express the probable distinction in the forms *bi-rafta* and *furūkhta* (without *bi-*).

[7] The meaning is not very clear, but possibly the author's intention is to invoke the authority of the Mongol Yasa for the support of existing privileges.

§ 9. (*b*) As regards the moneyed people (*ahl-i māl*) and merchants, for most of the time, nothing was demanded from them, except for what they were told to give to the king [f. 3r.] from the capital itself (*asl-i māl*),[1] so that 1 dinar out of 240 dinars used to be collected [*MR* adds: and later 1 dinar out of 120]. This was called the ṭamghā levy (*māl-i ṭamghā*), and after Chengiz Khān's time it became known as *tamghā*.

§ 10. (*c*) In old times also nothing was collected from the animals (cf. § 16), but later from each (class of) animal capable of reproduction and grazing in the open (*ṣaḥrā*) [2] one out of one hundred was levied, while from smaller numbers money (*zar*) was collected in the same proportion. This (levy) is called *marā'ī*. (Still) later, one out of fifty was levied.

And at each place and locality, all the items (*jihāt*) of taxes [destined for the welfare] of the kingdom were levied differently.[3]

§ 11. (*d*) The *ṭayyārāt* ('casual revenue') are of four classes: (α) property (*māl*) to which there are no heirs ('escheat'); (β) men [4] who have appropriated the king's property [*MR* adds: or took bribes (and therefore) had to pay a fine]; (γ) *b.lārghū* (*bularghu*?) and lost things [5]; (δ) **ghāyibāna* ('property of the absent'), i.e. of the men of whom it is not known whether they are alive or dead, while they have no heirs. These two (last kinds of property) are restored to the owner when he comes back, in return for the tax (due from him) (*'avaḍ-i māl*?).[6]

These all are (levies destined) for the needs of the kingdom (*maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*).

§ 12. (ε) Whatever is taken from enemies (*yāghī*) and foes (*dushman*) of the kingdom is of two classes:

(*aa*) Of (the booty) which the army has brought together, viz. of captives, animals, arms, and (movable?) property (*māl*): whatever the *bahādurs* have taken [f. 3v.] by their (personal) valour (*bahādurī*) is given to them; from the rest, one-fifth is levied by the Universal Sovereign for his needs (*ḥājat*,

[1] [*MR* adds: *va ba-har dah dīnar tasū'ī nihādand* 'and they assessed every 10 dinars with a *tasū* (a one-twenty-fourth part). See *tasūj* in *EI*.]

[2] *Zāyanda*. Does it mean 'of female sex', or 'with the exclusion of the mules, which are incapable of reproduction'? Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 3, refers to the qopchur levied on 'horses, sheep, and cows'. The second condition may reflect the stipulation of the Islamic *zakāt*, according to which the animals on which the tax is to be imposed must be 'freely grazing' (*sā'ima*); Juynboll, 101.

[3] This sentence would better come at the end of § 11.

[4] Probably not the men themselves but their confiscated property (*muṣādara*).

[5] The 'revenue' evidently came in only in case the property was not claimed. It is possible that the author couples in this paragraph the Mongolian *b.lārghū* with the Islamic *luqaṭa*. See below, Technical Terms.

[6] An alternative interpretation that 'the substitute, or equivalent of the property' was remitted to the owner would be less satisfactory as not applying to *b.larghu*. In fact M. b. Hindūshāh states that the owners of the lost property 'must pay a definite tax, in exchange for which the property is returned to them', Hammer, *Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, 476.

cf. above, § 5B),[1] and the remainder is divided among the army, the horsemen and foot-soldiers receiving respectively in the proportion of two to one.[2]

(*bb*) What the army has taken (*yāfta*) of waters, lands, and animals, and property in the (conquered) provinces goes to the account of the revenue (destined) for the kingdom (*māl-i pādshāhī*).[3]

§ 13. (C) What (the king?) obtains by way of *kafāyat* ('lawful pursuits') is of four classes: (*a*) what accrues from the bringing to cultivation of the places which were (never) cultivated or were lying fallow (*kharāb*)—after the rights of the owners (*ḥaqq-i mālik*) have been redeemed [4]; (*b*) what is obtained from the mines of gold, silver, iron, etc., and the pearl-fisheries; (*c*) what accrues from workshops, artisans,[5] merchants' associates (*ortāqān*), and purchased estates; (*d*) what the king obtains from sea-fisheries and from hunting in the uninhabited places (*biyābān*).

These all belong to the king's *khāṣṣa*.

These together constitute the system (of taxation) of the former kings.

§ 14. In these later times some other taxes (*māl-hā*) have been added (to them), which are also fourfold: (*a*) the additions (*far'*) which have been levied in proportion (?) of eleven instead of ten, or twelve instead of ten of (the amount of) the taxes [6] as the fee of the officials (*jihat-i marsūm-i kār-kunān*); [f. 4r.] (*b*) the tax levied on weights [7] and on disreputable places (*kharābāt*); (*c*) the additional tax on the issue of licences (*qabāla*) of some crafts (*ḥurfat*); (*d*) the tax on the inheritance of the persons who have (only) remote relatives.[8] The

[1] Thus the *khums* is transferred to the īl-khān! Qor'ān, VIII, 42: 'Know that one-fifth of your booty belongs to Allāh, to the Prophet, to the Prophet's family, to the orphans, to the destitute, and to the wayfarers'.

[2] So according to Abū-Ḥanīfa, while the other doctors attribute to the horsemen a threefold share, see *Ghanīma* in *EI*.

[3] This is the Islamic *fay'* the revenue from which belongs to the whole community, see *Fai'* in *EI*.

[4] *Yā ānki kharāb shuda ba'd az ānki ḥaqq-i mālikān bidihand.*

[5] I read *ūzān* اوزان (instead of the dotless اوران). This word is found jointly with *ortaq* in Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 306. [By *kārkhāna* the author means probably the workshop attached to the King's court. See below.]

[6] More probably, each sum was augmented by one-tenth or two-tenths for the benefit of the officials. In Ghazan khan's time, the population was to pay the taxes 'with (an additional) one-twentieth, and the treasury fees (*bā dah-nīm va ḥaqq-i khazāna*)', Rashīd, III, 253. A list of additional levies is found, ibid., p. 255. On *nemeri* (spelt *n.mārī*), see Barthold, *Manuche*, 37. [In the history of Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, p. 439, *dah-yāzdah* is quoted among the onerous additions to the normal assessment, which was collected by the agents (for their own exertions). Cf. in popular literature, *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, ed. Berthels, 1926, p. 10, and in poetry Khāqānī's *Dīvān*, Tehran, p. 782.]

[7] Arabic *auzān* 'weights' is more suitable here than Turkish *ūzān*, for revenue from the latter is mentioned above as a legal levy. The words *auzān* and *ūzān*, both spelt in the same way, occur side by side in Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 286, 336. Ghazan, ibid., 334, ordered that the *sang al-vazn* (*sic*) should be suppressed at the treasury, and that the latter 'should make expenditure by the same weight by which it purchases, namely by the legal *sang-i 'adl* bearing the seal'. Naṣīr al-Dīn must have in view the abuses with the special *sang al-vazn*.

[8] Juvayni, 25, says that the Mongol treasury never appropriates heritages of private people, and that he himself had to suppress in the province of Baghdad the offices in charge of heritages

Universal Sovereign Chengiz Khān and his family (*urūgh*) disliked such amplifications (*ān ma'nī*).

§ 15. The great kings abhorred four kinds of taxes (*māl*): (*a*) levying tolls (*bāj*) and convoy-money (*badraqa*) on roads and on ships [1]; (*b*) what accrues from spoiling (*tabāh*) gold and silver [2]; (*c*) buying what people stand in need of and the re-selling of it (at a profit) [3]; (*d*) (fines) levied on such offences as murder, blows, and drinking.

§ 16. Nothing used to be levied as a poll-tax (*bar sar-hā-yi īshān*).[4] This was levied in the times of Islamic (domination) (*musalmānī*) but not before. Nor did they (previously) levy the *qopchur* which is now collected by virtue of the Great Yasa (cf. § 10). Even now, in view of the interdiction (*yāsaq*) (it) [5] is not collected from five categories of people: (*a*) from the *ṭarkhāns* raised to that state by the king, such as (Muslim) sages and Christian (clergy) [6]; (*b*) from old people; (*c*) from [f. 4v.] the sick and ailing (*ma'lūl*); (*d*) from paupers (*darvīsh*), (*e*) from children.

In the old days those people who were not engaged in agriculture, commerce, crafts (?),[7] and other (similar) pursuits, but who were smart (*jald*) and young were not left without employment (*kār*).[8] [*MR* adds: 'those who were suitable for the army learned the use of weapons in order to join the army (*ba-lashkar bar nishīnad*); those who were suitable for writing learned writing and whoever was suitable for an occupation was employed in it and was not left unemployed'.]

§ 17. (D) The revenue (*māl*) which (the kings) have from good luck and good fortune is fourfold: (*a*) what was formerly received from the persons who presented their property to the kings; (*b*) treasure-trove (*ganj*) unexpectedly found [9]; (*c*) gifts, presents, and donations brought in accomplishment of a service; (*d*) what is sent from other kings. [*MR* adds: 'of rarities (*ṭarā'if*) and jewels (*tansūq*). And these are the items (*vujūh*) of income'.]

(*shughl-i tarakāt*). [According to Hilāl b. al-Ṣābī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā*, pp. 246–9, the tax on heritages was imposed and repealed in 294/906, 351/962, 390/1000. On the introduction of the tax under the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Naṣr, see *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, Tehran, p. 130.]

[1] This telescoped phrase apparently has in view tolls levied on roads and in ports, and money (*rāh-dārī*) levied by road-guards.

[2] Perhaps by debasing and snipping the coins.

[3] Such as making 'corners' in cereals (*iḥtikār*). [The late Sir R. Burn gave me the technical term 'forestalling and regrating'.]

[4] *Bar sar-hā*. [*MR* adds: 'except from the persons who had a different way (of life, i.e. religion) and sought protection (*zīnhār*), and the contribution was called *gazīt* (i.e. in Arabic *jizya*)'. The author refers to the class of protected non-Muslims (*dhimmī*).]

[5] i.e. the poll-tax, gradually comprised under qopchur, see below under *Poll-tax*.

[6] Read: *ärkāvūn*, see below.

[7] اوانی gives no meaning. I read اوزانی *ūzānī* 'craftsmanship'.

[8] This may suggest that formerly all the able-bodied persons, being employed by the king, were exempted from the payment of a poll-tax (?).

[9] Does the author mean that such finds became the king's property? In Islamic law the finder of a treasure (*rikāz*) pays only one-fifth of it, as *zakāt*, Juynboll, *Handbuch d. Islam. Gesetzes*, 1908–1910, p. 104. Even the attribution of this fifth to the King's *khāṣṣ* (§ 18) would be a complaisance.

C. *Discourse on the Expenditure of the King*

The King's expenditure is twofold :

§ 18. The *khāṣṣa* expenditure, which he makes from his own *khāṣṣa*, the latter being kept separately and not confounded with the revenue (destined for) the kingdom (*māl-i pādshāhī*). This *khāṣṣa* consists of the following items : the inheritance from his ancestors (§ 5), the ' fifth ' of the booty (*ghanīmat*) (§ 12), what is received by the way of *kafāyat* (§ 13), or acquired through good luck and good fortune (§ 17) [f. 5r.], or in (any) other way becomes his *khāṣṣ* (' personal property ').

The king spends it in four ways : (*a*) for his own household (*khāṣṣa*) and that of his children ; (*b*) for grants and gifts to the persons having rendered some services ; (*c*) for the making of ornaments and embellishments ; (*d*) for the construction of buildings, such as are necessary [1] (or such as his heart desires).

§ 19. (The expenditure) for the welfare of the kingdom (*maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*) is fourfold : (*a*) expenditure on the army and the persons doing the king's work, such as scribes, yārghūchīs and nā'ibs,[2] so that they should not trespass on the king's property or accept bribes, or suffer humiliations, or beg anything from (other) people, but should be kind towards the king's property ; (*b*) expenditure on ambassadors and travellers in-coming and out-going ; (*c*) expenditure on the destitute, paupers, fatherless children, husbandless women, and (the general) welfare (*maṣlaḥat*) of the towns and provinces ; (*d*) (expenditure) on the establishment of *yām* (' relay service '). In olden days there existed the *barīd* (' post service '), placed on the roads at the interval of four farsangs,[3] so that (the couriers), without putting down their bags, could push on day and night until they reached the place (of destination). Numerous people travelling from one place to another down to the king's capital [f. 5v.] (were using) animals belonging (*az māl*) to the king and kept in readiness at each town and place, and the subjects were not disturbed by the (obligation of) *olagh*.[4]

[D. *Conclusion*]

§ 20. The king did not encroach upon the property of four classes : (*a*) the subsistence (*ma'yishat*) of righteous people which had been granted by other

[1] [*MR* : ' for the buildings which are *not* (directly ?) necessary '.]

[2] The term *nā'ib* is often found in the contemporary sources, see Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 333 : *nā'ib-i vazīr* ' a kind of registrar '.

[3] Juvayni, I, 24, says that each two tomans, i.e. 20,000 men, had to keep up a *yām*, while according to Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 275, in Ghāzān's time there was a *yām* at each 3 farsakhs. Juvayni may have in view earlier conditions in Mongolia, or take a *yām* as being of several relays. [After ' at four farsangs ' *MR* adds an involved sentence : ' there were (posted) several men and (saddle) animals in order to speed on the letters which under the king's orders should be carried in sealed bags (to let) the information reach the provinces ; and the men and saddled horses stood in readiness at every 4 farsangs so that without letting the bag touch the ground and without noticing whether it was day or night they should deliver (the messages) at their destination '.]

[4] Obligation to supply horses to travellers.

kings ; (*b*) the property of orphans ; (*c*) the property of the absent of whose return there is still hope,[1] as well as people's deposits ; (*d*) the vaqf property. Vaqfs have been constituted for pious purposes, and the kings did not consider it auspicious (to despoil them ?). So they used to ordain that a trusted person should be aware (of their functioning) ; (namely), that (the revenue) should be spent on pious endowments in accordance with the constitution of the vaqf, and that it should be used for due purposes in conformity with the stipulations of the founder ; and whenever (the requirements for) an expenditure ceased or diminished and it was impossible to use (the money) in that way, (the amount) should be spent on the poor and destitute or for other purposes, such as construction of bridges and rabāṭs, the healing of sick and other good deeds. (The kings) prevented anyone from interfering (with the vaqfs) in an inopportune way, in the hope that a recompense (in the next world) (*thavāb*) should accumulate for themselves.

These are the items of expenditure. The explanation of each one of them would be too lengthy, but, should it be so ordered, that explanation will be also presented.

§ 21. In former days the kings observed the above-mentioned rules, and necessarily (*lā-jaram*) their people, both the subjects and the army, were tranquil and prosperous, and a good name has survived them. They used to fix the expenditure at a lower amount than the income. They stocked their treasury full of money (*māl*) and precious objects (*ganj*), as a store (*dhakhīra*) for (the vicissitudes of) fortune and the repelling of enemies. Let the Almighty prolong the days of the sultanate of (our) Sovereign, and let Him secure tranquillity to (His) slaves under the shadow (of the Monarch), for the merits of Muḥammad and his family, all of them ! Praises be to God, Master of the Worlds, and peace be on him who follows the right path.

[Colophon.] ' Written by the sinful 'Alī Riḍa, 1331/1913. This copy has been written from a collection of texts (*majmū'a*) which was written in *ta'līq* hand in the ninth to fifteenth centuries (?) and was full of errors and out of order.[2] As much as possible, I have striven to check it (*taṣḥīḥ*). Tehran, 14 Ṣafar 1331/23 January 1913. Shams al-'Ulamā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Garakānī '.

III. The System of Taxation

As already mentioned, the characteristic and praiseworthy trait of Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum is the author's tendency to bring his facts into an orderly system. His habits of a mathematician make him even exaggerate the regularity of his divisions, based as they are on the number ' four '

[1] Contrary to § 11 (*d*).

[2] [It is likely that the scribe of our MS has taken some liberties in restoring the text of the concluding § 21. *MR* offers many variants but purely of style, except for one detail : the blessings are envoked not only upon the king but also upon his son (*pādshāh-zāda*).]

throughout. The main classification of the king's revenue is given under four headings in § 5, but further it is somewhat obscured by other details and paragraphs. The sources of revenue, as presented in the Memorandum, can be tabulated as follows :

A. Heritage from ancestors

B. Levies from the subjects :
- (*a*) agriculturists : *kharāj*
- (*b*) merchants : *tamgha*
- (*c*) cattle-breeders : *marā'ī*
- (*d*) casual revenue : *ṭayyārāt* of 4 + 1 kinds:
  - (*α*) escheat (heirless property)
  - (*β*) confiscations
  - (*γ*) lost property
  - (*δ*) property of the absent
  - (*ε*) war booty : (*aa*) movables, (*bb*) immovables

C. Income from *kafāyat* :
- (*a*) bringing new lands under cultivation
- (*b*) mining industry
- (*c*) manufacturing industry
- (*d*) fisheries and hunting-grounds

D. Income from ' good luck ' (cf. Bd):
- (*a*) offerings to the kings
- (*b*) treasure-trove
- (*c*) presents from service men
- (*d*) presents from other kings

E. Sundry [1] :
- (I) additional levies
  - (*a*) collectors' fees
  - (*b*) weights (?) and disreputable places
  - (*c*) issue of licences
  - (*d*) inheritance from remote relations
- (II) unlawful levies
  - (*a*) tolls and customs
  - (*b*) debasing of money
  - (*c*) making ' corners '
  - (*d*) fines for offences
- (III) novelties
  - (*a*) poll-tax (see above, § 16)
  - (*b*) ' qopchur ' (see above, § 16)

Very systematic is the distinction between the king's own revenue (*khāṣṣa*) and that destined for the needs of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*). The Mongolian terms for these two classes were *injü* [2] ' pearl ' and *dālāy* ' Ocean '—i.e. ' things precious, special ', as against ' things oceanic, universal '. Cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 305 : *injü* and *dīvān*).

Most of the revenue was of the ' public ' class, the items belonging to the Private Purse (*khāṣṣa*) being the following :

1. inheritance from ancestors (§ 5, A)
2. one-fifth of the movable booty (§ 12, Bd)
3. revenue from *kafāyat* (§ 13, C)
4. revenue from good luck (§ 17, D)

[1] Although in the text the three paragraphs of E come directly after C, they do not belong to *kafāyat* and represent something additional to the four lawful divisions enumerated in § 5. Therefore, we place them after D. [2] Originally a Turkish word.

The twofold character of revenue is indicated under each item and then resumed in the chapter on Expenditure. §§ 18 and 19 contain important indications as to the use made of each class of revenue but it is doubtful whether in practice there was so much regularity. Rashīd al-Dīn's description, III, 331–3, shows that the (King's?) treasury was in utter disorder before Ghāzān Khān reorganized it by dividing it into two departments: *nirun* 'thin, fine', for more rare objects, and *bidūn* 'thick, coarse', for objects of constant use (*payvasta kharj kunand*).

The taxation of the Mongol period, which reflects the conflicting tendencies of the age, is characterized by an intensive amalgamation of two entirely different systems: of the Islamic imposts incorporating pre-Islamic customs, on one hand, and, on the other, of the entirely *non*-Islamic levies imported by the motley staff of Mongol administration. Some curious evolution and readaptation were taking place under the early Mongol rulers. The rights which in Islamic law belonged to the Imām were being transferred to an infidel conqueror. The wall between the dominant 'faithful' and the subject 'infidels' of various categories was crumbling away under the impact of the invaders, for whom 'Mongol' and 'non-Mongol' was the only distinction having importance. To some extent, Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum bears traces of a desire to find a compromise. He is ready to put under the same roof the Yasa and the Sharī'at as regards the rights of the īl-khāns (§ 7), but he does not conceal his disapproval of the taxes which reduced the Muslims to a status which, in Islamic terms, could be described as that of *dhimmīs*.

Covering himself with the authority of 'the great kings', Naṣīr al-Dīn disapproved of such imposts as tolls (*bāj*, § 15) which belonged to non-religious levies (*mukūs*) of Islamic states but became particularly obnoxious under the Mongols. With regard to the poll-tax (§ 16), now that it struck Muslims, he even gives a twist to historical facts while denying its existence before Islām. Another significant point is § 9, where some tendency is felt to safeguard the position of the capitalists and traders (mostly Muslims!) in spite of the obvious insufficiency of their liabilities. See above, note 1 to § 9 (*b*).

We shall now speak in some detail of the more important sources of revenue referred to in the Memorandum.

(*a*) *Kharāj*. The paragraph has a very abstract character in spite of the author's admission concerning numerous local varieties of taxes (§§ 2 and 10). Naṣīr al-Dīn records only two rates of the land-tax, amounting to one-tenth of the crops on the lands of higher category, and to one-twentieth on those of lower category. As the partition of crops in each individual case became difficult,[1] a survey was carried out and embodied in a *qānūn* (cadastre) fitted to the local conditions of each province. Moreover, a threefold scale of rates was fixed to suit the years of good, middling, and bad harvests. The reference to *bahā* ('the price') suggests that kharāj was collected not in kind but in money substitute, the rate of which was fixed yearly and divided into several

[1] Similarly Juvayni, III, 78, on *qismat* in connection with the poll-tax, see below, item *e*.

instalments (*ḥiṣṣa*),[1] though it is hardly imaginable that this procedure had a general character.[2] There was no kharāj on lands lying fallow, and, by means of periodical surveys, the rates were adapted to the various transformations in the condition of lands (§ 6).

[The rule that casual levies 'should be deducted' from the taxes paid by the poor sounds like a pious *desideratum* at a time for which so many administrative abuses are quoted in contemporary sources.]

Finally (§ 7) the author refers to the immunity from taxes of certain lands (*ḥurr*) and men (the Mongol term *tarkhān*, § 16), and to the assignment of salaries on local taxes (Mongol term *soyūrghāl*, in later times *tiyūl*).

(*b*) *Tamghā* is presented as a capital levy amounting to $\frac{1}{240}$ of the capital. Even if the levy was annual the rate was very low. Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 312–323, has a long and interesting chapter on the formation of a powerful class of 'nouveaux riches' under Abāqā Khān. Merchants, contractors, and speculators were exploiting the simplicity of the īl-khān, under the protection of the powerful dignitaries and ladies.[3] In ordinary parlance, tamghā referred to various kinds of town levies, such as octrois, etc. (cf. *E.* iii*a*). Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 245, refers to *tamghā-yi shahr* and at another place, III, 273, speaks of tamghā appreciatively as 'the most liquid (*naqdtarīn*) of the taxes in the realm'. In later times (fifteenth century), the term *tamghāvāt* denoted all kinds of non-Qor'ānic levies considered as abuses; see *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, MS Bib. Nat., No. 101, f. 163r.[4]

(*c*) *Marā'ī* is the non-Islamic 'pasturage levy' collected per number of animals.[5] The Mongolian equivalent of the term was *qopchur*, as stated in Juvayni, III, 79 (= Rashīd, II, 314). According to Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 300, 'all the army had to pay yearly a qopchur of horses, sheep, cows, felts, furs,[6] etc., for (the benefit of) those parts of the *ordu* and the army which became impoverished'. This seems to suggest that qopchur comprised also some products of pastoral life, unless the passage has in view only a limited group of members of the army. The same author, III, 300, 304, speaking of the old Mongolian army, uses the term of *qopchūr-i mavāshī* 'q. of animals', evidently to distinguish the narrower connotation of *qopchur* in the conditions of nomad life from its more general and very different meaning which was ascertained by Quatremère in Rashīd, p. 256, and Barthold, *Manuche*, pp. 32–3, and which we record in the paragraph on the poll-tax (see below *e*).

[1] cf. Rashīd, III, 264: a detailed list of the dates of payment.

[2] In Rashīd, III, 263_{18}, 267_{12}, *vujūh al-'ayn* (money) is opposed to *irtifā'āt* (crops, levies in kind).

[3] See below, ch. IV, item 6.

[4] See article 13 in the present volume.

[5] In Islamic law, there is only an elaborate system of zakāt from camels, cows, and sheep, Juynboll, 100.

[6] The form فروت is strange. The expected Persian singular of Arabic فروة 'a fur' (Juvayni, III, 88, uses the plural *farviyāt*) would be فروه *farva*. One is tempted to restore the word as *قروت *qurūt*, 'a common kind of cheese' in Turkish. [Rashīd al-Dīn, III: *qopchūr-i asp-u-gusfand-u-gāv, namad* and **qurūt*.]

(*d*) *Kafāyat.* The usual connotation of this Arabic term is 'competence', as applied to ministers and other high officials, cf. Juvayni, III, 74, with regard to Arghūn-āqā.[1] In our text, the revenue which the king draws *az kafāyat-i khud* definitely refers to his 'lawful exertions and prosecutions', as specified in four points. In the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* (*circa* A.D. 1490), Bib. Nat., anc. fonds persan, No. 101, fol. 162v, *abvāb-i kafāyat* stands for lawful Islamic sources of revenue (especially *kharāj*, ibid., f. 163b) as opposed to *tamghāvāt* representing the novelties introduced after Chengiz Khān. In our text the line between the customs of the good 'old kings' and the additions and novelties of which Naṣīr al-Dīn clearly disapproves, is drawn immediately after § 13.

Several of the subdivisions of *kafāyat* belong to a class on which Muslims had to pay a zakāt destined for definite pious purposes.[2] Naṣīr al-Dīn hardly means that the king appropriated the sums of zakāt. More probably he refers to the direct exploitation of the sources of revenue by the king.

The liabilities of private holders of land had been defined under *kharāj* in § 6. In § 13 the revenue of the king is partly derived from lands first brought under cultivation,[3] or left lying fallow after (?) the rights of the owners had been redeemed.

Paragraph (*c*) must further refer to the produce of the artisans who were employed by the king and were his slaves (*asīr*) (cf. Rashīd, III, 337), as well as to the benefit obtained through the merchants to whom capital was lent and protection accorded (cf. Juvayni, III, 79, etc.).[4] In this light, (*b*) and (*d*) must also envisage the profits of the king's direct exploitation.

(*e*) *Poll-tax.*—Naṣīr al-Dīn quotes no technical term for what he describes as a poll-tax. He is wrong in saying that the poll-tax was unknown before Islām. Ṭabari I, 2, 920–3, explains the financial system (*abrāstār*), introduced under Khusrau Anūshirvān, in which, along with the *kharāj* (land-tax), figured the *jizya* (poll-tax), payable by men from twenty to fifty years of age, in proportion to their wealth, at the rate of 12, 8, 6, or 4 dirhams. The author does not explicitly identify the Islamic *jizya* with the Mongol *qopchur*, the latter being based on Chengiz Khān's Yasa. Nevertheless, by including them in the same category, he assimilates both. It is clear then that Naṣīr al-Dīn uses the term not as an equivalent of *marā'ī* (*vide supra*), but in a more general sense. A parallel connotation of *qopchur* is found in Juvayni, I, 256; but in the important passage on Möngke's reforms, III, 77–9, he uses, in this sense,

[1] Ibid., II, 260: Amīr Ḥusayn 'was clever both in Mongolian language and in Uyghur writing, and at the present time these constitute learning and competence (*faḍl va-kafāyat*)'.

[2] The zakāt which the Muslims paid on gold and silver extracted from mines was one-fifth (sometimes one-fortieth) of their value; on merchandise it was one-fortieth; Juynboll, pp. 102, 104. According to the Shī'a law the Imām or 'the person replacing him' received one-fifth (*khums*) on all such revenue, Querry, *Droit musulman*, p. 175.

[3] The non-cultivated lands (*mawāt*) could be cultivated by anybody, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa the agreement of the authorities was necessary.

[4] This association with the merchants (*ortaq*) may be the reason for the very light levies imposed on them, *vide supra*, § 9.

a more neutral *mu'an*, 'contributions (to subsistence)'.[1] That he means the same thing as Naṣīr al-Dīn by his *qopchur*, is plain from the similarity in the lists of exemptions from the levy. Naṣīr al-Dīn begins his enumeration with the tarkhāns, such as Muslim *dānishmandān*[2] and Christian *arka'ūn*, after which follow the other four categories (the old, children, the sick, and poor). On his part, Juvayni says that are 'excused' (*mu'āf*) 'among the Muslims: the great sayyids and the noble imāms; among the Christians, who are called *arka'ūn*: the monks (*rahābīn*) and clergy (*aḥbār*), and among the heathens the priests (*kashīsh*) who are called *toyin*', as well as 'those of the above-mentioned classes (?)[3] who have become old and incapable of work and earnings'. Juvayni definitely says that Jews did not enjoy this privilege (see, however, the interpolation iii, 77, note 11), while Naṣīr al-Dīn is non-committal about the other classes of tarkhāns.

In general use *qopchur* was applied to various casual imposts levied on the spot chiefly to defray the expenses of messengers and officials on special missions (*īlchi*). There was a multitude of such 'burdens, requests, and additional levies'; Rashīd al-Dīn, II, 313. Nothing is more pathetic than what this historian says III, 243–256, on the exactions to which the population was exposed. The governors by personal assignments (*barāt*) collected *qopchur* from two to thirty times over again, ibid., III, 243. These irregular levies exhausted the population and prevented the collection of the government taxes (*ḥuqūq-i dīvānī*, ibid., III, 245).[4] The poet Pūr-i Bahā Jāmī dedicated to 'Alā al-Dīn Juvayni a long poem of forty-five verses in which he describes the sufferings caused by *qopchur*. It begins:

> "Again the qopchur is spreading evil and enmity in the world;
> Both old and young are groaning under qopchur.
> The whole world is scattered and roving
> On account of the incalculable qalān and endless qopchur," etc.[5]

The Mongol higher administration was trying to stop this lawlessness by introducing a single poll-tax, on a strict basis leaving no room to arbitrariness on the spot. But even in this form, the rates of qopchur were constantly changing. In the chapter on Möngke's accession to the throne, Juvayni, III, 78, states that in view of the impossibility 'for each single functionary to make the distribution (*qismat*)' of qopchur,[6] an annual scheme (*sanavī muvāḍa'a*)

[1] In the parallel passage Rashīd, II, 313, substitutes: *takālīf* for *mu'an*.

[2] This is the usual appellation of Muslim divines in Mongol times. In Mongolian the word has taken the form of *dashman*, plur. *dashmad*, see Vladimirtsov, *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, I, 333 (as against Blochet in Rashīd al-Dīn, II, 129).

[3] Rashīd, II, 313: 'of all the classes'.

[4] The latter term is not very clear: it may refer to the land-tax (*kharāj*), but Rashīd al-Dīn states, III, 243, that there existed provinces in which the *ḥuqūq-i dīvāni* consisted of *qopchur* and *tamghā*.

[5] B.M., Or. 9213, f. 12*a*–13*b*. [See article 17 of the present volume.]

[6] See above, ch. III, § *e*. When the historians protest against abuses, they concentrate on the *barāts* (assignments) which the governors indiscriminately drew on the population, and on the *qismat*, i.e. distributing of such levies among the population. Instead of *qismat*, Rashīd al-Dīn refers to the evils of *muqāsama*, III, 163, 267, and surely 258 (instead of *maqālāt*).

was introduced (about 650/1252), under which the tax varied: in Northern China (Khitāy) and in Transoxiana, between 11 dinārs and 1 dinār, and in Khorasan, between 10 dinārs and 1 dinār. When in the autumn of 651/1253 the famous administrator Arghūn Āqā arrived in Khorasan to apply the yasa of Möngke, the rate of *qopchur* (*sic*) was fixed at '70 dinārs (Ruknī) per ten men', Juvayni, I, 256.[1] Later, when Juvayni, I, 261, speaks of the reforms in Georgia (in 656/1258), he says that previously to the introduction of 'qopchur' some people who participated in several companies[2] used to pay up to 500 and 1,000 dinārs. Then qopchur was applied at the rate of 10 dinārs, which, even if increased (*muḍā'if*), was no burden to the rich, but weighed heavily on the poor. Therefore, on Arghūn Āqā's advice, the new proportionate scheme was graded from 500 dinārs to 1 dinār.

Some additional details on the taxes will be found in the footnotes; but, in conclusion, we should repeat that the main object of the present article is only to explain the text of Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum.

IV. Some Technical Terms[3]

1. arka'ūn	6. ortāq
2. bahādur	7. tarkhān
3. b.lārghū	8. urūq
4. kār-kunān	9. ūzān
5. māl	10. yārghūchī

1. *Arka'ūn* (i.e. *ärkä'ün*, in view of Mongolian *erke'ün*), 'a Christian', as indicated by Juvayni, III, 77: *naṣārā ki īshān-rā arka'ūn mī-khwānand.* On the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn, II, 313: *az naṣārā arkavūnān va qasīsan*, suggests for *arka'ūn* the narrower meaning of 'Christian divines'. The same hesitation is found in Chinese sources. Deveria, *Notes d'épigraphie mongolo-chinoise*, *JA*, 1896, t. VIII, 407: '*arkaon* [read: *Ye-li-k'o-uen*] est le nom d'une religion', but in the subsequent passages: 'Christian priests'. The usual derivation of the word is from Greek ἄρχων; see M. Qazvīnī's note in Juvayni, III, 301, where Arabic parallels are also quoted: *urkūn* with the specific meaning of 'head of a village' and *arkhūn* or *arkhūl*, 'Christian notables'.

An original hypothesis was proposed in N. Y. Marr's article *Ark'aun* in *Vizantiyskiy vremennik*, XII, 1906, 1–68. He connects the term *ark'aun* found in Armenian sources of the Mongol period with Arm. *ark'ai* 'king', which may have been used for rendering the Semitic term 'Melkites'. Marr points out that already in the eighth century there were Armenian Chalcedonites = Melkites in Central Asia, and that in the fourteenth century Armenians had a monastery on the banks of the Issik-kul lake; consequently they may have been responsible for the transmission of the term. However, Christianity

[1] In a parallel passage, Rashīd al-Dīn, II, 341, speaks of a qalān of 7 dinārs for the rich, and of 1 dinār for the poor.

[2] Evidently as ortaqs; *vide infra.*

[3] For more technical terms see my 'Soyurghal', *BSOS*, 1939, X/4, 927–60.

was spread in Central Asia chiefly by Nestorians, and it is rather unexpected that the generic appellation of Christians should be due to an insignificant group of Armenian Melkites.

Mongolian scholars find no satisfactory etymology for *erke'ün*.[1] Vladimirtsov, *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, I, 1925, 334, still explains it (with a query !) by ἄρχων. The influence in the Far East of some Arabic renderings which have left no traces in the Middle East, is questionable, but a possibility of transmission of ἄρχων by Aramaic Christians or Manichæans cannot be disregarded. What is important, however, is the fact that the word belongs to the 'soft' (palatal) series as confirmed by its transcription in Persian characters (with *k* and not with *q*).[2] The form *erke'ün* (and still more the archaic and probably artificial, *erkegün*) suggests a vocalic stem *erke-* followed by a suffix. In Mongolian *erke* (Turkish *ärk*) means 'strength' (and even 'a lot', *Muqaddimat al-adab*, p. 164); in Turkish *ärkä* is 'a favourite', *ärgä-* 'to be gathered'. Thus there is no lack of possible indigenous derivations, especially as the term *erke'ün* may be a nickname with somewhat unexpected connections and allusions, as is the case of Persian *tarsā* ('a Christian', as a calque of Syriac *rahbān* but prima facie 'a fearful man'), or of English 'Quaker'.

[A student from Tabriz (H. Javādī) assures me that he heard the name of a village 'in the region of Tabriz' called Ärkhavun (*sic* !), and on the other hand, that in Azarbayjan-Turkish *ärkävün* is used to denote a 'self-satisfied man' (*az khod rāḍī*); cf. above, *ärkä* 'a favourite'.]

2. *Bahādur* (Mong. *baghatur*, Russian богатырь), 'stalwart, distinguished warrior'. From the fact that the *Mu'izz al-ansāb*, after each reign, gives a list of bahādurs, along with a list of other dignitaries, Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, p. 307, concludes that they formed 'a class of high dignitaries'. Vladimirtsov, *Obšč. stzoy mongolov*, 74, quotes *baghatur* only as an honorary title of some of the *noyan*, i.e. leaders of the aristocratic houses.

3. *B.lārghū*, in our case 'lost property'. This meaning is absolutely certain; but the reading and the etymology of the word still present considerable difficulties, and its use in the sources is twofold.

(*a*) The interpretation 'lost property' is fully supported by M. Polo, transl. A. C. Moule, I, 230: whenever someone finds a hunting-bird belonging to an unknown master, he carries it 'to a baron who is called *bularguci*, which means to say in our tongue the Keeper of the things which find no master. For I tell you that if by chance one finds a horse or a sword or a bird or other thing that is lost or strayed and he does not find whose it is, then it is carried immediately to this baron and he has it taken and carefully kept till it is demanded by the owner. And he who finds it—anything which may be lost—is bound immediately to carry it to its owner, and if he does not do this he is held for a thief if he does not carry it promptly to that baron. And those who

[1] Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, XV, 1914, p. 637: 'l'origine d'*ärkägün* est beaucoup plus obscure'.

[2] The parallel form with an alif, namely *arkāvun*, is only a *scriptio plena*, as usual in Turkish and Mongolian words; it must be read *ärkāvün*, not *ärkāvun*.

have mislaid or lost the things go off to this baron and he, if he has it, has it given back to them quite immediately. And this baron always stays in the highest place of all the host (in quella chanpagnia) with his ensign aloft so that those who have lost or found the things may see him clearly at once where he is. And in this way no things can be lost which are not soon found and given back'. In the Italian text of a grant of privileges issued by the Mongol īl-khān (on 12 December 1320), the Venetians are requested to return the stray horses ('se algun cavalo *bolargo* forse trovato apresso de algun vostro veneciano, etc.'). The collection of state documents prepared by Muḥammad b. Hindū-shāh Nakhchavānī in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D., contains a diploma issued to a *b.lārghūchī* of the royal camp. The duty of his subalterns was to find lost slaves and animals and bring them to the *b.lārghūchī*, by whom they were remitted to the owners against the payment of a definite tax. The interesting text is at present accessible only in Hammer's German translation, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, 1840, 476.[1]

(*b*) In describing the customs of the Mongol court in China, Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 479, refers to a nā'ib who was in charge of the gates of the palace: 'as soon as a *b.lārghūy* (variant: *y.rghūy*) is taken (or received), it is carried to the Nā'ib, who makes an inquiry—and this is the divan called *lī-she*. When the inquiry has been completed, a report is drawn up and, jointly with the *b.lārghū* (variant: *y.rghū'ī*) sent to the divan called *lū-she*', and so on up to the highest instance called *shīng*. Here the meaning of *b.lārghū* is not at all clear. Had it stood for 'lost property', even including slaves, there was no need for the latter to be sent up to the high instances. Moreover, it is said that at the *shīng*: 'they interrogate those persons who are concerned (or "in litigation", *dar sukhan bāshand*) and take their finger prints'.

Already Klaproth, who commented on Rashīd al-Dīn's passage, *JA*, XI, 1833, 335–352 and 445–470, wrote (p. 350): 'Je ne connais pas la signification du mot *belargoui*. Je suppose pourtant qu'il est mongol et dérivé de *balar* qui signifie ce qui n'est pas mis en ordre, chose embrouillée, brouillon'. Cf. Kovalevsky, *Mongolskii slovar*, 1076: *balar* 'dark, embroiled, nonsense, etc.', and Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. 31: *balaṛxā* 'undeutlich geschriebenes, gesudeltes, unleserliches' (literary Mongolian: *balarqai*). Blochet went still farther in explaining the term as 'la minute d'un acte qui sera plus tard mise au net et recopiée', Rashīd al-Dīn, II, 479. Mutatis mutandis, a similar explanation might apply even to case (*a*). Professor W. Kotwicz, whom I consulted on the latter, wrote to me (Lvov, 23 June 1939): 'there is a series of Mongolian words from the root *bala-* with the meaning "indistinct, obscure", e.g. *balarkhay* "indistinct, effaced, smudged". So the term *balarghu* might refer to the indistinct, unknown origin (of the found object)'.

However, the positive testimony of the European sources cannot be disregarded. M. Polo has *bularguci* (only one fifteenth century MS giving an

[1] B.M., Or. 3344, does not contain this *farmān*, Hammer's No. 8, fol. 295b, No. 13, fol. 301b, Nos. 9–12 being left out.

aberrant *barlarguci*) and the Venetian charter *bolargo*. Taking these transcriptions as a starting point one may quote Radloff's Turkish dictionary, *Versuch*, IV, 1670, which connects the word *bōlarghuchi* (in Chaghatay dialect?) with the verb *bōla-* 'to report, to submit to a superior instance'. The verb *bōla* (< *bō-la* >) is attested in Eastern Turki and Taranchi, both strongly influenced by Chinese. If we take it that in the Peking palace *b.lārghū* was a petition (transmitted to higher instances), Radloff's meaning fits into Rashīd al-Dīn's passage quite well. Radloff's *ō* suits the form *bolargo*, but its non-Turkish length is suspect. Were we to accept the explanation of *b.lārghū* [1] in the case (*b*) through *bōla*, we might imagine that in the first case (*a*) 'lost property' was considered as something 'to be reported on' by the finder (?).

However, the identity of the two cases is not certain. A variant of بلارغوی is یرغوی **yarghū'ī* 'a lawsuit', and it is possible that بلارغوی in MS B is a mis-spelling from the parallel form یارغو (in Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 149: *yārghū-nāma* and *yarghū* stand side by side). The meaning may be consequently restored as follows: 'and when they begin a lawsuit (*va yārghū'ī rā nīz ki bigīrand*), they take it to the nā'ib . . . and when the inquiry has been completed (*pursīda bāshand*) the report, together with the *litigation (files), are sent to the *lū-she. . . .*'. The Persian verb *pursīdan* is in harmony with *yārghū*, for the latter chiefly consisted of 'interrogation'.

The case (*b*) being thus eliminated, two explanations remain for (*a*). *Bōla-* does not give a very satisfactory meaning, and the length of *ō* probably would have been stressed in Arabic writing. If on the other hand we accept M. Polo's form, it is tempting to connect it with the Turkish verb *bul-* 'to find'. Hammer translated **bularghuchi* first as 'der Lagervogt', and then as 'der Auffinder'. Indeed, from a different point of view, 'lost property' could be considered as 'found property'. [2]

4. *Kār-kunān* (§ 14) 'officials, financial agents', probably rendering Arabic *'ummāl*. Where Juvayni, III, 78, writes *ṣāḥib-shughl*, Rashīd, III, 267, uses *kār-kunān*.

5. *Māl* (1) 'property'; (2) 'movable (?) property' (§ 12); (3) 'a tax'. In Mongolian *mal* (a loan-word?) means 'cattle'.

6. *Ortaq*, 'a merchant associate'. In Turkish the word means 'common, together, a companion', Radloff, I, 1067. Rashīd al-Dīn says that when Abāqā and Qāydū established friendly relations, they called each other *ortaq*; see Quatremère, 308. At present in the Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, *ortaq* serves to render the Communist 'comrade'. At the time of the īl-khāns the word had acquired a specialized meaning of 'a merchant trading in association', i.e. borrowing capital from princes, princesses, or dignitaries of Mongol and Uyghur origin; Rashīd, III, 318. Speculation, which grew rife under Abāqā,

[1] Regularly *u* or *o* in the first syllable would be marked in *scriptio plena* with *w*.

[2] In a note-book of mine I find a reference to a village called Balarghu (*sic*) in the district of Somay, west of Salmas

caused great losses to the treasury and affected all the economic structure of the state, until finally Ghāzān Khān forbade any lending of money, see Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 312–323.

7. *Tarkhān*, 'exempt from taxes'. As pointed out by Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 592, the title *tarqan* found in the Orkhon inscriptions must be Turkish. In Mongolian, *darkhan* means 'a smith, a master, exempt from taxes'. Laufer thinks that it is an independent word 'subsequently amalgamated with *tarqan*'. According to Vladimirtsov, *Obšč. stroy*, 1934, p. 117, *darkhan* means 'a freedman, a manumitted slave'; as the manumission of a slave was usually due to the latter's merits, it could have been accompanied by the additional privilege of exemption from taxes (?). Whatever the origin of the word, its use in Persian follows the official Mongolian usage.

8. *Urūq*, 'the family, members of the family' (Quatremère, op. cit., 7), as opposed to *yad* 'strangers' (Vladimirtsov, op. cit., p. 59).

9. *Ūzān*, 'an artisan, artisans'. Some of the *ūzān* were Mongols. Ghāzān organized the *ūzāns* into guilds, see Rashīd, III, 337. The reading is attested by numerous examples in Quatremère, op. cit., 306, 308–9, and in Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 336–8. However, sometimes the word is transcribed *ūrān*. Ibn Muhannā in the Arabic-Mongolian dictionary *Ḥilyat al-insān* (ch. XXIII) explains *uran* as *al-ṣan'a* ('a craft') and اورت (**ūzan*?) as *al-ṣāni'* 'an artisan', and Melioransky in his edition of the text, *Zap.V.O.*, XV, 1914, p. 124, confirms the fact that in Mongolian *uran* means 'skilful, dexterous, an artist'. This form has been adopted by Blochet, Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 49, 135, cf. also M. Qazvīnī, *Jahān-gushā*, III, 478, in spite of the clear reading *ūzān* in the MSS. Even though the original Mongolian form of the word is *uran*, the parallel form *uzan* is attested in Turkish; see Radloff, *Versuch*, I, 1759, *uzan-* 'to work skilfully'; in Ottoman Turkish *uzan* means 'a bard, a chatterer, swaggerer' (which seems to be a further development of the original meaning of 'a skilful man'); cf. Radloff, I, 1742, *us-* 'skill, craft'. The fluctuation *r/z* is characteristic as between Mongolian and Turkish: Mong. *boru*, Turk. *boz* 'gray', Mong. *ükür*, Turk. *öküz* 'an ox'. The Turkish form may have been specially used in Persian.

10. *Yārghūchī* 'judge, prosecutor' (from Mongolian *yarghu* 'litigation, law suit'); see Quatremère, op. cit., I, 122, note 4. In Rashīd al-Dīn, III, 139, the function of the *y.* is that of 'examining magistrate'.

[Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum has no claim to be an exhaustive report on Finance, but it is a highly remarkable essay of systematization at a most critical period in the life of the Islamic community.]

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE CAMPAIGNS IN ATROPATENE

§ 1. Byzantine campaign against Bahrām Chūbīn (A.D. 591)
§ 2. Heraclius's campaigns (A.D. 626 and 628)
§ 3. Road Dīnavar-Marāgha
§ 4. The fire-temple of Shīz
§ 5. Antonius's campaign (36 B.C.): Phraata, Vera
§ 6. Lake Čēčast

ONE of the arduous problems of ancient geography is the location of the furthest points in Atropatene (Azarbayjān) which were reached by Antonius in 36 B.C., by the Byzantine allies of Khusrau II in A.D. 591 and by the Emperor Heraclius in A.D. 624–7.

Major H. C. (later Sir Henry) Rawlinson studied this question in his well-known "Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana", *JRGS*, 1840, x, pp. 65–158. At the time of its composition the author was only thirty years old and was leading the strenuous life of a soldier, yet his performance is remarkable not only for his mature judgment and clear vision of local topography, but also for a truly amazing array of classical and oriental evidence. Rawlinson's main thesis of the existence of a second Ecbatana was soon challenged,[1] but for a long time his analysis of the campaigns and the importance he attaches to the site of Takht-i Sulaymān have been considered to be conclusive. It was only when ancient authors appeared in more reliable editions, and more Arabic and Persian texts were published, that doubts were expressed on single points of Rawlinson's demonstration,[2] though many eminent scholars dared not challenge Rawlinson's final identifications.[3]

No attempt has yet been made to revise the whole problem studied by Rawlinson, but the evidence which we now have at our disposal renders untenable his basic thesis (p. 113), namely "that the various names of Phraata, Praaspa, Vera, Gaza, and Gazaca . . . refer to one and the same city", which he further (p. 114) locates at Takht-i Sulaymān.

The sources on Gazaca, the fire-temple, etc., have been systematically

[1] Quatremère, Mémoire sur la ville d'Ecbatane, in *Mem. de l'Ac. des Inscr.*, 1851, xix/1, pp. 419–456.

[2] Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*: Ganzak at Leylān. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Sasaniden*, 1879, p. 100: "Ueberhaupt enthält diese Abhandlung Rawlinsons bei aller Verdienstlichkeit sehr viel verfehltes." Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, II/2, 1930, p. 72, places the temple at 6 fars. from Maragha "in Richtung Zinjān" [?]. Marquart, *A Catalogue of the provincial capitals*, 1931, 109 (Ganzak = Laylān).

[3] G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus d. syrischen Akten*, 1880, p. 252; Fabricius, *Theophanes von Mytilene*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 228 (the author winds up by surrendering his lucid arguments to the authority of the "Orientalists"); Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 108 (but see corrections in his later *A Catalogue*, p. 109); A. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, Florence, 1905, p. 125, still found „le raggioni del Rawlinson convincentissime"; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, viii, 1932, pp. 1099, 1454; Sir A. Stein, *Old routes in Western Iran*, 1940, p. 341 (with some hesitation).

surveyed several times,[1] and this enables us to concentrate on the more important issues while trying "to raise fresh crops by turning over old soil".

As Byzantine records are by far the most abundant and explicit, it will be a considerable advantage to deal first with them, and only afterwards with Antonius' campaign.

§ 1. *Byzantine Expedition Against Bahrām Chūbīn*

The detailed western source on this expedition is Theophylactus Simocatta, ed. Bonn, pp. 204–238, who lived under the Emperor Heraclius (610–40) and recorded the events of the reign of Mauricius (582–602). He must have followed the report of one of the participants of the campaign who was outspoken about certain Persian blunders and not satisfied with the way in which Khusrau II treated his auxiliaries.

In the seventh year of the reign of Mauricius (A.D. 589), Khusrau II, threatened by the revolt of Bahrām Chūbīn, sought refuge with the Byzantines. At his request the Emperor bade his general, Narses, accompany him with a Greek contingent of troops.[2] Simultaneously Khusrau's maternal uncle Bindōē was to invade Persia from the north-west with the help of John, the prefect of Armenia. The stages of Khusrau and Narses have been analysed by Rawlinson, pp. 71–8, and Hoffmann, p. 217. Coming from Mardīn and Dārā the allies crossed the Tigris at *Διναβαδών* (Rawlinson places it "near the ruins of Nimrod") and then the Great Zab. On the fourth day the expedition reached Alexandria (R.: "Arbela"). One day more brought them to the region called *Κλίμα Χναιθάς* (Syr. *Ḫnāithā*). The name is mentioned in Heraclius's campaign as *Χαμαηθᾶ* (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 317). It certainly began north of Arbil (possibly in the valley of Bastura), although the extent of the bishopric Ḫnāithā is still uncertain (Hoffmann, 216–222).[3]

As Bahrām had received the report that the commander of the right wing of John's force was trying to cross the (Greater) Zab, he captured the bridge lower down. Then Narses directed his colleague Rufinus to occupy the other passages (*διαβάσεις*). After this Narses unexpectedly invaded the country of Aniseni (*τὴν τῶν Ἀνισηνῶν χώραν*). As the allies were already on the eastern bank of the Zab the desire of Narses must have been to secure his rear, with the exception of the bridge already occupied by the enemy. As it appears, John did not succeed in his plan to break through along the course of the Zab (or alternately along the line Van-Mervanen-'Amādia ?), and the junction took place only to the east of the Zagros.

The identity of Aniseni is still obscure, but Rawlinson's equation Anisen

[1] See Rawlinson, *passim*; Hoffmann, *Index*; W. Fabricius, pp. 227–231; Weissbach, *Gazaca* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Lexicon*; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 124–143; Mary Crane in *Bull. Amer. Inst. Iran. Art.*, December, 1937, pp. 84–9.

[2] According to Muralt, this happened in A.D. 591.

[3] I feel pretty certain that the Kurdish tribe called in Arabic Ḫumaidī is connected with Ḫnāithā, just as the Hadhbānī Kurds have been surnamed after Hedhayeb (Adiabene).

= Azoni merits some attention.[1] Pliny, vi, 118 (ed. Detlefsen, 1904, 154) has: Gurdiæis [Corduene] vero iuncti Azoni, per quos Zerbis [Zab] fluvius in Tigrim cadit, Azonis Silices montani [cf. the village Sidakan, east of Revanduz] et Orontes [cf. Revānduz], quorum ad occidentem oppidum Gaugamela [Arbela ?], item Suae in rupibus. In any case, Aniseni should be looked for in the direction of Revānduz.

When the advance of the main force was reported to Bahrām, he sent his troops northwards and eastwards to check John's progress towards the main body of Narses. In the course of this manœuvre he reached "a certain lake" (*εἴς τινα παρακειμένην λίμνην*), which could only be Lake Urmia. John must have been advancing then from the direction of Urmia, and his force was separated by this expanse of water (i.e. by its south-western tip) from Bahrām, who apparently was somewhere near Sulduz.

John continued his march southward (towards the valley of Gādir), whereas Narses and Khusrau, having pushed forward from the Anisenian country, reached a village locally known as Siraganon (*καὶ γίνονται πλησίον κώμης τινὸς ἣν Σιραγανῶν οἱ ἐγχώριοι κατονομάζουσι*). Rawlinson ingeniously identified this point with the present-day Qal'a Singān [2] lying in the valley, of Ushnū, to the east of the pass. Here the armies operated their junction and Bahrām, impressed by the array of his enemies, took the road of the highlands (*ἐπ' ὄρους ἀνάβασιν ἀνετέτραπτο*), i.e. probably of the hilly country south of Sauch-bulaq. Khusrau, on his own responsibility, pursued Bahrām, but was repelled by the latter. Nevertheless Bahrām was frightened by the Byzantines' ardour, and moved his camp aside (*ἐκκλίνει*) into a difficult area inaccessible to cavalry (Central Kurtak massif separating the Kialū from the Tatavū). The Byzantines passed into the near-by plain [*sic*] in which stood the (fortified) city Kanzakon. Bahrām also, from where he was, moved his forces in order to weary the Byzantines. The latter by forced marches followed and came close up to him. Then they advanced to the river Balarath (*ποταμῷ τῷ Βαλαράθῳ*, var. *Βλαράθῳ*) and in the morning went forth into an open field. Here the battle took place in which Bahrām was defeated. A special body of 10,000 Byzantines was detached to pursue him. For three days the Byzantines and Khusrau remained near the battlefield,[3] but on the fourth day were forced by the stench of the corpses to move near Kanzakon. Thence the Byzantine corps took leave of Khusrau.

The eastern counterpart to Theophylactus is in Ṭabarī and Firdausī. The

[1] Doubtful. Marquart, *Südarmenien*, 1930, p. 337, identifies Zerbis with Bohtān-su, and places the Azoni near Arzūn (in the neighbourhood of Se'ert). Instead of *Azoni*, one MS. has *Aloni*, which name may be represented by that of the district *Alān* (in the gorge of the Lesser Zab).

[2] More doubtful is his further identification of it with *Σίνκαρ*, which, following Ptolemy's co-ordinates, lay considerably further east (27·2 miles east of *Δαριαύσα* = Daryāz on the Sauch-bulaq river).

[3] "In the enemy's territory" *ἀνὰ τὸν πολέμιον χῶρον*. The text suggests that the victors were collecting the booty. "The stench" also is a certain hint at the nearness of the battlefield.

evidence has been examined by Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Sasaniden*, 285, and Hoffmann, op. cit., 248. Ṭabarī, I/2, 1000, names the place of the last battle دهب, apparently *D.n.q*, and Firdausī, ed. Mohl, vii, 140, 142, 150, describes the arrival of Khusrau as follows: "The Shāh put up his royal tent in the plain of Dūk, (his) army being so numerous and his way the true path."

Sarāparda zad shāh bar Dasht-i Dūk
Sipāhī chunān gashn-u rāhī sulūk

In a further passage, vii, 150, Firdausī also mentions a mountain of the same name کوه دوك ("spindle-mountain") from which Khusrau watched the battle. The Arabic word *sulūk* supports the rhyme *Dūk*, and in fact *Dnq* may have been misread from **Dwk* of the Middle Persian original, the sign for *n* and *w* being identical. We should not easily surrender the reading Dūk; but in Arabic script *k* and *l* are very often confused, and the question arises whether by some accident Dūk (دوك) has not been mis-spelt in later writers as Dūl (دول). In fact Dūl is known in the toponymy of the south-eastern corner of Lake Urmia.

The *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, 244, refers to a relay Dūl situated at one (?) stage distance from Tabriz (*marḥala-yi Dūl ba-yak manzilī-yi Tabrīz*), where the Seljuk Sulṭān Mas'ūd spent two months in the early summer of 544/1149. According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (written in A.D. 1340), p. 87, one of the six districts of Marāgha is Gāvdūl through which (p. 223 var. دره كاودوان) the River Murd (now Mürdichay) flows to the Jaghatū [*sic*]. The *'Ālam-ārā*, pp. 573–5, has a long passage on the events at Diz-i Gāvdūl-i Marāgha (or Qal'a-yi Gāvdūl) whence Shāh 'Abbās marched to the meadow (*chaman*, *öläng*) of Qara-chibuq[1] to inspect the royal studs. The Qara-chabuq [*sic*] Turks are referred to in the *Sharaf-nāma*, p. 288, and even to-day some settlements bearing the name of this tribe appear on the maps between Bināb and Malik-kendi. The number of spellings with *l* is somewhat against the graphic confusion of *k* and *l*, but only a close inquiry on the spot into the remains of older toponymy can settle the question.

Whatever the name, the battlefield should be sought in the neighbourhood of Mürdi-chay. Contrary to Mustaufī, the latter is an independent river, but it flows north of, and parallel to, Leylān-chay, which joins the Jaghatū. As several reasons are in favour of the identification of Ganzak with Leylān, the plain between Leylān and Mürdi-chay suits the position of the battlefield as described by Theophylactus. The mountain Dūk (Firdausī) might be identified with Mandil-sar, through the gorge of which Mürdi-chay forces its way into the plain.

A third independent source is the Armenian historian Sebēos (a contemporary of Khusrau), who places the battlefield in the canton Vararat (tr. by Macler, p. 19).

[1] Possibly the Miyān-du-āb, the strip of territory between the rivers Jaghatu and Tatavu with its excellent grazing grounds. Even now it is occupied by the royal studs.

Neither Theophanes nor Sebēos contains any reference to the celebrated fire-temple of Shīz of which Arab authors give so many accounts.[1] The main feature of the campaign is the river τῷ Βαλαράθῳ, a name without any doubt identical with Armenian Vararat. In his account of the Mesopotamian campaign of Heraclius, Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 321, refers to the river Βαρασρώθ, corresponding to the present-day Beled-rūz. The old name is clearly Iranian **Barāz-rōδ*, "Wild boar river." As Greek -ρωθ = rōδ, we should expect the same element in the name of the river Βαλαραθ; but both the Greek and the Armenian forms end in -ραθ/-*rāt*. It is not impossible that in foreign mouths some simplification ("haplology") has been applied to the original name, which may have been *Vararān-rōdh (Varahrān being the older form of Bahrām; cf. Byzantine Οὐαραράνης, Agathias (d. in A.D. 582), ii, 24).[2]

This hypothesis is corroborated by Mas'ūdī, who three times connects the names الشيز والران. He says (*Murūj*, ii, 131) that Afrāsiyāb was killed ببلاد السرو والران which Hoffmann successfully restored as * الشيز والران; that the Arshakids (ii, 235) were kings of الشيز والران; and that (iv, 74) in the same country (ببلاد الشيز والران) stood a famous fire-temple; "in it were idols, but Anūshirvān removed them from it; it is also reported that Anūshirvān came upon that fire-temple in which there was a great fire, and he transferred it to the place known as *al-Birka* ('pond, tank')." Later generations naturally read *al-Shīz wa al-Rān*, and in fact Firdausī locates the refuge-place of Afrāsiyāb near Barda', in Transcaucasia (namely, in the province of Ar-rān, Armenian Aḷvank^{h}, Greek 'Αλβανία). But the fire-temple could not be simultaneously in two such entirely different places as Arrān and Shīz (in the south-eastern corner of Lake Urmia). Hoffmann quite rightly connected والران (*Vālarān) with Armenian *Vararat*, thus clearing the path to the solution of the vexed question which forms the subject of the present study.[3] The final *n* of *Vālarān supports our restoration of the name of the river (**Vararān*).

There is another mutilated text which seems to settle the question. In the remarkable biography of the Nestorian patriarch Yabalāhā, edited by Bedjan and translated into French by Mgr. J. B. Chabot, it is reported (tr. p. 119) that in A.D. 1296–7 the patriarch travelled to Marāgha and thence proceeded to the Royal camp *via* Shāqātu (i.e. river Jaghatū) and Siyāh-kūh. In 1304–5 the patriarch joined the il-khan Öljeytü "on the bank of the river

[1] On Firdausī, *vide infra*, p. 255.

[2] In this connection one might remember (1) that the River Sārūq, which is the south-eastern affluent of the Jaghatū, might have been taken for the chief head-water of the latter river, (2) that in the neighbourhood of the southern bank of the Sārūq are situated the famous caves of Kerefto bearing a Greek dedication to Heracles (see now Sir A. Stein, 324–346), and (3) that Heracles is the Greek equivalent of the Iranian Vərətraghna > Varahrān > Varārān.

[3] To the six *nāḥiya* of Marāgha the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* adds two dependencies (*tavābi'*): انكوران ولاوران. The latter might correspond to *Valārān*, but it has numerous variants هول اوران مرال داوران, etc., which would suggest **Qizil-uzan*.

called in Mongolian *Jaghatuy* and in Persian *Vakyarud* ". From Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 102–3, 411, 417, we know that the banks of the Jaghatū were favourite winter quarters (*qishlaq*) of the Mongols. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the Persian name of the river was Zarīna-rūd, " Golden river ", but the anonymous Christian writer seems to have preserved a more ancient geographical term. Vakyarūd (?) (ܘܩܝܪܘܕ) means nothing in Persian, and the mutilated name should probably read * ܘܪܪܘܕ *Vararōd*, or ܘܪܢܪܘܕ *Varanrōd*, or even ܘܠܪܘܕ *Valarōd*. In my ignorance of Syriac I consulted on this matter the late Mgr. F. Nau, who (letter of 17th June, 1929) gave his blessing to my restoration. Should it prove acceptable, we shall have one firm point: *Βαλαραθ* = Vararān-rōδ = وارّان = Jaghatū, and Kanzakon must be sought in its immediate neighbourhood, *vide infra*, p. 97.

§ 2. *Campaigns of Heraclius*

Both the chronology and the sequence of events in the course of the Emperor Heraclius's three campaigns in Persia (probably in A.D. 621–2, 624–6, and 627–8) present a number of difficult problems.[1] However, single episodes are known to us in considerable detail. For the earlier (A.D. 624–6) campaign in Southern Azarbāyjān we have no authentic report. The panegyrics on Heraclius composed by his contemporary Georgios Pisides contain only a few names submerged in the sea of Byzantine rhetoric. The best later account belongs to Theophanes the Confessor (who completed his work *circa* A.D. 810–15), ed. de Boor, 1885, pp. 309–310. For the final stages of the war (A.D. 627–8) we happily possess an exceptionally important document in Heraclius's own report dated Kanzakon, 15th March, 628. It is found incorporated in *Chronicon Paschale* (compiled *circa* A.D. 629).

The Persian tradition, as recorded in Ṭabarī, Firdausī, etc., overlooks the capture of Ganzak, and Sebēos (trans. Macler, p. 81) says only that Heraclius arrived *via* Karin (Erzerum), Dvin, and Nakhchavan, and " marching on the Gandzak [of Atrpatakan] he overthrew the altars of the Great Fire (*Hrat*) which was called Všnasp ". Theophanes does not explain the route which Heraclius followed before arriving at Ganzak, and moreover, the Greek text used by Rawlinson (ed. Bonn, i, 471) is definitely corrupt. It is only in the old Latin translation prepared by the Papal Librarian Anastasius, *circa* A.D. 874–5, that the passage is complete, but as it contains an unfamiliar name the importance of it was long overlooked. Instead of reproducing de Boor's retranslation of the omitted passage into Greek we shall leave the traditional text in Greek and the additional passage in Latin: *καὶ καταλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Γαζακῶν πόλιν* in suburbanis hujus reficiebat exercitum suum. Persae vero, qui confugerant ad eum, perhibebant, quod Chosrohes fugiens igne consumpserit omnia sata in locis illis et pervenerit ad civitatem Thebarman *ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ἐν ᾗ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ναὸς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα Κροίσου,*

[1] E. Gerland, *Die pers. Feldzüge des Kaisers Heracleios*, in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, iii, 1894, pp. 330–373; A. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, Florence, 1905 (compilative).

τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλέως, καὶ ἡ πλάνη τῶν ἀνθράκων· ταῦτα λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Δασταγὲρδ ἐχώρει· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπάρας ἀπὸ Γαζακῶν καταλαμβάνει τὴν Θεβαρμαῖς· καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν ταύτῃ πυρὶ ἀνήλωσε τὸν τοῦ πυρὸς ναὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πυρὶ ἀναλώσας κατεδίωκεν ὀπίσω Χοσρόου ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς < τῆς > τῶν Μήδων χώρας, καὶ < ἐν > ταύταις ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τόπον ἐκ τόπου ὁ Χοσρόης ἤμειβεν· καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειος τοῦτον διώκων πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθησε καὶ χώρας κτλ.

This restored text gives quite a definite picture of the events. Heraclius, having heard that Khusrau was in *Ganzak, marched on the town, took it, and in its suburbs gave a rest to his army. Meanwhile Khusrau moved to the town of Thebarmais, situated towards the east, scorching the land on his way. In Thebarmais [*sic*] was the fire-temple and the treasures of the Lydian king Crœsus [1] and the "charcoal trick". Having taken these (treasures and fire ?) he moved [south-westwards] towards Dastagerd (near Eski-Baghdad). Now Heraclius seized Thebarmais and burnt the temple and the town. He pursued Khusrau through the fastnesses of Media, but returned to take up his winter quarters in Transcaucasia.

Rawlinson (p. 78), misled by the incomplete text, thought that Heraclius burnt the temple of "Ganzak". Even such a thorough scholar as Hoffmann (p. 252), who felt that the text was not correct, could not make out why the burning of the temple was recorded not in the important Ganzak, but in the small town of Thebarmais.

The key to the whole problem is given in a report quoted by Mas'ūdī, iv, 74, according to which Anūshirvān transferred the fire from al-Shīz [wa] *Vālarān to *al-Birka* ("the pond"), which Rawlinson, rather inconsequently but quite rightly, identified with Takht-i Sulaymān.[2] The Arabic and Persian sources refer to numerous cases when fires were transferred by the Iranian kings, and the striking characteristics of Takht-i Sulaymān gave a sufficient reason for such a move: a powerful ancient fort on an isolated hill, a deep lake on its summit fed by springs, the remarkable scenery of the valley and the situation on the road connecting Central Persia with Southern Azarbayjān and further with Mesopotamia.

If this removal of the fire had taken place under Anūshirvān (531–579) it becomes clear (1) that neither on his first, nor on his second, visit to Ganzak does Heraclius refer to the presence of a fire-temple in it; (2) that the much less important centre Thebarmais, "lying towards the east," harboured a great temple.

References to *Θηβαρμαῖς* occur in several other sources, but the name has numerous variants. The earliest notice is contained in fragment 11 of Menander Protector, ed. Dindorf, 1871, p. 25, where the Byzantine ambassador, Peter

[1] This fantastic detail should be compared with Ṭabarī, I/2, 866, where it is reported that, after his victorious campaign against the Khāqān, Bahrām Gūr presented the jewels of his booty to the fire-temple of Shīz, as he also attached to it the Khāqān's wife as a maid-servant.

[2] *Vide infra*, p. 98. The editor of Mas'ūdī, Barbier de Meynard, brought in a new confusion by declaring that *al-Birka* (which he apparently mistook for *Forg*) was a town in Fars!

Patricius, is said to have visited the king of Persia ἐν τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Βιθαρμαῖς. As this happened in A.D. 562 under Anūshirvān, Mas'ūdī's statement (see above) receives some indirect corroboration. Theophylactus, v, 14, tells the story how Khusrau II, while he was ἐν τῷ Βεραμαῖς, applied to the patriarch Sergius for prayers that Shīrīn should bear a child. Evagrius, *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, vi, 21 (ed. Bidez, 1898, p. 236) repeats this story, which again indicates that the said place served as residence to the king. Finally Georgius Pisides, ed. Bonn, 1837, p. 85, in his bombastic verse sings the arrival of Heraclius in τῇ Δαραρτάσει, which town lay "to the north of Persia and to the south (πρὸς Νότον) of us (i.e. the Byzantine Empire)". There Khusrau kept "his Magians and his burning coals". The poet connects the name of the town with Artashīr, the conqueror of the Parthians, but it is obvious that the forms Βιθαρμαϊς Βεραμαϊς Θηβαρμαϊς Δαραρτασις represent one single name which we cannot yet restore.

In the *Shāh-nāma*, Mohl, ii, 546–551 (Tehran, iii, 756–762), Kay Kā'ūs, wishing to test Kay Khusrau's valour, sent him against the castle Dizh-i Bahman. The road to it led past the gate of Ardabēl. The castle, which had high walls (*bar-shuda bāra*), was an Ahrimanian creation and was occupied by dīvs. By mentioning the name of God (Yazdān) Kay Khusrau captured Dizh-i Bahman, in which he had a dome built ten lasso-lengths (*kamand*) across, with high vaults. Outside it at half the distance which a horse runs (in a hippodrome ?) he placed (the fire) Ādhar-Gushāsp. It is probable that this legend (in its post-Anūshirvānian adaptation) refers to Takht-i Sulaymān, but the connection of the name Dizh-i Bahman with the above-mentioned Byzantine variants is not apparent. If a temple could be dedicated to an Amṛta-spənta, the variant *Βιθ-Αρμαϊς would suggest Ārmaiti rather than Vohu-manō (> Bahman).

A second time Heraclius arrived in Ganzak on 11th March, 628, and left it on 8th April. His first communication on the events between 17th October, 627, and 15th March, 628 (including the accession of the new king Shērōē) has not come down to us; but the text of his second letter, which was sent from "the camp near Ganzak" on 8th April and read in the churches of Constantinople on 5th May, has survived in Chronicon Paschale, Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, xcii, pp. 1017–1022. Heraclius's campaign in Mesopotamia has been examined by Rawlinson, and we are concerned only with the last part of it, when, being threatened by the Persian army recalled from the West (see Pernice, 164), he boldly retreated into Azarbāyjān, behind the Zagros chain. The route followed by him is known in general lines chiefly from Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 325.

February, 628, was spent in devastating Shahrazūr (τὸν Σιάζουρον; Chr. Pasch. τοῦ Σιασούρων); and in March Heraclius came to "the place called Βάρζαν". Rawlinson identified the latter with Bāna, on the plea that the original Kurdish name of this place is Barōzha ("exposed to the sun, lying eastward"). Consequently in his opinion Heraclius crossed the Zagros (Chr. Pasch. τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ζᾶρα) over the Bāna pass. But the name *Barōzha*

SOUTHERN
AZARBAYJAN
miles
r. Arazes
Julfa
Qara-dagh
Ahar
KHOY
Marand
Sofyan
TABRIZ
r. Aji-chay
LAKE URMIA
URMIA
MARĀGHA
Miana
r. Qaranghu
r. Ay-doghmish
r. Zanjan
Malik-kandi
Leylan
Miyānduāb
Ushnū
r. Gādir
Souch-bulaq
Sain-qala
Takht-i Sulaymān
Bukān
Sarā
r. Sārūq
Karafto caves
Saqqiz
Kelesnin
Bāna
r. Qizil-uzan
r. Lesser Zab
Erbil
Rowandiz
Sidaikān
Naukhandān
Shahrazur
r. Sirvan
SENNE
r. Zimkān
Sunghur
Dīnāvar
Bīsutūn
KERMANSHAH
r. Diyala
Khāniqīn
38
37
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View of Takht-i Sulayman (p. 94).
Drawn bv E. H. Minns from a photo of M. H. W. Schmidt Foundation.

Plate II.

is not known to the old geographers, and the Greeks would hardly have left out a long *ō* in the middle of the word. It is much more probable that *Βάρζαν* represents the important junction of roads which the old Arab geographers call Barza and which was one of the stages on the road Dīnavar-Marāgha, i.e. at a considerable distance to the east of the Zagros range (*vide infra*). It is quite likely that it should be identified with the present-day Saqqiz, in the upper part of the Jaghatū valley. This conclusion leaves us without a clue as to the pass which Heraclius used. It may have been one of the Bāna passes, but it may have been the pass of Naukhuvān used by the Jāf tribe in its yearly peregrinations from Shahrazūr to the sources of the Jaghatū. As Heraclius states that snow fell all the time from 24th February when he left Shahrazūr down to 30th March, and in the meantime, according to Theophanes, he spent seven days in Barzan, it is more probable that the Byzantine army hastened to reach a point in the warmer Jaghatū valley, instead of the more elevated Bāna separated from the Jaghatū by a pass.[1] From Barzan Heraclius reached Ganzak on 11th March. Thus his march from Shahrazūr lasted seventeen days, out of which a week was spent at Barzan. Ten days' march with an army might have brought Heraclius both to Takht-i Sulaymān and to the lower course of the Jaghatū; but, while the latter even in Mongol times was known as a warm *qishlaq*, the former course, on climatic grounds, is absolutely improbable.

Heraclius in his missive (*κέλευσις*) to Constantinople gives some very important details on Ganzak which were not duly appreciated by Rawlinson. The emperor praises the abundance of provisions for men and horses (*δαπάνας πολλὰς καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀλόγων*) found in the city, which had some three thousand houses, to say nothing of the surrounding country. The fortified camp (*τὸ φωσᾶτον ἡμῶν*) was situated in the neighbourhood of the town, but the animals were cared for in the houses "so as to secure a horse to each man in the camp". It is enough to have a look at the excellent new photographs of Takht-i Sulaymān [2] to recognize that there is no room at Takht-i Sulaymān for such a considerable town.[3] The hill rises sharply above the narrow valley surrounded by peaks. Its top, within the powerful walls, has the area of 380 × 320 metres (1,250 × 1,050 ft.), out of which the lake occupies 108 × 68 metres. The rude wintry conditions of the site are illustrated by the photograph taken by the late Professor A. V. W. Jackson, op. cit., 133, which shows Takht-i Sulaymān "buried in snow".

§ 3. *Road Dīnavar-Marāgha*

The analysis of the Byzantine expedition under Mauricius points to the situation of Ganzak in the neighbourhood of the Valarath (Jaghatū); the

[1] Kela-shīn—to be distinguished from the famous Kela-shin, lying much more north-west between Ushnū and Ravānduz (probably used by the Byzantine troops in A.D. 591).

[2] *Bull. of the American Inst. for Iranian Art*, December, 1937, pp. 71–105.

[3] A. F. Stahl, *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1905, p. 32: "Nichts deutet darauf hin dass hier einst eine grössere Stadt stand."

examination of Heraclius's campaigns confirms the existence of the considerable city of Ganzak, distinct from the Fire-temple of Thebarmais; the Arab sources make quite certain the location of Ganzak.

Of great importance to us is the already quoted route Dīnavar-Marāgha described in three slightly different versions. Ibn Khurdādhbih, 121, and Qudāma, 213, give distances in farsakhs, while Muqaddasī, 383, expresses them in stages (*marḥala*).

	I. Khurd.	*Qudāma.*	*Muqaddasī.*
1. Dīnavar			
	7 fars.	9 fars.	1 marḥala
2. al-Jabārjān			
	6 „	6 „	1 „
3. Tell-Vān			
	7 „	7 „	1 „
4. Sīsar		winter summer	
	4	4 ⋮	⋮
5. Andarāb			
	5	5 10	1 „
6. al-Baylaqān			
	6	6 8	1 „
7. BARZA			
	8	8	1 „
8. Sāburkhāst (?)			
	7	7	1 „
9. Marāgha			

The three authorities quoted describe also a road from Marāgha to Urmia, which first descended southwards to Barza (stages 9., 8b., 8a., and 7.) and thence turned away north-westwards (*vide infra*, p. 96) The first part of this itinerary contains some important details on the road Marāgha-Barza.

	I. Khurd.	*Qudāma.*	*Muqaddasī.*
9. Marāgha			
	6	6	1 marḥala
8b. Janza			
	5	5	1 „
8a. Mūsā-ābādh			
	4	4	1 „
7. BARZA			
	⋮	2	1 barīd
10. T.flīs			
	8	6	1 marḥala
11. Jābrvān			
	4	4	2 barīds
12. Nirīz			
	14	14	1 (?) marḥala
13. Urmia			

The actual distance between Dīnavar and Marāgha measured on the 1 : 1,000,000 map is *circa* 225 miles. As our detailed list of stages comprises only 50–55 farsakhs, we have to reckon a farsakh at $4\frac{1}{11}$–$4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Before we deal with the lesser points, it will be useful to check the position of the two landmarks Barza and Sīsar, known also from other sources. The distance of 15 f. ($61\frac{4}{11}$–$67\frac{1}{2}$ m.) to the south of Marāgha would indicate the position of Barza in the region of Būkān-Sarā. As, however, we know that farsakhs were

of a " heavy " type in Azarbayjan,[1] we have reasons to move Barza further south to the important and ancient settlement Saqqiz (20 m. from Būkān, or 10 m. from Sarā). This identification can be controlled by measuring another similar distance (corresponding to 15 f.) south of Barza which would place Sīsar at Senne, as usually accepted (*vide infra*).

The southernmost sector Sīsar-Dīnavar, equal in a straight line to 67–74 miles, is rather too short for the distance of 20–22 f. indicated by I. Khurd and Qudāma. This suggests that on leaving Dīnavar the road followed some devious course, possibly to join the high-road from Kermanshāh to Senne. It is also probable that in the south farsakhs were shorter than in Azarbayjān.

After these preliminary remarks we come to a closer examination of the difficult itinerary, a part of which I covered in 1916, as I was travelling from Kermanshah to Semengān, Dīnavar, Sunghur, and Senne. Most of the names are either uncertain or do not correspond to the present-day toponymy.

1. The ruins of Dīnavar, reduced to shambles by the eagerness of local treasure-seekers, lies near the village Qal'a-jū, 17 miles north of Bīsutūn.

2. The name الحارجان (Qudāma الجورجان : note the article) may be connected with the tribe *Jabrakān, Gaurakān, Gauragān, later Gūrān.[2] Two villages called Jabar-abad (?) are shown on the map, one of them lying 18 miles to the west of Dīnavar (in Bīlāvar), and the other north of Dīnavar, below the Mēlemās pass. Even if they are not identical with the original Jabārjān, they may have preserved a trace of its name.[3]

3. The situation of Tell-Vān[4] is entirely hypothetical. It may have lain at one of the passes leading from the Gāva-rud to the valley of the Senna river (Qishlaq), i.e. possibly near Dargāh, or, if the road swung much further east, at Kargābād [Talvār ?].

4. There are good reasons for seeking Sīsar in the neighbourhood of Senne, although the latter capital of the valīs of Ardalān seems to be a late foundation, and there are indications that the earlier centre[5] lay more to the north, nearer to the sources of the Qizil-uzan (Sefīdrūd).

5. Judging by the name, Andarāb lay between two water-courses, possibly the Sefīd-rūd and one of its tributaries.

6. Bailaqān (a name occurring elsewhere) should be looked for on the upper Khorkhora.

7. With Barza (Theophanes : *Βάρζαν*) we come to firmer ground. Barza was an important point where the roads to Marāgha and Urmia forked. In the early ninth century A.D. it had a short-lived dynasty of its own, Balādhuri, 331. It is hardly thinkable that travellers from Marāgha had to come all this way southwards to turn off westwards. This procedure would, however, have been natural for a traveller from the south. It is probable that in the original

[1] Under Malik-shāh the length of a farsakh was ascertained to be : 6,000 paces in 'Irāq, Kurdistan, etc., but 10,000 paces in Azarbayjān and Armenia ; see *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 164 (transl. 161).

[2] *BSOAS*, XI/1, p. 87

[3] I. Khurd., 121, mentions a stage *Shīz* (without article !) at 4 fars. from Dīnavar, on the road to Sīsar. *V. infra*, p. 107, n. 2.

[4] The element *vān*, " a place " (Arm. *avan*), is frequent in North-Western Iran : *Jāb.r-vān*, *Bājer-vān*, etc., as probably also *Shirvān*, *Gurzivān*, etc.

[5] Perhaps identical with the place called in Assyrian sources *Ṣiṣṣirtu* ; see Minorsky, *Senna* and *Sīsar* in E.I.

itinerary the section Barza-Urmia continued the section Dīnavar-Barza, and only mechanically it was connected with the section Barza-Marāgha (in reversed order: Marāgha-Barza-Urmia).[1] There exists a direct road from Saqqiz to the north-west, and in 1911 I myself travelled straight from Sauch-Bulaq to Saqqiz.[2] Saqqiz is a very old settlement, as attested by its tall ancient mound.

After Barza the road had two variants. The name of stage 8. is mutilated, and no great credit can be given to the form *Sābur-khāst* (" Shapur has risen "). It must have lain between 8b. Janza and 8a. Mūsā-ābādh. Below we shall speak of this stage in more detail.

The most interesting name of the itinerary is certainly 8b. Janza. In his edition of Muqaddasī de Goeje, p. 382, adopted the reading خره رود, but the variant حزه undoubtedly indicates that the name should be restored as **Janza*, as in I. Khurdadhbih and Qudāma.[3] The addition of the word *-rūd* is a proof of the place lying on a river. There is no shadow of doubt that this Janza is the ancient Ganzak. Six farsakhs from Marāgha indicate for it a position at Leylān, lying on a right affluent of the Jaghatū. Thus the Byzantine and Arabic sources are in agreement on the location of Ganzak where Colonel Monteith first placed it in 1832.[4] He was struck by " the extensive ruins of those solid mounds of earth which characterize all the ancient cities of Persia ". In his measurement " the ruins are about 14 miles in circumference and their greatest extent is from east to west ". He concludes: " the city of Tabriz appears to be considerably too far north to agree with the position of Ganzaca, which these ruins do; and is situated in the coldest and most barren part of Ázerbiján, consequently little calculated to answer the purpose of winter quarters for so large an army as that of Emperor Heraclius during his second expedition into Persia. They are also near the junction of the three roads leading from Ctesiphon to the capital of Persia, by Senna, Soudj-Bulak, and Burrandizi."

Rawlinson, pp. 39, 119, visited the great ruin, which he found to be " a quadrangular inclosure, about three-quarters of a mile in length, and half that distance in breadth, composed of a line of mounds, some 40 or 50 feet in height ". He rejected Monteith's identification on the ground that " Gaza is mentioned as the summer residence of the Median kings, but Leilán, in the Miyándáb plain, is positively one of the very hottest spots in all Azerbiján ". However, this objection is based on the mutilated passage of Strabo which must be checked in the light of the unequivocal statement in Theophylactus about Ganzak lying in the plain, *vide supra*, p. 88.

§ 4. *The Fire-Temple of Shīz*

While Theophylactus makes no mention of the fire-temple in Ganzak, Theophanes definitely affirms that the temple was at Thebarmais. If the

[1] In fact Muqaddasī, 382, describes a direct road Marāgha-Shahrazūr making no detour *via* Barza (6 marḥalas *plus* 30 farsakhs).

[2] See also Sir A. Stein, op. cit., 349–351.

[3] See also below, p. 265, Yāqūt's description of Kaznā and Jaznaq.

[4] *JRGS.*, 1832, pp. 5–6.

later compilator G. Cedrenus (end of the eleventh to beginning of the twelfth century A.D.), ed. Bonn, p. 121, places the temple in Ganzak (*τὴν Γαζακὸν πόλιν*), it only shows that the important passage, which has survived only in the early Latin translation of Theophanes,[1] was missing in his copy, as it was missing in the early European editions of Theophanes. According to Firdausī, before the battle with Bahrām, Khusrau Parvīz rode to the temple and there paid his devotions. The *Shāh-nāma* gives no clue to the position of the sanctuary. As Bahrām's final retreat was in the north-eastern direction (Marāgha-Miyāna ?), he had presumably evacuated the whole area to the south of the battlefield, and thus nothing stood in the way of Khusrau's paying a flying visit even to Takht-i Sulaymān.

The identity of Thebarmais with the present day site of Takht-i Sulaymān results from the evidence of Mis'ar b. Muhalhil (first half of the tenth century),[2] who describes it under the name of *al-Shīz*, and from that of Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi, who refers to the same site under the Mongolian name **Soqurluq*. The importance of both texts has been convincingly demonstrated by Rawlinson, pp. 64 and 70. The Arab traveller has a very doubtful reputation for veracity as regards the lands of the Farther East (the Turks, India), but in Western Persia he must have actually visited several interesting places. Mis'ar gives numerous details on al-Shīz (various mines, unfathomable pond) and the fire-temple, saying that its fire had been burning for 700 years without leaving any ashes. This gives a clue to the mysterious reference of Georgius and Theophanes (cf. also Cedrenus) to the " charcoal trick ". It is quite likely too that the presence of a deep lake by the temple was instrumental in the disappearance of the ashes without trace. Mustaufi, *Nuzhat*, 65, says nothing about the temple, but connects the site of Takht-i Sulaymān with the legend of Kay-Khusrau (and Afrāsiyāb), which in its turn is closely attached to the temple of Ādhar-Gushnāsp.

We shall now consider the references to al-Shīz throughout the ages.

The striking site of Takht-i Sulaymān must have ever excited popular imagination, even in Pre-Iranian and Median times. The American expedition found on the spot " a considerable number of fragments of prehistoric painted pottery ", but the hill does not seem to have been permanently inhabited. The harsh climate alone fully guarantees this conclusion, and possibly the water of the lake, rich in mineral elements, would not have been to the liking of permanent residents.

[1] Cedrenus uses the same terms as Theophanes in describing the temple, the treasure of Croesus and " the charcoal trick ", but he adds a detailed and interesting description of a statue of Chosroes (cf. Mas'ūdī, iv, 74). He may have found it in some other source. In any case his location of the temple in Ganzak has no decisive importance.

[2] Mis'ar has been known through the quotations found in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*, and in Zakariyā Qazvīnī. Marquart did not live to fulfil his promise (*Festschrift Sachau*, p. 292) to study the problem of the authenticity of what goes by the name of Mis'ar. Meanwhile two *risāla* of Mis'ar's travels have been found in the Mashhad MS. containing also a part of I. Faqīh and an important copy of I. Faḍlān (incomplete).

Marquart explained *Shīz* through the hypothetical Middle-Persian *Šīč* (*Šīčīkān*), which many times occurs in Zoroastrian books as the name of a treasure-house. There is still some uncertainty about the reading of the Middle Persian,[1] but Pliny in his geographical compilation mentions among the towns of Media *Phisganzaga* (var. *Fiscanzaga*),[2] which Marquart restores as *ʃis (for *Šīč*)-canzaga, corresponding to Middle Persian **Ganj-i Šīčīkān*. This restoration would take us up to the beginning of our era; but Marquart goes even further by admitting that *Šīč* may be a Mannæan name. Here, however, we enter the realm of pure speculation. Below, p. 107, we shall consider the possibility of a different derivation of *Shīz* from *Čečast*. If in Roman times the place (oppidum) was called **Šīč*, or *Shīz*, the Byzantine designations of it (*Βιθαρμαϊς*, *Θηβαρμαϊς*, etc.) are puzzling by their dissimilarity.[3]

As the American expedition of 1937 definitely established the Parthian origin of the walls and the earliest buildings of Takht-i Sulaymān, it is especially interesting to remember that Mas'ūdī in the *Murūj*, ii, 235, calls the Parthians "kings of al-Shīz (and) *Vālarān", and in the *Tanbīh*, 95, adds that the Arshakids spent the winter in 'Irāq and the summer in "al-Shīz belonging to Azarbaʿyjān (*min bilād A.*)". The existence of the fort indicates the direction of some important road connecting the central Iranian plateau with the southern basin of Lake Urmia and further with Mesopotamia. In case of need the fort might protect the East against danger coming from the West, and vice versa, particularly in times of local risings. It is possible that the wild population of the Caspian provinces expanded westwards along the road Zanjān-Takht-i Sulaymān.

The indications that the fire-temple of Thebarmais-al-Shīz was founded by the Sasanian Ardashīr are very uncertain. The evidence of Georgius Pisides about the stronghold *Δαραρτασίς* founded by the Sasanian *Ardashīr carries no weight, for possibly he wrote his panegyric in the moment of exultation after the arrival of the first reports of Heraclius's exploits,[4] when the exotic name of the fire-temple could not be properly ascertained. The name of the founder *'Αρτασήρ* seems to be a secondary derivation from **Δαρ-Αρτασίς*, for Georgius commits a gross error about the date of Ardashīr (*vide infra*). It is true that Mis'ar's chronology, according to which the fire had been in existence for 700 years, is a pointer to the early part of the third century A.D., i.e. to the time of Ardashīr, but his hint is too vague. He says nothing about the removal of the fire from Ganzak to Shīz. Nor is it clear what he means by

[1] All the quotations in Marquart, *Catalogue*, pp. 108–9; but H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems*, 230, suggests the reading **Ganj-i šasapīkān*.

[2] *Nat. hist.*, vi, 43. In another place he speaks, vi, 42, of the capital of Atropatene: "oppidum ejus Gazae (var. Gaze, Gazzea), ab Artaxatis C CCCL passuum, totidem ab Ecbatanis Medorum, quorum pars sunt Atropateni," ed. Detlefsen, 1904, p. 136. This indication suits Leylān but not Takht-i Sulaymān.

[3] At the most one might recognize *Šīz* in the last element of *Dar-arta-sis*, but such a hypothesis does not solve the difficulty in the beginning of the name.

[4] As suggested by the editor Quercius, ed. Migne, p. 1329.

the " existence " of the fire during seven centuries. It would be unexpected if, in the fourth century of the Hijra when Mis'ar visited al-Shīz, the fire were still burning.

Both Mas'ūdī, iv, 74, and I. Faqīh, 246, have the important report on the removal of the fire Ādhar-Gushnāsp to a new place. Mas'ūdī's passage was quoted above, p. 92. I. Faqīh's version is as follows: " *Ādhar-gushnāsp is the fire of Kay-Khusrau; it was in Ādharbayjān, but Anūshirvān transferred it to al-Shīz." The two reports are identical; but Mas'ūdī usually considers *al-Shīz* (*wa*) **Vālarān* as a hendiadys covering one geographical region (*bilād*). He ought to have said that the fire was taken from *Vālarān to the pond of al-Shīz. The strange terminology of I. Faqīh is to be explained by the ambiguous position of Takht-i Sulaymān. Even in Mongol times Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 87, mentions Leylān (Ganzak) under the tuman of Marāgha (in Azarbayjān), whereas (p. 64) he describes the present day Takht-i Sulaymān under the tuman of *Īja-rud (*sic*—instead of the *Anjarūd* of the printed edition), in Persian 'Irāq.

The testimony of Mas'ūdī and I. Faqīh on the transfer of the fire by Anūshirvān (A.D. 531-579), based on some literary Zoroastrian tradition,[1] finds some indirect confirmation in Georgius Pisides. The latter's reference to Ardashīr as the founder of Darartasis is contradictory, but the date which he assigns to " Ardashīr " (" 60 + 16 years ago ") is very significant, for 626 — 76 = 550 corresponds to the reign of Anūshirvān. Unconsciously Georgius may have quoted the date of the transfer of the fire to Takht-i Sulaymān.

The name Shīz also occurs in I. Khurdādhbih, 119, where he speaks of it separately from " Janza, the city of (Khusrau) Aparvīz "; he places in it the temple *Ādhar-gushnas to which the Zoroastrian kings after their accession walked on pilgrimage from al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon). Mas'ūdī, too, *Tanbīh*, 95, reproduces this latter detail, with some misunderstanding of the name of the fire *Adhar.khsh* for **Ādhar-jushnas*.

Before the destruction of the temple by Heraclius, Khusrau removed from Shīz the treasures, and apparently the fire, but, when the period of troubles was over, the fire may have been reinstated in its old place. During the final disruption of the Sasanian kingdom the family of governors of Azarbayjān temporarily played a considerable rôle in the events; see *Ērānšahr*, 112-13. One of them was Bahman Jādōya, of whom a gloss in Ṭabarī, I/4, 2053c, remarks that he was " a king (*malik*) whom they made king (*mallakūhu*) in al-Shīr ". This name, which undoubtedly must be read **al-Shīz*, indicates the traditional importance of the place. For some time after the Arab conquest

[1] Rawlinson, 81, refers to the book " Tebektegin " from which Mas'ūdī borrowed his information on Persian antiquities. In the printed edition of the *Murūj*, ii, 118, 120, the name is given as *al-S.kīsaran* (according to Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 143: " the chiefs of the Saka "). In *Tanbīh*, 96, a different (?) book is quoted: *Baykār* (apparently identical with *Murūj*, ii, 44: *al-Bnks*). Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 166, restored it as **Paykār*, " Book of wars." Unfortunately Mas'ūdī's quotations contain nothing on fire-temples.

the Zoroastrians of al-Shīz were left unmolested, for under 'Omar it was stipulated that " the people of al-Shīz should not be hindered in the special custom of dancing (*zafn*) on their festal days nor in observing their practices " : Balādhuri, 326. We cannot say whether these customs were connected with the survival of the temple.

The memories of al-Shīz in Arab geographers (I. Khurdādhbih, Mas'ūdī, Mis'ar) have been quoted above. It is curious that the tenth century geographers of the " Balkhī tradition " (Iṣṭakhrī, I. Ḥauqal) do not mention al-Shīz. Yāqūt is definitely puzzled by the whereabouts of the temple. In Mongol times a new name obliterated the memory of al-Shīz. Rawlinson's tentative reading of it was *Satūrīq*, but Le Strange's edition of the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 64, gives the variants سفوريق سقوريق ستروق. Still better is the reading preserved in Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Jahn, 350 : سقورلوق *Soqurluq. He quotes it as the site of a royal Mongolian palace, in agreement with Mustaufī's statement that a palace was restored there by Abaqa. The traces of this building are still visible at Takht-i Sulaymān.[1] The *'Ālam-ārā*, 106, still mentions a governor of " Sujās and S.yūrluq (*Soqurluq) ", under Shāh Tahmāsp, and it is likely that the present-day name of the River Sārūq, coming from Takht-i Sulaymān, is but a further simplification of the Turko-Mongolian name become unintelligible.[2]

The present-day " Takht-i Sulaymān " seems to be quite a modern (post-Safavid) product of popular imagination. Rawlinson's suggestion, p. 68, that it might be connected with the name of the Turcoman governor of Kurdistān Sulaymān-shāh *Iva, is without foundation, for his governorship did not extend so far north : *Nuzhat*, 107.

§ 5. *Phraata-Vera*

Going now back to Antonius's expedition, we have to bear in mind the great changes which had taken place in Azarbayjān during the six or seven centuries separating the year 36 B.C. from the reigns of Anūshirvān and Khusrau Parvīz.

When Antonius led his troops against the Parthians, Atropatene was still under its hereditary ruler Artavazd, a vassal and ally of the great Parthian king Phraates IV. His genealogy seems to go up to Atropates (Strabo, xi, cap. xiii, 1), who proclaimed Atropatene independent in order not to become subject to Alexander. Later Artavazd joined the Romans, and his daughter Iotape was betrothed to Alexander, son of Antonius and Cleopatra. The last of the dynasty was Artavazd's great-grandson Gaius Julius Artavazd, who died in Rome.

This peculiar position of Atropatene may have dictated a special administrative arrangement, and it is not necessary that the capital of Atropatene should

[1] See D. N. Wilber in *Bull. Am. Inst. Pers. Art*, V/2, p. 102.

[2] Mong. *soqur* " blind, a blind man " + Turk. suffix *-luq*, perhaps meaning " a blind alley ".

have lain at the same point as the residence of a provincial governor within the limits of a great empire. At the time of the Arab conquest, the marzubān of Āzarbayjān resided in Ardabīl, far from the basin of Lake Urmia. But we do not even know how far the king of Atropatene could control the nomadic people (Cadusii, Amardi, Tapyri, Cyrtii) who lived on the north-eastern edge of his dominions : Strabo, xi, ch. 13, 3.

The geographical background of Antonius's campaign is known only in very general outlines. The original historian of the expedition was Quintus Dellius, who, as a geographer, seems to have been far below the standards of Cnæus Pompeius Theophanes of Mytilene, to whom we owe so many valuable details on the countries conquered by Pompeius.[1]

Antonius, with his large army, 100,000 strong, had to travel through the dominions of his ally Artavazd of Armenia. According to Plutarch (d. *circa* A.D. 122), *Vita Antonii*, cap. xxxviii, Antonius left " Armenia " to the left. This indication apparently refers to the *capital* of Armenia Artaxata, which lay on the northern bank of the Araxes. It is not impossible that Antonius's further route is reflected in two passages of Strabo. In xi, ch. 14, 14, he speaks of the Armenian mountains " *Ἄβος* and *Νίβαρος* belonging to the Taurus ", and of these Abos is near to the road that leads to Ecbatana past the temple of Baris (*παρὰ τὸν τῆς Βάριδος νεώς*).[2] Although what Strabo means by Abos seems to be the southern spurs of Mt. Ararat, it is possible that the name is still reflected in that of the small district *Ava-jiq* through which pass the communications between Erzerum and Khoy. In another passage, xi, ch. 14, 2, Strabo explains that after Niphates [3] " comes Mt. Abos, whence flow both the Euphrates and the Araxes, the former towards the west, and the latter towards the east, and then Mt. Nibaros, which stretches as far as Media ". In fact, in the neighbourhood of Avajiq lie the head-waters both of the Murad-su (eastern Euphrates) and of the Sarï-su flowing to the Araxes. As, according to Strabo, xi, cap. xiii, 4, Niphates merges into the Zagros, it is likely that by Nibaros is meant the line of hills stretching south-eastwards along the road Avajiq-Khoy and then along the northern bank of Lake Urmia.

But all these hints are very vague, and Plutarch, without any preliminary explanation, passes on to the siege by Antonius of " the great city of Phraąta,[4] in which were the children and wives of the king of Media ". Dio Cassius

[1] In his thesis on Theophanes of Mytilene, Strassburg, 1888, W. Fabricius studies also the fragments of Dellius.

[2] I leave the problem of the temple of Baris over which so much ink has been spilled ; see H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, Eng. ed., 1816–18, ii, cccxxii–v : L. C. Valckenaer, *Dissertatio de vocabulo Βαρις*. See also Pauly-Wissowa *sub verbo*. J. Schrader's restoration **Μαοις* (in Armenian : Ararat) for *Βαρις* is still very tempting in view of the quotation from Nicolaus Damascenus in Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, i, iv, on the mountain Baris, situated towards Armenia, on which many people took shelter during the Flood.

[3] Now Ala-dagh, forming the north-eastern barrier of the Van basin.

[4] This form is repeated in the compilation called *Parthica* and falsely ascribed to Appian, ed. Schweighäuser (1785), p. 77. The other variants are *Φραάρτα*, *Φραόρτου* ; see Plutarch, VII/1 (Teubner, 1915), p. 113.

(wrote after A.D. 229), ed. Boissevain, 1898, ii, 309, calls the capital Praaspa (*τοῖς Πραάσποις τῷ βασιλείῳ αὐτῶν προσπεσών*). This invasion must have taken place in the summer, or the early autumn, for, according to Plutarch (ch. 37–8), Antonius, eager to spend the winter with Cleopatra, disregarded the original plan to occupy Media "before the Parthians moved from their winter quarters in the early spring". He retreated from Phraata some time after the autumnal equinox (23rd September) and before winter came on (ch. 40).

This detail is not without importance for the understanding of the description of Atropatian Media in Strabo, xi, cap, 13, who quotes directly from Dellius, "the friend of Antonius, who wrote an account of Antonius's expedition against the Parthians on which he accompanied Antonius and was himself a commander". Unfortunately the decisive passage is corrupt: "their summer capital lies in the plain at Gazaca < and their winter residence > in the strong fort Vera (*Οὔερα*), which was besieged by Antonius on his expedition against the Parthians." The words in < > were added by the editor Groskurd, but this only increases the difficulty about the seasons. As we have shown, Ganzak must be looked for near Leylān; but this place, lying in the plain,[1] is one of the hottest spots in summer (Rawlinson). Heraclius was pleased with its winter conditions (February-March). From Plutarch we can infer that the king's family was caught by the siege of Phraata a considerable time before the autumnal equinox, at a period which we may consider as the conclusion of the summer season. Consequently, one would expect to find in Strabo's text the *summer* quarters at Phraata, and the *winter* quarters at Ganzak.

It has been also suggested[2] that the fort Vera might have been only the citadel of Gazaca, and already Rawlinson, p. 123, compared it with *Vara* of *Vararat* and with the name of the official *Βαρισμανᾶς* who fled from Ganzak at the approach of Heraclius. However, *Vararat* cannot be simply equated with **Vara*-rōt (*vide supra*), and the interpretation of *Βαρισμανᾶς* is still doubtful. Iranian scholars have suggested to me such parallels as **varsma-pāna*, "the one watching over defence," or *varzana-pāna*, "town-warden"; and it is even possible that the Greek form is but a rendering of Persian *marzpān* "lord of the marches". In Procopius, *Bell. pers.*, i, 13–14, a *Βαρεσμανᾶς* is quoted side by side with a *πιτυάξης*, a dignitary of similar functions.

Neither Plutarch nor Dio Cassius mention Ganzak, but both name the capital *Phraata/Praaspa* as the place besieged by Antonius. This would suggest the following restoration of Strabo, xi, cap. xiii, 3: *Βασίλειον δ' αὐτῶν θερινὸν μὲν < ἐν τοῖς Φραάτοις, χειμερινὸν δὲ > ἐν πεδίῳ ἱδρυμένον Γάζακα* **σὺν*[3] *φρουρίῳ ἐρυμνῷ Οὐέρᾳ ὅπερ Ἀντώνιος ἐπολιόρκησε*. It was

[1] In which Strabo agrees with Theophylactus, *vide supra*, pp. 245, 254.

[2] Cf. Fabricius, 227: Gazaca—"die Unterstadt"; Vera, "wie schon der Name andeutet (er soll von pers. *var-* saepes, arx kommen, Kramer) die Burg bezeichnete."

[3] The emendation of *Γάζα καὶ ἐν* to *Γάζακα σὺν* is due to Fabricius.

Marquart in *Ēranšahr* (1901), p. 108, who offered this emendation, only leaving blank the name of the summer residence which I take to be Phraata. The difficulty about this natural correction is that Vera besieged by Antonius is divorced from Plutarch's Phraata. Twenty-eight years later Marquart, *Catalogue*, 109, suggested a new reading: < χειμερινὸν > μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ ἱδρυμένον Γάζακα, θερινὸν < δὲ ἐν ὀρεινῇ κείμενον Φράασπα > σὺν φρουρίῳ ἐρυμνῷ Οὐέρᾳ ὅπερ κτλ. This second restoration eliminates the connection of Vera with Gazaka, but it takes considerable liberties with the text.

On the situation of Phraata we are informed by Ptolemy, vi, 2 (Wilberg, p. 393), who quotes in one line :—

	Long.	*Lat.*
Ζάζακα (*Gazaka)[1] .	83° 40′	39° 30′
Φαράσπα . . .	85° 30′	40° 30′
Φανάσπα . . .	86° 30′	40°
Ἀγανζάνα . . .	89°	39° 30′

Ptolemy is not a very reliable source,[2] and we have to consider only his general indications without putting much trust in his co-ordinates, which are exaggerated. Expressed in miles they are : Gazaka-Pharaspa—117, 3 ; thence to Phanaspa—90, 7 ; thence to Aganzana—204, 4. There is no doubt that his Pharaspa, situated to the north-east of *Gazaka, is identical with Phraata/Praaspa. The final point of the table, Aganzana, is presumably Zanjān (Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa). Phanaspa, not otherwise known, should be looked for at one-third of the distance from Pharaspa to Aganzana (*vide infra*, p. 262, n. 1).

The nearest great centre to the north-east of Leylān (Ganzak) is Marāgha ; and despite a considerable discrepancy in the distances (6 farsakhs = *circa* 24 miles uphill, instead of Ptolemy's 117·3 miles !) I venture to suggest the identity of Phraata and Marāgha, especially in view of the old name of the latter preserved in Balādhurī, 330 : وكانت المراغة تدعى افراهرود, i.e. apparently **Afrāh-rōdh*[3] for which Yāqūt, iv, 476, gives افرزهرود. The name is definitely connected with the river (Ṣāfī, Sofi-chay) on which Marāgha is situated. The natural conditions of Marāgha, protected from the north by Sahand and abounding in water and vegetation, are excellent. So much so, that both the Arabs (seventh to ninth century), and the Mongols (thirteenth century) made it their initial residence. No systematic diggings have been carried out in Marāgha ; but its site is of greatest antiquity,[4] and it would have been quite natural for the ancient Atropatids to have chosen Afrāh-rōdh for their summer

[1] Rawlinson, 120, wrongly compares *Gazaca* not with *Zazaca*, but with *Azaga*, which must have lain in the region of Mākū (possibly north of the Araxes ?).

[2] Rawlinson, op. cit., 121 : " from some cause . . . there is a greater tendency to exaggeration in Ptolemy's latitudinal measurements of Western Persia than in those of any of the contiguous countries."

[3] Wrongly dotted by the editor *Aqrāh-rūdh*. See Minorsky, *Marāgha* in *E.I.*, in which the suggestion of Phraata = Marāgha was first made. On a similar name of a Sistan river : Avestan *Fradaθā*, now Farah-rūd, see Marquart, *Wehrot*, 1938, p. 22. Marquart disregards the form Phraata and explains Phraaspa as **frādah-aspa* " fostering horses ", *Ēranšahr*, 108 ; *Catalogue*, 109.

[4] Cf. Mecquenem in *Annales de Géographie*, 1908, 128–144.

residence. Like them, the earlier il-khans resided in Marāgha, and in winter descended to the plains of Jaghatū, in the neighbourhood of the ancient Ganzak.

Closely connected with Marāgha was the famous fort Rūyīn-diz, which lay at a distance of 3 farsakhs and, in later times, often served as a shelter for women and treasures. I have tentatively identified it with the place called on Russian maps *Yay-shahar* (in Turkish "summer-town"), which lies 16 kms. (*circa* 3 fars.) above Marāgha on the slopes of Sahand. If Vera were to be connected with Phraata (and not with Ganzak), this might be the φρούριον ἐρυμνόν which Antonius tried to capture.[1]

Strabo closes his difficult passage by mentioning (on the authority of Dellius) the distance between Vera and the Araxes as equal to 2,400 stades or 264·5 English miles (1 stade = 194 yards). If by "Araxes" is meant the nearest crossing of the river (near Julfa), the distance is far too great: in reality it would not exceed 160 miles to Leylān, 170 miles to Marāgha (following the road to the east of Sahand), or even 200 miles to Takht-i Sulaymān. If, however, Strabo, like Pliny) has in view not Julfa but Artaxata, another 90 miles should be added to the above distances, and as a result the eastern route from Marāgha would approximate the requirements of the case (260 miles, instead of 264·5).

Rawlinson, with his excellent knowledge of geography and military affairs, has traced Antonius's disastrous retreat on the supposition that the march began at Takht-i Sulaymān and followed a road to the east of Mt. Sahand.[2] On the whole he takes the daily distance covered by Antonius's army at 10 miles, but, as the Parthians constantly harassed the Romans and engaged them in fourteen battles, nothing definite can be affirmed about the various stages of the march. Below, I sum up Rawlinson's explanations.

	from Takht-i Sulaymān
On the 3rd day the Romans reach a flooded valley;	crossing *Aydoghmīsh (southern affluent of the Qaranghu)
on the 7th day: a serious engagement	70 miles from Takht-i Sulaymān, in the hills, to the E. of the Miyāndāb plain (?)
days 8th to 18th: constant attacks;	along the northern skirts of Sahand into the Mihrān-rūd valley
19th day: halt; a spacious plain appears;	the plain of Tabriz
30 miles to a brackish river	Ajī-chay
march continued to a fresh water	Savalan-chay
days 21st–26th (27th ?)	80 miles from the Savalan to Julfa

[1] Another important ancient site in the same region is the castle known now as Qal'a-Zohāk, on the Qaranghu; see Monteith, op. cit., 4. It lies some 52 miles east of Marāgha, and tentatively might be identified with Ptolemy's Phanaspa (?). Its distance from Zanjān is *circa* 100 miles. Thus in fact it lies at one-third of the distance Maragha-Zanjān, and the general direction of the road (south-east) corresponds to Ptolemy's co-ordinates.

[2] Plutarch, cf. 41: "Antonius was intending to lead his troops back by the same road, which was through a plain country without trees," but a Mard guide "advised him in his flight to keep to the mountains on his right", and took him by a "shorter road" along inhabited villages. The way there may have been *via* Sofyan—west of Tabriz—eastern bank of Lake Urmia, or alternatively, Sofyan-Tabriz and round the north-eastern side of Sahand. The retreat must have been by some shorter cut of the eastern Sahand, and more to the north-east of the former road (i.e. hugging the western hills of Qaraja-dagh which overlook the Tabriz plain).

In view of my different initial point I should make the following alterations in the scheme. As the Romans were travelling with heavy baggage and, especially in the beginning, had to regulate their order of retreat, three days would not have been too much for the passage from Marāgha, or Rūyīn-diz, into the upper valley of Qaranghu, which might be taken for the place flooded by the Parthians. The further line of retreat would be round the eastern slopes of Sahand, from Qaranghu into the Ūjān valley. In the latter I should place the major engagement with the Parthians. The remaining part of the route followed by Antonius would be in conformity with Rawlinson's explanations, the brackish river (Ajï-chay) being the only definite feature in Plutarch's picturesque report. Rawlinson's variant has some advantage of distances in the beginning, but the march round the south-eastern spurs of Sahand and the crossing into the Ūjān valley must have been a difficult task and taken quite considerable time. Consequently, the Marāgha version of the campaign meets with no difficulty.

Generally speaking, we have to allow for many differences between the campaigns of Antonius and of Heraclius. Antonius had lost his baggage-train and had before him a highly mobile and cunning enemy. His story does not seem to expand beyond the dominions of Artavazd of Atropatene, and it would have been very rash on his part to push forward so deep into the foe's territory as Takht-i Sulaymān.[1] On the way to it, there should have been some echo of his passage through Ganzak, whereas to besiege Phraata he may have turned off the main road somewhere near Bināb, before reaching Ganzak, and without tackling the problem of a large city which lay in the plain and was open to the counter-attack of the light Parthian cavalry. By no means should we forget the fact that the expedition of A.D. 591 carried out a detailed reconnaissance of the country which was of great use to Heraclius. Antonius had no such advantage and was moving in *terra incognita*.

Consequently, all the uncertainties weighed, I should stress the important similarity of the names Phraata and Afrāh-rōdh, in order to separate Phraata from Ganzak and Shīz, and to locate it at Marāgha.

§ 6. *Lake Čēčast*

In addition to the difficulties presented by our texts we have to cope with some special complications in the toponymy of Azarbayjān. Under the Sasanians, the ancient Iranian mythology, which has in view chiefly Eastern Iran, was fitted into the background of Azarbayjān. The real geographical names, like Ganzak, belonged to definite places, but legends could be located anywhere and simultaneously at different points. Such is the purely mythical lake Var-i Čēčast (Avestan *Čaēčasta*)[2] in which Afrāsiyāb (Frañrasyan) tried to escape from Kay Khusrau.

[1] This point of view is not contradicted by a one day's raid and the foraging expeditions which Antonius launched from Phraata (Plutarch, ch. 39–40).

[2] I doubt Herzfeld's statement about the data of the Kay Khusrau cycle being "wirkliche Geographie", *Arch. Mitt.*, II/2, p. 72.

Firdausī, vii, 140, in his version of the battle fought between Khusrau Parvīz and Bahrām Chūbīn (*vide supra*) says that Khusrau hastened towards Lake *Chēchast (cleverly restored by Rawlinson from the traditional *Khanjast*). As we know, the historical battle took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Lake Urmia, and this settles the problem in this particular case. The details are more confused in the legend of Afrāsiyāb, ed. Mohl, iv, 195–200. This Iranian hero takes refuge in a grotto near Barda' (Partav, in Transcaucasia) [1] and then throws himself into the sea called Āb-i Khanjast (*Chēchast) in the neighbourhood of the fire-temple of Ādhar-gushnasp. Apart from the confusion of *Vālarān (والران) with al-Rān (الرّان), already discussed on p. 90, it is possible that Barda' (or بردعه) has been mis-read from Marāgha (مراغه), as precisely the same misunderstanding took place in Miskawayh's report on the Russian raid on Barda'a, see *The Eclipse*, ii, 64. These corrections take us back to Lake Urmia, and even the detail on Afrasiyāb being lassoed from "an island" improves the chances of our restoration (*Marāgha), for there are islands in Lake Urmia.

At first sight, the names Čēčast and al-Shīz seem to be of different origin [2]; but there are some indications of the possible passage of the former into the latter.[3] We can follow the traces of such changes only in Islamic times. The Iranian sound *č* is rendered in Arabic both by *j* and *š*. According to Ṭabarī, I/2, 616, Afrāsiyāb hid himself in the pool (*ghadīr*) known as بئر جاسف "well of *Jāsf", var. *Bar-jāst*, which Hoffmann, 251, reading the *alif* with *imāla*, restored as **Bar-Čēst*, while he took *bar* for Iranian *var* "a lake, pond". A similar reduction may lurk in the name of the last stage before Marāgha which is greatly disfigured in the manuscripts: I. Kh., 120, سارحاست or خواسب, Qudāma, 212, سوا كاست, Muq., اميوالحاسب or اميوالحاست. In the light of Ṭabarī's text, Muqaddasī's form might be restored as *بئر الجاست *bi'r al-Čēst*.[4] In I. Balkhī's *Fārs-nāma*, 50 and 79, the fire-temple of Azarbayjān is located at Jīs (< **Čēs*, *Čēč*). Yāqūt, iii, 354, regards *Shīz* as the Arabic (?) form of the earlier *Jīs*. These examples indicate the possible links in the evolution of the name, but the passage of *Čēč* into *Shīz* (**Shēz* ?) points rather to some purely Iranian dialectal differences (Parthian, Kurdish ?).

We have seen that the earliest location of Čēčast is connected with Lake

[1] Nasawī, the biographer of the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn (p. 225), boldly indicates the exact place of the event in the highlands of Barda'a. [In the *Bundahishn*, xxii, 8, the "lake of Khusrau" is placed at 50 farsakhs from Čēčast. Even reckoning 1 far. = 3 miles, the distance would take us beyond Zanjān. E. W. West identified Khusrau's lake either with that of Van, or with Sevan (Gökche). The latter is preferable, as Van has no connection with Khusrau.]

[2] Two other *Shīz* (without the article) are known, Schwarz, op. cit., 703, 917, but their names are doubtful: one of them (perhaps **Bīr*) in Shahrazūr, and the other (var. *Sīr*) at 4 fars. north of Dīnavar. *V. supra*, p. 96, n. 3.

[3] There was of course a temptation to take Čēčast for Čēč-ast "it is Čēč".

[4] The restoration of this name with *-khōst*, "a dam, a road rammed down," is unlikely. On *khōst* see Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, II/2, 80–3.

Urmia, but the modified name **Shēz* was apparently reserved for the site of Takht-i Sulaymān, which, even before the transfer of the fire, may have been alternately identified with the death of Afrāsiyāb (see Mas'ūdī, ii, 131). Ṭabarī's expression "the *ghadīr* of **Čēst*" undoubtedly refers to some pool, and could not have been applied to such a vast expanse of water as Lake Urmia.

It is even possible that "Afrāsiyāb's pool" was sometimes located at a quite different point in the same region. Should our restoration of Muqaddasī's stage prove right, it would indicate that some place in the neighbourhood of Ganzak/Janza was also connected with the same legend. As Ganzak lay at 6 farsakhs to the south of Marāgha, and **Bi'r Jāst* (Sābur-khāst) at 7 farsakhs in the same direction, we can think for it of some place in the neighbourhood of Miyān-du-āb, where several dams are in existence (on the Tatavu, on the Leylān river), to say nothing of the flooded stretches of land.

This brings us to a very curious discrepancy in Yāqūt. Frankly distrustful of Mis'ar, Yāqūt concludes the quotation from the latter's report on al-Shīz with his own remark that "the people of Marāgha and that region call this [*sic*] place Kaznā". In a special short paragraph on Kaznā, iv, 272, Yāqūt locates it at 6 farsakhs from Marāgha (cf. I. Kh. and Qudāma), saying that "therein [*sic*] is the temple of the Magians and the ancient fire-temple and a very high portico (*īwān*)". Further under *Jaznaq*, ii, 72, he repeats practically the same statement. No doubt is possible that Yāqūt is thinking of Ganzak (Leylān).

Mis'ar was the only traveller to visit the remote site of Takht-i Sulaymān and there to see the remains of the temple, which even now are said to be discernible on the spot (D. N. Wilber). But we cannot say whether Yāqūt saw the ruins of Ganzak, although he must have passed quite close to them.[1] His reports seem to confirm the supposition that in the neighbourhood of the ancient town there still survived some recollections of the time when the fire-temple (with all its legendary associations) stood in it.

We have but to repeat that the whole legend of Čēčast[2] is an unhistorical fiction, only artificially connected with the real facts about Ganzak and the fire-temple of Ādhar-Gushnasp.

This brings us to the end of our article, in which, contrary to Sir H. Rawlinson, we have tried to distinguish between Phraata, Ganzak, and the *later* site of the fire-temple at Thebarmais = Shīz = Takht-i Sulaymān. Additionally we have considered the various ways in which the ancient myth of Čēčast was located.

I dedicate this paper to my friend Professor E. H. Minns, F.B.A., who has again put me under obligation by drawing a view of Takht-i Sulaymān.

CAMBRIDGE, *22nd June, 1944.*

[1] See Wüstenfeld, Jâcût's Reisen, in *ZDMG*, xviii, 1864, p. 441. Yāqūt definitely says that he visited Baswē which lies to the south-west of Lake Urmia, but his road to Marāgha must have left Ganzak considerably to the south-east.

[2] In the *Bundahishn*, xxii, 8. [Baswē now Paswē, ancient Parsua ?]

ADDENDA

My article, published in 1944, has been reproduced photographically. A considerable number of points would now require additional consideration in the light of new material.

1. I am greatly obliged to the late E. Honigmann for his review of my article in *Byzantion*, 1944–5, XVII, 389–93 (the volume was issued in the USA). This eminent authority on ancient and medieval geography paid due attention to my special point, namely the tradition according to which Anūshīrvān had the fire-temple of Ganzaca transferred to a new site (*v.s.*, p. 99). Honigmann made several important suggestions concerning the readings of the Byzantine texts. I should not have quoted together Betharmaîs (northern Mesopotamia) and Thebarmaîs. I particularly want to correct my error in the explanation of the date which Georgius Pisides assigns to the building of Darartasis by Ardashīr (ibid.): it is not '60 + 16 years ago', which I imagined to be the time of Anūshīrvān, but (in sexagesimal reckoning) '10 + six times 60', i.e. '370 years ago'; in this case A.D. 256 brings us pretty close to the time of Ardashīr (who in fact died in A.D. 241).

2. Dr. J. M. Higgins kindly sent me a copy of his dissertation on 'Persian campaigns of the Emperor Maurice', Washington, 1937. It is only Part I of his work (so far published ?) and deals mainly with chronology and not with geography.

3. In 1944 I overlooked the existence of a detailed study by the late Prof. N. H. Baynes: 'The military operations of the Emperor Heraclius', published at an unexpected place, *The United Services Magazine*, 1913, vols. XLVI and XLVII (in eight instalments). Only XLVII, pp. 406 ff. and 677 ff. treat of the operations near Lake Urmia and of the three successive occupations of Ganzaca. For geography Prof. Baynes depended here entirely on Sir H. Rawlinson's interpretations (quoted in our text).

4. Recently the region and remains of Takht-i Sulaymān have been closely explored by a team of German specialists. See H. von der Osten and R. Naumann: 'Takht-i Suleiman. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen', Berlin, 1961, 96 pp., 47 plates. Of special interest is Dr. Elisabeth Naumann's 'Geographische und geologische Einordnung' (p. 111 ff.). I am grateful to Prof. A. Dihle (Köln) for drawing my attention to the preliminary accounts of the following two campaigns of the expedition in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1961, columns 28–68; 1962, col. 633–93. The report on the fourth campaign is also expected. The volume published in 1961 contains a detailed bibliography (including the earlier reports on the expedition of A. U. Pope in 1937), but the identity of Takht-i Sulayman with Ganzaca is taken for granted and there is no mention of the special problems raised in the present article concerning the original position of Ganzaca, etc. My edition of Abū-Dulaf's second *risāla*, Cairo, 1955, seems also to have been inaccessible to the editors.

1964.

L'EPOPEE PERSANE ET LA LITTERATURE POPULAIRE RUSSE *

TOUT pays se sent fier si les œuvres de ses penseurs et de ses poètes viennent à être admirées et imitées en dehors du domaine national. Il devrait en être de même, et encore davantage, pour les traditions épiques, ces créations de l'esprit du peuple, et en quelque sorte ses émanations directes. D'autre part les idées ne se propagent que quand le nouveau terrain est prêt à les recevoir. Lorsque les personnages et leurs actes sont intimement liés au génie d'un peuple particulier, comme c'est le cas de l'épopée iranienne, leur chance est en fonction de leur universalisme. Si en général il n'est pas aisé de convertir nos voisins au culte de nos héros, la tâche devient impossible là où des éléments trop individuels ou baroques se mélangent au culte.

Or il est étonnant de voir comment l'esprit iranien, en tant qu'il se reflète dans l'épopée iranienne, a affirmé sa supériorité en influençant l'imagination des peuples proches et lointains.

Ce n'est pas seulement parmi les peuples iraniens, tels que les Soghdiens à l'est et les Kurdes à l'ouest, que l'épopée persane a trouvé des échos. Les peuples musulmans d'origine variée, les Arabes et les Turcs, ont rendu hommage au Livre des Rois en le faisant traduire dans leurs langues. En Arménie chrétienne l'historien Moïse de Khorène parlait des exploits de Sagtchik Rostom (= Sagzi Rostam) environ deux siècles avant la composition du *Châh-nâmé* et jusqu'à ces derniers temps les chants épiques en kurde et en arménien mélangés glorifiaient les héros du *Châh-nâmé* dans les vallées sauvages des environs du lac de Van. Plus loin vers le nord les Géorgiens chevaleresques faisaient traduire en prose et en vers l'œuvre du poète de Tûs, et les rudes montagnards caucasiques, les Svanes, les Pchavs, les Tcherkes redisaient les exploits de Rostam et de Bîjan.

Dans le présent essai nous allons tout spécialement parler des répercussions de l'épopée iranienne et du *Châh-nâmé* dans la littérature populaire russe, laissant totalement de côté les traductions, indirectes ou directes, faites par des poètes ou des traducteurs savants.

L'épopée russe se compose de nombreuses *bylines* [1] qui chantent les exploits des *bogatyrs*.[2] Les bylines se répartissent en plusieurs cycles dont le plus célèbre est celui de Kiev consacré aux faits et gestes des héros réunis à la cour de Vladimir-le-Soleil-Rouge. Le personnage historique auquel se rapporte ce nom est le célèbre prince (972–1015) canonisé pour avoir converti les Russes

* Read at the celebration of Ferdowsi's millennium in Tehran (1937). Published in *The Millennium of Firdawsi*, Tehran, 1944, pp. 48–57.

[1] En persan on dirait *dâsetân*.

[2] Mot mongol, le même que *bahâdor* en persan.

au christianisme. Par conséquent l'époque à laquelle les bylines ont été finalement rédigées doit être postérieure au xe siècle,[1] mais rien n'empêche de supposer que les motifs des bylines soient plus anciens et qu'ils aient été rattachés plus tard seulement à l'époque d'un prince populaire.

Les bylines de Kiev ont été étudiées et analysées dans de volumineux traités mais il serait excessif de croire que les questions qui s'y rapportent aient été réglées de façon définitive. Un des problèmes les plus débattus a été l'influence orientale, et plus particulièrement iranienne, dans les bylines. Ici il faut envisager trois éventualités :

I. Dans l'antiquité la Russie méridionale était habitée d'Iraniens dont la présence est attestée non seulement par les témoignages des historiens, mais également par les inscriptions et les noms de lieux qui survivent jusqu'à notre temps.[2] Il est donc probable que ces Iraniens qui étaient en contact direct avec les Slaves ont pu transmettre à ces derniers des traditions comme ils leur ont transmis des mots isolés.

Les Slaves et les Iraniens ne sont-ils pas les seuls peuples de la famille indo-européenne qui désignent Dieu par un nom similaire, vieux perse *baga*, slave *bog* ?

II. D'autre part on a supposé que les peuples turks, et surtout les Qomans (en russe *Polovtsi*) ont pu jouer aux xie–xiie siècles le rôle d'intermédiaires dans la transmission des traditions iraniennes de l'est à l'ouest.

III. Finalement, et avec plus de probabilité encore, les peuples chrétiens du Caucase : les Géorgiens, les Ossètes et même les Tcherkes,[3] qui entretenaient des rapports avec leurs coréligionnaires de Kiev et de Moscou pouvaient agir dans le même sens.

De toute façon lorsque nous trouvons des motifs similaires dans les bylines russes et dans l'épopée persane, nous ne pouvons expliquer ces concordances par l'hypothèse d'un pur hasard.

La théorie des influences orientales a eu pour initiateur un éminent homme de lettres V. V. Stasov (1868) à qui revient le mérite d'avoir établi un grand nombre de parallèles russo-iraniens et de correspondances onomastiques, telles que Yéruslan/Rostam etc., mais ses exagérations ont été vivement critiquées de son temps. Avec beaucoup plus de savoir et de circonspection la théorie a été reprise par le professeur Vsévolod F. Miller qui possédait l'avantage de connaître à fond les traditions et les langues iraniennes.[4] Ses conclusions ont également suscité de considérables polémiques [5] mais son travail reste précieux

[1] Au commencement du xiiie siècle on trouve déjà des mentions du bogatyr Ilya dans les littératures occidentales.

[2] L'exemple le plus frappant est le nom de la rivière Don, cf. l'avestique *dânu* et ossète *don* « eau ». Voir l'étude très documentée de M. Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland* (Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven, i), Leipzig, 1923.

[3] Convertis à l'Islam seulement au xviiie siècle.

[4] *Exkursï v oblasti russkago narodnago eposa*, Moscou 1892, 262 + 69 pages.

[5] N. Dachkévitch dans les *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, classe historique, série viii, tome i, No. 2, pp. 71–113. Cf. Krymsky, *Istoriya Persii*, Moscou 1909 (*Trudy po vostokovedeniyu*, xvi, t. i, No. 4), pp. 252–5.

comme un répertoire des faits très complet. Je vais donc suivre de très près l'exposé de mon regretté maître en élaguant les points qui maintenant paraissent contestables.

Le héros principal du cycle de Kiev est Ilya de Mourom. La conception générale de ce personnage est sans doute différente de celle de Rostam qui personnifie la chevalerie féodale. Entièrement inconnu de l'Avesta et des anciennes traditions il appartient au cycle spécial du Sistan qui ensuite fut incorporé dans la tradition des grands rois de Perse malgré toutes les inconséquences que ce procédé a entraîné pour le plan général de l'épopée persane. D'autre part Ilya est essentiellement un caractère populaire, « fils de paysan », « vieux cosaque ». Malgré cela la carrière des deux héros présente des ressemblances curieuses.

Tout d'abord l'attitude du prince Vladimir envers Ilya est comparable à celle de Key-Kâ'ûs envers Rostam. Les deux traditions ne sont pas flatteuses pour l'un et l'autre. Rostam tire son roi de nombreux pièges où son étourderie le jette. Non moins importants sont les services qu'Ilya rend à son patron fêtard.[1] Les deux maîtres sont injustes envers leurs paladins mais au dernier moment s'humilient pour implorer leur aide. Les deux reines Sûdâbé et Apraxia se valent en fait de passions funestes. Les tentatives de séduction que Sûdâbé exerce sur Siyâvoch et ses accusations gratuites en vue de compromettre le jeune prince trouvent un parallèle dans la conduite d'Apraxia envers le jeune pélerin Kassian.

Le parallélisme d'un nombre de traits secondaires est aussi un fait significatif. Les deux héros sont doués d'une force telle que Rostam prie Dieu de la diminuer et que Ilya se refuse à voir augmenter la sienne outre mesure.[2] Toutefois au moment critique la divinité accroît la force des deux héros à la suite de leur prière. Les manifestations de la force dans les deux cas se ressemblent : les héros soulèvent leurs adversaires en l'air et les jettent à terre,[3] ils saisissent un de leurs ennemis pour s'en servir comme d'une massue contre les autres, arrachent facilement les arbres avec leurs racines. En fait de ripailles les deux héros laissent Gargantua loin derrière eux. Ils sont pareillement pieux et indifférents aux richesses. Leur trait caractéristique est la longévité et ils sont surtout représentés comme « vieux héros » ; leurs collègues les regardent comme leurs doyens. Les deux se distinguent dans les luttes contre les ennemis de leur patrie ; Rostam contre les Touraniens et Ilya contre les Tatars.

Des caractéristiques communes aux deux héros Miller passe à leurs actes et compare l'équipée de Rostam au Mâzandarân qui a pour but de ramener

[1] V. Miller, p. 25, explique la divergence dans l'appréciation de Vladimir dans l'histoire et la légende justement par l'influence qu'a exercée sur les rhapsodes le prototype iranien, mais le souvenir des défaillances de Vladimir a très bien pu survivre dans la mémoire populaire en dépit de l'histoire officielle !

[2] Lorsque la force lui est insufflée par le bogatyr (aîné) Sviatogor.

[3] Mohl, I, 554.

le roi Key-Kobâd, avec la lutte d'Ilya contre le roi Kaline ; ici les traits parallèles sont les suivants :

1. État critique du royaume.
2. Arrivée du héros sauveur auprès de son souverain.
3. Le héros part avec son roi mais ce dernier ne participe pas à la lutte.
4. Le héros (Rostam, Ilya) se bat contre toute une armée (touranienne, dans un cas, tatare dans l'autre).
5. Il se fraie un chemin en brandissant le corps d'un ennemi.
6. Même les noms des chefs ennemis ont des assonnances curieuses (Qalûn, Kaline).[1]

Un autre parallélisme du développement épique est reconnaissable dans les razzias (*poyezdka*) d'Ilya comparables aux *haft-khwân* de Rostam.[2] Il convient de mentionner en outre le fait que les sept exploits d'Esfandiyâr sur la route de Rûyîn-dez [3] rappellent ceux de Rostam au Mâzandarân et qu'en général Esfandiyâr, si étrangement opposé à Rostam dans l'épopée persane, se présente souvent comme un double du vieux héros. De ce fait les épisodes caractéristiques de la carrière de Rostam et d'Esfandiyâr pouvaient facilement se contaminer et l'histoire d'Ilya a pu subir l'influence de cette *double* tradition.

Pareil aux héros iraniens, Ilya pour se rendre à Kiev choisit « le plus court » chemin sur lequel il y a des obstacles naturels (montagne, rivière) mais surtout un ennemi terrible Solovey-le-Brigand, dont la personne énigmatique a mis à l'épreuve l'ingéniosité de tous les slavisants. *Solovey* veut dire « rossignol » en russe et ce brigand est tantôt représenté comme un être humain, père de sept fils et d'une fille et résidant dans un beau château, et tantôt comme un oiseau monstrueux dont le nid est bâti sur plusieurs chênes.[4] Le pouvoir principal de Solovey est dans sa faculté de pousser des cris d'animaux, sifflements, hurlements, qui assourdissent et terrifient l'adversaire. La nature de Solovey est certainement composite mais avec assez de probabilité on peut le rapprocher du Simorgh que tue Esfandiyâr. D'autre part Solovey qu'Ilya capture et attache avec une corde à sa selle ressemble au mazandaranien Owlâd que Rostam attrappe avec son lacet et surtout au turanien Kargsar (« tête de rhinocéros ») qu'Esfandiyâr fait prisonnier de la même façon. Finalement par sa monstruosité et sa sorcellerie Solovey rappelle les divs de Mazandaran et en premier lieu le Dîv Blanc.[5]

[1] Mohl, I, 460. [2] Mohl, I, 510–40. [3] Mohl, IV, 494–524.

[4] On l'a même rapproché de Salomon, tel qu'il apparaît dans les légendes russes où il vole comme un faucon, se fait construire un palais « dans les arbres habilement tressés » et visite l'Inde. Ce dernier détail expliquerait l'appellation de Solovey « oiseau rahmanique » (*ptitsa rakhmanna*) qu'on devrait interpréter comme « brahmanique », cf. Jagič, *Die christlich-mythologische Schicht in der russischen Volksepik, Archiv für slavische Philologie*, I, 1876, pp. 82–133, surtout pp. 120–4.

[5] Il convient d'ajouter que les *divs* sont connus dans la vieille littérature russe. On trouve dans le « Dit du Prince Igor » (fin XIIe siècle) la phrase : « Le div crie en haut de l'arbre », ce qui pourrait jeter quelque lumière sur la demeure de Solovey bâtie sur sept chênes.

Citons un seul détail curieux. La flèche de saule qu'Ilya taille avec des incantations pour en frapper Solovey à l'œil a un parallèle dans la flèche que sur le conseil de Sîmorgh Rostam prépare pour abattre Esfandiyâr. Le professeur Miller a très bien dit que « puisque dans la tradition iranienne le tir à l'œil a sa raison d'être tandis que dans la tradition russe il n'en a pas, il faut penser que le détail iranien a été utilisé hors de sa place en vertu de quelque association fortuite » : peut-être se rappelait-on vaguement « que le prototype oriental d'Ilya frappa quelqu'un à l'œil avec une flèche enchantée et qu'un oiseau gigantesque (Sîmorgh) avait quelque rapport avec cette histoire ».[1]

L'aventure d'Ilya avec « La belle Polénitsa » qui veut le perdre est rapprochée de l'épisode de la sorcière que Rostam rencontre sur la route de Mâzandarân.[2]

Dans l'épisode de l'invasion de Kaline, le coursier d'Ilya le prévient du danger que présentent les fossés creusés par les Tatars et hérissés de lances et de sabres, mais Ilya n'y fait pas attention et tombe entre les mains des ennemis, de même que Rostam dans les mêmes circonstances tombe dans le piège de Chaghâd.

II

L'épisode du combat singulier du père avec le fils qui est le mieux connu dans l'histoire de Rostam et Sohrâb, existe dans plusieurs littératures populaires Chez les peuples germaniques c'est la légende d'Hildebrand et d'Alebrand, chez les Celtes celle de Clessámmor et de Carthon. On trouve le même motif chez les Esthes finnois (Kivvi-Al), et les Qirghizes turks (Ghali et son fils Saydilda).

Le cycle d'Ilya connaît de nombreuses variantes de la même histoire. Le fils du héros russe s'appelle tantôt Zbut Boris, tantôt « Jeune Fauconnier » (Sokolnik, Solovnik) et sa mère, tantôt « la reine d'au-delà du Don », tantôt « la femme féroce » (Latygorka, Latymirka, Sémigorka, Goryninka, Sivéryanitchna). Dans le *Châh-nâmé* l'épisode de Rostam et Tahmina est idéalisé à l'extrême par la plume chaste de Ferdowsi. La visite nocturne de la princesse de Sémangân auprès du Pîl-tan est ensuite consacrée par les *mowbads*, ce qui rend plus tard assez étrange l'ignorance par Sohrâb du nom de son père. Le professeur Miller suppose que ce dernier détail est une réminiscence d'une tradition ancienne plus violente et analyse le nom de Tahmina [3] qui irait bien à une amazone.

Dans la byline russe Ilya lutte d'abord avec la « femme féroce » qui est représentée comme une cavalière hardie, ce qui suggère une source iranienne plus primitive que la version du *Châh-nâmé*.

[1] l.c., p. 107.

[2] Dans une variante, l.c. p. 111, la sorcière apparaît comme la fille de Solovey. D'autre part, la fille de Solovey est appelée « batelière », comme si la demeure de son père était entourée d'eau. Ce détail peut être rapproché du lac qui entoure le Rûyîn-dez, Mohl, IV, 394.

[3] De *tahm* (*takhma*) « robuste ».

De même que Rostam laisse à Tahmina un onyx [1] précieux pour servir de signe de reconnaissance à son futur enfant, Ilya dans le même but remet une bague à sa compagne.

Bien que dans la plupart des bylines russes le fils se révèle vengeur de sa mère, il y a des variantes dans lesquelles la mère enjoint à son fils âgé de 12 ans de saluer le père lorsqu'il le rencontrera.[2]

Avant le combat avec Rostam, Sohrâb met en fuite les chefs iraniens,[3] de même le fils d'Ilya chasse du champ de bataille le bogatyr Dobrynia. Dans les deux cas le duel dure trois jours pendant lesquels le père et le fils se battent à la lance, à la massue, et au sabre, pour aboutir à l'issue tragique. Seulement la tradition iranienne reste jusqu'à la fin chevaleresque et empreinte du sentiment fataliste, tandis que la byline semble hésiter entre un dénouement heureux ou catastrophique et n'adopte ce dernier qu'avec une explication moralisante. Ilya reconnaît son fils avant de lui porter le coup fatal. Il s'en réjouit et dans certaines variantes le laisse partir auprès de sa mère, tandis que dans la version la plus répandue le fils, ayant appris les circonstances de sa venue au monde, attaque le père pendant son sommeil. La croix qu'Ilya porte sur sa poitrine arrête le coup et alors seulement le père tue son fils perfide. Du plan élevé de l'épopée la byline glisse sur le terrain moral et afin de réhabiliter le héros favori sacrifie son fils.

Entre toutes les versions connues la byline russe, malgré ses déviations, ressemble le plus au récit du *Châh-nâmé*, non seulement par les détails énumérés, mais également par le fait que l'histoire se rapporte au héros principal de l'épopée.

Des autres versions seule l'histoire germanique d'Hildebrand pourrait entrer en ligne de compte, mais ce héros n'occupe que la seconde place auprès de Dietrich de Berne. De son propre gré, après une absence de trente ans, Hildebrand veut regagner son foyer à Berne ; il réussit dans ce projet et même ramène son fils Alebrand auprès de sa mère. [4]

On pourrait supposer enfin que dans la byline l'épisode en question est une création des rhapsodes russes, mais le nombre de détails concordant avec l'histoire de Rostam rend cette supposition improbable. Il s'agit naturellement d'une reconstitution (*rifacimento*) indépendante d'un sujet transmis oralement. V. Miller suppose que des peuples turks ont servi d'intermédiaires, mais lui-même dans un appendice montre à quel point la *Rostamiade* est populaire parmi les peuples du Caucase. Par conséquent la possibilité des contacts directs russo-caucasiques dont nous avons parlé plus haut doit également être prise en considération.

[1] Mohl, II, 82.

[2] Même l'histoire de Sohrab et de Gordâfarîd paraît avoir laissé des échos dans les bylines, à cette exception près que c'est Ilya qui la veille de sa rencontre avec son fils trouve dans la steppe une jeune amazone qui y mène une vie de « cosaque », Miller, p. 128.

[3] Mohl, I, 142.

[4] H. Krebs, *Firdusi and the Old High German lay of Hildebrand, Academy*, 1890, 19 April, p. 296.

III

Si l'influence de l'épopée persane sur les bylines ne se laisse reconnaître que dans les détails, si elle semble indiquer parfois des versions de l'épopée différentes du *Châh-nâmé*,[1] si finalement les voies d'infiltration des vieux motifs iraniens dans la Russie méridionale sont obscures, la question se pose plus facilement pour un conte russe que nous allons maintenant étudier et dont la dépendance vis-à-vis du *Châh-nâmé* est indubitable. « Le conte est une invention, le chant est un fait du passé (*byl*) », affirme un dicton russe. Les bylines sont des chants héroiques destinés à être chantés ou récités et ayant une forme métrique. Le conte populaire, surtout du type fantastique, a un caractère moins national et, étant en prose, utilise plus facilement tous les thèmes amusants d'où qu'ils viennent. Comme les bylines, les contes appartiennent à la littérature orale mais depuis plusieurs siècles les lettrés qui s'interéssaient aux aventures rares ou édifiantes s'étaient mis à les enregistrer et les ont agrémentés d'épisodes entendus ou lus ailleurs.

Le conte de Yéruslan (Uruslan) Lazarévitch nous est connu dans deux versions écrites (*U.* et *P.*), toutes deux du XVIIe siècle, et dans de nombreuses réimpressions populaires semblables aux contes de *Hoseyn-é Kord* qu'on vend dans les bazars de Perse.

Les noms des principaux héros ne laissent aucun doute sur la source du conte. D'après le ms. *U.* le roi s'appelle Kirko'us Kirkodanovitch, son oncle Zalazar Zalazarovitch et le fils de ce dernier Uruslan Zalazarovitch,[2] dans lesquels on reconnaît facilement *Key-Ka'us*, fils de *Key-Kobad*, *Zal-é Zar* et *Rostam*. Le cheval d'Uruslan est Arach, c.-à-d., *Rakhch*. La forme russifiée des noms a une allure parodique ; les désinences en *us* ont un son bizarre à l'oreille russe ; le père du roi est appelé Kirkodan, mot oriental qui en vieux russe désigne le rhinocéros ; [3] Zal-é Zar aboutit finalement au familier Lazare. Cependant même à travers ces déformations russes on reconnaît d'autres déformations typiquement turkes ; en effet seul le turk évite le son *r* à l'initiale et cette tendance explique les formes Uruslan et Arach. De même le nom Uruslan (de Rostam !) a pu se former seulement sous l'influence des noms turks tels que *Arslan*, *Urus*, etc. Le texte russe (surtout dans le ms. *U.*) est émaillé de mots d'origine turke.[4]

Ces faits montrent que le sujet du *Châh-nâmé* a été transmis aux conteurs russes par l'intermédiaire turk. Comme le conte puise sans aucun doute à la source littéraire, c.-à-d., à l'œuvre de Ferdowsi, il est probable que l'histoire a été contée aux Russes par quelque lettré musulman. Peut être l'explication

[1] Voir plus haut la naissance du fils d'Ilya.

[2] Dans le ms. *P.* les noms sont : Karta'us Karta'usovitch, Lazar Lazarévitch et Yéruslan Lazarévitch.

[3] Dans un document de 1503 : Kergerden ; le même mot que *kargadann* en persan.

[4] *Tegilay*, *saadak*, *kutas*, etc.

la plus facile serait de penser aux Tatars de Kazan qui pendant longtemps jouèrent le rôle d'interprètes auprès des autorités et des marchands russes.

Le conte est d'une structure très embrouillée. V. Miller le partage en sept chapitres [1] et nous allons les résumer autant que possible pour indiquer seulement la marche du récit russe.

1. Zalazar, qui est l'oncle (*sic* !) du roi Kirko'us, a un fils Uruslan qui à l'âge de dix ans possède une force extraordinaire et en jouant mutile ses compagnons de jeu. Les nobles du royaume s'en plaignent au roi qui expulse son cousin au bord de la mer où il se livre à la chasse. Le seul chagrin d'Uruslan est de ne pas avoir de coursier capable de le porter. Un jour il rencontre un vieillard qui se dit Ivachko (Jean), palefrenier de Zalazar ; parmi les chevaux, ce dernier loue un étalon que le jeune prince doit attraper lui-même.[2] Ayant mâitrisé ce coursier qui s'appelle Arach, Uruslan rencontre l'armée que son père mène contre le prince Danilo-le-Blanc (= Afrâsiyâb ?).[3] Uruslan met en fuite Danilo [4] et obtient de lui la promesse de ne rien entreprendre contre Kirko'us. Ce dernier pardonne Uruslan et lui fait des largesses mais Uruslan ne les accepte pas et repart à la recherche de nouvelles aventures.

2. Au cours de ses randonnées Uruslan triomphe du « bogatyr russe » Ivan pour ensuite devenir son « frère » et lui procurer la princesse, fille du dragon (« serpent ») Théodule. Ce dernier est un monstre marin et monte un cheval aquatique Kutas qui est le frère cadet d'Arach.

3. Revenu dans sa patrie, Uruslan la trouve ravagée par Danilo-le-Blanc qui avait emmené en capitivité Kirk'ous et Zalazar. Uruslan pénètre dans la prison du roi lequel entretemps est devenu aveugle. Le seul remède qui puisse le sauver est le foie du « Roi Vert, au bouclier de feu et à la lance de flamme » (Div-é Séfid).

4. Uruslan repart à la recherche de ce remède et rencontre des « oiseaux-rieurs » qui se transforment en jeunes filles. Il en attrappe une qui le conduit auprès du Roi Vert. En route il voit une tête de géant [5] qui lui donne de bons conseils et finalement lui permet de retirer le glaive qu'elle recouvre. Avec cette arme Uruslan tue le Roi Vert et ensuite guérit et rétablit Kirko'us.[6]

5. Uruslan rencontre deux princesses dont l'une lui dit que « Ivachko le Preux-Blanc », qui garde la frontière du roi indien le surpasse en bravoure. Uruslan la tue et repart pour le royaume indien.

[1] Les versions *P.* et *U.* ne coïncident pas entièrement.

[2] cf. Mohl, I, 446.

[3] cf. Mohl, I, 452.

[4] cf. Mohl, I, 468.

[5] Dans le ms. *P.* ce géant porte le nom de Roslaney, une nouvelle variation du nom de Rostam.

[6] Dans le *Châh-nâmé*, Mohl, I, 540–2 : Key-Kâ'ûs prie Rostam de verser dans ses yeux du sang du Dīv-é Sefīd :

بچشمش چو اندر کشیدند خون
شد آن دیده تیره خورشید گون

Quant au foie du monstre Rostam le donne à Owlâd.

6. Il tue Ivachko et arrive auprès du roi indien qu'il trouve affligé parceque un monstre qui habite dans le lac réclame chaque jour une victime, et le lendemain est le tour de la princesse, sa fille. Bien que le monstre entraîne Uruslan dans l'eau, ce dernier réussit à lui couper ses trois têtes et à retirer du fond du lac une pierre merveilleuse. La princesse devient sa femme mais elle lui avoue que la princesse « de la Ville-sous-le-Soleil » est plus belle qu'elle. Aussitôt Uruslan se lance à la recherche de cette autre beauté laissant la pierre à sa femme qui doit la donner à son futur enfant. Il trouve la plus belle des princesses et vit heureusement auprès d'elle ayant tout oublié de sa femme.

7. Cette dernière met au monde un fils qui reçoit le nom d'Uruslan Uruslanovitch. Il croît aussi vite que son père et malmène ses compagnons de jeu, qui le raillent en disant qu'il est le fils d'un père inconnu. Le jeune héros pose des questions à sa mère et ayant choisi un coursier dans le haras de son grand-père part pour la Ville-sous-le-Soleil. Lorsqu'il s'en approche le père l'entend siffler et court à sa rencontre. D'abord le fils manque le désarçonner, mais finalement le père le jette par terre. Le fils saisit la lance dirigée contre lui et laisse apercevoir la pierre attachée à son bras. Le père et le fils se reconnaissent. Le fils persuade le père de retourner auprès de sa femme légitime. Le roi de l'Inde (Zabolestan) cède la moitié de son royaume à Uruslan qui finit sa vie aussi heureusement qu'il convient dans un bon conte, et c'est maintenant le tour de son fils de repartir à la recherche de la gloire.

On constate que le conte est une mosaïque de motifs variés et que l'usage qu'il fait de la source persane est restreint. On dirait qu'elle est utilisée principalement pour les épisodes qui avaient été suffisamment assimilés dans le cycle d'Ilya de Mourom, tels que les aventures de Rostam au Mâzandarân et le combat du père avec le fils.

Au commencement du conte les détails empruntés à l'épopée iranienne sont les suivants : l'enfance d'Uruslan, son éloignement de la cour, le choix du coursier, le premier combat avec Danilo-le-Blanc (Afrasiâb), la défaite infligée à Kirko'us par Danilo, le meurtre du Roi Vert (= Div-é Sefîd) dont le foie doit servir de collyre à Kirko'us (= Key-Kâ'ûs). A la fin du conte l'épisode du combat d'Uruslan avec son fils est traité très librement pour aboutir au dénouement heureux.

La partie médiane du conte n'a pas de rapport direct avec les sources persanes. Tout au plus l'exécution sauvage et incompréhensible d'une des deux princesses (épisode 5) peut-elle s'expliquer par le souvenir de la sorcière que Rostam rencontra sur la route de Mâzandarân.[1] Au contraire dans cette partie il y a des ressemblances frappantes avec les contes caucasiques, et plus particulièrement ossètes (c.-à-d., toujours iraniens !). L'aventure avec le dragon Théodule est parallèle aux exploits de l'ossète Ka'ur-bek avec la divinité marine Don-Battyr, ennemie de son oncle Islam. Les détails de la tête gigantesque et du glaive sont même mieux motivés dans l'histoire de Ka'ur-bek qui retire l'arme de l'énorme crâne de son grandpère pour venger sa mort.

[1] Voir plus haut, l'histoire d'Ilya.

Si le conte populaire d'Uruslan-Yéruslan était traité par les lettrés russes avec autant d'indifférence qu'on en voit chez les Persans instruits à l'égard de leur *Hoseyn-é Kord*, il n'en est pas moins vrai que les aventures de ce fantôme de Rostam jouissaient d'une prodigieuse popularité parmi les populations citadines et paysannes. Aucune foire ne se passait sans que des centaines d'exemplaires de « Yéruslan » fussent achetés et emportés pour être lus à la lueur d'une modeste chandelle. De nombreuses générations avaient entendu les vielles femmes leur raconter les gestes de ce héros populaire. Tel fut aussi le cas du plus grand poète russe Pouchkine, et lorsque le moment fut venu de rénover la poésie russe en la faisant descendre sur la terre et en la rendant accessible aux masses, il s'inspira de Yéruslan pour écrire le poême romantique de *Rouslan et Ludmila* (1820). Il est vrai qu'il y laissa peu de chose du sujet original et au contraire y introduisit une foule de détails inédits. Mais même dans ce nouvel avatar purement russe le thème a gardé un parfum indubitablement iranien. Le fondateur de l'école nationale de musique russe M. I. Glinka l'a bien senti car, en transformant le poème de Pouchkine en un opéra (1842), il a donné, pour accompagner la scène du château enchanté, une musique inspirée d'une mélodie populaire persane [1] dont à force d'harmonisation et d'instrumentation il a su tirer des effets prodigieux.

C'est donc depuis une époque très reculée que la figure de Rostam a projeté son ombre puissante sur la littérature russe. Le héros de Zâbolestân est incomparablement plus vieux qu'Ilya et s'ils ont des traits communs on est amené à admettre que la gloire du prototype iranien a pu influencer l'histoire « du vieux cosaque » russe. Plus tard le conte populaire rendit familiers aux Russes les noms des héros iraniens mais parmi les épisodes qui se rapportent à ces derniers les Russes se sont attachés à ceux qu'ils avaient assimilés depuis la création des bylines de Kiev. Sous cette nouvelle apparence composite Rostam a si profondément pénétré dans le panthéon populaire que ni les poètes, ni les musiciens ne purent plus l'ignorer. Après tant de métamorphoses, Rostam rajeuni vivait maintenant d'une vie nouvelle et combattait le sorcier Tchernomor à longue barbe qui voulait le séparer de la princesse slave aimée. On est loin des hauts plateaux ensoleillés où se joue la grande épopée persane, mais à la suite du *Masnavî* nous pourrions dire :

دیده ای باید که باشد شهشناس
تا سناسد شاه را در هر لباس

[1] La chanson de Tabriz : *Qal'ä-dän qal'ä-yä nâr yämäk olmaz.*

KHĀQĀNĪ AND ANDRONICUS COMNENUS

§ 1. On Khāqānī (his works, editions, commentaries).
§ 2. Andronicus Comnenus.
§ 3. Andronicus in Georgia and Shirvan.
§ 4. The Shirvān-shāh Akhsatān and Khāqānī.
§ 5. The ' Christian ' ode translated.
§ 6. Commentary.

Abbreviations: *Kh.* = Khanīkov, *Mémoire*; *L.* = Lucknow edition of the *Kulliyāt*; *T.* = Tehran edition of the *Dīvān*; *Qor'ān* quoted in the translation of R. Bell.

§ 1. *On Khāqānī*

ONE of the greatest Persian poets, Afḍal al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Khāqānī, is still insufficiently known to the public. Only in 1937 was his *Dīvān* printed in Tehran, and before that date the readers had to content themselves with an inconvenient Indian lithograph published some seventy years ago.[1] The long Mathnavī (*Tuḥfat al 'Irāqayn*) in which the poet describes his pilgrimage accomplished in 551–2/1156–7 is available only in Indian lithographs.[2]

This scarcity of editions is due to the difficulty of Khāqānī's poems, which bristle with rare words, unusual similes and allusions to astrology, medicine, theology, and history, to say nothing of the numerous hints concerning the happenings of the poet's own life and time.

Even two and three centuries after Khāqānī's death his poems caused embarrassment to accomplished connoisseurs of Persian letters. Daulat-shāh calls the ode which we propose to study *bisyār mushkil* ' very difficult ', and cuts down his quotation from it on the grounds that it ' requires a commentary ' (*mauqūf ba-sharḥ*).[3] In fact, quite a number of explanations of the abstruse odes had to be composed for the benefit of readers, as will be seen from the following list :—

1. According to Daulat-shāh, Shaykh Ādharī explained Khāqānī's qaṣīda ' on Christian matters ' in his *Javāhir al-asrār* (840/1436), which is an abridgment of his previous work *Mafātīḥ al-asrār* (830/1427).

2. I owe to Professor C. A. Storey the reference to the rare *Sharḥ-i qaṣā'id-i Khāqānī*, Stambul, *Āṣofiya*, II, 1252, No. 93, due to the pen of the great poet Jāmī (A.D. 1414–1492).

3. Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd 'Alavī Shādiyābādī, who sojourned at the court of Nāṣir al-Din Khiljī (906–916/1500–1510), wrote a full commentary on forty-four qaṣīdas of Khāqānī, Rieu, II, 561.

[1] *Dīvān-i Khāqānī-yi Shirvānī*, ed. 'Ali 'Abd al-Rasūlī, Tehran, 1316, 944 pp., containing a short introduction and a detailed index of names (pp. 945–979). The previous edition (*Kulliyāt*, but without the *Tuḥfat al-'Irāqayn*) was lithographed in Lucknow, 1293/1878, 2 vols., 1582 pp., with a commentary in the margin (see below). [See now the careful new edition of the *Dīvān* by Ḍiyā al-dīn Sajjādī, Tehran, 1338/1959, pp. 23–28, and 979–993 (in which my commentary has been used).]

[2] Ed. by Abu' l-Ḥasan, Agra, A.D. 1855, 222 pp. (with commentary); Lucknow, 1294/1877; several selections: Cawnpore, 1867; Lahore, 1867. [A careful edition by Y. Qarīb, Tehran, 1333/1954.]

[3] *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, ed. E. G. Browne, p. 79.

4. The 'Alavī Lāhijī, one of the courtiers of Jahāngīr (1014–1037/1605–1628), dedicated to him a commentary on some qaṣīdas of Khāqānī, Rieu, II, 562.

5. 'Abd al-Vahhāb b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ma'mūrī, surnamed Ghanā'ī, wrote a commentary called *Maḥabbat-nāma* some time about 1090/1697, Ethé, *Cat. India Office*, I, col. 593. *Vide infra.*

6. Qabūl-Muḥammad, who compiled for the Sultan of Oudh (d. A.D. 1827) the dictionary *Haft-Qulzum*, wrote also the commentary *Faraḥ-afzā* on ten qaṣīdas of Khāqānī, Sprenger, *Cat.*, p. 463.

7. Riḍā Qulī Khān (d. 1288/1871) explained the difficult verses of Khāqānī in his *Miftāḥ al-kunūz*, Rieu, *Supp.*, 221 (2). According to his own statement he worked independently, not having seen any of the previous commentaries.

8. The Lucknow edition (A.H. 1294) has a running commentary possibly utilizing the earlier works, but at many places bearing the signature of Maulānā Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq 'Alī Lakhnautī (pp. 147, 637, etc.). The explanations inscribed in the margin, and sometimes inside the text, are very trying for the eyes.

9. A commentary in Urdu entitled *Ḥall-i qaṣā'id-i Khāqānī* by Aḥmad Ḥasan Shaukat was published in Meerut in 1906.[1]

In spite of this plethora of exegeses, now and then the poet defied his commentators. In general, one can hardly expect Muslim commentaries compiled far from the field of Khāqānī's activities to be of much help in the particularly obscure passages and allusions (*vide infra*, p. 132, n. 1).

If the poet's countrymen had to cope with many knotty points in the Dīvān, it is obvious that, outside Persia and India, few attempts will have been made to assess the poetical value of Khāqānī. The single odes figuring in various readers and selections of the earlier part of the nineteenth century need not detain us.[2]

The only European who has produced a general study of our poet is N. V. Khanïkov (1822–1878).[3] He began reading Khāqānī with a marginal commentary at the time when he was Consul-General in Tabriz and was collecting material for the history of the Shirvān-shāhs. His *Mémoire* is a valuable piece of research, but the Persian text of Khāqānī's poems which he quotes *in extenso* must hail from some very faulty MS. Nor had Khanïkov much feeling for the metre.

C. Salemann's thesis on the quatrains of Khāqānī [4] is a careful essay with a full bibliography, glossary, and illustrative texts, although not carrying actual research beyond the findings of Khanïkov. Salemann candidly confesses that he gave up the study of the chief source of Khāqānī's biography, namely his

[1] I do not know whether the commentary by Ḥasan Dihlavī (?), quoted in Tarbiyat, *Dānish-mandān-i Ādharbāyjān*, 130, is identical with any of the above.

[2] See a complete bibliography in Salemann, *Chetverostishiya*, pp. 13–14.

[3] Khanykoff, Lettre à M. Dorn, Tabriz, 8–20 April, 1857, in *Bull. hist. et phil. de l'Ac. de St. Pétersbourg*, XIV, No. 23, col. 353–376 (various historical references in Khaqani, chiefly to the Russians); *Mémoire sur Khâcâni*. 1. Étude sur la vie et le caractère de Khâcâni, *J.As.*, aout-sept., 1863, pp. 137–200. 2. Texte et traduction de quatre odes de Khâcâni, *J. As.*, mars-avril, 1865, pp. 296–367.

[4] К. Залеманъ, Четверостишія Хакани, St. Petersbourg, 1875, 87 + ٩٢ pp.

qaṣīdas, after having discovered that ' it was beyond my powers to understand them without a commentary '.

Both H. Ethé [1] and E. G. Browne [2] followed Khanïkov's *Mémoire*. The conclusion of the former is that Khāqānī's poems, despite their forceful and melodious language, are characterized by an abundance of artificial *jeux de mots* and obscure hints. Browne finds still less redeeming features in Khāqānī, whose ' style is generally obscure, extremely artificial, and even pedantic '. To some extent, the judgment of the two historians of Persian literature is difficult to gainsay, but the human and entertaining sides of Khāqānī's production appear much more clearly in Khanïkov, who took more pains to ascertain the poet's atmosphere.

Recently Russian scholars of the younger generation (Yuri Marr, K. Chaykin, A. Boldïrev) have become interested in the poet of Shirvan, and succeeded in explaining a number of difficult points. Still more important is the long chapter on Khāqānī included in the collection of literary essays by Professor Badī' al-Zamān Khorāsānī : *Sukhan va-Sukhanvarān*, II/1, Tehran, 1312/1933. The general appreciation of Khāqānī occupies pp. 300–349, and is accompanied (pp. 349–403) by an illustrative selection of poetry. The author considers Khāqānī one of the great masters of the Persian tongue and a first class *qaṣīda* poet of his age. He notes the originality of his themes (*ibtikār-i maḍāmīn*), the easy overcoming of such technical difficulties as the unusual *radīfs*, the force of his descriptions, the vast range of his vocabulary and learning. He admits, however, that by indulging in a certain facile tendency Khāqānī becomes artificial (*az ḥadd-i ṭabī'at bīrūn*). By assuming his readers to be a match (*ham-tā*) to his learning he tends to be unintelligible. ' The little acquaintance with the poetry of Khāqānī on the part of the majority of those interested in literature is not due to any tortuous or obscure ideas of the poet or to the fact that his thoughts lie outside common comprehension. Although such an explanation may be accepted for some of his verses, it is entirely untrue in the cases where Khāqānī describes nature, criticizes the manners of his contemporaries or sings their praises, for such lines are not unfamiliar to the public (*'umūm*), and the ideas (*khiyālāt*) of Khāqānī are within the range of common thought. The reason for this aloofness and the general insufficient acquaintance with the *dīvān* lies rather in the poet's terms and mode of expression, which rest on the peculiar foundations of science and taste capable of finding favour (only) with the *élite*. Meanwhile, such learned verses are not appreciated by the common people, whose range of comprehension and reasoning is inadequate.'

Badī' al-zamān rejects the criticism that over 500 of Khaqānī's verses have no established (*muḥassal*) meaning, but admits that the labour involved in ascertaining their meaning is out of proportion to the result. The author has found in the *Mathnavī* a verse (II, 3758) which seems to contain a censure of Khāqānī's obscurity. Several times the poet of Shirvan compares his poetry

[1] *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, II, 263–5. [2] *A Lit. Hist. of Persia*, I, 391–5.

with the 'speech of the birds', comprehensible only to Solomon (*vide infra*, p. 128). It is tempting, therefore, to read and interpret Jalāl al-Dīn's verse as follows: 'The speech of the birds of *Khāqānī* is but an echo; but where is the speech of the birds of Solomon?'[1]

Badī' al-Zamān greatly admires Khāqānī's talent for producing new combinations of words (*tarkīb*) and allusions, and calls his *dīvān* 'a thesaurus of literary expressions'.

The essay of the Persian scholar, who prides himself on being untouched by the all-pervading European influences, has the merit of being amply illustrated by apposite quotations from the immense *Kulliyāt*. In Khāqānī's poems the author has discovered a mass of new facts relating to his life, patrons, acquaintances, and rivals.[2]

Now that the *dīvān* is before us in a readable form one is more than ever struck by the wonderful mastery of the poet. Of course, the *qaṣīda* is a highly artificial class of poetry; but within its framework Khāqānī moves with prodigious skill and ease. It would be a fallacy to imagine that the poems are only fulsome panegyrics. In many of them the poet displays a fine sense of nature: stars, clouds, and sun-rises, the desert, mighty streams, and the sea. Even in the longish *ṣūfī* poem moving along the beaten tracks of piety there are some real gems:—

natarsam z'ān-ki nabbāsh-i tabī'at gūr bishkāfad
ki mahtāb-i sharī'at-rā ba-shab kardam nigahbānash
'No fear for me that Nature, that body-snatcher, might ransack my tomb,
'For I have made the moon-light of the Sharī'at my night-watcher.'

The reverse of praise is satire, and the stabs of Khāqānī's stiletto flash refreshingly throughout his *dīvān*. In his poem reminiscent of *Exegi monumentum*, he calls his rivals 'suburb-whores and village-boors' (*gharzanān-i barzanand u gharchagān-i rūstā*), with all the glitter of queer words and angry alliterations. At the risk of being accused of heresy I confess that, after this full-blooded speech, the mellowed but emasculated vocabulary of the followers of Ḥāfiẓ loses some of its lustre.

Above all the fireworks of words, metaphors, and similes the vistas of Khāqānī's personality form the most attractive feature of his *dīvān*. The human element, which is so rare in the standardized ghazals with their hypocritical mixture of divine and profane, is abundant in his odes, satires, and dirges. If he languishes in prison we see the cross-bars of the skylight opening on the dark sky; if he laments his wife, he finds simple and human words in which to describe the one who 'was my companion, nay, the memory of my life'[3]; if he speaks of the loss of his child, one agrees with Khanïkov

[1] In the light of Badī' al-Zamān's discovery R. A. Nicholson has changed his translation in his commentary, *GMS.*, IV/7, p. 368.

[2] Muḥammad 'Alī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāyjān*, 1314/1935, pp. 129–132, also contains some new facts of Khāqānī's biography.

[3] I have recommended this verse to be engraved on the tombstone of Lady Ross, buried in Stambul by the side of Sir Denison Ross. [I saw the inscription when I visited the Scutari cemetery in 1951.]

that ' sa douleur lui fait oublier sa science '. He likes travel and new impressions, he is vainglorious, he often gets into trouble with his patrons and enemies, and five of his longer poems are bitter complaints written in jail (*vide infra*, p. 130, n. 3). He is a personality and not a sanctimonious abstraction like so many of the worthies quoted in Persian anthologies. Even his learning and ' pedanticism ' do not resemble in the least a metrical commentary on the Qor'ān or a versified treatise on sufism. The traces of his inquisitive mind and retentive memory give a picture of the cultural standards of his age, of the studies, readings, and meditations of his contemporaries. The *dīvān* contains 265 geographical and 384 personal names.[1] It is a repertory meriting a close study on the lines of the methods applied to Dante's text.

§ 2. *Andronicus Comnenus*

There is now no doubt about the identity of the patron to whom Khāqānī addressed his ' Christian ' poem.[2] It is no less a person than the famous Andronicus Comnenus, whose talents, loves, crimes, and adventures startle and amaze even against the colourful background of contemporary Byzantium.

Andronicus (born *circa* A.D. 1120) was a cousin of the great Emperor Manuel (1143–1180), and appeared before the public eye somewhere about 1150 as the hero of an irregular love-affair with a princess whose sister was held in a still more unhallowed union by her uncle Manuel. He twice led expeditions against the doughty Armenian king of Cilicia, Thoros. The results were nil except for the personal friendships which the gay and gallant prince easily contracted with neighbours, whatever their persuasion, Latin or Muslim. No sooner was he transferred to the Hungarian front than he plotted with the King of Hungary and the Emperor Frederick against his own lord Manuel. The latter locked him up in a tower, whence he escaped after four years, only to be recaptured. Not before another eight years had he a better chance. This time (A.D. 1165) he sought refuge with the Russian Prince Yaroslav of Halich. As the King of Hungary wanted Andronicus for his own designs, Manuel hastened to pardon his cousin and companion of his youth, for whom there always remained a soft spot in his heart. In 1167 Andronicus distinguished himself in the battle of Zeugmine (Zemlin), where he fought the Hungarians, but he felt disappointed at the sudden *rapprochement* of Manuel with King Béla. For a third time Andronicus was sent to Cilicia, but, even though he succeeded in unhorsing the terrible Thoros, he lost the day. He retired to Syria, there to give full vent to his romantic vein. He first dallied with the Princess Philippa of Antioch, and then with his own cousin Theodora, the widow of the King of Jerusalem, Baldwin III. Manuel, furious at the thoughtless behaviour of Andronicus, sent emissaries to blind him, but the

[1] Among them, Jesus Christ alone is mentioned 207 times.

[2] Khanïkov wrongly took him for Isaac Comnenus, but Kunik (in Dorn's *Caspia*, 1875, p. 240) corrected this mistake.

faithful Theodora warned him in good time; so, taking her with himself, Andronicus set out on a new series of adventures, which lasted some twelve years (1168 ?–1180). From Syria he went to Damascus, and thence, with the help of Nūr al-Dīn (d. 569/1174), on to 'Persia'.[1] The lovers stopped at Ḥarrān, where Theodora was delivered of a child, and passed through Mārdīn. The further itinerary is little known. According to Michael the Syrian[2] the travellers made for Erzerum (Karin); but this is possibly a later stage of Andronicus's peregrination, after his return from the Caucasus. There are some reports that he proceeded to Baghdad and was well received at the court.[3] This may be the source of the later references to his apostasy, which even nowadays appear in some hostile authors, but are entirely refuted by Khāqānī's unequivocal references to him as 'the glory of the Apostles' and 'the sincere friend of the Messiah'. The farthest point reached by the noble travellers was the Christian kingdom of Iberia (Georgia). We shall speak separately of the activities of Andronicus in Transcaucasia, on which the local chronicle throws interesting light.

After Georgia we find Andronicus on the north-eastern border of the Byzantine empire.[4] He was kindly received by the Turkish ruler Saltukh, the holder of the fief of Coloneia (now Shabin-Qara-hisar), who had encroached on some parts of the neighbouring Chaldian theme (i.e. Trebizond). Saltukh is said to have given Andronicus a strong castle.[5]

Apparently there is some misunderstanding in the sources concerning Saltukh (*Σαλτοῦχος* **Saltuq*). This name is particular to the family of the Turcoman rulers of Erzerum, who do not seem ever to have possessed Coloneia.[6] The agreement of the name Saltukh with the mention of Karin (= Erzerum) in Michael the Syrian makes it probable that Andronicus visited the court of this small dynasty, but the definite reference to Coloneia suggests that

[1] Willermus Tyrensis Archiepiscopus, liber XX, cap. 2 (*Recueil des hist. des croisades*, I/2, 1844, p. 943)—a trustworthy witness of the events (d. after 1183). 'Persia' in this case means only the area directly or indirectly dependent on the great Seljuks.

[2] Michael the Syrian, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, died *circa* 1199, *vide Recueil, Sources Arméniennes*, p. 361.

[3] Diehl, *Figures Byzantines*, ed. 1927, II, 86–134, whose source I have failed to trace.

[4] It is doubtful whether on his way to Coloneia he visited Persia. Nicetas Choniata does not mention such a *détour*, and Cinnamus applies the term 'Persian' to the Muslim neighbours of the Byzantine Empire. The contemporary Seljuk ruler of Persia was Arslan II (556–573/1161–1177). One might also consider as 'Persia' the dominions of the powerful Ildeguzids, atabeks of Azarbayjan, namely of Muḥammad Pahlavān-i Jahān (568–582/1172–1186). His possessions lay on the road from Georgia to Armenia (Erzerum, Coloneia), but Saltukh's dominions bordered directly on Georgian territory in the basin of the Chorokh.

[5] Nicetas, ed. Bonn, pp. 185, 294.

[6] Their history is very little known, apart from some references in I. Athīr, X, 147a (496); XI, 126: in 548/1153 Saltuq was defeated by the Georgians; XI, 185: in 556/1161 Saltuq was captured by the Georgians but redeemed by his daughter, wife of the ruler of Khilāt (Shah Arman); XI, 209: in 560/1165 the Dānishmandid Yaghī-Arslan kidnapped the fiancée of the Saljuq Qilij Arslan, who was the daughter of Saltuq b. 'Ali b. Abu'l-Qāsim; XII, 111: in 597/1201 the Seljuk Rukn al-Dīn seized Erzerum, which belonged to the son of al-Malik (*li-walad al-malik*), son of Muḥammad, son of Saltuq, and this was the end of the dynasty.

Andronicus finally passed under the protection of another Turcoman dynasty, that of Mengüjek, whose dominions alone form a suitable geographical frame to the subsequent events.

The chief possessions of the Mengüjekids were Erzinjān, Coloneia (Koghūnia) and Kamākh. They were in close relations with Trebizond. They often attacked the Georgians and the Byzantines. The chief representative of the family at the time of Andronicus was Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām-shāh (*circa* A.D. 1155–1218), known as a very clever ruler, fond of learning and poetry. Niẓāmī dedicated to him his *Makhzan al-asrār* (according to Rieu, *circa* 575/1179). He was a likely prince to befriend a noble visitor.[1]

Whether Andronicus, as asserted by some hostile sources,[2] really made incursions into Byzantine dominions and traded in captives with Muslims is open to doubt ; but his presence on the frontier was certainly most unwelcome to Constantinople, and a means was found to deal him a hard blow. On Manuel's instructions the ruler of Trebizond, Nicephorus Palæologus, sent men to kidnap Theodora. In despair at the loss of his beloved Andronicus hastened to make humble submission to the emperor and appeared before him wearing a chain round his neck.

Again Manuel pardoned him and assigned to him a residence at Œnæum in the Polemoniac Pontus (now Üniye). Andronicus had now to wait but a short while before the news of the emperor's death reached him. The new emperor Alexis (1180–3) was eleven years old. Andronicus took up the attitude of one bound by oath to his father to ward off any danger from the royal family. The unpopularity of the dowager empress and her favourite the Protosebastos Alexis served him as a pretext to strike hard at his enemies. In 1183 he was crowned joint emperor with Alexis. Soon after the dowager empress was condemned to be strangled, the decision having been countersigned by her youthful son. Then the latter's turn came, and he was strangled in his bed. Andronicus, still keeping his connection with Theodora, married the 11-year-old Agnes, who had been betrothed to Alexis. He reigned independently from 1183 to 1185, and the people welcomed his advent, as the two acknowledged objects of his policy were the elimination of Latin influence and the defence of the rights of the peasants against the landowners. A statue represented him as a toiler in modest garments and with a scythe in his hand. However, the terrorism of his old age was indiscriminate. His enemies exploited his excesses and executions. On 11 September 1185, a mutiny broke out in the capital. Andronicus prepared to flee by sea to the Crimea, but the stormy sea threw him back on to the coast. He was caught and hanged in

[1] See Houtsma, *Mengudjek* in *EI*. Important facts on the dynasty are quoted by van Berchem and Halil Edhem in *Corpus inscr. arab.*, III, pp. 90–103.

[2] Cinnamus, VI, p. 251, and various Western European chronicles. How wild were the rumours circulating in the West may be instanced by the fantastic confusion in the report on the affairs in Constantinople which reached Ibn Jubayr during his sojourn in Sicily in January, 1185, *Riḥla*, ed. Gibb Memorial, pp. 330–340 (tr. Schiapparelli, pp. 336–9 and 367).

the circus.[1] Thus ended the reign which might have saved and regenerated the exhausted Empire had not Andronicus 'lacked perhaps a little moral sense' (Diehl).

§ 3. *Andronicus in Georgia and Shirvan*

For a Byzantine prince Georgia had the natural attraction of a Christian and hospitable kingdom. There are also reasons to think that Andronicus had some particular links with King Giorgi III (1156–1184). The Trebizond chronicle of Michael Panaretus definitely affirms that the founder of the Trebizond Empire, Alexius, who was a grandson of Andronicus, was set on the throne with the help of his paternal aunt (*πρὸς πατρὸς θεία*), Queen Thamar (1184–1213), who succeeded her father Giorgi III. Thus some connection between the Comnenes and the Georgian Bagratids had been a well-known fact, but their actual link has been difficult to ascertain. Quite recently a Georgian scholar [2] has given a new interpretation to the passage of the official chronicle describing the arrival of Andronicus in Georgia 'with a wife of dazzling countenance and with beautiful children'. The latter are said to be 'the sister's sons', and the new suggestion is that this indication of parentage refers *not* to Andronicus but to Giorgi. Consequently it appears that the first wife of Andronicus was Giorgi's sister. He must have married her *circa* 1144, and she gave birth to Manuel, the father of the first emperor of Trebizond. She probably died before Andronicus started on his adventures in Syria, for otherwise Giorgi 'would hardly have shown so much kindness to his brother-in-law' being accompanied by Theodora. In the words of the chronicle [3] the king of Georgia gave him 'as many towns and castles as he needed and assigned to him a residence in the neighbourhood of his own in Kakhetia, and opposite that of Aghsarthan, king of Shirvan'. This Muslim ruler's mother was the Georgian Princess Thamar, King Giorgi's aunt, and the cousins, Christian and Muslim, lived on excellent terms. Being pressed by the Khazars (?) of Darband, Aghsartan appealed to Giorgi for help. Giorgi raised a considerable army and, taking Andronicus with him, raided the region 'of Muskir and Sharabam' and took the town Shaburan.[4] Under its walls Andronicus, by his behaviour, merited the approval of the whole army. The town was restored by Giorgi to Aghsartan.

[1] Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, 1834, XVI, ch. 89–91; Gibbon, ch. XLVIII; Bréhier, *sub verbo*, in Baudrillart, *Dict. d'histoire . . . ecclésiastique*, II, 1914, col. 1776–1782; A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, 1929, II, 13–17, 88–95.

[2] Prof. Cyril Toumanoff, 'On the relationship between the founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian queen Thamar', *Speculum*, 1940, XV, 299–312.

[3] Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, 396.

[4] Muskir = Mushkur; Shaburan = Shābarān and Sharabam = Sharvān (?). Several of Khāqānī's verses suggest that in his time Shirvan was called *Sharvān*. For example, T. 71 (already noticed by H. Ḥasan): 'Do not blame Sharvān, for Khāqānī is from the town whose name begins with *shar* [*sharr* "evil"]. Why should you blame a town for the two letters with which *shar'* ["religious law"] begins and *bashar* ["humanity"] ends', etc. Cf. also T. 405: '*Shar-vān* has become *Shīr-van* ["place of lions"], nay, *Sharaf-vān* ["place of honour"], for metaphorically it has assumed the aspect of Baghdad and Egypt, thanks to the (canal of) Khayr-vān', cf. T. 263 and 275.

As suggested by Pakhomov,[1] the invasion of Shirvan, which Andronicus helped to repel, was initiated by the ruler of Darband, Bek-Bars b. Muẓaffar. The emancipation of Darband had taken place under his grandfather Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalīfa al-Sulamī,[2] and already in A.D. 1124 the Georgian King David led an army against Darband in support of the rights of the Shirvān-shāhs. Pakhomov thinks that Shābarān (originally the north-eastern part of Shirvan on the eastern slope of the Shirvan range) was usually under the amīrs of Darband.

Bek-Bars's levy must have had a composite character, for in the odes [3] describing the victory over the invaders Khāqānī speaks of *Rūs* and *Alān* (T. 139, 475), *Rūs* and *Khazar* (T. 135), and *Rūs* and the *Sarīr* (T. 476). The old 'kingdom of the Throne' (*Sarīr*) is the Avar principality in Daghestan. Bek-Bars's appeal to these valiant mountaineers was natural. The Iranian Alāns occupied in the North Caucasus a much larger area than their present-day descendants, the Ossets. It is unexpected to find the Khazar mentioned towards the end of the twelfth century. Some Khazars may have survived in the mountains, but it is more likely that their name was applied by Khāqānī to their successors in the steppes, the Qipchaq (Polovtsi, Comans), who were at this period active along the whole Caucasian front. At an earlier time the term *Rūs* [4] would have referred to Norsemen; but towards A.D. 1173 they were very much mixed with Slavs. The initiative of Bek-Bars was independent of Kiev, and he must have used bands of free-lances (бродники) who were roaming in the south, as a prototype of the future Cossacks. Khāqānī's odes would suggest that the invasion was twofold: by land and by sea, the latter being the contribution of the Rūs. Khāqānī (T. 36) claims the destruction of seventy-three Russian ships, and names *Jazīra-yi Rūynās* ('the Madder Island') and Lanbarān as the scene of the operations against the Rūs (T. 406). The island is supposed to be the present-day Sarā, to the south of the old estuary of the Kur. Lanbarān lies far upstream on the Kur (south of Barda'a). If Khāqānī is correct, the Russian seamen seem to have operated in the direction of the much earlier Russian raid of 332/942.[5]

The years of Andronicus's arrival in Georgia and of the expedition to Shābarān are known only approximately. All we can say is that he and Theodora could not have reached Giorgi's court before A.D. 1170.[6] The cautious Kunik (Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 240) placed the Russian attack on Shirvan 'provisionally' in A.D. 1175, or 'possibly' in A.D. 1173.

[1] *O Derbendskom kniazhestve XII–XIII v.*, Baku, 1930.

[2] Mentioned in Abu-Ḥamīd al-Gharnāṭī, *Jour. As.*, 1925, No. 1, p. 85.

[3] Studied by Khanīkov in *Mél. As.*, III, 1853.

[4] They particularly interested the older generation of Russian scholars; see Dorn, *Caspia. Über die Einfälle der Russen*, 1875.

[5] On the geographical background see the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, pp. 398–411. Cf. Minorsky, *Rūs* in *EI*. [See Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband in the 10th–11th cent.*, 1958, p. 108.]

[6] Such is also the view of Toumanoff, loc. cit., 310.

Another hint at the chronology of the events has been made by Professor K. Chaykin.[1] This scholar, an expert on the Persian poetry before A.D. 1200, has found in Khāqānī's dīvān several references to an event which caused much anxiety to his contemporaries. The astronomers had predicted the conjunction of the seven planets in the sign of Libra, which, in the opinion of some of them, was to be accompanied by a devastating hurricane. One remembers the blow dealt to the reputation of the great poet but unlucky astrologer, Anvarī, when this prediction proved false, and on the fatal day there was not wind enough for winnowing (Browne, II, 368).

According both to the historians and to the computations of the astronomer Dobronravin, the conjunction of the planets took place on 29 Jamādī II 582/16 September 1186. In five of his odes Khāqānī refers to the expected event as due to happen in another 32, 30, 13, 6, and 2 years. Consequently the third of them was written in A.H. 582 — 13 = 569 (A.D. 1173–4). This long strophic poem (T. 485–494) was dedicated to Akhsatān, as it seems, on the eve of Khāqānī's second pilgrimage, which he accomplished in 569 or 570. Chaykin insists on the 'lowly and repentant tone' of the seventh strophe, in which the poet renounces all opposition to fate and pledges his mouth to silence, not without some malice: 'Solomon is no more there to listen to the secrets of the birds; so, in front of the demons, I close my mouth'. Chaykin connects this ode with Khāqānī's liberation from the jail into which he had been thrown for his previous attempt to leave Shirvan without permission. Such a hypothesis is very tempting psychologically,[2] and we can now fix pretty closely the date of his imprisonment, during which Shābarān was recaptured. The probable year of the expedition must be *circa* A.H. 569, i.e. in the early part of A.D. 1174 or perhaps in the later part of A.D. 1173, as already guessed by Kunik.[3]

The date and the cause of Andronicus's departure from Georgia remain obscure. Perhaps Manuel made representations to Giorgi and requested him not to harbour his enemy. Maybe some new facts on the first marriage of Andronicus came to light and disturbed Giorgi's peace of mind. Knowing the character of Andronicus, one might even suppose that, despite the presence of Theodora, he got into some new trouble with Georgian beauties.[4] But all these guesses are not supported by any evidence.

[1] *Khaqani, Nizami, Rustaveli*, fasc. I, ed. by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1935.

[2] Another ode, dated six years before the expected conjunction of planets (i.e. in 576/1180–1), is dedicated to the atabek of Azarbayjan Qizil-Arslan. In Chaykin's opinion, after his return from the second pilgrimage Khāqānī settled down in Tabriz and never revisited his birthplace Shirvan, but this view is contradicted by the facts quoted in Badī' al-Zamān, II, 335.

[3] I see that Chaykin proposed to study the dating of the *qaṣīda* dedicated to Andronicus in fasc. II of *Khaqani, Nizami and Rusthaveli*, but I do not know whether he has carried out this intention.

[4] The Georgian princes Andronikashvili claim descent from Andronicus. I do not know whether they consider themselves as issued of the first marriage of Andronicus (*vide supra*, p. 127) or of some other connection.

§ 4. *The Shirvān-shāh Akhsatān and Khāqānī*

The *Aγsartan* of the Georgian Chronicle is known in Muslim sources and in his own inscription (of 583/1187) as Akhsatān b. Minūchihr. The dates of his reign are uncertain (began to rule *circa* 544/1149, died *circa* 583/1187, or rather some time before 600/1203).[1] The name Akhsatān does not occur in any other part of the Muslim world, and it is surely only an abbreviation of the foreign Aghsartan, which in its complete form sounded inauspicious (*saraṭān* meaning in Arabic ' a scorpion, a cancer '). The origin of the strange name should be sought in the Georgian background of the prince's mother Thamar.[2] In fact the name *Aγsartan* was known among the rulers of Kakhetia (north-eastern Georgia) in the eleventh to twelfth century.[3] Even in Georgian the name is foreign and I think it is connected with the North Caucasian epics. The name *Ξαρθανος* appears already in the Græco-Iranian inscriptions of the north coast of the Black Sea. In Ossetic *äχsar* or *äχsart* means ' might '. According to the stories devoted to the local heroes (Nart), there were two clans in the Great Nartia : Aχsar and Aχsartak.[4] The connections of Georgia with the Northern Caucasus were manifold. The second husband of Queen Thamar (1184–1212) was an Osset. Osset nurses must have been as prized in Georgian houses as they were in far-off Muscovy (ясыня). One might even assume that it was through nurseries that North Caucasian mythology influenced both Georgian onomastics and Russian folklore.[5]

Akhsatān was the chief patron of Khāqānī, who dedicated twenty-three of his odes to him, and several others to his wife 'Iṣmat al-Dīn. In a poem addressed to Minūchihr (T. 603) Khāqānī refers to his twenty years' faithful service,[6] and complains of his patron's son (*khalaf*), who ' tore the clothes of my glory so that it is past hope to patch them up '. Minūchihr had four sons ; but should Akhsatān have been the offender, this fact might account for some later complications. In the long ode inscribed to the ruler of Darband Sayf al-Dīn Muẓaffar (L. 343, T. 187), the poet says :—

Pār-am ba-Makka dīdī āsūda-dil chu Ka'ba . . . .
Imsāl bīn ki raftam zī Makka-yi makārim

' Last year thou sawest me with reposed heart at Mekka . . . .
' This year see that I have gone to the Mekka of largesse.'

[1] See a detailed analysis of the very shaky chronology of the Shirvān-shāhs in Hādī Ḥasan, *Falakī-i Shirwānī*, 1929, pp. 12 and 32. The author has carefully studied the Russian literature on the subject.

[2] After the death of her husband, Minūchihr, she retired to a convent in Georgia.

[3] Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 12.

[4] V. Miller, *Grundriss d. Iran. Philol.*, ' Die Sprache d. Osseten ', p. 6 ; V. Miller-Freiman, *Osetinskiy slovar*, I, 242 ; G. A. Dzagurov, *Pamiatniki narod. tvorch. Osetin*, fasc. II, Vladikavkaz, 1927, p. 3 (I was able to consult the latter through the kindness of H. W. Bailey).

[5] Minorsky, ' L'épopée persane et la littérature populaire russe ', in *Hazāra-yi Firdausī*, Tehran, 1944, 48–57. [See above, p. 110.]

[6] If Khāqānī was born *circa* A.D. 1120, his ' service ' might have begun only about 1140. This would indicate that towards 555/1160 Minūchihr was still ruling.

As the raid carried out by the Darband army on Shirvan took place under the successor of Sayf al-Dīn, and as Khāqānī visited Mekka for the second time after this expedition, it is clear that the ode was composed one year after the first pilgrimage, i.e. in 552/1157. In the ode he requests his patron to remember 'what endless darkness I saw in the dungeon of the evil of Shirvan (*dar chāh-i sharr-i Shirvān*)' and to throw to him a golden rope to bring him out from the jail. The verse points to the early beginning of Khāqānī's misfortunes. Two of the jail-poems are dedicated to Andronicus; and at the time of Andronicus's visit to Shirvan (i.e. after A.D. 1170) Khāqānī was in jail. According to Daulat-shāh the cause of this misfortune was Khāqānī's flight from his master's court to Baylaqān.[1] He was caught by the king's henchmen and spent seven months in jail in Shābarān. One would be inclined to believe this circumstantial report were there not some difficulty about Shābarān, which, as we know, was reconquered by Akhsatān only with the help of his Christian allies. The ode bears no trace of the reconquest of Shābarān, an event which loomed large in the local life. It is more probable that Khāqānī was detained in Shamākhī, or in Baku, whither according to Khanīkov the residence was temporarily transferred.[2]

Five of Khāqānī's poems [3] describe his sufferings in jail, and definitely such punishment struck him more than once, but the two *ḥabsiya* dedicated to Andronicus seem to refer to the same term of imprisonment, despite their difference of tone.

The celebrated poem which forms the subject of the present article is remarkable for its sarcastic note. Under cover of the obeisance paid to the Christian ruler, Khāqānī writes with his tongue in his cheek. Purely in theory he explores the possibilities of a career as a Christian monk, to proclaim at the end his fidelity to Islām, in which he was born. The various episodes of his imaginary rise to high distinction in the Byzantine hierarchy are undisguised gibes at Christian superstitions (vv. 56, 58). One feels that in addressing Andronicus the poet wants to attract the attention of his own master the Shirvān-shāh. He carefully enumerates the rival Islamic potentates whose help he does *not* accept (vv. 24–5), and gives rein to his fantasy only supposing

[1] South of the present-day Shusha; see Minorsky, *Mūḳān* in *EI* (Supplement).

[2] Khanīkov, *Mél. As.*, III, 117; Pakhomov, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbayjana*, Baku, 1923, p. 16. Cf. Hādī Ḥasan's criticism, *Falakī*, p. 35. In any case the rise of Baku results from Khāqānī's ode dedicated to Akhsatān (T. 34): 'owing to his blessings Baku resembles nowadays the Bistām of Khāvarān (Khorasan ?); owing to his existence Baku collects tribute from Khazrān, Rayy, and Zirih-garān'. The latter is the famous Kubachi in Daghestan; Khazrān = 'the Khazars', or perhaps the canton now called Khazrī (north of Baku). 'Rayy' is a puzzle, unless Khāqānī means that Akhsatān established rights on some dependency of the Seljuks of Rayy (?). At the period in question, Shirvan leant upon Georgia, whereas Darband sought help from the Seljuks.

[3] The poems beginning: *falak kazh-rautar-ast az khaṭṭ-i tarsā* (T. 19); *rāḥat az rāh-i dil chanān bar-khāst* (T. 17); *har ṣubḥ pāy-i ṣabr ba-dāman dar-āvaram* (T. 244); *rūzam furū shud az gham ham gham-khurī nadāram* (T. 272); *ṣubḥ-dam chūn kalla bandad āh-i dūd-āsā-yi man* (T. 327).

that 'Muslims refuse justice to him' (v. 27). While he compares himself to Bīzhan thrown into a dungeon, he complains of the indifference of Kay-Khusrau (v. 11) enthroned high above. No one would be mistaken about the bearer of this Iranian title suddenly emerging from amidst references to Jesus, Mary, and the Antichrist.

The poem could have been dedicated to Andronicus on the assumption that the noble guest would be duped by the sound of the familiar names and terms, but be unable to grasp the subtleties of Persian rhetoric. It is a matter of course that Andronicus knew no Persian, although he may have had some smattering of Turkish. The relations between the Byzantines and the Seljuks of Konia were multifarious. At one time the father of Andronicus, Isaac Comnenus, sought refuge in Konia. His eldest son John, Andronicus's own brother (born *circa* 1154), fled to the Seljuk capital, became a Muslim, and married the daughter of Sultan Mas'ūd Qïlïj Arslan, who bore him a son called Sulaymān-shāh.[1] Andronicus himself in his youth was captured by the Turks as he was travelling home across Asia Minor after the death of his father.[2]

The second *ḥabsiya* has not been noticed until now, for only in the Tehran edition (T. 272–6) is it endorsed as dedicated to *'Aẓīm al-Rūm, Mukhliṣ al-Masīḥ 'Izz al-Daula* (i.e. Andronicus). In the Lucknow edition, I, 535, it is described as addressed to 'the throne of Maḥmūd-shāh'. This is an entirely arbitrary attribution based on the metaphor (v. 18): '(a king) high-minded like Maḥmūd (of Ghazna) has come and I am his slave Ayāz, for I can find no better customer of knowledge from all around his kingdom'. Moreover, instead of the 'sincere friend of the Messiah (*Mukhliṣ al-Masīḥā*)' to whom the poet appeals in the new edition (v. 10), the Lucknow text has 'the hero of Iran (*pahlavān-i Īrān*)'.

The longish ode contains 72 verses divided into two *maṭla'* (of 10 and 62 verses respectively). In the second *maṭla'* very many verses do not scan, and as a corollary of these metric disturbances the text does not make good sense. Some confusion in the ode might suggest at first sight that two odes have been amalgamated by a negligent scribe; but such an explanation is unlikely in view of the absence of repetitions in the difficult rhyme running throughout the poem (*-rī nadāram*). One might also ask whether the ode has not been re-dedicated; but the objection to this surmise would be that the ode bears definite traces of being intended for a Christian, and even in the Lucknow text nothing has been done to obscure this characteristic. Therefore the most likely explanation of some inconsistencies in the ode would be that from the beginning the ode had in view two patrons.[3]

If then from the obviously 'Christian' part of the ode (T. verses 10, 23–38, 58, 67, 72) we try to build a bridge to some other patron connected with Andronicus, we have to consider the titles of the patron described (vv. 45–6)

[1] Nicetas, in Manuel, I, § 2, (72), ed. Migne, p. 383. Cf. Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, I, 189.

[2] Nicetas, in Manuel, I, 1 (68), ed. Migne, 379.

[3] T. 127: in the ode dedicated to Sayf al-Din, commander of Shamākhī, his lord Akhsatān receives his share of eulogy.

as *marzubān-i kishvar Bahrāmiyān ba-ḥasbat* and *pahlavān-i mulkat Dāvūdiyān ba-gouhar*. The title *marzubān* points to some prince on the periphery of the Islamic dominions. The origin of the patron going up to Bahrām and Dāvūd is the chief difficulty. The obvious candidate for the descent from David (*Dāvūd*) would be the king of Georgia, for the Bagratid dynasty [1] boasted of having issued from the Jewish prophet. In the closely following verse 47 Khāqānī says: 'thanks to thy magnanimity (*himmat*) I see Shirvān like unto Baghdād and Egypt; therefore I do not consider the Nile and the Tigris even as dried-up river-beds (*farghar*) in comparison with (the largesse flowing from) thy hand'. The hint at Shirvān might be taken for a reference to Giorgi III's help in liberating Akhsatān's kingdom. One might then consider the ode as addressed jointly [2] to Andronicus and Giorgi, before the Byzantine prince left Georgia. The point which remains unsolved is the connection of the patron with Bahrām (*Bahrāmiyān ba-ḥasbat*), unless we take *ḥasbat* for 'personal nobility', and interpret the eulogy as 'Bahrāmian in thy noble character'.

Another not entirely satisfactory interpretation of the address would be to connect it with the Mengüjekid prince to whose court Andronicus seems to have migrated after Georgia (*vide supra*, p. 126). His name was Fakhr al-Din *Bahrām*-shāh, and both his father and his son were called 'Alā al-Din *Dāvūd*. These rather uncommon names being attested in a family may have tempted some unscrupulous genealogist (*nassāba*) to imagine a noble pedigree for the descendants of the Turcoman Mengüjek.[3] In this connection one should discuss another curious point. Some MSS in the heading of the ode describe the patron as *Tahamtan Pahlavān-i Īrān*. This is surely a combination based on vv. 10 and 16. As already mentioned, *Pahlavān-i Īrān* is the variant of the Lucknow edition for *Mukhliṣ al-Masīḥā*. This may be a pure interpolation of the scribe.[4] *Tahamtan* ('strong-bodied') has been taken from the verse running as follows: 'Shirvan is a mirage of bewilderment (*sarāb-i vaḥshat*), and like the thirsty Bīzhan I have no drinking-place except at Tahamtan's court'. Here Tahamtan, the usual epithet of Rustam, is a counterpart of Bīzhan, who was freed by that famous hero.[5]

[1] The commentator in L., 273 (bottom), took the 'Baqraṭiyān' for descendants of Hippocrates!

[2] The ode could hardly have been addressed to Giorgi alone, in view of the numerous references to Byzantium (*Rūm*), Cæsar (*qaysar*), etc.

[3] In fact, Mengüjek may have been called Dāvūdī if he was a slave of Chaghrī-bek Dāvūd, whose son Alp Arslan gave to him the fief of Erzinjan.

[4] This title cannot be equivalent to the *Pahlavān-i jahān*, which Khāqānī correctly gives to Muḥammad b. Ildiguz, atabak of Azarbayjan (T. 57ō).

[5] {It would be too far-fetched to imagine on the part of the poet a further reference to the patron's name. Tahamtan as a personal name is of course known in Ghazna, Ormuz, Fars, and Luristan. Curiously enough, a couple of centuries after Bahrām-shāh, the ruler of Erzinjan was called Ṭahar-tan: see *Ẓafar-nāma*, II, 237 (under 802/1399). Thomas of Metzoph, in Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan*, Brussels, 1860, p. 59, calls him *T'ak'rat'an*. In the *Razm-u-bazm*, ed. Köprülü, 243 (*circa* 783/1381) the prince appears under the arabicized name of *Muṭahhar-tan*,

After this long digression we come to the contents of the 'Christian ode No. 2'. Possibly the effect of the first ode was lost on the 'Kay-Khusrau', and the new ode is unreservedly deferential towards his patron. Khāqānī is crestfallen: 'I was once a peacock in the pleasaunces of the kings; to-day my (ugly) feet remain but my plumage is gone' (v. 69). This time again the phantoms of Jesus and Mary, 'Nestorius, Jacob, and Malkā', the Patriarch and the Catholicos, are evoked, but without any pricks and sneers.[1] With a delicate hint at the miracle of the child-Jesus, the poet says: 'I am thy bird, order it to fly, for my crop (*zaghar*) is made but for thy lawful grain' (v. 67). This time no travesty about the wish to visit Constantinople, but only 'the heart's desire for 'Irāq, Mekka, and the *ḥajj*' (v. 68). And to conclude: 'Thou art a friend, so let God and the Messiah befriend thee, for I have no better protection than thy eye of contentment' (v. 72).

[All things considered, the second *ḥabsiya* seems to be dedicated to Andronicus and Akhsatān. In the *Dīvān*, Akhsatān and his dynasty are several times referred to as Bahrāmī:

Shāh-i mashriq āftāb-i gauhar-i Bahrāmiyān (T. 404)
'Ādiltar-i Bahrāmiyān Parvīz-i Īrān Akhsatān (T. 463)
Niẓām-i daulat-i Bahrāmiyān Rashīd al-dīn (T. 564)

Thus the application of this cognomen to the Shīrvān-shāh is certain. Some obliging genealogist may have connected the dynasty with Bahrām Chūbīn, similarly to what was done in the case of the Sāmānids. Whereas in the second *ḥabsiya* Akhsatān is called Bahrāmī by renown (*ḥasbat*), in T. 404 he is said to be of Bahrāmī origin (*gauhar*) and in T. 129 he is called 'the head of the family (*āl*) of Bahrām'. How to explain then the second reference in Akhsatān's pedigree: *Dāvūdiyān ba-gauhar*? Akhsatan was the son of a Georgian princess, and this circumstance may account for his connection with the prophet David.]

If the long ode No. 1 was composed soon after Andronicus stepped on to the soil of Shirvan, and before the opening of the military operations, the second ode seems to echo the success of the expedition for the reconquest of Shābarān recorded in the Georgian Chronicle. If not actually in jail, the poet was apparently still detained in Shirvan: 'I am the detainee of *thy* citadel, not the prisoner of Shirvan' (v. 79). The situation seems to be just the reverse of the statement!

In conclusion we should mention a third poem, consisting of eleven verses, which in the Lucknow edition (L. 733) is printed without the name of the

but I feel strongly that Ṭahar-tan is likely to be a vulgar form of *Tahamtan*. Nothing is known about the connection of this amīr with the Mengüjekids; but even the appearance of such a name in Erzinjan might be an indirect but curious hint in favour of our second surmise, which still remains less satisfactory than the hypothesis about King Giorgi.}

[1] Except for one irrepressibly Khāqānian verse: 'I shall seek your contentment, even though I seek no fortune. I possess a Messiah, although I have not the ass's hoof', with reference to a relic (the hoof of Jesus's ass) exploited by an unscrupulous monk. *Vide infra* our commentary on v. 58.

mamdūḥ, and appears in the new edition (T. 782) under the heading: 'Praise to 'Izz al-Daula'. The ode is colourless and devoid of any references to the Christian religion. The patron must be a person of consequence: 'Should his pearl-scattering hand grip his shining sword, it will bring the Eagle of Heaven (Aquila) as a guest to the banquet of the Sword'. The patron is definitely not in Shirvan: 'Let him instruct the wind to bring from his court (*dargah*) to Shirvan a collyrium for the eyes of Khāqānī (i.e. a present)'. The poet informs the patron that in a short time 'the servant of his court' will bring him a crown from Baghdad and an allowance (*sar bahr* ?) from Isfahan,[1] adding, however, that by doing so a crown will be placed on the head of the (Seljuk) Sultan himself.

All one can gather from the poem is that Khāqānī is on the eve of a journey to 'Irāq, and that he is hoping for a subvention, for which he, on his part, is ready to put in a word at high places. On the whole, nothing in the text of the ode authenticates its dedication to 'Izz al-Daula, especially if by the latter Andronicus is meant. The poem seems to be contemporary with the valedictory ode to Akhsatān analysed by Chaykin (*vide supra*, p. 129), and may reflect the resigned mood of the poet on the morrow of his release from prison.

§ 5. *The 'Christian' Ode*

For the explanation of this long ode (L. 271–8; T. 19–25) I was only able in the present circumstances to draw upon a manuscript commentary (Camb. Univ. Library, No. 250, fol. 34b–37b),[2] and the commentary in the Lucknow edition, both inadequate: the former is too brief and the latter diffuse and often misleading. Khanïkov had at his disposal some Persian commentary (according to Salemann, Ghanā'ī), but he used it critically. Much more than to the written tradition I owe to the advice of my learned friends Professor Muhammad Qazvini (in Paris, 1935) and H.E. S. H. Taqizadeh, two worthy representatives of true Persian scholarship.

A short survey of the contents of the ode will be useful for following its plan.

The poet complains of the anti-Christian treatment meted out to him by fate (vv. 1–5). He protests against his sufferings in jail (vv. 6–9). Neither Christ nor the stars come to his rescue (vv. 10–13). He is guiltless (vv. 14–21), and seeks no help from other kings (vv. 22–6). If Muslims are unjust to him, shall he, God forbid, desert Islām ? (v. 27). This, after his punctual observance of the prescribed practices (vv. 28–32) ? But since his enemies are threatening him, shall he escape from them to Christian lands and adopt Christian rites in the hope of rising high in the Christian hierarchy (vv. 33–59), and of explaining the mysteries of the Christian creed (vv. 60–4) ? He might even disclose to the Cæsar the arcana of Zoroastrianism, mixed with some other exotic teachings

[1] *Isfahān* in the text is dubious, but it is suitable as indicating the residence of the Seljuk Sultan.

[2] The attribution of this MS to Ghanā'ī in E. G. Browne's *Catalogue* is not certain, unless it is only a short extract from the original.

(vv. 65–70). But enough of such Satanic thoughts (vv. 71–4). No need to travel far when the Byzantine prince is here (vv. 75–6). By all the sacred things of Christianity (vv. 77–86) and by the astrological omens (vv. 87–8), the poet beseeches the noble guest to obtain for him his master's permission to visit Jerusalem (v. 89), and winds up by praising the rosary of his own verses.

Almost every verse of the ode is intended to be a hint at some Christian dogma or practice, and the question arises as to the origin of Khāqānī's information. A detailed analysis will be given in the commentary, while here we shall indicate the main sources of his imagery :—

1. The *Qor'ān* and especially the sūras bearing on Mary and the birth of Jesus (III, 37–42 ; XIX, 16–35, etc.), with the additional explanations found in the commentaries. As examples of such quotations and hints we may cite vv. 13, 14, 15, 20, 60–3.

2. The particular Muslim-Christian lore going back to the Christian apocrypha and legends, such as the story of the needle which hampered Jesus's ascent to heaven (vv. 3–5) ; that of Jesus dwelling in the Fourth Heaven next to the Sun (v. 12), etc.

3. Some points look as if they were based on the direct contacts of Khāqānī with representatives of the Christian religion, and more especially Nestorians. Here belong the references to the attack of the enemies on Jesus (v. 32), the Syriac commentaries (v. 39), the term *περικοπή (v. 39) ; Jesus's last words (v. 64), the betrayal of Judas (v. 72) ; the Syriac terms *shalīkhā*, *dinḥ*, and the names of various fasts and holidays (vv. 80, 82) ; the concordance of dates (v. 85), etc. It is very improbable that Khāqānī's mother, a Nestorian slave-girl converted to Islām,[1] could have contributed much to her son's knowledge of Christian arcana. It is safer to assume that this part of his information was derived not from direct intercourse with Christians but from some Islamic *maqālāt* describing the Christian religion. The most useful illustration of his allusions is found in Bīrūnī's *Chronology*, based (at least partly) on the report of a Muslim traveller to Constantinople (Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī). The latter described the full ecclesiastic and administrative hierarchy of the Greeks. Khāqānī's mysterious *Ṭursīqos* must have been a misreading of some similar book.

[1] Cf. the still obscure statements in the *Tuḥfat*, p. 199 : ' of Nestorian and Mōbadian origin, of Islamic and godly nature. She was born in the country of Dhūghṭāb (?), the great *Philippos was her ancestor. . . . She sat on the road of the temple (*miyāsṭū*), silently (listening) to sorcery (*hērūtī*). . . . She was brought from the Byzantine darkness ; the slave-trader of righteousness (?) educated her '. [The term *Mobadī* apparently refers to a family of Christian priests. The name *Dhūghṭāb* (var. *Ūghṭāb*) sounds Armenian, many Armenian place-names ending in *tap'* (' flat '). The name might be restored as *Ṭūgh(a)ṭāb* and compared with *Tolatap'* (now *Teghtap*), a small valley, to the east of Khinis. *Faylaqūs-i kabīr* may be some Christian worthy. In W. Wright's *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 1894 (Russian ed., completed by P. Kokovtsov, 1902), I have failed to find anything relevant.] Dr. W. Henning suggests that the doubtful *miyāsṭū* should be read **manāsṭir* ' monastery '.

4. The external rites and paraphernalia of the Christians may have been observed by the poet personally: the candelabrum, the horns blown by the monks, the details of the clothing of the divines and their practices of austerity. It is very likely that he visited Georgia. In an ode (T. 770) he tells the story of a man who lost one of his hairs in the Far West and thirty years later found it in the Far East, whither it had been brought by the Ocean. The poet says that in his case Georgia (*Abkhāz*) was the West and the court (of Shirvan) the sea, while his ailing body has thinned down to a hair. The burden runs thus: '(Were) Khāqānī and the Khāqān (on) the banks of the Kur (at) Tiflis, then the Kur (would) become the Oxus and Tiflis Samarqand'. In another short epigram (T. 565) Khāqānī refers to the return of the 'Shāh' from Abkhāz. He does not explain whether he himself was in the king's suite on that journey, but the nostalgic simile of the hair suggests that he had once been 'in the West'. In a quatrain (T. 926) addressed to a beauty 'living in Abkhaz' he uses a Georgian word:—

Az 'ishq-i ṣalīb-i mū-yi Rūmī-rū'ī
Abkhāz-nishin gashtam-u Gurjī gū'ī
Az bas ki biguftam-ash: mū'ī, mū'ī
Shud mū-yi zabānam va zabān har mū'ī

'From love for the cross-wise hair of a Byzantine-faced (beauty)
'I became resident in Abkhāz, and speaking Georgian,
'So much I repeated: *moi, moi*
'That the pile of my tongue is gone, and each hair has become a (speaking) tongue.'

Moi is a colloquial form of *modi* მოდი 'come!', as explained by Yuri Marr *Khaqani, Nizami, Rustaveli*, I, 12. No doubt Khāqānī had many good occasions to study the habits of the Georgians and their Orthodox clergy (vv. 1, 6, 7, 40–3, 86).

Complaint of imprisonment and fetters, with a 'transition' to praise the adherent of the creed of Jesus, the chief of Byzantium, the Qaysar 'Izz al-Daula, and to move him to intercede and to obtain the release of the author.

1. More crooked than the course of the Christian script is the course of Heaven, which holds me like a monk laden with chains.
2. Is God's Spirit (i.e. Jesus) not in this world that the works of this enamelled cupola have become so Antichristian?
3. My body is bent like Mary's thread (*rishta*), my heart is lonely like the needle of Jesus.
4. I am shackled with ropes (*rishta*) here, as Jesus was pinned down there by a needle.
5. Why (was) the needle one-eyed like Antichrist to lurk in the pocket of Jesus?
6. I am one whose days are clad in monks' black garments; therefore, nightly like a monk I raise my voice,
7. And with my morning horn-call I split the window cross (opening on to) the green roof (of the world).

8. From my sighs that make the sea boil, the bottom of the deep has become the desert where Jesus has to make his ablutions with sand.
9. The heavenly fathers (*ābā-yi 'ulvī*) are inclement to me; therefore, like Jesus, I have renounced my fathers.
10. What use to me that Luminary of Knowledge, since I am obscure, and it consists of shining particles ?
11. If it is the Kay-Khusrau of the portico of light, why has Bīzhan fallen into the well of (the long night of) the Nativity ?
12. What comfort to the ' bird of Jesus (the bat) ' from Jesus, the neighbour of the Virgin Sun ?
13. Why does not Jesus heal his own bird, he who can give sight to a blind man ?
14. The progeny of the maiden of my nature (i.e. my poetry) is like Jesus speaking for the purity of His mother.
15. (My) words bear witness to my immaculate nature, just as the palm-tree did to Mary's miracle.
16. The five hundred years from the Prophet's flight have not brought forward anyone like me ; behold, my proof is not false !
17. From this my heart, which is (pricked all over) like a honeycomb, I shall bring up a clamour of the bees in their bloody fight.
18. Let the (wick of my) oily tongue burn from the fire of my sighs like the heart of the Christian candelabrum.
19. Like a candelabrum my enemies suspend me and let me burn after they have attached me with three chains.
20. From rebuke I (sit) with downcast head like Mary, but my tears are as pure as the breath of Jesus.
21. Like the *alifs* standing (upright) in the words ' we obey ' (اطعنا) I turn my face and my back on blame (طعن).
22. No help to me from my friends' equity, nor dare I complain of it.
23. Against the evil of the time *In Deo, in Deo (resignatio mea) ; abscessio, abscessio* from those aloof from God.
24. I want no help from the Abbasids, nor do I wish to be befriended by the Seljuks.
25. As this age refuses me justice, of what use to me are Arslan-Sultan and Boghra ?
26. As there is no Joseph to save me from famine, what difference to me between Benjamin and Judah ?
27. As Muslims refuse justice to me, shall I, God forbid, turn away from Islām ?
28. After acquiring my religion from the Seven Men, after the inspiration descended on me from the Seven Readers,
29. After reciting *al-Ḥamd* (I), *al-Raḥmān* (IV), *al-Kahf* (XVIII), *Yā-Sīn* (XXXVI), *Ṭā-Sīn-Mīm* (XXVI), and *Ṭā-Hā* (XX),
30. After performing the prescribed timing of the pilgrimage, the circumambulation of the Ka'ba, the lapidation (of Satan), the running between the

two hillocks, the reciting of *labbayk*, and (standing at) the place of prayers (*muṣallā*),

31. After so many 'forty-days retreats' performed in the course of thirty years, shall I go to observe openly the 'fifty days'?
32. I have a handful of enemies acting like Jews; like Jesus I fear their sudden attack.
33. What if I fled from the Jewish oppression to the gate of the Monastery of Sukūbā?
34. What if I seek the threshold of Infidelity, and cease to seek the path of the religion of the Supreme Leader (*Ṣadr*)?
35. Here is the Gate of the Abkhazians ajar, there is the Byzantine sanctuary in readiness.
36. Shall I deflect my course from God's house, the Qibla, towards Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and the Niche of Solomon's temple (*miḥrāb-i Aqṣā*)?
37. After fifty years of my Islām the cross-like fetters on my feet do not become me.
38. Shall I, from this dispensation, go to kiss the church-bell, shall I from this hostility gird up my loins with a *zonnār* (girdle)?
39. Shall I prepare a Syriac commentary on the Gospel, explore the mysteries of Hebrew script?
40. (Imagine) myself at (?) Nājurmakī and the monastery of Mukhrān, the gate of the Bagratids being my place of refuge,
41. (Imagine) me in the corner of a grotto as a horn-blower (monk) clad in a cassock (*chokhā*).
42. Amidst hard (*khārā*) stones, like the Patriarch, I shall don a rug (*palās*), instead of the waved-silk (*khārā*) vest (*ṣudra*).
43. As an ex-voto I shall suspend a cross round my neck, like that 'wood of the True Cross' which they hang on the breast of a child.
44. Should they not show me esteem in the Abkhazian (country), I shall start thence on the way to Byzantium.
45. I shall open a school in the temple of Byzantium (*Rūm*) and shall refresh (*muṭarrā*) the canons (*āyīn*) of the Metropolitan (*maṭrān*).
46. Like the Son of the Water-carrier, I shall change the *ridā* and the *ṭaylasān* for a *zonnār* and a *burnus* (cassock ?).
47. Before the Great Ṭursīqos I shall discourse on the Father and Son and the Holy Ghost.
48. Forsooth, in one word I shall bring forth the three hypostases out of the well of doubt into the open space of certainty.
49. The bishop will prefer my exegesis to that of Jacob, Nestorius, and Malkā.
50. I shall reveal the arcana of Divinity from (the conditions of) peerlessness; I shall show the rise of Humanity from Matter.
51. You will see clerics (*kashīsh*) attracted by, and eagerly embracing the doctrines of a learned priest (*qasīs*) like myself.

52. They will call me a second Ptolemy, nay, recognize me as the Great Philippus (Faylaqūs).
53. I shall send an epistle on the Trinity (*thālith* (*al-*)*-thalātha*) to the Tuesday (*thalāthā*) Market in Baghdad.
54. The living and the dead will carry (the products) of the beak of my pen to Constantinople as the perfume and balm for embalming.
55. I shall get hold of the staff of Moses and shape it into a cross (*chalīpā*).
56. With the droppings of the ass of Jesus I shall stop the hæmorrhage of the ailing Catholicos ;
57. I shall send to the khāns of Bokhara and Samarqand crowns made of its bridle.
58. With the drops of my eyes and my brow, I shall set the hoofs of the ass in gold and rubies rubescent.
59. By way of proofs, I shall dictate a compendium of true commentary, upon the three hypostases and the three *περικοπαί (*farquf*) of the Gospels :
60. What was that breath of the Spirit, that ablution and fasting, when Mary was naked with only the Spirit present,
61. That, while the casket of her womb was still under seal, the heart-kindling jewel came into being ?
62. What was that discourse Jesus made at his birth, what was that fasting at the time when Mary patiently bore the insults ?
63. How Jesus made birds of clay, how he revived the body of Lazarus ?
64. What meaning did Jesus put into his words on the gibbet : ' I wish to go to my Father above ' ?
65. And should the Cæsar ponder over the arcana of Zoroaster, I shall enliven (*zinda*) the rites of the Zand and the Avesta.
66. I shall explain what is the Strike-a-Light (*zand*) and what is the Fire from which Pāzand and Zand have been surnamed ;
67. What burning coal remained of the fire into which the Beloved of God (Abraham) once fell in bewilderment (*darvā*).
68. I shall weigh the arcana of the mobad on a scale (*qusṭās*) the grain-weight of which will be Qusṭā son of Lūqā :
69. Why does the fly wear a turban (and) an apron and why does the locust put on breeches of brocade ?
70. I shall dedicate to the Cæsar works better than the Chinese *Artang* or Tangalūshā.
71. But enough, o Khāqānī, of evil melancholy, for melancholy is suggested by Satan.
72. How can a bad companion (Judas) plot against Jesus ; how can a bad vazīr teach Dārā ?
73. Utter no such heresy, but renew the faith. Say : ' I seek pardon for these cravings '.
74. Say and witness that God is unique, exalted above my divagations.

75. What need to travel in dejection all the way down to Byzantium, when 'Izz al-Daula, chief of Byzantium, is here,
76. The right hand of Jesus, the glory of the Apostles, Mary's trustee, the refuge of the Christians ?
77. O thou, endowed with the Messiah's qualities, o scion of the Cæsars, verily I beseech thee,
78. By the Holy Ghost, the breath of the Spirit (Gabriel) and Mary, by the Gospel, the Apostles and the Messiah,
79. By the lawful cradle and virginal pregnancy ; by the hand and the sleeve through which the breath passed,
80. By Jerusalem, by the 'Furthest Mosque' and the Rock, by the eucharist of the disciples and apostle(s) (*shalīkhā*),
81. By the bell, the zonnār, and the candelabrum, by John the Baptist (*Yaḥyā*), by the deacon and Baḥīrā ;
82. By Pentecost, by Epiphany (*dinḥ*), by the night of the breaking of the fast (Easter Eve), by the Feast of the Temple, by the fasting of the Virgins,
83. By Mary's purity in her wedlock with Joseph, by the exemption of Jesus from the link of the fœtal clot (*'īshā*).
84. By the root, branches, and foliage of the tree whose fruit came from the Exalted Spirit,
85. By the mouth of Tīr, which (in fact) occurred in Naysān, by the old palm-tree which then became rejuvenated,
86. By the clamour and wailing of the horn-blower (monk) in the monastery, by the irons on the limbs of the bishop,
87. By the *tathlīth* (triangular position) of the constellations (*burūj*), the moon and the stars, by the *tarbī'* and *tasdīs* of Tuesday (?),
88. By the *tathlīth* which constitutes the good omen for the Heaven, by the *tarbī'* (quadrangular position) of the cross of (my) air-hole,
89. (By all these I beseech you), ask the king of the world to grant me permission to visit Jerusalem.
90. For, as long as the Equator and the Axis appear as the cross of heaven,
91. It beseems the monk in the monastery of Ezekiel (**Hizqil*) to use these brilliant verses as his (pearl) beads.

§ 6. *Commentary*

1. The reference is to Greek script running from left to right.

2. *Rūḥ-Allāh* is the usual title of Jesus, to be distinguished from the Rūḥ sent by God to Mary, v. 66. *Dayr* originally means 'a monastery'.

3. Mary is said to have been a deft seamstress (Kh.). It has yet to be seen whether the French term 'fil de la Vierge' describing autumnal spider-webs flying in the air is of Oriental origin.

4. Jesus was admitted to the fourth heaven on condition of not bringing with him anything sharp, but his ascent was impeded by a needle, which he overlooked in his pocket.

5. *Dajjāl* is said to be one-eyed ; see *EI*.

6. *Libās-i rāhibān-pūshīda-rūz* is one compound, ' the one whose days, etc.'.

7. Cf. v. 83 : *bād-parvā*. The poet seems to refer to the crosswise framing of the sky-light of his cell.

8. *Tayammum* (see *EI*) is the ablution which a Muslim travelling in a desert substitutes for the true *wuḍū'*.

9. *Ābā-yi 'ulvī* ' constellations '.

10. Judging by the following verses *akhtar-i dānish* is the Sun.

11. Reading with some MSS *Kay-Khusrav-i īvān-i nūr* instead of *Īrān-u Tūr* of Kh. and L. *Yaldā* is the symbol of a long and dark night. Sa'dī compares with it the stature of a tall negro. Some such simile explains the indecent use of this loan-word in Russian, Dal, *Slovar*, I, 1290. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 292, says that the Messiah was born on the 25 Kānūn I (December) on a ' Thursday night ' (meaning, on the night preceding Thursday).

12. The ' virgin ' Sun probably in view of *al-shams* being feminine in Arabic.

15. *Qor'ān*, XIX, 23, 24 : The birth-pangs drove Mary to the trunk of the palm-tree, and she said : ' would that I had died before this '. . . . Then he (the child) called to her from beneath her : ' Grieve not ; the Lord placed beneath thee a streamlet ; shake down the trunk of the palm-tree, and it will let fall upon thee juicy (fruit) '. Cf. Pseudo-Matthæi Evang., XX, in Tischendorff, *Evang. Apocrypha*, p. 87 : Tunc infantulus Iesus laeto vulto in sinu matris suae residens ait ad palmam : Flectere arbor et de fructibus tuis refice matrem meam. Et confestim ad hanc vocem inclinavit palma cacumen suum usque ad plantas Mariae, etc. Another reference to the story is found in v. 85.

16. Cf. the praise of Isfahān, T. 362 : *Pānsad-i hijrat chu man nazād yagāna*. Other examples of Khāqānī's self-glorification (*fakhr*) in T., p. 195 —

Dānam-ki sāya-yi ḥaqq dānad ki mī-na-dārad
Dar āftāb-gardish gītī chu man sukhanvar

and the ode, p. 18, beginning

Nīst iqlīm-i sukhan-rā bihtar-az man pādshā, etc.

Our v. 16 confirms the fact that the expression *pānṣad-i Hijra* (T. 362) has only an approximate meaning and does not indicate that Khāqānī was born in the year 500/1106–7 (as wrongly assumed by Kh., 145). In fact, if the visit of Andronicus to Shirvan took place *circa* 1173–4 (i.e. A.H. 569), and the poet (as he suggests in v. 37) was at that time fifty years old, he must have been born *circa* 519/1125. On different grounds Chaykin is prepared to lower Khāqānī's birth-date still further to 528/1133–4, but I maintain my reasoning.

17. *Khūn-ālūd* literally ' covered with gore ', or rather ' fighting a bloody fight '.

20. *Qor'ān*, IV, 155 : the Jews invented a calumny against Mary.

21. One of the most imaginative similes in Khāqānī.

25. Arslan-Sultan must be the Sultan of 'Irāq Arslan II b. Tughril (556–573/1161–1177), to whom Khāqānī rather inconsequentially dedicated an ode (T. 557). ' Boghra ' apparently is used as a typical name of the so-called Qara-khanid khans of Central Asia, of whom Khāqānī speaks disparagingly v. 57.

26. Jacob's youngest and fourth sons, *Gen.*, XXXV, 23. Possibly derived from some commentary on the *Qor'ān*.

28–30. Note the numbers 'seven', as opposed to the Christian 'threes'. References to the suras and the rites in Kh. Cf. *EI*: *Ḥadjdj*, *Muṣallā*, etc.

31. Possibly Lent *plus* the Easter week, or the Pentecost, called in Arabic *khamsīn*, v. 82. As v. 37 suggests that the poet is fifty years old, his pious retreats must have begun at the age of 20.

33. *Dayr-i Sukūbā* is not among the numerous monasteries mentioned in Yāqūt. *Sukūbā* is perhaps meant to represent the title 'bishop'.

34. *Ṣadr-i vālā*, the Prophet ?

35. *Abkhāz* does not apply here to the original Black Sea people of this name (ancient *"Αβασγοι*), but to the Georgians, who at that time were ruled by the Western (so-called 'Abkhaz') branch of the Bagratid (v. 40) dynasty; cf. the terminology of Mas'ūdī in *Murūj*, II, 69, 74.

36. *Aqṣā*, i.e. al-Masjid al-Aqṣā, the mosque built on the site of the Temple of Jerusalem, mentioned in the *Qor'ān*, XVII, 1, as the place visited by the Prophet in the course of his 'nocturnal journey' (*isrā'*).

38. *Nāqūs* is a wooden gong serving as a bell. *Zonnār*, Greek *ζωνάριον*, the distinctive belt of the Christians.

40. Mukhran (originally *Mukhnar* 'oak-grove') is a district between the affluents of the Kur: Ksani and Aragvi. Z. D. Avalishvili suggested to me (12.7.1936) the identification of the 'Mukhran monastery' with the famous monastery of Shio-Mghvime lying on the northern bank of the Kur, some 7 km. to the west of the ancient capital Mtskheta. *Mghvime* means 'a cave', and inside the monastery there exists a grotto in which St. Shio lived; Prince Vakhusht's *Geography of Georgia*, Russ. translation by Janashvili, 1904, p. 69. This detail supports the image of v. 41.

Man-u-Nājurmakī means '(henceforth) I shall be inseparable from N.'. (*Vide supra*, p. 129, and cf. *Anvār-i Suhaylī*: *man-u kunj-i vīrāna-yi pīr-zan*: 'I shall never again quit the corner, etc.'.) No explanation has yet been suggested of *Nājurmakī*. My first idea was to read **Bā-jarmakī* and explain it as the name of some Syrian divine from the well-known diocese *Bā-jarmaq* (comprising Kerkuk, etc.). St. Shio, founder of the monastery, was one of the thirteen Syrian fathers who arrived in Georgia in the fifth or sixth century A.D., although he himself was from Antioch. Cf. his *Vita* in Peradze, *Die Anfänge d. Mönchtums in Georgien*, in *Zeit. f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1928, pp. 51–6. In this case, too, Z. D. Avalishvili's suggestion appears to me now preferable: he connects Nājurmakī with Nač'armag-evi, the summer residence of the Bagratid kings in the twelfth century. It lay close to Gori (Stalin's birthplace), and Vakhusht identified it with the present-day Karaleti. Khāqānī may use Nājurmakī as a name of origin (*nisba*), 'the one connected with N.', such as King Giorgi III himself; but Nājurmakī may be a mere simplification of *Nač'armag-evi*, in which case the poet wishes not to be separated from the pleasaunce of the Bagratids, which must have been well known at the court of Shirvan, *vide supra*, p. 137.

41. The terms *chokhā* and *ṣudra* are well known, but their practical vestimentary meaning in the twelfth century is not clear; cf. v. 45: *ridā*, *burnus*.

43. The reference is certainly to *fāvāniyā* 'pæonia officinalis' on which see Bīrūnī, op. cit., p. 297. The Christians maintain that the cross-like lines which are seen in the cut of this plant 'originated at the time when Christ was crucified'. Bīrūnī refutes this theory by referring to the *pre*-Christian

Greek authorities quoted by Galen. He refers to the practice of attaching a piece of this wood to epileptics 'as a symbol of the resurrection from the dead'. Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaq in his *Pharmacopœa*, No. 126 (Germ. transl. by Akhundov, p. 104) confirms Khāqānī by saying that pieces of *pœonia* are hung on children suffering from convulsions.

45. *Haykal-i Rūm*, meaning perhaps St. Sophia.

46. The memory of the Son of the Water-carrier must have been comparatively fresh in the time of Khāqānī. Under the year 505/1110, Ibn al-Athīr, x, 345, reports that when the preacher Yūsuf b. Ayyūb al-Hamdānī came to Baghdad he was plied with questions by a certain Ibn al-Saqqā. The preacher felt an odour of heresy coming from his words and remarked that he might perhaps die outside the pale of Islām, 'and it happened that after a short while Ibn al-Saqqā went to the Byzantine dominion and became Christian'. The same story is repeated under 535/1140 on the occasion of the death of Yūsuf b. Ayyūb, ibid., xi, 53. *Ṭaylasān* is a kind of veil which like an Indian *pagari* covers the neck and the shoulders of a divine.

47. *Ṭursīqūs*. No such title appears in the list of Byzantine officials in Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 290 (tr. 284). [Professor R. Jenkins kindly points out to me that the dignitary in question should be the rector of the Patriarchal Academy, ὁ οἰκουμενικὸς διδασκαλος. See F. Fuchs, 'Die höheren Schulen in Konstantinopel', *Byzant. Archiv*, Berlin, 1926, Heft 8, p. 523. See also my note on v. 45. Unfortunately in Arabic script the restoration of *Ṭursīqūs*, etc. into something approaching διδασκαλος presents some difficulty.]

48. Note some irony about the Trinity.

49. Here our poet's learning has failed him signally. He wants to recall the founders of the three great divisions of Oriental Christianity: Jacobite, Nestorian, and Melkite, but he does not realize that *Melkites* means only 'royal' and is not derived from the name of a founder. Bīrūnī, op. cit., 288: *al-malkā'iyya* are called thus 'because the Byzantine king is of their persuasion'.

50. Arab. *hayūlā*, Greek ὕλη.

51. There is no difference between *kashīsh* (Per.) and *qasīs* (Arab.), but Khāqānī seems to put more weight into the Arabic form. Note the alliterations *kashīsh*, *kashish*, *kūshish*.

52. *Faylaqūs* is the well-known ancient misreading of Philippos (Arab. *q* for *f*)—similar to *Nīṭas* for *Pontos*. One would expect 'the Great *Philippus' to be some scholar ranking with Ptolemy, but no suitable bearer of the name appears in G. Sarton's great *Introduction to the History of Science*, i, 1927. On the other hand, the Muslims were acquainted with the story of the Emperor M. Iulius Philippus ('the Arab'), whom Christian tradition readily considered as the first Christian emperor (A.D. 244–9), earlier than Constantine; cf. Hauck, *Realencycl. für protest. Theologie*, xv, 1904, pp. 331–4. According to Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 133_5, *Filibbus* went over to Christianity 'and left the creed of the Ṣābians'; cf. Abu'l-Faraj, *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Pocock, 1663, 127 (tr. 80) = Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, vi, 34. The reference to him by Khāqānī would appropriately convey the idea of the rise of a former non-Christian to the highest dignity.[1]

[1] *Faylaqūs al-kabīr* is again mentioned as an ancestor of Khāqānī's mother, see above' p. 136. This might suggest his connection with Nestorianism, but the Rt. Rev. Professor G. Florovsky (Univ. of Harvard) assures me that no great man of that name is known among the Nestorian saints and doctors.

53. *Thālith al-thalātha*, 'the third of the three', is the Arabic for 'Trinity'.

54. *Ḥanūṭ-u ghāliya mūtā-va aḥyā*, 'the dead and the living fetch balm and perfumes', meaning that the balm is for the former and the perfumes for the latter. This figure of speech is called *tabyīn va-tafsīr*.

55. *Chalīpā* (Syr. *ṣlībā*). The verse may refer to the Christian belief recorded in Bīrūnī, p. 297: 'the sign (*āyat*) of Moses was his staff, which formed a straight (*mustaṭīl* ?) line. Now when Jesus came he threw his staff upon it, and a cross was formed, and thus the law of Moses was completed by the advent of Jesus.'

56. *Ru'āf*, 'bleeding from the nose'. *Jathlīq*, usual form for Catholicos. On the ass, cf. v. 58.

57. The hint is apparently at the barbaric horsiness of the Turkish khāns, who never invited Khāqānī to compose odes in their honour.

58. Here the Christians are taken to task for what seems to be only a Muslim idea of them: the ass of Jesus [1] does not appear to play any role in Christian practices, but is constantly referred to in Persian prose and poetry, cf. *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, p. 506. The simile can be illustrated by contemporary habits. When the caliph sent to the sultan of Rūm 'Ala al-Dīn Kay-Qubād a mule shod in gold, the sultan kissed its hooves, see Yazïjï-oghlu 'Alī in Gordlevsky, *Gosudarstvo Seljukov*, p. 83. [See *Ibn-Bībī*, trans. by H. Duda, 1959, p. 113.]

59. *Q.rq.f* or *f.rq.f* are explained by Persian commentators as 'a book of the Christians'; cf. Vullers, II, 722. The Arabic meaning of *qarqaf* 'cold water, wine, small bird' and *qurquf* 'small bird' are out of the question. The late Professor D. S. Margoliouth in reply to my inquiry wrote to me on 18 June, 1936: 'I would suggest that Khāqānī's word is a corruption (rather like Faylaqūs) for the Greek word περικοπή used by patristic writers for "text of scripture", e.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III. iv, 38: ἐκ τινῶν προφητικῶν περικοπῶν. Possibly the three texts which Khāqānī proposed to cite in proof of the doctrine of the Trinity were First Epistle of St. John, verses 6, 7, 8'. The suggestion seems to be excellent.

60–4. The circumstances of the birth of Jesus seem all to be derived from the *Qor'ān* and its commentators; see the articles *'Īsā* (D. B. Macdonald) and *Maryam* (Wensinck) in *EI*.

60. *Qor'ān*, XIX, 17: 'Then We sent to her our Spirit, who took for her the form of a human being, shapely'. The commentaries add that when Mary heard the tidings she put on her cloak (*ṭaraḥat 'alayhā jilbābahā*); Gabriel took her by the sleeves and breathed into the slit of her shift (*akhadha bi-kummay-hā fa-nafakha fī jaybi dir'i-hā*), Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, XVI, 42. Khāqānī's *'ūr* 'naked' refers to another commentary, according to which Mary had removed her shift into which Gabriel blew; she became pregnant when she put it on; see Wensinck, *Maryam* in *EI*. The sūra LXVI, 12, puts the story more crudely.

61. Possibly a development of *Qor'ān*, XIX, 20–1.

62. *Qor'ān*, XIX, 27, 31: after the birth of Jesus Mary made a vow to fast and not to utter a word for a whole day. When her parents asked her questions, she only pointed to the child, and Jesus said: 'Lo, I am the servant of Allāh; he has bestowed on me the Book and has made me a Prophet'. The Nestorians observed the 'Fasting of our Lady Mary' (*ṣaum Mart Maryam*),

[1] See Matthew, XXI, 1–7, etc.

which began on the Monday following the Nestorian Annunciation (v. 85), and ended on Christmas Day ; cf. Bīrūnī, op. cit., 310.

63. On birds and reviving the dead, see *Qor'ān*, III, 43 ; but Lazarus is not mentioned in the *Qor'ān*.

64. This allusion to St. John XVII, 16, 28, is not in the *Qor'ān*, which says, IV, 156, that Jesus was not crucified, 'nay, Allāh raised him to himself'. [Very appropriately O. L. Vilchevsky, *Soviet. Vostokovedeniye*, 1957, No. 4, p. 67, has connected this reference to St. John, XIV, 28, with the heated discussions of how it should be interpreted at the synodal Council convoked in Constantinople by Emperor Manuel in A.D. 1166. The commentary by Th. I. Uspensky is inaccessible to me, but see F. Chalondon, 'Les Comnènes', II, 1912, p. 647. Some (preliminary ?) rumours might have spread as far as Transcaucasia, but it is certainly impossible to deduce from this echo the date of the composition of our ode in 1166 and to draw the conclusion that it was dedicated to Manuel, and not to Andronicus. This latter assumption would be in obvious contradiction with the verse 75 in which Khāqānī declares that a journey to Constantinople (*Rūm*) has no purpose while the 'Izz al-daula (i.e. Andronicus) is *here* (i.e. in Shirvan) and can therefore put in a word on behalf of the imprisoned poet.]

65–9. There is nothing on the Zoroastrians in the *Qor'ān*, and Khāqānī lived far from the regions where Zoroastrians were still to be found. The Avesta consists of original texts in the ancient language ; Zand is the Middle Persian commentary in Pahlavī characters ; Pāzand is the super-commentary in which the Middle Persian is transcribed in the better (Avestan) script with vowels. In v. 66 one would expect 'Zand and Avesta' (to form a parallel to v. 65). [V. 66 may be a kind of equation : the Pāzand (vocalized script) to the Zand (i.e. to the Middle-Persian commentary on the Avesta, written in the difficult Pahlavi script) is what a lighter (*zand* in Arabic) is to the (sacred) fire. As often in Persian poetry the word of the image mentioned in one verse forms a link with the following verse which introduces another similar case or matter. The reasoning is : 'I shall entertain the Emperor with matters concerning *fire*-worshippers, and *à propos* of *fire* I shall mention the case of Abraham'.] See *Qor'ān*, XXI, 69, where Abraham, for his disrespect to the idols, is about to be burnt, but God commands the fire to give 'coolth and peace to Abraham'. The 'burning coal' might be flowers, to suit the popular Muslim interpretation.

[In his book *Mazdayasnā va ta'thīr-i ān dar adabiyat-i pārsī*, 1326/1948, Professor M. Mo'īn in explaining this verse quotes *Burhān-i qāṭi'* to the effect that the name *pāzand* applies also to the piece of wood which being put under another piece of wood is rotated to produce ignition. Persian poets are fond of such a mixture of polysemantic puzzles. Professor Mo'īn suggests that the sudden appearance of Abraham in v. 67 is attributable to the idea that he is the author of the Zoroastrian books ; in fact Asadi in his dictionary (about A.D. 1050 ?), ed. P. Horn, p. 6, opines that *Astā va Zand ṣuḥuf-i Ibrāhīm-ast.*]

68. Qosṭā b. Lūqā, the famous Christian mathematician of Ba'labakk, who lived in the second half of the ninth century A.D. ; see *EI*.

69. The relation of this folklore to Zoroastrians is obscure.

70. *Artang* is known to Muslims as the illustrated book of Mānī. Its name has been found in Manichæan writings : *Ardhang*. Dr. W. Henning (8 July, 1944) tells me that the book was 'a picture of the whole world'. In Coptic texts it is called εἰκών.

The Babylonian sage whom Muslim authors call *Tīnkalūs* (or *Tīnqarūs*) and *Tankalūšā* is identical with the Hellenistic scholar Teucros of Babylon, who lived in the beginning of our era. The compilator Rhetorius (sixth century A.D.) calls his work *περὶ τῶν δώδεκα ζῳδίων τοῦ λόξου κύκλου παρὰ φιλοσόφου ἀγαρηνοῦ Τεύκρου τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου*. Already in A.D. 1648 the identity of *Tankalūšā* with *Teucros* was rightly claimed by Cl. Salmasius (Saumaise). The curious mutilation of the name is now attributed to its transmission through Middle Persian, the sign *w* standing in Pahlavi script also for *n* and *r*, and *l* and *r* being expressed by one sign. See Nallino, *Tracce di opere greche giunte agli Arabi*, in *A volume . . . to E. G. Browne*, 1922, pp. 356–363, and A. Borissov in *Jour. As.*, April, 1935, pp. 300–5 (who overlooked Nallino's excellent article).

72. *Dārā* (whom the Iranian tradition distinguished from his father *Dārāb*) was killed by his two ministers Mihyār and Jānūsiyār ; *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v. 86–8 (Tehran, VI, 1800).

75. On the importance of this verse for the dating of the ode cf. above, note to v. 64.

78–88. A long catalogue enumerating pell-mell (and not without some malice !) all that Khāqānī can imagine as sacred to the Christians.

78. *Rūḥ al-quds* (also in v. 45) : this definite reference to the Holy Ghost is interesting, for often the Muslims confuse it with Rūḥ-Allāh (i.e. Jesus), and complete the Trinity by including Mary as the third hypostasis ; see *Maryam* in *EI*. On the other hand, *Rūḥ* alone refers to the messenger of the Annunciation (Gabriel). 'The sleeve' represents that slit through which the breath (*bād* 'wind') penetrated Mary : *Ba-dast-u-āstīn-i bād-majrā* seems better than *āstīn-u-bād-u-majrā*.

80. *Qor'ān*, XVII, 1 : 'Glory to Him who journeyed by night with His servant from the Sacred Mosque (Ka'ba) to the Furthest Mosque (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*) around which we have bestowed blessing, that We might show him some of Our signs'. The 'Furthest Mosque' is supposed to refer not to the present-day mosque but to the site of the ancient temple of Solomon ; see F. Buhl, *al-Ḳuds* in *EI*. *Al-ṣakhra* is the rock considered as the navel of the world, on which the Omayyad 'Abd al-Malik built the famous Dome ; see J. Walker, *Ḳubbat al-ṣakhra* in *EI*. Cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, pp. 83–151.

The Jesuit Father Belot explains *taqdīs* as 'consécration eucharistique'. *Anṣār* 'companions' apparently stands for 'disciples'. *Shalīkhā* in Syriac is 'the apostle' (in Arab. *sillīḥ*) ; cf. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 308, *ṣaum al-sillīḥīn*.

81. Baḥīrā (in Aramaic 'elected'), or Sergius, was the Christian monk who foretold the prophetic mission of the child Muḥammad when the latter visited Syria ; see Wensinck in *EI*.

82. *Khamsīn* must be the Pentecost ; cf. Bīrūnī, op. cit., *'īd al-Banṭīqusṭī*. Instead of *dhibḥ* one must certainly read **dinḥ* 'Epiphany'. *Laylat al-Fiṭr* can be only Easter Eve. Bīrūnī, 302, knows that the Christian Lent lasts forty-eight days, beginning on a Monday and ending (*fiṭr*) on (the eve of) a Sunday. *'Īd al-haykal*, the Feast of the Temple, on Sunday after Easter ; see Bīrūnī, op. cit., 314. *Ṣaum al-adhārā*, beginning on Monday after Epiphany and lasting three days, was observed by the *'ibādī* and the Christian Arabs, in commemoration of the maidens whose fasting enabled them to escape from the captivity of the king of Ḥīra ; Bīrūnī, op. cit., 314. This legend may be remotely connected with the story of the king of Ḥīra, al-Mundhir, who abducted

from Emessa 400 girls and offered them as a sacrifice to the goddess 'Uzza ; see [Pseudo]-Zachariah Rhetor, VIII, § 5 (Ahrens-Krüger, p. 157 ; N. Pigulevskaya, *Siriyskiye istochniki*, Moscow, 1941, p. 159).

83. The variant : *ba-dūriy 'Īsā az payvand-i ashyā*, ' by the aloofness of Jesus from attachment to (material) things ', makes good sense, but the unusual combination of *'Īsā* and *'īshā* would be typically Khāqānian. *'Īshā* is a very rare word of Syriac (or rather hybrid Syriac) aspect. Like the Persian *Masīḥā*, it is unknown to Arabic dictionaries. It cannot be directly derived from the Arabic root *'yš* ' to live ', for in Syriac an *s* would correspond to *š*. As to the meaning, the *Burhān-i qāṭi'* explains it as ' a womb ', which does not fit into our verse. The Lucknow commentary defines it as *chīzī-ki badān farzand dar raḥim-i 'aurat maujūd shavad, chanān-ki manī-va-khūn*, i.e. the formative elements of the fœtus, corresponding to the Qor'ānic (XCVI, 2) *'alaq* ' clotted blood '. Cf. Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXV, 37, expounding the views of Thomas Aquinas on conception. Such a meaning suits our text better, for Jesus was born in the natural way, only his conception being miraculous. However, according to Bīrūnī, op. cit., 307, the Nestorians held the view that ' the Messiah differs from mankind . . . his sojourning in the womb of his mother is contrary to the ways of human nature. The Annunciation may have occurred at a time when the embryo was already settled in the womb ; it may have also occurred earlier or later '.

84. Apparently the reference is to the withered palm-tree, already mentioned in v. 15, which produced fruit by the order of the Exalted Spirit.

85. *Prima facie* this combination of the Persian and Syrian months should indicate the date of Jesus's conception. My learned friend S. H. Taqizadeh, the greatest authority on Persian eras, informs me that 25 March (Annunciation) of the year in which Christ was born corresponded to 1 Naysān of the Jews and, at the same time, to 30 Tīr of the Persians. Bīrūnī, op. cit., 294, rightly quotes the Annunciation (*subbār*) under 25 Adhār (March) : ' Gabriel came to Mary announcing to her the Messiah. From this day until the day of His birth is a little more than 9 months and 5 days . . . Jesus, though He had no human father, and though supported by the Holy Ghost, was in His earthly life subject to the laws of nature '. But further, 309–310, he adds that the Nestorians celebrate Subbār on the first Sunday of Kanūn i (December) or on the last Sunday of Tishrīn ii (November), whereas the Jacobites celebrate it on the 10th of the Jewish Naysān ; ' this day fell, in the year preceding the year of Christ's birth, on the 16th of the Syrian Adhār '. On the other hand, the verse as it stands definitely connects the miracle of the palm-tree with *ān zamān*, i.e. with the time when Tīr and Naysān coincided. The miracle, already quoted in v. 15, happened after the birth of Jesus.

86. The bishop is supposed to wear irons for the purpose of mortification (Russian вериги).

87, 88, 90. The poet feels the obsession of the ' threes ' and ' fours ', symbolizing the Trinity and the cross.

87. *Tathlīth* is the auspicious position of the planets when they are separated by four signs of the Zodiac (120°) ; *tarbī'* (inauspicious) is the distance of three signs of the Zodiac (90°) ; *tasdīs* that of two signs of the Zodiac (60°). *Tathlīth-i burūj-u-māh-u anjum*, i.e. vaguely the *tathlīth* in which participate the signs of the Zodiac, the moon and the stars. *Ba-tarbī'-u ba-tasdīs* (var.

tathlīth)-*i thalāthā* is not clear. According to Bīrūnī's calculation, op. cit., p. 294, the Annunciation and the conception of Jesus took place on a Monday (25 Adhār a. Alex. 303). Khāqānī may have thought of 'the eve of Tuesday'. S. H. Taqizadeh suggests that in the present case *thalāthā* does not mean 'Tuesday', but may be only a poetic licence for *thalātha* 'the three (planets ?)'.

88. The verse possibly makes more concrete the references to *tathlīth* and *tarbī'*: the former (happily) in the sky, and the latter (unhappily) on the cross-bars of his cell.

91. *Rāhib andar dayr-i Hirqil* in the conclusion is more appropriate for presentation to a Christian prince than the variant adopted by T.: *'Īsā andar bayt al-ma'mūr*: 'Jesus in the frequented house'. The reference would be to *Qor'ān*, LII, 4, which is usually explained as the Ka'ba. Thus Jesus would be invited to say his prayers in the Islamic sanctuary. Is this another touch of Khāqānī's irony ? [I think now that the دير هرقل (monastery of Heraclius) in this verse should be restored as دير هزقل (monastery of Ezekiel) well known among the Muslims, see Tha'ālibī, *Thimar al-qulūb*, Cambridge Univ. Library, Supp. 395, fol. 143b. According to Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, VII, 321, it stood at Nu'māniya on the Upper Zāb and in it people affected with madness were cured.]

ADDITIONS

1.

[In his article on Khāqānī (*Soviet. Vostokovedeniye*, 1957, No. 4, pp. 63–76), O. L. Vilchevsky has advanced the view that the Christian ode was dedicated not to Andronicus Comnenus but to the contemporary emperor of Byzantium, Manuel Comnenus (A.D. 1143–1180). This hardly agrees with the very clear indication of v. 75.

Quite interesting would be Vilchevsky's suggestion that some verses of the ode on 'retirement and poverty' (*Dīvān*, p. 448) may reflect the situation of Sharvan during the presence there of Andronicus and his wife Theodora.

'At night the town (or "the country") is entrapped by the tumult of Gog and Magog,
'And in the morning you find there no one possessing the wit of Alexander.
'Then comes the woman of Rūm and builds a wall of paper,
'For you do not find (there) a building of Indian steel.
'And another evening comes and Gog and Magog capture the town ("the country" ?),
'For [1] you do not find duration in the walls (built) by women.'

However, the hint at Andronicus would seem extremely slender, for the moralizing ode refers to the seven villages below, and the nine lands (*shahr*) above, i.e. the Seven climes and the Nine heavens, and the poet advises the reader to escape to the latter from the former, whose walls are taken 'in the evening' by the tumult of Gog and Magog.

[1] Contrary to the wall built by Alexander against Gog and Magog.

According to a Muslim commentator the (white-skinned) woman of Rum symbolizes the Sun whose works do not possess the strength of the steel produced by black Indians. Consequently every night (*shab*) Gog and Magog in their tumult make short work of the devices of the Sun.

In fact the imagery of the ode is highly non-realistic.

2.

As a parallel to Khāqānī's Christian ode Tarjānī-zādeh has published (in *Nashriya-yi dānishkada-yi adabiyāt-i Tabrīz*, year x, 1337/1958, fasc. 2, pp. 105–116) an Arabic *qaṣīda* by Mudrik b. Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Shaybānī. The poet was born in Basra and died in 390/1000, see Brockelmann, Supplement, I, 132. Tarjānī thinks that Khaqani must have known the *qaṣīda* which Mudrik had addressed to his young Christian friend. This surmise is entirely in the air. The Christian terminology in Mudrik's odes is very different from that which Khāqānī uses. Even if there were some general similarities in the choice of words, Mudrik's static catalogue has no relation to Khāqānī's inventiveness, irony, and clever use of opportunity. Mudrik seems to follow in the steps of Abū-Nuwās (d. some time after 390/1000) who addressed an ode to a young Zoroastrian full of Iranian terms (set in a somewhat libertine pattern), see Minovi, *Yakī az fārsiyāt-i Abū-Nuwās*, in *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi adabiyāt-i Tehrān*, 1338/1934, I/3, pp. 1–16.]

ENVOI

I dedicate this article to my distinguished pupils Mrs. N. K. Chadwick and Professor D. S. Robertson, F.B.A., who shared my enthusiasm for Khāqānī.

[Of them the first was elected F.B.A. in 1956 and the second left us in 1961.]

VĪS U RĀMĪN
A Parthian Romance *

§ 1. Texts and references
§ 2. Plot of the poem
§ 3. Dramatis personæ
§ 4. Geographical background
§ 5. Political organization
§ 6. Conclusions

Appendix I (1946)
Appendix II (1947)
Appendix III (1954)
Appendix IV (1962)

§ 1. Texts and References [1]

THE romance of Vīs and Rāmīn has many claims to our attention. Fakhr 1
al-dīn As'ad Gurgānī wrote his version of it some time between A.D. 1040 and 1054, almost nine centuries ago, and only half a century after Firdausī completed the *Shāh-nāma*. The poem is based on an old 'pahlavī' tale vaguely reminiscent of Tristan and Isolde, King Mark and Brangane. Many of its episodes echo feelings and attitudes dissonant with the post-Islamic ideas of marriage, women, and love. The poetic gifts of Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī are also beyond doubt. Whatever the inconsistencies in the presentation of characters (especially of King Mōbad), whatever the length of the dialogues and soliloquies of the two lovers, these defects are redeemed both by the purity of diction of the poet and by his truly humane understanding of men's passions, soarings, and failures.

Possibly in the early thirteenth century Gurgānī's poem was translated into Georgian.[2] This is a significant fact, for it shows that both the theme and its Islamic *rifacimento* possessed some merits which equally appealed to two such dissimilar audiences as the Muslim readers and their Christian neighbours of Transcaucasia.

There are several old records relative to Vīs and Rāmīn in Persian literature. The anonymous author of the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh* [3] locates the story in the

* The text of the present essay has been drastically revised in very many places. My intention was to mark all the alterations by square brackets but it has proved impossible to carry the plan throughout. In order to keep the cross-references in the text the pagination of the original offprint has been marked in the margin. [Cf. my List of publications, No. 131, etc.]

[1] Wherever convenient I have tried to maintain in this article the sounds *ō* and *ē* which in Modern Persian (as spoken in Persia) are no more distinguished from *ū* and *ī*. I have made some exceptions for the names too familiar, such as Rāmīn (better **Rāmēn*), Vīs (possibly *Vēs*), etc.

[2] The translation, slightly abridged, follows the Persian original very closely. It is attributed (with what reason?) to Sargis T'mogveli, who wrote under Queen T'amar (1184–1213). The Georgian *Visramiani* has been done into English by Sir Oliver Wardrop, 1914 (reviewed by I. Guidi, *Rivista S.O.*, 1917, 754–6, and N. Marr, *Zap.K.V.*, I, 1925, 118–138). On the late Turkish translation see Appendix I. Cf. Appendix IV.

[3] He was a native of the region of Hamadān and wrote in 520/1126. Ed. Bahār, 1318/1939, p. 94.

time of the second Sasanian king Shāpūr, son of Ardashīr, assuming that 'king Mōbad' held Marv under that sovereign (?). 'Aufī (thirteenth century) [1] knows that Gurgānī wrote *Vīs u Rāmī* (*sic*). Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī (A.D. 1330) quotes the story under the reign of the Arsacid Bēzhan (spelt: *Bīrī*) [2] b.
2 Gōdarz b. Balāsh b. Ashgh [3] and mentions Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī as the author of the poem. Mīrkhond (d. A.D. 1498), in the same connexion, refers to the time of an Arsacid king whom he calls Shāpūr b. Ashk.[4]

In later years the poem was seldom copied. The famous bibliophile Mīr 'Alī-shēr Navā'ī wrote in 896/1490–1 [5] that in his time Gurgānī's poem was unobtainable (*mahjūr u nā-yāb*). At present there are known to exist four copies of the poem, and two extracts from it. In the fifties of the last century A. Sprenger discovered the first copy in India (*ZDMG*, VIII, 1854, p. 608), and this led to the publication of the text by Nassau Lees in *Bibliotheca Indica* (1864–5). The edition, although based on one unsatisfactory MS., aroused much interest in Europe.[6] Only recently the Persian Ministry of Education charged one of the best scholars of the younger generation, Mujtabā Mīnovī, to bring out a new edition based on all the available texts [but see Appendix IV]. In 1314/1935 the first volume appeared in Tehran with a promise of a companion volume containing an introduction, a commentary, and the critical apparatus.

The final conclusions must be reserved to the editor, but two important articles on *Vīs u Rāmīn* in its new shape have been already contributed by F. Gabrieli [7] and this must needs open the door to further discussion. The Italian scholar has some good remarks on the history of the poem, but he concentrates his attention on the artistic problems: he recognizes the merits of Gurgani but criticises his discursiveness. The present article has a more limited task: to examine the historical and geographical background of the poem, in the hope of assigning to the story a more definite position in time and space.

Let us see first what Fakhr al-Dīn himself says about the circumstances in which he undertook to reduce the ancient tale to Persian numbers. His patron, the governor of Isfahān, 'Amīd Abul-Fatḥ Muẓaffar b. Ḥusayn Nīshāpūrī [8] spoke to him of the story of Vīs and Rāmīn (ch. VII, verses 29–55):—

[1] *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Nicholson, II, 98.

[2] Such misspelling already occurs in some MSS of Ṭabarī, I, 707.

[3] *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, G.M.S., 103, 824.

[4] *ZDMG*, XV, 665.

[5] *Majālis al-nafā'is*, in Persian translation, edited by A. A. Ḥekmat, 1945, p. 333. 'Alī Shēr speaks of Gurgānī as 'a paragon of his time', and says that his *Vīs u Rāmīn* gives the measure of his 'perfection and discernment'.

[6] Graf, *ZDMG*, 1869, 375–433; Ethé, *Essays und Studien*, 1872, 295–301, and *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, II, 240; R. v. Stackelberg, *Neskolko slov o persidskom epose Visa i Ramin* in *Drevnosti vostochnīye*, Moscow, 1896, II, pp. 10–23 (see Appendix II); R. Zenker, 'Die Tristansage und . . . Wīs und Rāmīn', *Romanische Forschungen*, 1910, vol. 23, pp. 321–69; A. E. Krīmsky, *Istoryia Persii*, 1915, I/4, pp. 417–30; N. Marr, *Zap.K.V.*, 1925, I, 118–38; E. G. Browne, *LHP*, II, 274–5, has only a few words on the poem.

[7] The proper sequence of the articles is as follows: *Annali dell'Istituto . . . di Napoli*, 1940, I, 253–8, and Accademia dei Lincei, *Rendiconti*, 1939, pp. 168–188 (published in 1940).

[8] See Ibn al-Athīr, X, 23 (year 456). Cf. Appendix IV.

30. 'They say it is a very beautiful story and in these parts everybody loves it.'
I said : 'It is a very beautiful story put together by six wise men.
I have not seen a better one, it is exactly like a garden in bloom,
But its language is *pahlavī* and the readers do not know its meaning.
Not everybody reads that language well ; nor, even if he reads it, does he understand the meaning.
35. (The story) contains abundant descriptions of everything, but, as you 3
read it, it does not make much sense,
Because in those days poetry was no professional art and there were no sages of quick wit.
Where are those sages (of yore) to see how nowadays speech is produced,
How meanings are elucidated, and metre and rhymes are superimposed on them ?
In this clime that book (*daftar*) is read in order to learn *pahlavī* from it.
40. There have ever been people in this clime eager for those sweet words, (and)
If the speech has metre and rhymes it is better than (the pretence) to embrace too much ;
Especially when clever conceits (*ma'ānī*) [1] appear in it, one day they will stand their reader in good stead.
However good and sweet be the story, it becomes refreshed by metre and rhyme :
Like a kingly pearl (which needs to be) set in gold, a story needs abundant conceits and words,
45. Strewn here and there and shining like stars on that background,
So that the clever and the great read it and learn from it many conceits,
While men of low and middle state swallow it for the sake of the story.
Speech must be such that when it leaves the mouth (*kām* " palate ") of the poet, it should travel throughout the world ;
Not such as should stay at home and be recited only by its author.
50. Now, those earlier experts (*sukhan-dānān*) told the legend of Vīs and Rāmīn ;
They strove to say it in *fārsī*, for they were masters of *fārsī* ! [2]
Thus they produced a poem in which there were strange terms of every language (style ?).
They did not trouble about conceits and proverbs, and did not embellish (the story) with these two.
But should an expert (*dānanda*) take trouble about the story, it will acquire beauty as a treasure full of jewels.
55. For this is a renowned story, with innumerable wonders in its details.'
When the master had listened to these words of mine, he placed on my head the crown of glory :

[1] In the Georgian translation all such 'conceits' are presented in special paragraphs headed *araki* 'parable', *hukumati* (**hikmat*) 'moral', *shegoneba* 'admonition'.
[2] Irony : 'were they not ?'

He requested me to embellish the story as Naysān (April) does a garden.
I was to tell it to the best of my ability, and cleanse it of those senseless terms,
For those terms had become obsolete and their days of glory had gone.

Resuming the story, the poet adds: 'I have found written in the collections of tales [1] from what the story-tellers said according to records (*khabar-hā*), that there was a king', etc.

The understanding of this exordium has been complicated by the long insertion (vv. 37–50) of Gurgani's views on Ars Poetica. It is clear, however, that the story existed in *pahlavi* and even in Gurgani's days the Middle Iranian original was used by students desirous to learn that language. There existed also a translation of the original into Persian (*fārsī*) by some experts (*sukhandānān*), of whom Fakhr al-dīn speaks with definite irony. It is probable that
4 they were identical with the 'Six Men' (v. 31), and it is likely that they were Zoroastrians,[2] for no one else would have found his way about *pahlavī*. This also would be the explanation of the archaic language they used in their translation. From the term *pēshēn* applied to the translators it would seem that their work was completed some considerable time before A.D. 1054.[3] In any case it is clear that Fakhr al-Dīn worked on a Persian translation which he undertook to prune of obsolete words [4] and to embellish with the frills of the literary taste of his time. Fakhr al-Dīn seems to suggest that he himself had some smattering of Pahlavī.[5] He was a native of Gurgān, and the fragment of a satire which 'Aufī, *Lubāb*, II, 98, attributes to him suggests that his earlier patron was a Thiqat al-Mulk Shahriyār. The name *Shahriyār* is special to the Bāvandid rulers of Māzandarān. Although in *Vīs u Rāmīn* Gurgānī hints at his mature age,[6] it is rather unlikely that he could have been active at the court of Shahriyār III b. Dārā (A.D. 969–1006), after whom there was a long interregnum (A.D. 1006–1073). More probably he refers to one of the minor Bāvandids [7] (*kiyā*-s) who remained in their mountainous haunts and left a few interesting monuments bearing inscriptions both in Kufic Arabic and in the

[1] *Samar* means 'an evening conversation, or entertainment'. The poet apparently has in view the stories written to be recited for the evening audiences.

[2] Similarly to the four Zoroastrians who in 346/957 compiled the *Shāh-nāma* in prose, at the request of Abū Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Razzāq. See Nöldeke, *Grund. d. Iran. Phil.*, II, 104; Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Bīst maqāla*, II, 24; Taqizadeh, in *Hazāra-yi-Firdausi*, Tehran, 1944, p. 59. Cf. Gabrieli, op. cit., p. 171. See below, my article No. 15.

[3] Possibly some time round A.D. 950, when translations into Persian and compilations in Persian began to appear.

[4] Some of the obsolete words have remained in Gurgani's text. Cf. the word *absālān* 'early spring' (ch. XX, v. 9) which also appears in the poem of Abū Nuwās, see Appendix IV, § 1, but is not attested in the *Shāh-nāma*.

[5] cf. his explanation of the 'pahlavī' terms in *Khorāsān* and *rām*, pp. 177 and 505.

[6] p. 460: 'Oh, how many days since I experienced love.... Time (*zamāna*) has changed its former course; indeed its days of prosperity are gone'.

[7] [Thiqat al-mulk is not a princely but a vazirial title and I now suggest the reading: Thiqat al-mulk-i Shahriyār, i.e. Thiqat al-mulk (servant) of Shahriyār, see Appendix IV.]

Pahlavī script. They confirm the fact that some knowledge of Pahlavī was still spread in the region of which Gurgānī was a native and where he spent his young days.[1]

A comparison between *Vīs u Rāmīn, Tristan and Isolde* and tales of other similar couples of lovers is a tempting literary problem. Similarities in characters, episodes, dramatic attitudes, and even the basic idea of love sweeping away all obstacles are obvious both in the Iranian story and its western counterparts. But even if one admits that a similar feudal background was responsible for parallelism in the sentiments of the heroes and in the attitude of the poets towards them, such comparisons do not go beyond vague generalizations. Khorasan and Cornwall are too far apart geographically to allow it to be taken for granted that any direct, or even indirect, contacts existed between them. The dependence of the Russian popular story of Yeruslan Lazarevich on the *Shāh-nāma* can be traced, because of the identity of names, as well as because of the likely ways of communication.[2] Such direct guides are unfortunately absent in the case of the stories of Vīs and Isolde, and the comparisons are bound to remain uncertain and inconclusive. (Appendix III.)

On the other hand, the obvious prerequisite of any deeper study of *Vīs u Rāmīn* is to examine all the tangible facts in the poem likely to give us a clue to the historical and geographical milieu in which the poem was born.

As late as 1936 Christensen expressed the view that *Vīs u Rāmīn* was pure fiction.[3] There is only a grain of truth in this assertion, and the poem should by no means be regarded as being outside space and time. Those Muslim writers who tried to locate it under some Arsacid ruler were on the right path, though between a pure surmise and a reasoned conclusion there lies a long road of research. The poem certainly seems to go back to Parthian lore, and our task will be to examine in detail whatever internal evidence, or even mere hints in the poem can shed light on its origins. Should we prove that the romance is Parthian, we shall know something of the life and feelings of an epoch which, even in its simplest elements, is still wrapped in uncertainty and darkness.

First of all we shall have to condense the story to its main features by stripping it of the purely poetical and rhetorical embellishments of its present version.

[1] The monuments are at Rādkān-i Nikā (Ispahbad Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Vandarīn, year 411/1020), Lājīm (Kiyā Abul-Favāris *Shahriyār* b. 'Abbās b. *Shahriyār*, year 413/1022) and Razget (same epoch): see A. Godard in *Āthār-e Īrān*, 1936, I/1, 109–121; Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, IV, 1932, pp. 146–7; VIII, pp. 72–81. [Cf. the poem of 'Aṭṭār in Appendix IV.]

[2] Yeruslan Lazarevich = Rustam, son of Zāl-i zar. See Minorsky, 'L'épopée persane et la littérature populaire russe', see above, article No. 7.

[3] *Les Gestes des rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique*, 1936, p. 61: '... cette œuvre a son charactère spécial: elle ne relève pas de l'histoire ou de ce qu'on croyait être de l'histoire; c'est une épopée de pure fiction'. Cf. Appendix IV.

§ 2. Plot of Vīs u Rāmīn

1. Once upon a time there was a king (*shahriyār*) in Marv whose name was Mōbad Manīkān (?). Other shahs owed him allegiance (p. 28). In spring he held a festival which was attended by dignitaries from Ādharbāyagān, Rayy, Gurgān, Khorāsān, Kuhistān, Shīrāz, Isfahān, and Dihistān, whose names and those of their ladies are enumerated (see below). The most beautiful of the ladies was the Shahr-bānū Shahrō. Charmed by her appearance, the king offered to make her his queen, but she replied that she was married and had such children as the noble Virō, and already her hair was turning grey. Then the king made a pact with her that, should she ever have a daughter, she would give her to him. After several years Shahrō gave birth to Vīs and entrusted her to a nurse, who carried her to her own home in Khūzān. The nurse had also in her care the infant Rāmīn, Mōbad's brother. Ten years later Rāmīn was taken back to Khorasan, and the nurse wrote to Shahrō saying that she could no longer cope with Vīs's fancies. Thus the young beauty was brought from Khūzān to Hamadān. On seeing her the mother said: 'Thy father is a *khusrau*, thy mother a *bānū*, in Iran thou hast no match except Virō, thy brother'. At the sixth hour of the day called Dē, in the month of Ādhar,[1] the mother joined their hands saying that the high priest's (*mōbad*'s) seal on the contract was not necessary.

6 2. Suddenly there arrived from Marv the king's half-brother Zard mounted on a black horse with a letter from King Mōbad reminding Shahrō of the pact once concluded. He did not want the bride to remain any longer in Māh-ābād, where people dallied with women (*zan-bāragī*) and were addicted to pleasure. To this request Vīs objected by quoting a custom of Marv, where women chose their husbands out of two suitors; besides, the wedding was already in full swing, and she preferred her young brother to the old king.

Zard reported to the king the situation in Māh, where Vīrō assumed the title *Rūḥā* (?), whereas the people called the king *mōbad* (priest) and *dastūr* (here: a minister of religion). Mōbad, in great wrath, called in his army from Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Kuhistān, Khwārazm, Khorāsān, Dihistān, Sind, Hind, Tibet, China, Soghd, Tūrān, and Māchīn.

At the same time, Vīrō was entertaining his friends from Ādharbāyagān, Rayy, Gīlān, Khūzistān, Iṣṭakhr, and Isfahān, and they all summoned their troops to the plain of Nihāvand. Especially conspicuous was the Daylamān infantry.

In the battle that followed Vīs's father Qārin was killed, but at sunset Vīrō put Mōbad to flight. The king turned away from the road to Khorāsān and from Dēnavar moved towards Isfahān.[2] Yet Vīrō's triumph was short-lived. An army from Daylam advanced to the plain of Tārom, whence Vīrō's representative fled. No sooner did Vīrō march against the Shah of Daylam than

[1] All the three days called *Dē* in the month Ādhar (namely the 8th, the 15th, and the 23rd) are classed as 'middling' in the list of lucky days. Cf. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 231–2.

[2] This is geographically confused. [See now below, p. 173.]

Mōbad retraced his steps to Gūrāb, where Vīs sojourned. To the king's envoy Vīs declared that she belonged to her brother and did not want the 'decrepit' Mōbad who had killed her father. But Mōbad was inflamed by the report that the marriage had not yet been consummated.

He consulted his two brothers, Rāmīn and Zard, but in Rāmīn's heart a seed of love for Vīs was sown since childhood. He tried to draw Mōbad's mind away from Vīs by pointing to the king's age and the bride's youth. Zard, on the contrary, advised the king to try two means with Vīs's mother: gifts and persuasion. So Mōbad wrote to Shahrō insisting on the original pact and sending her rich presents, and Shahrō opened the gate of Vīs's castle. Thus the king carried Vīs to Marv before Vīrō could return from Tārom. On the way to Marv Rāmīn happened to see Vīs's beauty and fainted struck by love.

3. Vīs was disconsolate and did not show her face to the king. When her nurse heard what was happening, she loaded thirty swift camels (*jamāza*) and in a week's time reached Marv. She did her best to make Vīs submit to her destiny, but Vīs remembered Vīrō and said: 'If I need a husband for love's sake it is better for me to remain without love'. She consented to dress up and put on the jewels, but she wept and made a vow that for a year she would continue mourning her father and would abstain from intercourse with Mōbad.

To frustrate the king's desires the nurse prepared a talisman of copper and brass joined with iron. She buried it on the bank of the river to keep it in dampness, as 'cold binds a man's strength'. She intended to unlock the talisman a month later by burning it on a fire, but a storm burst suddenly 7
over Marv and the flood carried the talisman away. Thus the spell kept the king bound forever and Vīs, twice married, remained husbandless.

Rāmīn, still a beardless youth, was roaming in the garden, longing for Vīs, when he met the old nurse (*dāya-yi pīr*). He besought her for help, while she exhorted him to give up his love. Then the boy overcame the nurse with his caresses and, in view of this new link, she promised him to carry out all his desires (p. 122).[1]

Vīs was dreaming of her brother when the nurse spoke to her of Rāmīn's beauty and valour. Vīs rejected any disloyal suggestions and called down maledictions upon the nurse's town (or 'land', *shahr*) Khūzān, which brings forth 'only ill-starred sorcerers'. The nurse persisted and finally let Vīs see Rāmīn's beauty at a banquet held on the day of Rām.[2] After the king had gone to Gurgān, Rayy, Sāva, and Kuhistān the nurse introduced Rāmīn into Vīs's pavilion and here the two lovers exchanged oaths of fidelity and became united.

4. The king ordered Rāmīn to come to the hunting-grounds at Mount Arvand (Alvand, west of Hamadān) and to bring Vīs with him. They spent

[1] The Georgian version (p. 105) paraphrases the realistic hints of the original, pp. 160–1.

[2] The 21st day of any month. Here probably the 21 Mihr, when the Great Mihragān festival was held.

a month together, and then the king wished to move to Mūqān for sea-hunting (fishing? *nakhchīr-i daryā'ī giriftan*).

Rāmīn's camp was in the plain of Māh, and he was about to move towards Armenia to hunt and to combat enemies (p. 163). The nurse secretly urged Vīs to take a last look at Rāmīn from the roof, but the king, who was awake, overheard her. He cursed the nurse and 'the town of Khūzān' producing only evil-doers (pp. 163–4), and ordered Vīrō to punish Vīs and the nurse, for he himself, in his anger, might exceed the measure. Suddenly Vīs rose and confessed her love for Rāmīn: 'you and Vīrō are my sovereigns (*pādshāh*) . . . but should Vīrō burn me or put me in fetters . . . I am not afraid of pain and death'. Vīrō shut up Vīs in a house and strove to blacken Rāmīn's reputation by saying that he was fond only of music and wine; his clothes were pawned at the wine merchants; Jews [1] were his friends. All was of no avail. So Vīrō joined the king on the polo ground. Rāmīn [2] and Rafēdā played on the side of the king, and Arghish and Sharvīn on the side of Vīrō. Vīs looked from the roof on Vīrō and Rāmīn and wept from anxiety. She said to the nurse: 'Had my fate been propitious, my beloved would have been none but Vīrō (p. 170, cf. 174, 185), for Rāmīn's tongue is not consorted with his soul, and Mōbad's tongue and soul are equally rude'.

5. Rather abruptly the story reports Mōbad's return to Khorāsān.[3] He
8 praised the beauty of Marv, but Vīs repeated that 'her only solace was Rāmīn'. In anger Mōbad reviled Shahrō, declaring that her thirty children were illegitimate, and told Vīs to leave his court by one of three roads: that of Gurgān, that of Damāvand, or that of Hamadān and Nihāvand (p. 174).

With joy Vīs set free her slaves, returned the keys to the king, and left for Māh. Rāmīn was disconsolate and asked his brother to let him go hunting to Gurgān, Sārī, and Kuhistān, but the king guessed his intention. Rāmīn swore he would not meet Vīs, adding that Mōbad was to him 'both a sovereign and a God-like (being) (*chūn-khodā*)', but then made straight for Māh and again the lovers became united for seven months.

Mōbad unbosoms himself to his mother and imparts to her his intention to kill his brother. To calm the king the old lady tells him that, according to reports, Vīs's real love is Vīrō.[4] Why should the childless king visit his wrath upon the brother who is destined to succeed him? Mōbad writes an abusive letter to Vīrō, calling him a mule born of a mare (Shahrō) and an ass (Qārin). Let him not be conceited, let him not put his trust in the armies from Iran, Ādharbāyagān, and Dasht-i Gīlān (p. 187).

The king moved his army towards Māh, but half-way thither was stopped by Vīrō's letter. The ruler of Māh refuted the hints at his relations with Vīs.

[1] i.e. Jewish wine merchants.

[2] Surprisingly after what had happened.

[3] The poet explains (p. 171) that Khorāsān means 'Orient' for *khur āsad* in Pahlavi means *khur āyad* in Persian. The etymology is correct, but the form *āsad* seems to have been restored theoretically from *-āsān*. [Cf. above, p. 154, n. 5.]

[4] In fact, there are some indications of love for Vīrō lingering in Vīs's heart.

He reminded Mōbad of the issue of the battle of Dēnavar, and parried the unpleasant reference to his birth by saying that a man's value (*gōhar*) depended on his valour and intelligence.[1]

6. Peace was made and, for the second time, Vīs was carried from Māh to Marv. This time the king wanted to test her loyalty by making her take an oath before a pyre. The flame was flaring up towards the Pleiades when Vīs persuaded Rāmīn to flee from Marv. In ten days they crossed the desert and reached Rayy, where they were hidden by the local nobleman Bihrōz.

The king entrusted the kingdom to Zard and started on a search for his wife. He visited Rūm (Roman or Byzantine West), India, Iran, and Turan. During his absence Rāmīn communicated with his mother, and when Mōbad returned in a conciliatory mood she put in a word for Rāmīn and Vīs and brought them back to Marv. Immediately after the reunion banquet Rāmīn came to the roof of the royal bedchamber. Vīs put the nurse in bed with the king, who was drunk and fast asleep, and rushed to join her lover. Suddenly Mōbad awoke and asked the nurse who she was. Vīs hurriedly came back and placed her hand in the hand of Mōbad, who craved her pardon for the misunderstanding.

7. A report reached Marv that the emperor of Rūm, having broken the treaty, was leading an army from Rūm towards Iran (p. 229). Mōbad called in the troops from every town and made ready to march two hundred stages (p. 232). He left the kingdom to Zard and locked Vīs up in a castle built on a high mountain called *Ashkaft-i Dēvān*, 'the cleft (or grotto) of dēvs' (p. 233). Rāmīn followed the army, but he was love-sick, and at Gurgān [2] fell so ill that 9
the courtiers pleaded for him to be left behind. Immediately he recovered and hurried back to Khorāsān. From Marv he followed the road to the mountain of Ashkaft-i Dēvān, shot an arrow into Vīs's apartments, and by a rope made of garments by Vīs and the nurse climbed up to the 'king's palace' (p. 246). There he remained nine months with Vīs. In Marv only Zarrēn-gēs, daughter of the khāqān, versed in the arts of sorcery, guessed his whereabouts.

By that time Mōbad had visited Armenia and Arrān, and obtained tribute from the Cæsar. On his return Zarrēn-gēs informed him of what had happened, and he immediately set out for Ashkaft-i Dēvān. There he rebuked Zard for negligence and told him to unlock the doors of Vīs's quarters. As the nurse heard the noise, Rāmīn had time to climb down, yet on entering the king caught sight of the rope made of garments. In his wrath he beat his wife and her nurse nearly to death, left them in the castle, and returned to Marv.

Here Shahrō plied him with questions and reproaches saying: 'in the mountains of Ghōr in Ashkaft-i Dēvān they killed my Moon.... O Marv, pride of Khorāsān, ... if thy water comes from the mountains of Ghōr, it will turn to blood'.

[1] cf. Nādir Shāh's calling himself 'the son of the sword'.

[2] The climate of Gurgānī's native land is described as poisonous, p. 237.

The king was impressed by these lamentations, as he was also apprehensive of Vīrō. He ordered Zard to fetch Vīs from the castle, and this was done in a month's time (p. 272). In the meantime, at Zard's prayer, Mōbad pardoned Rāmīn.

8. [At this point there seems to be an interruption in the story. We only learn that] when in the spring the king returned from Gurgān and Sārī he gave orders to bolt and bar all the entrances to his palace and gave the keys to the nurse requesting her to display the courage (*javān-mardī*) for which this 'fiendish sorceress' was known. He then went to Zāvul, hoping to return within a month. On the first night Rāmīn escaped from the army camp to revisit Vīs. He roamed in the garden and Vīs, sensing his presence, implored the nurse to let her out, but the old woman was firm. Left alone, Vīs leapt out of the window on to a tent pitched under it. When the moon came out Vīs found her lover asleep among the flowers.

Meanwhile the king hurried back to Marv: the locks were all safe, but the bird had flown from the cage.[1] As he entered the garden, Rāmīn jumped over the wall, and only Vīs was found on the ground. The king caught her by her tresses, and he would have killed her but for Zard's intervention. Mōbad cut off but a few curls of hers and told her to explain her adventure. She said that an angel (*sarōsh*) had brought her from her chamber and placed her on Rāmīn's breast, but this was only a dream.

The king forgave Vīs and the nurse, and on the Khordād day of the month
10 Ardībihisht [2] he was sitting in the garden with Shahrō, Vīrō, Vīs, and Rāmīn. A minstrel (*kūsān*) sang a song of a mighty tree shading the world; under it flowed a crystalline stream, while a Gīlān bull now drank of the water, and now took a bite at the leaves.[3] The king, though he was drunk, understood the hint and sprang to his feet to kill his brother, but Rāmīn disarmed him (p. 295).

9. As things had gone too far, the sage Bihgōy advised Rāmīn to quit the capital. 'With your brother you hold the world: India and China; Rūm and Berberia. . . . Is there no country but the march (*marz*) of Khorāsān? Is there no beauty but Lady Vīs?' In the meantime the king admonished Vīs to behave in a way not to shock her brother Vīrō. Vīs complained of her past misfortunes and swore fidelity to Mōbad. Rāmīn, too, expressed his desire to be appointed sipāhbad of Māhābād (Media?) and the Shah assigned to him Ray, Gurgān, and Kuhistān. At the last meeting Vīs showed some coldness

[1] Somewhat strange is the king's exclamation (p. 285): 'Has she gone to Dummāvand? Why has she gone (from where) she enjoys renown and like Ḍahhāk has thousands of stewards (*pīshkār*)'. Cf. also p. 174, where Mōbad offers Vīs the choice between three roads, of which the middle one is that of Damāvand. See above, episode 5.

[2] i.e. on the sixth day of the second month, which is but a 'middling' day (Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 219). Festivals come in Ardībihisht only on the 3rd and the 26th day.

[3] Similarly Khusrau Anōsharvān saw in his dream that a boar thrust his muzzle into his goblet; Christensen, *Les gestes des rois*, p. 65.

towards Rāmīn, but then exhorted him not to visit Gūrāb, fearing he might meet there another beauty.[1] Rāmīn swore he would never forget Vīs.

In his new quality Rāmīn put his provinces in order: Gurgān, Sārī, Āmol, Kōmish, the 'march of Gūrāb (Gōrāb?)' and, the best of them all, Isfahān. When the affairs from Gurgān to Ray, Ahwāz, and Baghdād (*sic*) were well in hand, Rāmīn paid a visit to Gūrāb. He was received (p. 317) by local notables (*sarafrāzān*), Shāpūr (cf. below, p. 16), and Rafēdā (in Georgian: Rafed). One day on the road he met a beauty and immediately fell in love with her. She explained that her name was Gul and that she was born to Rafēdā (of Hamadān) and Gōhar (of Gūrāb), that her brother was 'a marzubān, namely the pahlavān of Ādharbāyagān', and that she herself was the Lady (*bānū*) of Gūrāb. She was fully aware of Rāmīn's love affairs and bade him abandon Vīs.

To the wedding feast Gul invited her relations from Gurgān, Ray, Qum Isfahān, Khūzistān, Kuhistān (Media?), and Hamadān (p. 324). For a distance of forty farsangs there were displays and celebrations (p. 324). But no sooner had the newly married couple adjourned to the castle of Gūrāb than Rāmīn rashly compared Gul with Vīs. Gul cursed Vīs and her nurse. Rāmīn felt the offence given to Gul, and as an atonement dispatched a letter to Vīs to tell her how happy he was with his wife Gul. Mōbad took the letter from the messenger and handed it to Vīs. Seeing her lady's pain, the nurse undertook to travel to Gūrāb, but Rāmīn, whom she found on the hunting-ground, bade her tell Vīs that husbands are the best for wives and sent the old woman away.

10. In despair Vīs ordered the scribe (*dabīr*), the noble (*āzāda*) Mushkēn, to write a letter to Rāmīn. This he did in an epistle consisting of an 'address', ten discourses, and a special 'praise' (*durūd*) of the fickle-hearted lover (pp. 347–383). One of Mushkēn's similes is noteworthy: 'If they call Ārish 11
an able archer (*kamān-gīr*) because he shot an arrow from Sārī to Marv, you send every hour one hundred far-flying arrows from Gūrāb right into my soul' (p. 366).

Vīs sent the letter to her lover by Ādhēn, to whom she said: 'until this day you have been a servant (*chākar*); henceforth you will be my noble (*āzāda*) brother'.[2] The oral message which Ādhēn was told to deliver (pp. 384–6) was very different from the lofty contents of Mushkēn's letters. Vīs accused Rāmīn of perjury. She astutely praised Mōbad, whose power was but nominal, while the treasury was under her orders, and asked if she had ever refused anything to her lover. Gul ('the flower') will last but a moment, and in Marv there is a rose-garden with a rose more beautiful than the moon on the fourteenth night.

Meanwhile Rāmīn had grown homesick and weary of Gul. His father-in-law Rafēdā overheard his lamentations and warned his daughter. As Rāmīn was

[1] Vīs must have seen Gul during her stay in Gūrāb (p. 66). The original story may have had more details.

[2] But on p. 29 Ādhēn is already called *nāmī*.

riding his Rakhsh on the road to Khorasan (p. 404), to breathe the aroma [1] wafted by the eastern breeze and reminding him of Vīs, suddenly Ādhēn appeared before him and delivered the letter together with Vīs's veil and shift.

Ādhēn took Rāmīn's answer back to Marv, and Rāmīn himself hurried after him. When the watchman (*dīda*) announced the coming of Rāmīn, the nurse, using a charm, put the king to sleep, and Vīs went to the window. It was winter, and Rāmīn remained in the snow and rain, while Vīs, seeming to address his steed Rakhsh, spoke out her reproaches to the unfaithful lover. Rāmīn replied. [The verbal duel goes on to the length of 550 verses (pp. 416–447)].

Rakhsh stood up to his knees in the slush (p. 424) until Rāmīn lost patience and rode away (p. 448). Then Vīs sent the nurse to stop him, and herself hastened to join him in night and storm. [The outpouring of reproaches and explanations continues for another 267 verses, pp. 452–463.]

The lovers were reconciled only towards the morning, when they repaired to the castle (*kūshk*), and there Rāmīn remained hidden with Vīs for a month. The king did not know that Rāmīn was in the palace 'drinking from the same goblet as himself and dissecting his good name with the sword of vilification' (p. 468).

As the days of spring were drawing near, Rāmīn came out of his retreat and from the nearest stage re-entered Marv openly. He greeted the king, saying that he had put in order the affairs of Gurgān and Kuhistān (Media) and had destroyed the king's enemies throughout Mosul, Syria, and Armenia. The king bade Rāmīn stay in Marv, and after three months (p. 471) wanted to take him to the hunting-places in Gurgān. The thought of this new separation upset Vīs. Rāmīn feigned an attack of gout and at the first stage stayed in bed.

11. Left alone in Marv, Vīs poured out to the nurse the story of her woes. The
12 old woman said that Vīs should be happy so long as she had in her house (*andar khāna*) a mother like Shahrō and a brother like Vīrō. It was true that the king was full of wrath and enmity and at any moment might come out of his ambush, but one day the king and the *sālār* (Zard) would disappear; then Vīrō would be the best helper, and along with him the other 'shahs' dissatisfied with Mōbad. The king and the army were gone from Marv. The keys of the treasury were in Vīs's hands; let her buy kingship and power with the dīnārs. Let her recall Rāmīn, and, when he comes, oust the king. So Vīs wrote a letter to Rāmīn calling him back to Marv.

At night Rāmīn left the camp in Gurgān with forty stalwarts, and in a week arrived in Marv. His messenger, disguised as a woman, went to see Vīs. The commandant of the palace [2] was the sipāhbad Zard, the king's brother and minister. Vīs told him of her desire to visit the fire-temple built by Jamshēd for a thanksgiving ceremony, as she had seen in a dream that Vīrō was restored to health after an illness. At the temple she was joined by Rāmīn

[1] p. 404: the aroma of Khirkhīz (= musk), Samandūr (= aloes), and Fanchūr (= camphor).
[2] *Kōtvāl*, an Indian term possibly reflecting the time of the Ghaznavid conquests.

and his forty men, who in women's attire followed her into the citadel (*kundiz*). At night Rāmīn stealthily slipped to Zard's bedside, but Zard awoke in time. Rāmīn implored him to surrender, but Zard, with curses, struck him with his sword. Then Rāmīn killed his half-brother and seized the castle.

The treasure was loaded on camels, and doubling the stages Rāmīn and Vīs had arrived in Qazvīn when the king first heard what had happened. From Qazvīn Rāmīn entered Daylam. This country possessed an army of Daylamites and Gēls, all mighty archers and javelin-throwers. On a dark night they slay from far by the sound of (their victims') voices. They are like *dēvs* at the moment of attack and ' the world is still in ruins from their violence '. They have huge shields painted in a hundred colours. Urged by ambition, they fight among themselves continuously. ' From Adam's times until now ' no king has ever conquered them, and their march (*marz*) has remained ' virgin '.

Rāmīn met in Daylam only goodwill and sat on the throne of happiness. He had spread a cow's hide and on it placed fifty bags (*badra*) of silver and gold, and an innumerable army was attracted by his gallantry and his dīnārs. He was obeyed by the notables of his entourage such as *Kishmēr, Ādhēn, Vīrō, Bahrām, Ruhhām, Sām, and Gēlō.[1] Other shahs sent him armies from every part. Rāmīn's great *sipāhdār* was Vīrō ; his vazir and steward (*qahramān*) was Gēlō.

The army did not like Mōbad, but he decided to fight Rāmīn, and from Gurgān moved to Āmol. One night, as he was banqueting with his chiefs and distributing money to the men, a wild boar appeared from the bank of the stream and the king attacked him on his polo-horse. He used a short lance (*khisht*), but missed the beast, and the boar brought down the horse and the rider and gored the king to death.

Rāmīn thanked God that war and bloodshed were avoided and swore to 13
be a good ruler. From Daylam he came to Āmol, where the chiefs proclaimed him *shahinshāh*.

12. He gave Ṭabaristān to Ruhhām, who was a noble man of Kayānī origin ; he gave Rayy to Bihrōz, who was his well-wisher and adviser (*nēk-āmōz*) and who had given asylum to him and Vīs ; he gave Gurgān to his old friend Ādhēn. At headquarters Vīrō became *sipāhbad*, and his brother Shērō the mayor of the palace (*sarhang-i sarāy*). Each town was given to a shah, and a protector (*nigāhbān*) was sent to each march (*marz*).

Rāmīn's dominion extended from China to Berberia. Order and happiness obtained everywhere. The world was rid of Kurds and Lūrs, highwaymen and rogues. The shah visited now Khorāsān, now Kuhistān, now Ṭabaristān, and now Khūzistān and Baghdād (*sic*).[2] Among the cities built by him was Ahwāz, which was called *Rām-shahr*, as it appears in the registers ; it was pleasant to live in and had a pleasant name, for ' in their language *rām* means

[1] *Var.* *Kishmēr-yal, Ādhēn, Vīrō, his kind vazir Sām and Gēlō.

[2] N. Lees, 395 : ' now to the Shūristān of Baghdād ' (read : **Sūristān* ' Assyria ').

khush ' (f. 505). Rāmīn also improved the harp, which was called *chang-i Rāmēnēn.*

Rāmīn and Vīs had two sons, Khurshēd and Jamshēd. To the former the East (*khāvar*) was given, namely Soghd, Khwārazm, and Chaghān ; to the second, the West (*bākhtar*), namely Syria, Egypt, and Qayruwān. All the world was in the hands of Vīs, but her household domain (*khāṣṣ*) was Ādharbāyagān, Arrān, and Armenia.

Rāmīn lived 110 years, out of which 83 years he ruled in his own right (*shāh-i zamān*). With Vīs Rāmīn lived 81 years,[1] and when she died he had a *dakhma* built for her, erected over (or above) (?) the fire-temple Burzīn.[2] On the Naurōz day he put on the throne his son Khurshēd and crowned him with the *tāj-i Kayānī.* He lived three more years under the shadow of Vīs's *dakhma.* In it he was finally buried, and the souls (*ruvān*) of the ancient lovers went to Mīnō.

The poet concludes by saying that God gave kingship to Rāmīn only when he ceased to be a slave of his passions (*āz*).

3. Dramatis Personae

As can be seen, the main groups of the *dramatis personæ* centre round Marv and the region called Māh (Media).

To the former group belong the king of kings Mōbad, his brother Rāmīn (*alias* Rāmīna and Rām), and his half-brother Zard. The unnamed mother of Mōbad and Rāmīn appears on the stage at critical moments to pour oil on the troubled waters (pp. 183, 208). Zard was born of an Indian mother (p. 206), and he more often appears as Mōbad's *vazīr* and *sipāhbad* than as a prince. He himself says (p. 50) : ' I am one of the shah's men ; at his court I am one
14 of the army leaders '. Mōbad's queen, Sahī, is quoted only once, at the bottom of the list of the invited guests !

The king's name, Mōbad (' Zoroastrian priest '), is unexpected for no other source supports the idea that the kingly and sacerdotal functions were combined in Marv.[3] The reading of the name is supported by the scoffing interpretation of it by the hostile population of Māh (ch. XVII, vv. 44–5). In our conclusions we shall speak in detail about the new explanation of the name Mōbad (which seems to be derived from **Marv-pat*), as well as about the genealogical term *Manīkān* [4] which, in Minovi's edition, stands after *Mōbad.* In any case the ruler of Marv is called *shāh-i shāhān* (' king of kings ') and lord of Iran and Turan, whose dominions, in his mother's words, extended from China to Qayruwān

[1] Thus in N. Lees : ' eighty-three ' ; Wardrop and Minovi : ' eighty-one '. He survived his wife by three years.

[2] p. 508 : *bar-avarda az ātash-gāh-i Burzīn* (?). From the following verses it appears that Rāmīn built both the *dakhma* and the fire-temple. [Gurgānī may wish to say that the fire of the latter was taken from the fire of Burzīn ? Cf. Massé, p. 429.]

[3] It is true that in *Vend.*, I, 6, Marv is called *Mourum sūrəm artāvanəm* ' the strong, the righteous '. In *Ayātkār-i Zarērān,* ed. Pagliaro, Roma, 1925, § 19, it is called Zaratushtrian (*Murv-i Zaratuštān*).

[4] In N. Lees : *niyāgān* ' ancestors ' is surely a mistake.

(in Northern Africa !). His ancestors are said to have been kings since the days of Adam (ch. XLI, v. 74). At the celebration of Naurūz the ' divine halo ' (*farr-i khudā'ī*) was flashing from Mōbad's countenance (ch. VIII, v. 9).

The text gives also a list of Mōbad's knights, and later enumerates those who passed over to Rāmīn.

p. 29	*pp. 495–6*
Bahrām (vii, p. 165[2])	Bahrām
Ruhhām Ardabīlī	Ruhhām
Gushāsp Daylamī	
Shāpūr Gēlī	
*Kishmēr-i yal	Kishmēr
Ādhēn	Ādhēn
Vīrō (son of Shahrō)	Vīrō (sipāhbad)
Rāmīn (the king's brother)	
Zard (ditto)	
	Sām
	Gēlō (vazir, son of Shahrō ?)'

In the *Shāh-nāma* the name Ruhhām (Rahām ?) is borne by a famous son of Gōdarz ; and the fact that our Ruhhām is said to be of Kayānian origin seems to be a hint at his connexion with the hero of the lore of Kay Khusrau (see below). The name *Kishmēr-i yal*, i.e. ' Kishmēr the hero ' sounds epic as well (see below, p. 19).

The list of the beauties who attended Mōbad's festival is also characteristic, though it has considerable variants in the manuscripts and in the Georgian translation.[1] Mīnovī, 31, quotes :—

Shahrō Māh-dukht, *alias* Shahr-bānū
Sarv-i Āzād of Ādharbāyagān
Ābnōsh of Gurgān
Nāz-i dilbar of Dihistān 15
Dīnār-gēs of Rayy
Zarrēn-gēs (daughter of the khāqān ?, Minovi, pp. 252–4)
Shīrēn (from Būm-i kōh) [2]
Parī-Vīs (ditto : different from Vīs)
Āb-nār (of the family of the vazirs of Isfahan)
Āb-Nāhēd (ditto)
Dukht-i Kanārang (from Sāva ?)
Sahī, wife of the shah

The connexion of the daughter of the *kanārang* with Sāva is an obvious mistake (see below, p. 18). Temporarily one should prefer the reading of the Indian edition, p. 31 :—

[1] See N. Marr's collation of N. Lees with the Georgian, p. 34.

[2] It is difficult to say whether Būm-i Kōh stands here for Kuhistān (= Media), or for some other Kuhistān (Southern Khorasan), or the highlands of the upper Murghāb (cf. p. 54). The two brides might be Shahrō's elder daughters referred to by Mōbad (p. 121), although Shahrō herself (p. 35) denies having borne any daughters.

Z.r.stūn nāmvar dukht-i kanārang

which (see Appendix II) might be improved as *Zarastān. All we can say is that the young beauty belongs to the list of Khorasanian references in our text.

Between *Zarastān and the wife of the king the Indian edition inserts :—

*shakarlab Nūsh az būm-i *Humāvan*

' Nosh with sugar lips from the land of Humāvan '. The highlands of *Humāvan are 20 times mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma* (cf. F. Wolff, *Glossar z. Schāhnāma*, 1935, p. 857, and the Tehran ed., III, 450 ; IV, 895–6 ; V, 1431) as the place of many famous battles between the Iranians and Turanians under Kay Khusrau (see below, p. 20).

The second princely family is that of Māh (Media). Its head Qārin (Qāran ?) is not mentioned among Mōbad's guests (p. 29), and he falls in battle at the beginning of the story. He appears chiefly as his wife's husband. The latter calls him a *khusrau* (p. 42), yet his son Vīrō does not rebut Mōbad's allegation that his ' mother is of better origin than his father ' (p. 191). The name Kārēn is that of a noble Arsacid family, connected with Media (see below, p. 33), although in later times many persons called Qārin were found among the princely families of Ṭabaristān (see below, p. 34).

Qārin's wife Shahrō is said to be a descendant of the ancient Pēshdādian king Jamshēd (p. 118), and she is referred to (pp. 32, 36) as *Shahr-bānū* ' royal princess ', or even ' queen ', *Māh-dukht* ' princess of Media ' (p. 31) and *Māh-i bānuvān* ' the Moon of the Ladies '. Her name stands at the head of the list of Mōbad's guests (p. 31). The foul-mouthed Mōbad, in a fit of anger, insinuates that Shahrō's ' thirty ' children are all illegitimate,[1] and among them names Izad-yār, Erān-shah, Rōyēn, Nār, Āb-i nāz, Vīs (and ?) Shīrēn. The Indian edition (p. 121) quotes moreover Ādharbād, Farrukh-zād, Vīrō, Bahrām, Sāsān (?), and Gēlō.[2] Of these only Vīrō and Gēlō take an active part in the story.

16 Vīrō, who succeeded his father Qārin, is spoken of as ' shah and shah-zāda ' (p. 94). With his usual malice Mōbad, forgetting his defeat suffered at Nihavand, says to Vīrō (p. 186) : ' thou art a lion in the region of Māh, outside it a fox would humble thee ', and challenges him to call troops from Iran, Ādharbāyagān, and the plain (lowlands ?) of Gīlān.

The youngest daughter of Shahrō is Vīs, or Vīsa. In a MS her name is spelt *Vaysa*, i.e. **Vēsa*, but the form Vīs is supported by the rhyme *Iblīs* (pp. 142, 229), and the Georgian translator (who distinguishes between *ē* and *ī*, *ō* and *ū*) spells it with *i*. The name does not occur elsewhere in Persian tradition, but Vēsa is known as a man's name in Turan.[3]

[1] He forgets that he himself had applied for Shahrō's love without any success. On p. 201 he blesses Vīs as the offspring ' of Qārin's loins '.

[2] The Georgian version (p. 116) reduces the list to Adrabad, P'araxzad, Viprond, Abanoz, Vīs and Shirin. The additional names of the Indian editions are possibly a later addition. The name ' Sāsān ' would suggest some relations between the house of Māh and Fārs. One remembers that Iṣṭakhr is one of the places from which Vīrō draws his auxiliaries, see below, p. 35.

[3] Vēsa, father of Pīrān, was apparently the ruler of Khottal (ختل), which name was later confused with Khotan (ختن). Vēsakirt is a town in Khottal, but in the *Shāh-nāma* the residence of Pīrān, son of Vēsa, is at Khotan ! Cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 227.

An episodic role is assigned in the poem to the notables (*sarafrāzān*) of Gūrāb, Shāpūr, and Rafēdā (رفيدا in the Georgian version: *Rafeda*). The latter's wife is Gōhar from Hamadan and their daughter is Gul,[1] whom Rāmīn marries during his separation from Vīs. In the polo-match Rafēdā plays in a team of twenty with Mōbad and Rāmīn, against the team of Vīrō comprising Arghish and Sharvīn. The name *R.fydā* is a complete puzzle. It may have been misread by the 'six translators' of the story from Pahlavī into Modern Persian (see above, p. 4).[2]

Another lesser chief is Bihrōz b. Shērō of Rayy. The text does not suggest that he was governor before Rāmīn's enthronement. In Parthian times Rayy was the fief of the Mihrānids.

Among the courtiers of Marv the story mentions Bihgōy, a clever adviser, as his name suggests; the noble scribe Mushkēn, whose name may contain a hint at the blackness of the ink he used; and Ādhēn, who is not so noble, but whom Vīs ennobles for being her confidant and messenger. All these names are purely conventional and unimportant.

In a story so avowedly belonging to the class of court-poetry and never descending from the level of kings and princesses, the sole representative of the lower classes is the nurse. She is known only by her name of origin (*nisba*), Khūzānī. The sinister part she plays in the events, and especially her sorcery, are, however, attributed not to her low station but to her origin from Khūzān. In fact, she is an expert in witchcraft, as illustrated by such episodes as the preparation of the charm to render Mōbad impotent.

Apart from the heroes and the lesser personages of the story, Gurgānī quotes a number of names taken from the general stock of Iranian history and mythology.[3] Only a reference to the famous archer Ārish has a claim to our 17
attention (see below, p. 20).

§ 4. Geographical Background

1. The empire of Marv
2. Western Khorāsān (Parthia)
3. Media, Gūrāb, Daylam, and the West
4. Geographical similes

1. The most obvious and striking fact in the background of *Vīs u Rāmīn* is that the action unfolds exclusively in Northern Iran. The events take place in an area extending from Eastern Khorāsān to Media, or more exactly from

[1] Her role is similar to that of Isolde-the-White-hand of the story of Tristan (Ethé).

[2] cf. Avestan *rapiθwā* 'midday, south', *rafəδra* 'support' (in Pahlavī translation *rāmishn, rāmēnītarīh*). It is also possible that the name, or a part of it, was originally spelt in Aramaic, meant to be pronounced in Pahlavī. The *Frahang-i Pahlavik* gives *lpyt'* (**r.pētā*) in the meaning 'a girl', and *lpy'* (**r.pyā*) 'a boy' (H. W. Bailey). The name is to be distinguished from the Arabic (رفيدة) (Rufayda ?) as one of the ancestors of the genealogist al-Kalbī was called, see *al-Fihrist*, 95.

[3] Hūshang (130), Jamshēd (118, 438, 491), Zohāk (285, 430), Bēzhan (230), Ārish (255, 322, 366, 398), etc. Some of the references to 'Khusrau' (129, 184, 395, 504, 506) may have in view the Kayānid Kay-Khusrau, but on p. 472 one finds mentioned the Sasanian Khusrau Nūsharvān and his wife Shīrēn; cf. also p. 506: Nūsharvān. Most of these references to ancient Iranian kings and heroes are certainly frills added to the story by the poet.

Marv to Hamadān, with a stress on the former. The south is out of the picture, except for some casual references to Fārs, Shīrāz (an Islamic creation !), and Kirmān (p. 402). It is the house of Māh which has more connexions with the south (pp. 57 and 324).

The great king's residence is in Marv-i Shāyagān, or Shāhijān ('Marv-the-palace'), p. 205. Khorāsān (p. 171) and Marv (p. 413) have special praises. If in their moment of despair (pp. 126, 207) the heroes call Marv 'dirty' (*ganda* 'stinking'), its usual epithet is (p. 90) 'select' (*guzīn*), and on p. 50 the poet quotes a praiseworthy custom of Marv. The river of Marv is said to come from Ghōr [1] and to flow past the castle of *Ashkaft-i Dēvān*. This latter detail seems to refer to one of the numerous artificial grottoes found in the hilly reaches of the Murghāb (in Pandjih, Marūchāq, Singlak, etc.).[2] In fact these caves are still known as *dēv-kan* 'dug by the devs'.

To the north-west of Marv, in the Caspian region, lie the hunting-grounds whither the *shahinshāh* repairs in spring. On a special expedition he pushes forward into Sārī (p. 273) and Āmol (p. 497), belonging to Ṭabaristān.

In the west Isfahān seems to be under Marv (pp. 31, 69), and it is praised (p. 316) as the best of Rāmīn's fiefs.

In the south Zāvul is within the radius of King Mōbad's activities, although the hint is left undeveloped (p. 274). Originally this name belongs to Ghaznī, but eventually may be taken for Sīstān.

The outer ring of the king's eastern vassals appears in the list of places from which he draws his troops before marching on Māh (p. 54): 'Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Kuhistān, Khwārazm, Khorāsān, Dihistān, as well as Sind, Hind, Tibet, China, Soghd, and the confines of Tūrān and Māchīn (Mahāchīna)'. In this list Kuhistān possibly refers not to Media but to the highlands of the upper courses of the Murghāb and the Heri-rūd (see above, p. 15). The second part of the list looks fantastic, but finds some explanation in the light of our general conclusions (see below, p. 26).

A purely imaginary note is struck in the strange episode of Mōbad's search
18 for Vīs throughout the world (p. 203), 'both inhabited and uninhabited'.[3] No better is the assertion that the king's sway in the west extended down to Qayruwān and Berberia (pp. 209, 300, 506). Qayruwān (south of Tunis), which was built in 50/670, figures here only in view of its notoriety, as a stronghold of Islam in the Far West, in the time of Gurgānī. Berberia is the westernmost point recorded in Muslim geographers.[4]

2. Somewhat apart in the story stands a series of unusual terms and names pointing to the territory of the original Parthia (Western Khorāsān). Such are (*a*) the Burzīn fire, (*b*) the daughter of the *kanārang*, (*c*) the native place of

[1] It would be more exact to say 'from Gharchistān, bordering on Ghōr'.

[2] Supposed to be of Buddhist origin, see de Lassoë, Talbot, and W. Simpson, 'Discovery of Caves on the Murghāb', *JRAS*, 1885, 92–102.

[3] Georgian translation: 'India, the lands of Turks, Greece, China, Arran, and Iraq'.

[4] See the old Preface to the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Qazvīnī, p. 36. [See below, article No. 15.] The *Shāh-nāma* (Calcutta) mentions Qayruwān once.

the nurse (Khūzān), (*d*) the hero called *Kishmēr-yal, and (*e*) the land of *Humāvan. These somewhat obliterated terms need a careful examination.

(*a*) The famous temple of Burzīn-Mihr is possibly identical with the national fire of the Arsacids which Isidore of Charax mentions in connexion with the province Astauēnē. The temple stood at Rēvand, to the west of Nīshāpūr [1] (the latter being a Sasanian foundation). Vīs was buried close to the Burzīn fire and Rāmīn retired there in his old age (p. 508).

(*b*) Both the Indian and the new editions mention among Mōbad's guests (p. 31) a daughter of the *kanārang*. The indication of this dignitary's fief as ساوه (Minovi) is impossible, for no kanārangs have ever been known in Sāva, which regularly comes under the Rayy region (p. 155). Kanārang is a Khorasanian title. At the time of the Arab conquest a *kanārang* (*kanarē*) was ruling over Nīshāpūr, Ṭūs, Nisā, and Abīvard, i.e. over the nucleus of Parthian territories, cf. Balādhurī, 405. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 75, thought that the title belonged to the hereditary rulers of pre-Sasanian times. Both the noblemen on whose initiative the prose version of the *Shāh-nāma* was compiled in A.D. 957, namely Abū Manṣūr b. 'Abd al-Razzāq of Ṭūs and his deputy Abū Manṣūr al-Ma'marī, claimed to be descendants of the kanārang.[2]

(*c*) There are several possibilities for the location of *Khūzān*, the home of the wily nurse, in which Rāmīn and Vīs were brought up in their early childhood. From the outset its geographical connexion with Khūzistan should be eliminated. This province was known for its unhealthy climate, and it is hard to imagine that the two children of noble origin (especially Rāmīn from the remote Marv) should have been sent there.[3] Even Marv and Media (Māh, more especially the region of Hamadan) lie far apart, and for the young Rāmīn and Vīs to meet under the same roof one should perhaps suppose that the 19
nurse's house lay somewhere half-way between their respective native places. Here are some indications of the distances in Gurgānī's poem. It took both the nurse and Adhēn two months to travel from Marv to Gūrāb, or for that matter to Hamadan (pp. 332, 386). The two lovers fleeing from Marv reached Rayy in ten days (p. 198). On the other hand, the nurse, starting from her home (?) with a caravan of thirty swift camels (*jamāza*) joined Vīs in Marv-i Shāhījān in a week's time (p. 93). Combining these indications with the surmise that the nurse's home lay at a point equally convenient for the two nurselings, one might think of Khūjān (present-day Qūchān) situated in the north-western part of

[1] See Hoffmann, *Persische Märtyrer*, pp. 290–1, and *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 326. Rēvand may be a *later* home of the fire? [The text of Gurgani, ch. CIII, vv. 35–6, is not explicit; perhaps the *ātashgāh* mentioned in the title of ch. CIV stood near Marv but was burning a fire brought from the fire-temple of Mihr-Burzīn.]

[2] See below, my article No. 15 (1956). The title *karalrango* occurring in the 'Bactrian' inscription of Surkh-kotal (east of Balkh) is also interpreted by Professor Henning as *kanārang*, see *BSOAS*, 1960, XXIII/1, 50.

[3] cf. for example Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, 102: 'the people (of Ahwāz which is in Khuzistān) are the most miserable of all men. You do not see there a ruddy cheek. Its air is fatal (*qatīla*) to men especially the strangers'.

Khorasan, near the sources of the Atrak (which flows into the Caspian). The divergence of the spellings *Khūjān* (*Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, § 23, 8) and *Khūzān* might be explained by dialectal differences, but on other grounds the proposed identification would meet with serious objections. Khūjān (Kābūshān) is a part of the district which the Arab geographers call *Ustuwā* and which corresponds to the Greek Astauēnē, the cradle of the Parthian dynasty.[1] According to Isidore of Charax it was in its town called Asaak (*Arsak?) that the founder of the Arsacid dynasty was first proclaimed king, 'and an everlasting fire was guarded there'. For the Parthians, and even for Zoroastrians in general, it must have been a revered place, whereas in Gurgānī's poem both Mōbad (p. 163) and Vīs (p. 138) are equally loud in their curses of Khūzān as the home of impudence, sorcery, and evil. These passages seem to belong to the original story and make the identification of Khūjān with Khūzān difficult.

Yāqūt, II, 194, mentions several other places called Khūzān: a village in the district of Mārbīn of Isfahan [2] and two other villages near Herat and Panj-dih [3] abounding in amenities (*kathīrat al-khayr*).

A village called Khujistān (with short *u*) and inhabited by Khārijites [4] was known in Bādhghīs, to the west of Gharchistān proper but in the same chain of mountains which forms the watershed between the Harī-rūd and the river of Marv (Murghāb), see Istakhri, 299, and *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, § 23, 26.

Gurgānī was writing in Isfahān, but in his poem Khūzān sounds like the name of a remote place, and, all things told, I am now inclined to look for the nurse's home in the basin of the river of Marv. Even in the twentieth century families living on the left bank of the lower Tigris sent their children to be reared in the wild highlands of Luristan. One can imagine a similar practice in the hot plain of Marv from which the mountainous tracts of the Paropamisus looked salubrious, though the ancient habits and customs of the mountaineers were full of mystery, and this might explain the idea of the Khūzānian witchcraft.[5] Some attention must be paid to the reproach which Vīs addressed to Rāmīn (p. 430) for treating the nurse as an 'ignorant *gharcha*'. Persian dictionaries understand the term in a general sense of 'rustic, simple-minded' but its original meaning in Eastern Iranian dialects was 'a mountaineer'

[1] cf. Juvaynī, II, 13: Khābūshān-i Ustuvā.

[2] Yāqūt avers that a colony of Khūz (of Khūzistān) occupied a special quarter in Isfahan. The same may be true of the Khūzān of Mārbīn. But whether a similar migration can explain the names in Eastern Khorasan is more doubtful. In our case no great weight can be put on the well-known similarity of the *prehistoric* pottery of Anau (in the present-day Turkmenistan) to that of Susa in Khūzistān.

[3] Panj-dih is the district near the confluence of the two main headwaters of the Murghāb on the frontier of Afghanistan and the present-day republic of Turkmenia.

[4] On the kharijite adventurer Ahmad b. 'Abdullāh al-Khujistānī who captured Nishāpūr see Tabari under the years 265–9/878–882. Cf. *Tārikh-i Sīstān*, 239.

[5] Gurgānī, whose praise of Marv shows that he visited that city, says that its river rose in Ghōr (p. 267) and the castle in which Vīs was imprisoned also belonged to Ghōr (in the broader meaning of the term). Even after the raid of the Graznavid Mas'ūd A.D. 1020 'Ghōr' and its dependencies remained very little known.

(from *ghar* 'mountain').[1] In fact the population of the Bābā-kūh range (ancient Paropamisus) formed the autonomous region of Gharchistān whose ruler bore the title of *shēr*. If Gurgānī's verse reflects the Pahlavī original of the story, one might see in it an indirect indication that the home of the nurse should be looked for in the highlands of the Murghāb.[2]

(*d*) The name of the hero *K.šmyr-yal* or *K.šmyr* is not attested elsewhere. Although the Indian Kashmīr is mentioned in the *Bundahishn* [3] and several times in the *Shāh-nāma*, it is no part of Iranian lands and would be entirely unexpected in our 'Khorasanian' context. Therefore I should rather connect Gurgānī's *K.šmyr* with the village of Kishmar, famous for its cypress which Zoroaster had brought from paradise (*Shāh-nāma*, VI, 1499). It lies at one day's 20
journey to the east of Turshīz (Sultanabad) in Southern Khorāsān.[4] According to lexicographers the name appears both as Kishmār and Kishmīr, and consequently should be restored as *Kishmēr*. It is possible that originally this name belonged to the cypress itself and this was a good reason for the appellation of the hero. Cf. such names as Sarv-i āzād, etc., in Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 290.

(*e*) The land of *Humāvan mentioned in the Indian edition (and in the Georgian translation, p. 6) as the home of one of the ladies at Mōbad's festival is very curious, as it belongs to the geography of the contested Irano-Turanian borderland.

H.māvan (**Humāvan*) is a mountain particularly associated with the second Irano-Turanian war under Kay Khusrau (*Shāh-nāma*, IV, 895–940), which, it is not unlikely, reflects some real struggles between the Arsacids and the invaders from Central Asia. The Iranians commanded by Ṭōs and Gōdarz marched against the Turanian army led by Kāmūs-i Kushānī. The campaign begins on the river which Firdausī calls *Shahd*. Marquart, *Wehrōt*, pp. 6–7, has shown that this name should be restored as **Sind* (Tac. ann. 11, 10:

[1] See Barthold's article *Tajiki* in the volume *Tajikistan*, Tashkent, 1925, pp. 100–1. The name *gharcha*, or *ghalcha*, applies also to the groups of the speakers of the various Eastern Iranian languages of Pamir and of the highlands of the Zarafshan basin (south of Samarqand). Longworth-Dames in his valuable article on Afghanistan, *E.I.*[1], overlooked the origin of the term while saying that 'in Persian' *ghalcha* denotes a 'peasant'. In modern Tājīkī too the original meaning has equally been forgotten and the *Tājīkī-Russian dictionary*, 1954, p. 476, gives only the 'colloquial' meaning of приземистый 'stocky, squat'!

[2] The question remains how it was possible for Shahrō to send her baby daughter so far from Māh. But in the course of the story Shahrō several times turns up in Marv, cf. Minovi, 31, 264, 293.

[3] Gr. Bundahishn, 197, 2: *kšmyr i andarōn*, and 199, 1: 'Kashmīr in the mountains of India' (H. W. Bailey), cf. *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 254.

[4] According to the *Shāh-nāma*, VI, 1499, the Kishmar cypress was planted by Gushtāsp at the gate of the Burzīn-mihr fire (the latter being situated at Rēvand, see below, p. 32). 'Abd al-Malik Tha'ālibi (d. 430/1037) *Thimār al-qulūb*, Cambridge Or. 828, fol. 158*b*, says that King Bīstasf planted it at *Kishmēr in the rustaq of B.st (*Pusht) of Nīshāpūr. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaq*, Tehran, 1938, p. 281, two cypresses were planted, one at Ṭuraythīth (Turshīz) and another at Faryūmad. The *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 122, 143, speaks of the two ancient cypresses, one in Balkh and the other in Kishmar (var. **Kishmēr*), the latter planted by Gushtāsp's minister Jamāsp. That Kishmar was once a place of some importance is shown by the large tower standing in it and apparently belonging to the thirteenth century, Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, 1918, p. 46, but nothing is known on its earlier history.

Sindes; Yāqūt, III, 167). The river apparently corresponds to the lower course of the Heri-rūd, which in ancient times was lost in wooded marches between Sarakhs and Abīvard. After the Iranians lost the first battles they took up a position on Mount Humāvan, where they were besieged by the Turanians. This height can only correspond to one of the eastern peaks of the Northern Khorasanian range (Kopet-dāgh). In the course of the first two campaigns under K. Khusrau the Irano-Turanian boundary is definitely placed on the Heri-rūd, and I am disposed to identify Humāvan with Mount *X^{v}anvand*, which (Yasht, 8, 38) was struck by the arrow of the Aryan archer Erexša (Ārish). The object of his shot was to mark the farthest frontier point of Iran, and, in view of the position of the river 'Shahd' and Mount Humāvan, the *original* version of Erexša's exploit can be located there. The identity of the names *X^{v}anvand* and **Humāvan* is probable, in spite of some phonetic difficulties, common in geographical names.[1] As the frontier of Iran moved forward in the direction of the Oxus, the geographical interpretation of the legend naturally tended to follow the existing conditions, or even claims.

To conclude the commentary on Humāvan one should put on record the
21 curious reference of Gurgānī to the shot of Ārish (p. 366 and the allusions on pp. 255, 322, 398).[2] According to him,[3] the arrow flew from Sārī to Marv. Should this detail belong to the original Pahlavī source, the target had been taken on to the following river, the Murghāb, but was still short of the rivers of Gōzgānān, and especially of the Oxus, where the legend is located under the Sasanians. See *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 330–2.

Although the five Khorasanian terms just analysed have some vagueness about them, their appearance in Gurgānī's text is significant. They seem to belong to the dust of local traditions, semi-forgotten, but still taken for granted. They may represent the oldest layer of recollections forming the background of the romance of Vīs and Rāmīn. The hints at the Kay Khusrau lore can also be interesting from the point of view of the imaginary connexion of this king with the Parthian heroes (see below).

3. The second pivot of the poem is the capital of Māh, Hamadān (p. 41), in Western Iran. Already Rayy (Rhages) belongs to the orbit of Māh (pp. 57 and 199). The extent of the connexions of Hamadān appears from the list of friends on whom Vīrō relies in the hour of danger from the East. His auxiliaries (vassals?) come from Ādharbāyagān, Rayy, Gīlān, Khūzistān, Iṣṭakhr (spelt: *Istarkh*), Isfahān, and partly from Daylam (pp. 57–8). The mention of Iṣṭakhr is curious as a hint at the relations of the Māh family with Fars.

Gūrāb (Georgian transl. *Gorab*), which holds a prominent place in the story, is a small fief entirely submissive to Māh. Its chiefs are described not

[1] Rather unexpectedly Herzfeld locates X^{v}anvant in the West (!) between Hamadān and Zagros, *Mitt. aus Iran*, II/2, pp. 83–4.

[2] The Avestan archer *ərəxsa* seems to have been confused with the Kayānid Kavi Arshan (Ṭab. *Ash al-Jabbār*), under the common Modern Persian form Ārish/Arish, cf. Marquart, *ZDMG*, 1895, p. 634.

[3] Only the historian of Ṭabaristān Ẓahīr al-Dīn, who wrote A.D. 1476, has a similar statement.

as princes but as notables (*sarafrāzān*), and, of them, Rāfēdā has close relations with Hamadān (pp. 168, 321). The range of friendships of the Gūrāb family appears from the list of guests whom Gul, the Lady of Gūrāb, invited to her wedding. They came from Gurgān, Rayy, Qum, Isfahān, Khūzistān, Kūhistān (here Media !), and Hamadān (p. 324). Gul's brother was the governor (*pahlavān*) of Ādharbāyagān.

There is no doubt about the identity of Gūrāb [1] with Jūrāb which the Arab geographers mention at 12 farsakhs south of Hamadān and at 14 farsakhs east of Nihāvand, at the crossing of the roads running from these two centres towards central Persia, see Qudāma, 199. Even now the important mound of Gūrāb marks the spot of the ancient castle.[2]

To the west of Hamadān Gurgānī mentions Nihāvand and Daynavar (Dēnavar) but his references to the events are somewhat vague.

When Mōbad moved his troops from the east, the army of Māh was gathered in the ' plain of Nihāvand ' (ch. XIX, v. 10), i.e. in the home of the Godarzid family. When Qārin was killed in battle, his son Vīrō possibly fell back but succeeded in beating off the attack of Mōbad (ch. XXI, v. 4) who ' turned away from the road of Khorasan, and from (or *via* ?) Daynavar moved towards Isfahān '. Meanwhile the Daylamites expelled Vīrō's governor from Tārom and he had to concentrate his attention on this new foe in the north. This diversion enabled Mōbad to ' return ' (*bar-gasht az rāh*, ch. XXI, v. 23), and he suddenly appeared before Gūrāb. When for the second time Mobad was marching to Māh, he sent a rude letter to Vīrō and in his answer Vīrō said (ch. LIII, v. 24) : ' You mentioned with pride the battle of Daynavar but in it I displayed my manly behaviour '. This second mention of Daynavar is again far from clear.[1]

The great ' Khorasanian ' road ran from Mesopotamia to Kermanshah–Hamadan–Rayy, etc. Between Kermanshah and Hamadan, at Kangāvar, a south-eastern road branched off to Nihāvand and further on to Isfahan. Hamadan stood on the main Khorasan road, whereas Gūrāb, situated south of Hamadan, stood near the south-eastern branch leading to Isfahan. Daynavar stood north-west of Kangāvar and was a station on an independent third road connecting Kermanshah with the north : from Daynavar one could travel to Azarbayjan, or north-eastwards to Bījār–Zanjān (in the direction of Tārom).

It appears then that Mōbad following the great Khorasanian road had left Hamadan behind him and even moved on as far north as the ' plain of Daynavar '. Repelled by Vīrō, he is said to have retreated without hindrance

[1] A great number of places bearing this name are found in Gīlān. One of the numerous meanings of *gūrāb* is ' a dome over a tomb '. Professor W. B. Henning suggested to me an Aramaic etymology for it as ' a sepulchre '. For details see my original article in *BSOAS*, 1946-7.

[2] I saw it in 1905 on my way from Hamadān to Burūjerd. Its prominent position was confirmed to me by my former pupil (now Professor) R. Savory in a letter from Hamadān in 1946. For more details see Annex III.

[3] See Le Strange, ' The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate ', map facing p. 185. I myself visited Daynavar in 1916.

by the road to Isfahan, apparently *via* Nihāvand where the forces of Māh had been initially concentrated. No sooner did the Daylamites threaten Vīrō's position in the north-east (Tārom) than Mōbad 'turned back from the road' to appear before Gūrāb which he must have bypassed during his retreat. The fact that Shahrō and Vīs stayed at this castle belonging to Rāfēdā gives the impression that while Mōbad marched into Māh it was not safe for them to stay in Hamadan, and when Vīrō (in Daynavar) was dealing with the Daylamite danger the ladies in Gūrāb were practically at Mōbad's mercy.

In any case the military operations in Māh are only hinted at in Gurgānī's text. The poet connected by his birth and career with the north-east of Iran was either little acquainted with Media (Māh) [1] or was interested only in the romantic developments of the plot.

The special position of Daylam (i.e. the highlands of Gīlān) is very clear in
22 *Vīs u Rāmīn*. When Mōbad attacks Vīrō some Daylamites come to the latter's help, but immediately after (p. 66) the shah of Daylam stabs Vīrō in the back by sending his troops to Tārom (on the middle Sefīd-rūd, see *EI*), where Vīrō has a representative. Daylam does not figure in the list of Rāmīn's conquests on behalf of Mōbad (p. 316), but when he seeks a refuge for himself and the treasure seized at Marv he penetrates into Daylam *via* Qazvīn (p. 494), famous in Muslim annals as the bulwark against the Daylamites. This time the wild mountaineers are impressed by his personality and largesse and help him. The description of the Daylamites is very vivid, and may be based on Gurgānī's own observations.[2] In the tenth century A.D. these highlanders played in Iran a role similar to that of the Norsemen in Europe. Gurgānī wrote at a time when the Būyid rulers were living their last days in Baghdād and Fārs. Possibly to please his Seljuk patrons, Gurgānī refers to the world being still in ruins from 'the Daylamite violence'.[3] On the other hand he states that since Adam's time no king had ever conquered Daylam, and 'down to our time this country has remained virgin (*būm-i dūshiza*, p. 495)'. It is known, however, that a Sasanian prince Kayūs b. Qobād had established himself in this region for some time. In the legend of Bahrām Chōbēn the remnants of his troops led by his sister Gurdiya find asylum in Daylam, cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte d. Perser*, p. 479.

The overlords of Marv are paramount not only in Māh but far beyond it.
23 From Hamadān, Mōbad plans an excursion to Mūqān, on the lower Kur, within the limits of Arrān, whereas Rāmīn is about to visit Armenia (pp. 162–3). Later Mōbad leads an army against the Emperor of Rūm (p. 229), but seems to operate chiefly in Arrān and Armenia (p. 253). Rāmīn, in his quality of sipāhbad of Māh, descends down to Khūzistān and Baghdād (p. 316) and

[1] As we know he did not follow Tughril on the expedition from Isfahan to Hamadan.

[2] Very similar to the statements in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 306, and Muqaddasī, 368. See now Minorsky, *Daylam*, Enc. of Islam, II (1962).

[3] To Gurgānī's honour he does not keep silent either on the Seljuk devastations of the countryside of Isfahān, pp. 18, 23.

destroys the king's enemies between Mosul, Syria, and Armenia (var. *Arran*) (p. 470). Finally he succeeds Mōbad in the empire extending 'from China to Berberia' (p. 504). Of his sons, one receives the East, with Soghd, Khwārazm, and Chaghān (north of the middle Oxus), and the other the West (*bākhtar*) with Syria, Egypt, and Qayruwān. Vīs's personal fief comprises Ādharbāyagān, Arrān, and Armenia.

4. There may be some obscurities in the toponymy of *Vīs-u Rāmīn*, but, on the whole, its geographical frame is solid [1] though naturally one finds in the text a number of anachronistic mentions of places like Baghdad and Qayruwān. The basic (Khorasanian and north-Iranian) facts should be distinguished from Gurgānī's own quotations from his contemporary stock of knowledge which he uses with astonishing discernment :—

Abkhazian archers (*tīr-afkan-i Abkhāz*, p. 317); beauties of Khallukh (i.e. Turkish Qarluq, p. 79); beauties compared to pictures of Qandahār (i.e. frescoes of Gandhāra?) (407) (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, IV, 1076: *lu'bat-i Qandahār*); Chinese 'icons' (*qibla-yi Chīn*) (328) and Chinese 'culs-de-lampe' (*shamsa*) (407).

Bulls of Gīlān (294), deer (*gavazn*) of Rūdbār (32), elephants of Tokharistān (*fīl-i Tukhāra*?) [2] scorpions (*jarrāra*) of Ahwāz.

Alanian padlocks (*qufl-i Alānī*) (274), referring probably to the work of the locksmiths of Zirih-garān in Dāghestān; Greek keys (274) (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, IV, 1089: *band-i Rūmī* 'fetters of Rūm'); Indian steel and blades (*pūlād* and *firand*) (274, 294); textiles of Rūm and China (310), brocades of Shūshtar (325), silk (*ḥarīr*) of Astarābād (40).

Aloes of Khmer (*'ūd-i Qimarī*) (32) and Samundūr (Samudra) (346), musk of Khirkhīz (Qirghiz) and Tibet (406, 409), camphor of Panchūr (*Fanṣūr*) (404); pomegranates of Berberia (318), etc.

Only in one point has Gurgānī been carried away by his imagination. According to him (p. 505), one of Rāmīn's foundations was Ahwāz, which still figured in the registers as *Rām-shahr*. In fact, the old name of Ahwāz was Hormuz-Ardashīr (> *Hrumūshīr*), and it is said to have been built by the Sasanian Ardashīr, Ṭabarī-Nöldeke, p. 19. More likely Rām-shahr is meant to stand for the town Rām-Hormuz (> *Rāmiz*) lying 60 miles east of Ahwāz, but this town, too, is ascribed either to Ardashīr or to his grandson Hormizd b. Shāpūr, see Ṭabarī-Nöldeke, 46; Ḥamza, 46; Marquart, *Provincial Capitals*, § 46 and p. 96.

§ 5. Political Organization

24

Some scheme of political organization can also be detected in the text of *Vīs u Rāmīn*.

[1] This fact was already noticed by Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, II, 27: 'fast ganz klar sind dagegen die geographischen Verhältnisse in Wīs und Rāmīn'.

[2] Similarly, in ch. XXVIII, v. 5, H. W. Bailey wishes to restore *tajāra* as *(*asp-i*) *tukhāra*, see *BSOAS*, 1950, XIII/2, 403. This suggestion seems to be corroborated by ch. LXI, v. 80, though the *Burhān-i Qāṭi'*, ed. Mo'īn, I, 472, affirms that *tajār/tajāra* means 'a not yet saddled foal'.

The capital Marv is definitely considered the centre of a world monarchy, within the limits which we have tried to elucidate. Mōbad is the king of kings, *shāh-i shāhān shahriyār*, to whom all the shahs owe obedience (*banda būdand*) (p. 28). His personal dominions lie in North-Eastern Iran and are surrounded by a belt of vassal territories (Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Dihistān, Khwārazm, etc.), but politically his authority extends to Media and beyond it to Transcaucasia (Arrān) and Armenia, reaching even the Mediterranean and North African territories.

It is true that Media formed a special self-governing body, but Mōbad led his armies against it, or marched through it, whenever he liked. The wars between Marv and Māh were those of a suzerain against a vassal. Zard reports to Mōbad as an indication of Vīrō's rebellious spirit that he assumed a title which apparently was tantamount to local sovereignty. Very curiously the youthful Rāmīn is described (p. 109) as 'brother and child [1] to Mōbad, but shah and lord (*khudāvand*) to Māh'. This suggests that Media may have been earmarked as a particular appanage for a younger member of the Marv dynasty, similarly to what Ādharbāyjān was for the Qājār heirs to the throne. Rāmīn's mother (p. 212) calls him *sipāhbad* endowed with a margravate (*marzubānī*) in Khorāsān, but when Rāmīn expresses his desire to go to Māhābād he asks Mōbad for an appointment as sipāhbad in that region (*kishvar*), and this is granted.[2]

One must not be led astray by Shahrō's words to Vīs (p. 42): 'thy father is a *khusrau*', and the epithets which the nurse applies to Vīrō (p. 94): *shāh* and *shāh-zāda*. These seem to be courtesy titles reflecting Vīrō's distinction on the distaff side. His father Qārin (p. 56) is called *gurd* ('hero'), which is a usual appellation of knights and paladins surrounding a throne. Thus it appears that Qārin and Vīrō were vassals receiving assignments from Marv, perhaps pending Rāmīn's majority. The appointment of 'Shahrō's husband' (*shūy-i Shahrō*, p. 52) to Hamadān may have been due to the nobility of this lady, issued from Jamshēd. [Cf. § 6: Conclusions, p. 35.]

It is possible that the original fief of Qārin and Vīrō was Nihāvand (see below), in which case the title which Qārin assumed to the displeasure of Marv is likely to be that of the ancient rulers of Media. *Rūḥā* (روحا) is definitely impossible and the original form might be restored as *روجا *Rūjā* with the
25 meaning approaching 'Serenissimus' (cf. *ruxš* 'splendour', *rōšan* 'clarus').[3] Unfortunately the ancient title of the rulers of Media has not been recorded in the sources [4] and we have only a vague idea of the older dialects of that country.

[1] It has been suggested to me by a keen reader that this may be another hint at the Zoroastrian practice of *xvētōkdas* (marriage within the family), but I doubt whether we can go so far on the strength of an epithet which finds an easy figurative explanation.

[2] Some time before this happens we see Shahrō (and possibly Vīrō) in Marv (pp. 265, 271), which may be a foreboding of the coming change of administration.

[3] Dr. Henning suggests an alternative reading: **wrjā* 'powerful'.

[4] At the time of the Arab conquest the commander in Hamadān was *Khusrau-sh.nūm*, but this seems to be an honorary title conferred by the king, cf. Justi, pp. 139, 314; Marquart *Ērānšahr*, 71, 73.

Even though the rulers of Māh were dependent from Marv, it did not impair their authority over their own vassals ('vavasours'). Such seem to have been the notables of Gūrāb. Ādharbāyagān is a province from which Vīrō called in his allies (p. 57), and we also know that the governor of Ādharbāyjān was a brother of Gul, Lady of Gūrāb (p. 320).

The administrative terms figuring in the poem are :—

dastūr, an equivalent of Islamic vazīr ; the office was held by Mōbad's half-brother Zard ; [in ch. XVIII, v. 45, this title has a distinct religious sense] ;

sipāhbad 'generalissimo' ; this title is applied to Zard, to Rāmīn (first in Khorāsān and later in Māh) and to Vīrō (after Rāmīn's accession to the throne) ; of the lower ranks in the army are mentioned (pp. 195, 504) *sarvarān* and *gahbadān*, possibly 'officers and pay-masters' (cf. Arab. *jahbadh* 'a banker').

marzubān 'warden of the march' : Rāmīn (in Khorāsān and in Māh, p. 316) ; Gul's brother in Ādharbāyagān (p. 320) ;

pahlavān : Rāmīn (at Mōbad's court, p. 316) ; Gul's brother (in Ādharbāyagān) ; no great stress can be put on this general term (in Firdausī : 'a hero'), although it is quite probable that originally it was connected with the noble Parthian families, such as Kārēn, Sūrēn, Aspāhbadh, see below, p. 27, and cf. Christensen. *L'empire des Sasanides*, p. 23 ;

sarhang-i sarāy 'mayor of the palace', Georgian transl. *msaxurt uxutsesi* : Shērō, another brother of Vīs ;

kanārang (Byzantine χαναράγγης) : father of one of the 'beauties' at Mōbad's court. As stated above, p. 18, the title belonged to the warden of the Khorasanian march (Ṭūs, etc.). Firdausī quotes separately the *kanārangs* of Marv and of Ṭūs. [On *kōtvāl*, see above, p. 12, note 2.]

On the whole, the story depicts a great oriental monarchy, not entirely centralized. The nucleus of the state (Marv) borders on a number of vassal territories whose autonomy increases in proportion with their distance from the centre, and whose lords with their ladies go to pay homage to the king. Among these lords there are representatives of the ancient dynasties (Shahrō, Ruhhām) who receive assignments of provinces and in this way are incorporated into the general pattern of administration. Things were not going smoothly in Mōbad's kingdom. His personality may have been responsible for the discontent in the army to which he himself refers (p. 496). One of the arguments of the cunning nurse, in her plan of revolt against Mōbad, is also the disaffection reigning among Mōbad's vassals, whom she calls *shāhān* (p. 481).

Of the religious hierarchy (*mōbad*, *dīndār*) there is hardly any mention in the text (p. 195). A romantic poem naturally leaves very little space to religious 26
matters,[1] but one passage (p. 44) is very characteristic. Shahrō herself solemnises

[1] See the occasional mentions of the God of the Universe (*yazdān-i jahān*, p. 210) and Ahriman (pp. 193, 330), of the fire-temple (Burzīn) with a *dakhma* (p. 508), and of oaths taken either to the 'pure souls of the good and the ancestors' (i.e. *fravartis*, p. 210), or before the temple fire specially fed with wood (p. 195). Maleficent *dēvs* are frequently mentioned in the text (p. 103, etc.), often with the adjective *sitanba* 'evil, ugly, strong' : p. 150 : *sitanba-dēv-i mihr* ; p. 407 : *sitanba-dēv-i hijrān* ; p. 412 : *sitanba-dēv-i bad-khū* (possibly an incubus). [E. Berthels has noticed

the marriage of her children Vīrō and Vīs by joining their hands, while she declares : ' there is no need of a mōbad's seal on the contract (*nāma*), nor of the presence of witnesses ', for God alone is a sufficient witness. This attitude surely points to a period before the formation of a powerful class of priesthood, i.e. to the pre-Sasanian period.[1] [Marriage, or betrothal ?]

§ 6. Conclusions

1. Geographical background of the poem is Arsacid
2. The home of the Parthians and Marv
3. The branch of Gōdarz-Bēzhan
4. Marv under the Sasanians
5. ' Mōbad Manīkān '
6. Kārēn of Media and his wife Shahrō
7. Final summing up

1. Had Gurgānī written his *Vīs u Rāmīn* a score of years later, after Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine emperor in the plain of Malāzgird (26th September, 1071), one might have imagined that the story was arranged to suit the Seljuk fortunes. However, both the ancient details of the plot and the unequivocal date of composition leave no doubt as to where the background of the story should be looked for.[2] In fact, at no period of the long history of Iran did the material, and especially geographical conditions, correspond to those described in *Vīs u Rāmīn*, except at the time of Parthian dominion, under the rule of the Arsacid dynasty.

These kings were issued from the Parni clan of the Daha nomads who lived in the steppes to the south east of the Caspian, where their name has survived in that of the district of Dihistān.[3] The Arsacids first rose to fame on the northern fringe of Khorāsān. Thence they expanded along the historical highway connecting Khorāsān with Media and further with Mesopotamia. In Southern Persia some obscure descendants of the Achæmenids (?) carried on as kinglets on a purely local level (*fratakara*). In the first century A.D.
27 a Parthian family (Mihrān) ousted the Sakas from Sīstān and later penetrated into India (under the name of Palhava). In Armenia a Parthian dynasty ruled A.D. 51–430, and maintained its position in Sasanian times, but even before A.D. 51 Parthian princes occasionally occupied the Armenian throne.[4] In the

a passage (ch. LXXIII, v. 123) in which the poet says that ' the air grew like in Hell ' because of the sighs (*āh*) of the lovers are always described as ' cold ' (*āh-i sard*). This would evoke a Zoroastrian idea of Hell as an ' icy plain '. The other quotation (ch. LIX, v. 9) in the same sense does not correspond to Minovi's text.]

[1] Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans.*, 58 : ' freilich eine so allmächtige Stellung wie unter den Sasaniden nahmen die Magier in der Arsacidenzeit noch nicht ein '.

[2] These details form the genuine background of the story, and it is unlikely that Gurgānī was guided only by recollections of the western campaigns under the Sāmānids (Abū 'Alī Chaghānī's campaign in A.D. 944), and the Ghaznavids (Mas'ūd's capture of Hamadān in A.D. 1029).

[3] A district on the lower Atrak, mentioned as king Mōbad's dependency, pp. 31 and 57. Also see below, p. 33, Ṭabarī's reference to Dihistān. The original territory of the Daha extended much farther east beyond the Tejen (Ochos).

[4] Khalatyantz, *Ocherk Istorii Armenii*, Moscow, 1910, chapters XII–XIII.

west the Parthians perpetually clashed with the Seleucids and Romans, and in 40 B.C. occupied Jerusalem. The famous silk road connecting China with the Mediterranean ran within the Parthian dominions. Central Persia was in feudal occupation of the great Parthian families, such as Kārēn (Arab. *Qārin*), Mihrān, and Sūrēn. In Arabic the term *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* ('tribal kings, ethnarchs') is used to describe the feudal character of Parthian dominion.

All these general characteristics are reflected in *Vīs u Rāmīn*, and even the details about Mōbad's 'domination' in China and India, his intended trip to Zāvul (more or less corresponding to Sīstān), the expedition to Arrān [1] and Armenia, the war with the 'Roman cæsar', the extension of Mōbad's sway to 'Mosul' and Syria have not the appearance of pure figments of Gurgānī's imagination [2] but of likely echoes of Arsacid times.

2. At this place it will be helpful to quote the description of the original Parthian territory found in Isidore of Charax (who wrote in the earliest years of our era): 'behind Comisēnē (Arab. *Kōmish*) and Hyrcania (Arab. *Gurgān*) is Astauēnē, 60 schoeni (= 60 farsakhs) . . . and the city of Asaak (**Αρσακ*?) in which Arsaces was first proclaimed king; and an everlasting fire is guarded there. Beyond is Parthyēne (Parthia), 25 schoeni, within which is a valley, and the city of Parthau-Nisa (Arab. *Nisā*) after 6 schoeni; there are royal tombs. . . . Then the city of Gathar after 6 schoeni. Then the city of Sirōc (= Sarakhs?) after 5 schoeni. . . . Beyond is Apauarktikēnē (= Abīvard) 27 schoeni. Then the city of Ragau. . . . Beyond is Margiana (= Marv), 30 schoeni. There is Antiochia, called 'well-watered'; but there are no villages. . . .' (Ed. by H. Schoff, Philadelphia, 1914.)

The role which the fire of Mihr-Burzīn plays in the story of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* is very interesting. It is supported by the Khorasanian flavour of some terms and names mentioned in the poem (*kanārang*, *Kishmēr, Humāvan). Especially characteristic is the general development of events in the story from East to West in northern Iran and beyond it (towards Armenia and Rūm). It is contrasted by the nearly total eclipse of Fars, which is vaguely referred to by the poet as one of the places from which noblemen (*buzurgān*) came to Mōbad's feast (p. 29): in another passage (p. 57) the more ancient Istarkh (Istakhr), alongside Khuzistan and Isfahan, is mentioned as a place from which auxiliaries came to Vīro during his war against Mōbad. The fact that such a subordinate place is assigned to the cradle of the Sasanians gives strong support to the assumption that the basic story of Vīs and Rāmīn owed its origin to the pre-Sasanian, namely the Parthian, epoch.

The basic part of the poem contains no reference to the Turks, except for a lady at Mōbad's court who was the daughter of a *khāqān*. This common title, however, may have been used retrospectively with regard to some neighbour

[1] Even in the seventh century A.D. there was a Christian dynasty in Arrān descended from Mihrān, said to be of Sasanian origin, although originally 'Mihrān' was a Parthian family (of Rayy).

[2] To the latter category belong the Muslim Baghdad and Qayruwān projected into the hoary past.

of the Parthians, such as the chief of the Sakas, or the lord of the Kūshāns (see above, p. 20, the mention of Kāmūs-i Kūshānī against whom Godarz and Tōs led an army).[1]

28 The choice of Marv as the capital of Mōbad is somewhat unexpected, as this ancient city does not loom very high in our scanty data on the home of the Arsacids. However, Marv in included in the line of σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί, but immediately after Margiana the road described by Isidore of Charax sharply turns away southwards to Aria (Herat). In fact without solid occupation of Marv [2] the basin of the Tejen (i.e. the lower Hari-rūd, Ochos), the royal tombs, the historic Asaak, and the fire-temple would have enjoyed no security from the turbulent tribes of the steppes. *Circa* 115 B.C. the Parthians must have captured Merv from the eastern nomads (Saka ?) and for many years it seems to have remained in their hands, see W. Tarn in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, IX, 384–5. According to Pliny (see below, p. 30) Roman captives, survivors of the defeat of Crassus (on 9th June, 53 B.C.), were settled by King Orodes in Margiana. If our historical commentary on the dynasty of Mōbad is right, the position of Marv as the pivot of the story is quite plausible.

3. To define more closely the period to which *Vīs u Rāmīn* belongs is a more difficult task. The Parthians lorded it over Iran for nearly five centuries (from 247 B.C. to A.D. 224), but their successors, the Sasanians, obliterated their memory more thoroughly than the 'Abbāsids did that of the Omayyads. The very character of a romantic poem is unlike the hero-worshipping attitude of the *Shāh-nāma* ; and in the course of transmission and adaptation, the story must have lost many characteristic features (see Gurgānī's ch. VIII, v. 1). With all that, one might connect it with the branch of the Parthian rulers founded by Gōdarz II (A.D. 39–51 ?). His stormy career is mainly known through Roman authors (Tacitus). Gōdarz, son of Gēv (ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟΣ, as he calls himself in his inscription at Bīsutūn) is usually taken for a 'Hyrcanian'.[3] He was adopted by his father-in-law Artabanus II (A.D. 12–38 ?), himself an Arsacid only on the maternal side.[4] Both Artabanus and his adopted son were champions of the Arsacid homelands as against the westernized kings brought up in Media, Mesopotamia, or even Rome. The signal episode in the career of Gōtarzes is the defeat he inflicted on the Roman candidate Meherdates (see below, p. 34). Gōtarzes died in A.D. 51, and after him Hyrcania (Gurgān) became an independent kingdom, which existed for another century and even sent embassies to Rome. Hardly anything is known of the history of this body politic except that it incorporated Caramania

[1] No Turkish words are in evidence in Gurgānī's poem.

[2] Marv lay at 68 schoeni (by road *circa* 350 km) from Nisā.

[3] What it means ethnologically is not easy to say. A special language (*lwtrā* ?) is mentioned in Gurgān in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (tr., p. 134), and in the fifteenth century the Ḥurūfī heresiarch Faḍlullāh wrote in the local dialect. Our further development would suggest some special links of Gōdarz with the region of Nisā-Marv.

[4] Marquart, *ZDMG*, 1895, 641 ; N. C. Debevoise, *A political history of Parthia*, 1938, 152–166, considers him as Artabanus III.

(Kirman)[1] in the south and thus formed a continuous eastern wall. Marv, lying in the extreme east of the Parthian territories, must have been comprised in the orbit of Hyrcania.

Very confused recollections of Arsacid times have survived in Iran, but even these vague genealogies and legends, which may have preserved some facts of local importance,[2] are precious for our special task of assigning to 29
Vīs u Rāmīn a place in Iranian tradition.

One of the more complete lists of the Arsacids is found in Ṭabarī, I, 710[3] :—

1. Afqūr (Pacorus) b. Balāsh b. Sābūr b. Ashkān b. Ash al-Jabbār (= Kavi Arshan) b. Siyāvush b. Kay Khusrau.
2. Sābūr b. Afqūr (contemporary of Jesus Christ).
3. Jūdharz (Gōdarz) b. Sābūr.
4. Abzān (= Bēzan)[4] b. Balāsh b. Sābūr.
5. Jūdharz b. Abzān.
6. Narsē b. Abzān.
7. al-Hurmuzān b. Balāsh.
8. al-Fayrūzān b. al-Hurmuzān.
9. Kisrā b. al-Fayrūzān.
10. Arduvān (= Artabanus V) b. Balāsh.

In the *Shāh-nāma* the history of the *Ashkāniyān* (Arsacids) has been reduced to seven names[5] and told in twenty verses : ' of them,' says Firdausī, ' I have not heard, save for the names, nor have I seen them in the *Book of Rulers* '.

It was Nöldeke who made an ingenious suggestion with regard to the Arsacids. He thought that the occurrence of the group of names, consisting of Gōdarz, Gēv (Vēv), and Bēzhan,[6] both in the genealogies of the Arsacids and in the saga of Kay Khusrau, as told in the *Book of Kings*, could not be fortuitous. His idea was that, probably at the instigation of the noble Parthian families who took service under the Sasanians, the deeds of their noble ancestors were projected back into the times of the mythical Kayānian king Kay

[1] In spite of Herzfeld's doubt, *Arch. Mitt.*, IV/2, 87, *Caramania* tallies with the ' Acts of the Apostle Thomas '.

[2] Nöldeke, *Pers. Studien*, II, 31, thought that Muslim genealogies of the Arsacids referred to a collateral line (Nebenlinie) having outlived the fall of the Parthian empire.

[3] cf. Ḥamza, pp. 14, 28, 36, 41–4 ; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 136 ; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 113–16. Later Persian sources are fully analysed in Gutschmid-Mühlau, ' Zur Geschichte der Arsakiden ', *ZDMG*, 1861, pp. 664–689 = Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, III, 5–42.

[4] Nöldeke, the editor of this early part of Ṭabarī, I, 710, restored the defective name ران as * ازان : ' scripsi ازان quia a nomine بزن ortum est '. * ازان *Īzān/Esān* would be a better reading, see Henning, *Ein manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 56.

[5] Ashk, son of Qobād ; Shāpūr (descended from Khusrau ?) ; Gōdarz, an Ashkānid ; Bēzhan, a Kayānid ; Narsē ; Ormuzd the Great ; Arish, i.e. Kay Arshan, confused with Ārish the archer (cf. Marquart, *ZDMG*, 1895, p. 634) ; Bahrām Arduvān (VII, 1922).

[6] The sequence appears to be Gēv-Gōdarz-Bēzhan. Gōtarzes calls himself *Geopothros*, but Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, IV/2, 60, takes now *Gēv* for the name of the family, and not of a man. Bēzhan figures as the son of Gōdarz (II) in Ṭabarī, I, 710, Mas'ūdī II, 136, and Ḥamza, 14 (but not 28, 43). In the legend of St. Thomas, apostle of India, Marquart has identified the king Mazdai with Gōdarz, his son *Vēzan* (*Οὐαζάνης*) with Bēzhan and the latter's wife *Μνησάρα* with Manēshak = Manēzha, *Die Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, 1898, p. 68 ; *Ērānšahr*, 72, 74. La Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 276–280, has overlooked this identification.

Khusrau, who himself was endowed with some traits of Artabanus II.[1] One of the paladins of Kay Khusrau, Gōdarz (considered as the father of Gēv), who is
30 described as a knight *sans reproche*[2] is apparently a mask of Gotarzes Geoputhros of the Bīsutūn inscription.[3]

In Firdausi's list of the Ashkanians (Tehr. ed. VII, 1922) Bēžan, quoted after Godarz, is said to be of Kayānid origin, while in the section of Kay Khusrau, Bēžan, the lover of the Turanian princess Maneža, is the son of Gēv b. Godarz, ibid., IV, 1065–1140. Two of his sons, Shērōya and Ardashēr, are mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma*, VI, 1489. Firdausi is silent on their fate but in the part of the *shāh-nāma* composed by Daqīqī (VI, 1523–4) two princes Ardashēr and Shērō fall in the battle against the Turanian (Chionite) Arjāsp.[4]

4. Before proceeding with the examination of some characteristic points in *Vīs-u Rāmīn*, we should consider whether anything in the history of Marv could throw some light on the family of Mōbad.

Both in Persian epics (see *Shāh-nāma*, II, 408) and in the Sasanian *Book of Kings* there are very few references to Marv. Under the Sasanians Marv figures as a frontier town exposed to the attacks of Eastern invaders, or as a refuge of rebels (Bahrām Chōbēn).[5] Only under the year 31/651, in connexion with the murder of the last Sasanian Yezdegerd III, we obtain some light on the situation in Marv. Firdausi gives the name of its ruler as Māhōy Sūrī and, in indignation at his crime, calls him a 'shepherd's son' (*shubān-zāda*), possibly with a hint at his remote origins. In any case one of Tabarī's sources (I, 2876) quotes the pedigree: Māhōya b. Māfāh (Marquart: **Māhfanāh*)[6] b. Fydh (?). The surname

[1] Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, II, 29–34, in *Sitz. Wiener Akademie*, 162 Band, 1892; Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, § 8; further demonstration in Marquart, *ZDMG*, 1895, pp. 634–644; idem., *Ērānšahr*, 72–4; see also Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen, 1932, pp. 59, 127–9; and more recently Marquart, 'Iberer und Hyrkanier' in *Caucasica*, 9, 1931, pp. 78–113; and Sir J. C. Coyajee, 'The house of Gotarzes: a chapter of Parthian history in the Shāhnāmeh', in *JASB*, 1932, XXVIII, No. 10, pp. 207–224. Herzfeld, *Sakastan*, Arch. Mitt., IV/2, 1932, 45–116 (*passim*). According to Mas'udi, *al-Tanbīh*, 97, the first Sasanian cut down by a half the period of 513 years of the Arsacid dominion in order to leave more time for his own descendants within the millennium predicted for the duration of the Zoroastrian state and religion.

[2] Nöldeke, *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, III, 174: 'der Typus aller lobwerten Eigenschaften'. The popularity of the family is illustrated by many references. *Nuzhat al-qulūb*: p. 80: Ūjān in Azarbayjan founded by Bēžan; p. 144: Jūnābād, in the Khorasanian Kūhistān, built by a son of Gōdarz; p. 91: Hamshahra (near Mūghān), residence of Farhād b. Gōdarz. The Chalavi dynasty of Mazandaran (A.D. 1349–1503) claimed descent from Bēžan, son of Gōdarz and Rustam's daughter, see *Ẓafar-nāma*, II, 584; the Chalavis bore such names as Afrasiyāb and Lohrāsp. Rukhvat (Qandahār) was founded by Bēžān, see Marquart, 'Provincial capitals', § 35.

[3] The Kalhur Kurds living in the neighbourhood consider themselves descended from Gōdarz b. Gēv (*sic*). According to the history of the Kurds, *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. V. Zernov, p. 317: 'Under the Kayānians, Gēv was governor of Babylon. . . . His son Ruhhām, at the order of Bahman, led an army to Jerusalem and Egypt. . . . The historians identify him with Bukht al-Naṣr (= Nebuchadnezzar)'. This statement is based on Ḥamza, 36: Bukhṭ-Naṣr, son of Vēv (= Gēv), son of Jōdarz.

[4] They are said to be sons of Gushtāsp (Vishtāsp) but their identity with the sons of Bēžan is not impossible.

[5] See Nöldeke, *Geschichte d. Perser*, p. 17, and Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdausis Schāchnāma*, under *Marv*.

[6] Marquart's later restoration of the name as Māh-Nāhīd (see p. 289) is less happy.

Sūrī remains unexplained and we know only of a few cases of its use in north-eastern Iran.[1]

The early Arabic sources contain more details but the readings of the proper names have not been established with certainty. They leave the impression that the name of the Gōdarzid Bējan is reflected in the surname (or titulature) of Māhōya.[2] Ṭabari, I, 2877 (year 31/651) adds to the name of 31
Māhōya the *kunya* Abū Barāz, and in fact his son Barāz ('Wild Boar') is mentioned as the defender of Marv against Yezdegerd III. We further hear under the same year (I, 2888) that Marv capitulated to the Arabs and its ruler *Abrāz accepted to pay a contribution of 1,200,000 (dirhams?). This name apparently refers to Māhōya himself (cf. de Goeje's Index),[3] but the reading seems to have been chosen by the editor of that part of Ṭabari's text (E. Prym) to suit the earlier **Barāz*, though such an alternative form (**Abrāz* for **Barāz*) is very doubtful. Among the variants quoted we find again, ابزان known to us in Nöldeke's restoration as Abzān = Bēžan, see above, p. 29.

Ibn Khurdādhbih whose geographical work was completed in 232/846 and revised in 272/885 gives (p. 17) a list 'of the titles which (the first Sasanian) Ardashīr gave to the rulers of the earth (*al-arḍ*)', and then (p. 39) a list of 'the titles of the rulers of Khorasan and the East'. In the first list (claiming to go up to the time of A.D. 224–241) the ruler of Marv is called Marv-shāh (cf. below **Marġu-pat* > *Mōbad*). The second list seems to enumerate the titles of the minor dynasties which were known even after the Arab conquest (see below the title of the ruler of Gharchistān). After the rise from Marv of the caliph Ma'mūn (A.D. 813–33) it may have been inadvisable to recall the title of the Marv-shāhs and thus the personal name of the last of them, namely Māhōya, was mentioned. Strangely enough the old equivalent of the name of Bējan (cf. Nöldeke) appears in the second list as the title of the ruler of Nisā. The MSS give *Abrān/Abzān* but the editor (de Gœje) restored it as **Abrāz*, apparently with reference to the reading restored by the editor of Ṭabari's later part, III, 815 (S. Guyard) who himself followed the restoration of I, 2888 (by Prym). It must be remembered that Nisā was the centre of the ancient *Parthyene*, i.e. of the province called directly after the Parthians. The recent discoveries of Arsacid inscriptions and antiquities in Nisā (west of Ashqabad

[1] For example: the amir of Ghōr (somehow connected with the progeny of the enemy of the Kayānids, Zohāk), see *Tabaqat-i Nāṣiri*, transl. by Raverty, p. 316; the *sāhib-dīvān* of the Ghaznavid Mas'ūd, Abul-Faḍl Sūrī, stationed in Nīshāpūr, see *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqi*, ed. Dr. Ghani, p. 469; the patron of our poet, appointed governor of Isfahan by Toghril, is said to be *az dabīrān-i Sūrī* 'of the Sūrī (family) of secretaries', or 'of the secretaries of the Sūrī (family)', see Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Berlin, p. 138. Nöldeke's surmise concerning the connexion of *Sūrī* with the family name *Sūrēn* (*Geschichte*, p. 439) is not helpful. [See Appendix IV.]

[2] The rank of Māhōya is variously described as *marzubān* (Ṭab., I, 2873, Baladhurī, 315–16), *dihqān* (Ṭab., I, 2876), *kanārang* (*Shāh-nāma*, IX, 2983, separate from the *kanārang* of Tūs).

[3] In 36/656 Māhōya is said to have visited Kūfa to have his capitulation confirmed by the caliph 'Alī. On his return the population expelled him from Marv and he died in Abarshahr (Nīshāpūr), see Ṭabarī, I, 3249. Dīnawarī, 149, mentions the death of Māhōya *before* the advent of 'Alī (on 17 Dhul-qa'da 35/17 May 656).

in Turkmenia) fully support the importance of this place in Arsacid administration. It is quite possible that even in the ninth century A.D. some family claimed its origins from Bējanid ancestors, or may have moved to Nisā from Marv [1] which had become the bulwark of the Arabs.

One curious detail should be mentioned in this connexion. The name *Rāmīn*, or *Rām*, is not at all a frequent one in Iranian onomastics. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, quotes it only with reference to the hero of Gurgānī's poem. Astonishingly enough, names similar to Rāmīn are found on the ostraca from Nisa : *Rm* (*Rām), *Rmynk* (*Rāmēnāk), *Rmnyš* (*Rāmanīč), see I. Dyakonov and V. Livshits, *Dokumentī iz Nisī*, 1960, p. 24. Sir H. Bailey draws my attention to the name Rāmēn in Baluchi folklore, see L. Dames, *Popular poetry of the Balochis*, London, 1907, Index. As is known, the ancient homeland of the Baluchis is now sought in north-eastern Iran.

Consequently I am inclined to think that some descendants of the Arsacids,
32 or some memories of them, may have survived in the region of Marv and Nisā. This would make it thinkable that the king Mōbad (*Marv-bad) belonged to the lore of the Gōdarz-Gēv-Bējan family. In literary subjects it is often impossible to identify the heroes with historical figures, and one can only speak of their general association with the historical cycles.

5. Having sifted the dust of facts bearing on the Arsacid tradition and the history of Marv, we shall now turn our attention to the internal evidence of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* in support of the assumption that the story is connected with the house of Gōdarz-Bēžan.

The name of the king of Marv is a great puzzle. In modern Persian the group *mwbd* can be read only as *maubad* > *mōbad* which is a common designation of a Zoroastrian priest. Gurgānī himself seems to have been conscious of the ambiguity of this appellation. Mōbad (ch. xv, v. 16) sends his brother and minister (*dastūr*) Zard to Hamadan, and on his return the envoy (*rasūl*) reports (ch. xvii, vv. 43–5) on the hostility of the Hamadanians who have proclaimed Vīrō as their only king (*shāh*). ' They do not consider thee (i.e. Mōbad) as one of the kings (*shahriyārān*). Some people do not regard thee as a manly person (*mard*) ; some call thee *mōbad* and *dastūr* (here : " minister of the Zoroastrian religion "), and some call thee a false (here : *zūr*, not *zōr*) *mōbad*.' This curious quotation confirms how the name, or title of the king of Marv was pronounced in Gurgānī's time and perhaps even in that of his source. It is possible that the form *Mwbd* had suffered in the process of transcription from the equivocal Pahlavī script into Arabic lettering. Despite the passage on Zard's report to Mōbad, the poet himself in some other passages may have been tempted to hint at some sacerdotal duties of Mōbad (see pp. 14, 36). [Unlikely ! 1964.]

[1] De Goeje's references in favour of the reading **Abrāz* are not conclusive. Ṭabarī, iii, 815, says that Ma'mūn was distressed by the disaffection of such remote tributaries as the Turkish *jabghūya*, the khaqan of Tibet, and the king of Kabul. In this company it is more natural to retain the reference of the MS to *Otrār-banda* (on the Jaxartes) than to *Barāz-banda*. The latter title belonged to the ruler of Gharchistān, see especially *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, § 23, 51), a region not important enough to provoke the caliph's anxiety.

Gurgānī suggests that outside the gate of Marv there existed a fire-temple built by Jamshēd and dedicated to the Sun (*ātash-gāh-i* Khurshēd) (Minovi, pp. 195, 491). Having presented abundant gifts to the temple Mōbad borrowed some of its fire to light in the public place a pyre before which Vīs was going to take an oath to her innocence. The passages on the sepulchre erected by Rāmīn to Vīs (Min., p. 508, 510) are not quite clear: was Vīs buried near the Burzīn fire (at Rēvand, or Rūvand, west of Nishapur),[1] or did Rāmīn only bring some fire from Burzīn to burn it near the sepulchre built in the neighbourhood of Marv? After Rāmīn's abdication in favour of his two sons and the death of his wife Mihr-Burzīn would have been a suitable place for pious retirement, but even in the other case the ancient fire seems to have had more importance in the eyes of Rāmīn than the local fire of Marv. Burzīn seems to be the fire which Isidore of Charax places near Asaak (Arsak) the ancient home of the Arsacids. Such a connexion of the dynasty of Marv with Burzīn might explain some honorary religious title conferred on king Mōbad, but this is only a vague surmise for future research.

[Already in 1955 Professor H. W. Bailey communicated to me an original and important suggestion concerning the form *Mwbd* < *Mobad*. He quoted a number of Iranian, and especially eastern Iranian parallels showing that Mōbad in our case might be derived from an ancient **Marġu-pati-š*, i.e. 'lord of Marġu (later Marv)'. For the loss of *-r-* cf. Khorazmian **amġa* 'bird' as against Avestan *mereġa*, Old Persian *murv*. After this simplification the name might have followed the way of the West Iranian *maġu-pati* 'chief of the Magians', the prototype of Persian *mōbad*.]

What is particularly interesting in this hypothesis is that such an evolution of the title of the Lord of Marv would point to an ancient period and to the eastern border of Khorasan. The original title would closely correspond to the title of *Marv-shāh* quoted by Ibn Khurdādhbih.

In Minovi's edition the name of the king is twice (pp. 33, 58) accompanied by the name of origin منیکان **Manīkān/Manēkān*. The patronymic suffix can be either *-ān* or *-(a)kān* (cf. Firdausi Gēvakān, 'progeny of Gēv', in which cases the ancestor's name would be either *Manī/Manē, or *Manīk/Manēk. The nearest parallel to these forms would be the name Manēč, borne by several Parthians about the beginning of our era. As a feminine form of Manēč Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 190, takes the name Manēža (the Middle Iranian form of which is restored by Marquart, *Catalogue*, p. 53, as *Man-ēčak*). Manēža was the daughter of Afrasiyāb married to Bēžan. We have examined the traces of the latter's name in Marv and it would be tempting to think that the family name *Manīkān* represented those children of Bēžan who were born of Manēža. This suggestion is offered here as a mere hint for future research on *Vīs-u Rāmīn*. There must have been a need for distinguishing between the children of the famous hero born from different mothers, and a connexion with the

[1] See Hoffmann, *Pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 290–2: Asaak 'in irgend einem historischen, oder genealogischen, Zusammenhang mit dem Burzīn Mihr Feuer stand'.

daughter of Afrasiyāb would have meant a particular distinction. Appellations after the mother are not common but we can remember that even in *Vīs-u Rāmīn* Vīrō is called Vīrō-yi Shahrō. As Firdausi explains, IV, 1065-9, the story of the adventures of Bēžan and Manēža was borrowed by him from a special Pahlavī book (*daftar-i Pahlavī*) recited to him by a friend on a stormy night. The passage suggests that the story formed a special narrative or cycle, similarly to the cycle of Rustam incorporated in the *Shāh-nāma*. As is usual in epics, the adventures of the ancestor (Bēžan) may have been reflected in those of his descendant (Rāmīn ?).[1]

33 References to Isfahān (see above, p. 17) are also interesting. In Ṭabarī, I, 613, Gōdarz, after his victory over the Turks, is appointed *buzurg-framadhār* and given the fiefs of Gurgān and Isfahān ' with their highlands '. Similarly in the *Shāh-nāma*, II, 377 : Gōdarz receives Isfahān ; III, 749 : he receives Khorāsān, Rayy, Qum, and Isfahān ; V, 1266 : Isfahān is again conferred on him ; V, 1430 : on his application, K. Khusrau gives Qum and Isfahān to Gēv.[2]

Remembering that Hyrcania occupied an important place in the career of Gōtarzes Geopothros, or even was his home, we can attach some importance to the frequent mentions of Gurgān (Hyrcania) in *Vīs u Rāmīn*. Even proceeding against the ' Roman cæsar ' Mōbad marches *via* Gurgān.

The characteristic name of Mōbad's paladin Ruhhām-i Ardabīlī, said to be of Kayānian origin, reminds one of Ruhhām, son of Gōdarz, belonging to the cycle of Kay Khusrau (*vide supra*, p. 14). The same may be said of the land *Humāvan in an additional verse in N. Lees edition, etc. (*vide supra*, p. 20).

It would not be safe to go beyond the general analysis of the background of the poem. Any attempts of the later Persian authors to fit the chief heroes of this story into a definite Arsacid or Sasanian reign were utterly futile, for they knew about the Arsacids much less than we do now. Moreover, in the poem Mōbad himself appears as the great king in his own right, independent of any other suzerain.

6. More definite parallels can be quoted for the second centre of the story, the province Māh. The name of the ruler Qārin is noteworthy, for in fact the great Parthian family of Kārēn *was* established in Māh. Ṭabarī, I, 683, states that under the Kayānian king Bishtasp (Gushtāsp) seven great peers (*'azīm*) were created, of whom four are enumerated : نهکابیذ (probably : **nahāpet*)

[1] Readiness to quote Bēžan's name accounts for a gross misunderstanding in Firdausi (IV, 299) where the Turkish chief attacking Yezdegerd III is called Bēžan ' of Tarkhān origin '. Mahōya invites him to fight his master referring to the ancestral feuds (*kīn-i niyāgān*). Here بیژن is an obvious mistake for the Hephtalite نیزک طرخان (Nīzuk, Chinese : *Ni-chou*), on whom see Ṭabarī, I, 1977, and Balādhuri, 420.

[2] In the Introduction, p. 26, Gurgānī's patron, a native of Nishāpūr, does not seem to be acquainted with *Vīs u Rāmīn*, but admits its popularity ' in this region (*kishvar*) ', i.e. apparently in Ishfahān. The poet himself (a Gurgānī !) knows everything about the story. These regional variances are curious.

in Dihistān,[1] in the territory of Gurgān; Qārin al-Fahlawī (= *pahlavān*) in Māh Nihāvand; Sūrēn al-Fahlawī in Sigistān; Isfandiyār al-Fahlawī in Rayy. Dēnawarī, p. 99, mentions a Qārin *al-Jabalī al-Nihāvandi*, as the governor of Khorāsān, Kōmish and Gurgān under Anūshirvān. The second *nisba* of 34
Qārin is particularly interesting, for Nihāvand figures also in *Vīs u Rāmīn* as the area where Vīrō[2] mustered his army before the decisive battle.

Above (p. 9) we have noticed in Gurgānī's text some mysterious references to Damāvand. The first *nisba* which Dīnawarī applies to Qārin may give us a clue to them: possibly the hints have in view the earlier home of the Qārinids in the Elburz region. Curiously enough the names of the two partners of Vīrō in his polo match with Mōbad (Arghish and Sharvīn) are suggestive of the Caspian provinces. Kūh-i Qārin in Ṭabaristān lay close to Kūh-i Sharvīn.[3]

In the year A.D. 50 the Arsacid governor of Mesopotamia, Carenes (i.e. *Kārēn*), who, together with the kings Abkar of Edessa and Izates of Adiabēnē (= Assyria), supported the Roman candidate Meherdates, was defeated by Gōtarzes somewhere near the Zagros pass (see above, p. 28).[4] This episode is strongly reminiscent of the death of Qārin in the battle of Dēnavar (pp. 65, 190): perchance, the exploit of Gōtarzēs had been put to Mōbad's credit. Even Rāmīn's expedition to Mosul and Syria may reflect the tense relations which existed between Gōtarzes and the kings Izates and Abkar. Ruhhām, son of Gōdarz, was supposed to have captured Jerusalem (see above, p. 30).

Vīs u Rāmīn definitely cold-shoulders Qārin, and this attitude might find its explanation in the anti-Kārēnid feeling surviving among the family of the real Gōtarzes.[5] But the story is not very complimentary to the members of the royal family of Marv either. Mōbad is both brutal and weak and no veil is thrown over Rāmīn's sorry behaviour on several occasions. More respect and sympathy (again not unmixed, pp. 77–80) are reserved for the family of Qārin's wife Shahrō, said to be descended from the mythical king Jamshēd.

[1] See Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. E. G. Browne, 106, نهابذ صوليه in Gurgān at the time of the Omayyads. These later nahāpets were of Turkish origin and belonged to the tribe Ṣūl (perhaps: **Chur* ?). This reference goes counter to Marquart's restoration **Nuhakān-beδ* 'der Fürst der Alanen', see *Iberer und Hyrkanier, Caucasica*, 8, 1931, 98.

[2] Professor W. B. Henning, *Asia Major*, 1952, II/2, 178, has quoted the name Wērōy (Wērōd) in support of my attribution of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* to the Parthian epoch. The name of the town *Burūjird* (south of Gūrāb) is derived from the same personal name (Orodes). The Timurid *Ẓafar-nāma*, I, 586, 594, 812, still spells it وروجرد.

[3] See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, under Karen, Arghush, and Sharvīn. In early Islamic times a dynasty said to be descended from Qārin b. Sūkhrā, 'whom Anūshirvān had established in Ṭabaristān', ruled in the Kūh-i Qārin. Its last representative, the famous Māzyār, was executed in A.D. 839, see Minorsky in *EI*.

[4] Herzfeld, *Am Thor von Asien*, 1920, p. 46: at Bīsutūn (?). On the controversial question of the River Kormas, behind which Gōtarzēs was expecting his enemies, I have recently spoken in *BSOAS*, XI/3, p. 660: I restore it as **Tornas* and identify it with the Diyāla. On Kārēn, cf. also Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, IV/2, 64–7.

[5] Subtle genealogists had, however, connected Gōdarz with the eponym of the Kārēn family. In the meantime, Kārēn was made the son of the famous smith Kāva. Even the latter seems to be a mere sublimation of the 'Kayānian banner' *dirafsh-i Kāviyān*, understood as the 'Banner of Kāva'. Cf. Christensen, *Les Kayānides*, pp. 43, 128.

As the *Shahr-bānū* she takes precedence over the 'shah's wife' (pp. 31–2), to say nothing of her own husband. No indication is given in the text of her direct parentage or of her original home. Under the Kayānian kings we hear of the paladins Ṭōs and Gustahm (Vistahm), sons of Nōdhar, who continued the line of the previous dynasty (*Pēshdādhiyān*).[1] The Pahlavī list of provincial capitals, ed. Marquart, § 14, attributes the foundation of the town of Ṭōs
35 to the homonymous son of Nōdhar. It is likely that Shahrō's origin should be sought along these lines. On the other hand, Jamshēd's field of activity was connected with Fārs, and this may be a subsidiary explanation of the spurious verse (N. Lees, p. 171, omitted in Minovi, 173) in which a son called Sāsān figures among Shahrō's progeny. Both the attitude of the story towards the rulers of Marv and this last interpolation may indicate that the original was tampered with in Sasanian times.[2]

7. We have reached the end of our survey. Already in the fourteenth century A.D. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī felt that the story was connected with the time of *Bēzhan b. Gōdarz,[3] and our task has been: (1) to trace the two planes of the Gōdarzian lore—one genuinely Parthian, and the other fantastically projected into the time of Kay-Khusrau, (2) to elucidate the tradition of the rulers of Marv, and (3) to scan all the details supporting the thesis of the Parthian (Arsacid) background of the story of Vīs and Rāmīn.

To sum up our argument:—

(*a*) The story of *Vīs u Rāmīn*, as shown by its geographical background, belongs to the Arsacid epoch.

(*b*) It is probable that it recounts the adventures of some scion of the branch founded by Gōdarz and only indirectly related to the main Arsacid line.

(*c*) The patronymic of the king of Marv, Mōbad *Manīkān*, may point to his descent from the Gōdarzid Bēzhan and his wife Manīzha.

(*d*) The house of Māh (Media), to which belongs Vīs, is that of the Kārēnids, one of the seven noble families under the Arsacids.

(*e*) Any further identifications are risky, as the Pahlavī source of the poet Gurgānī proceeded in the usual epic way, altering the sequence of events and the personal connexions of the heroes. His picture is true only as a general setting of the events.

Appendix I (1946)

The usually inaccurate Daulat-shāh, ed. Browne, pp. 60, 130, is responsible for the unwarranted statement that a second poem of Vīs and Rāmīn was

[1] To this family belonged Sōkhrā (Sūfrā) of Shīrāz, one of the generals of the Sasanian Pērōz, cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 120.

[2] However, Iṣṭakhr figures in the list of Vīrō's allies (pp. 57–8). [The name Sasan appears in the Saka dynasty of Gandhāra (*circa* 20–80), founded by Gundofarr, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, IV/2, 105.]

[3] Note the non-Firdausian pattern of this genealogy (*not* Bēzhan *b. Gēv* b. Gōdarz.), see above, p. 29.

composed by Niẓāmī al-'Arūḍī (the author of the *Chahār-maqāla*), or even by Niẓāmī of Ganja. Ḥājjī Khalīfa, VI, 468, made the mistake even worse. M. Qazvīnī, the learned editor of the *Chahār maqāla* (Introduction, p. 18), has completely done away with all this confusion. Ḥājjī Khalīfa in his notice adds that *Vīs u Rāmīn* was translated by the Ottoman poet Lāmi'ī, who died in 938/1531 ; the paragraph is badly worded and might perpetuate the impression that Lāmi'ī's aberrant passages reflect some ancient source other than Gurgānī. This is not the case. Lāmi'ī has written a modernized poem of his own, taking 36
some episodes from Gurgānī.

One passage only of Lāmi'ī's poem is accessible to me in the original (Gibb, *HOP*, VI, 131–2). It describes the courting of Shahrō by the king of Gurgān, and corresponds to Mōbad's conversation with Shahrō (Minovi, 32–3). Not only is Lāmi'ī's metre identical with that of Gurgānī, but some of the verses show a direct dependence on the latter's version :

نسیمندن خجل باد بهاری صچندن منکسر عود قماری . . .
کر اولسک بکه دلدار ای دلافروز شبم قدر اوله روزم عید نوروز

In Minovi, p. 32, verse 27, and p. 33, verse 12 :—

هم از رویش خجل باد بهاری هم از مویش خجل عود قماری . . .
اکربا روی توباشم شب و روز شب من روز باشد روز نوروز

For the general contents of Lāmi'ī's poem I could only consult its abstract in Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, 1837, II, 63–89 (abridged in Gibb, *HOL*, III, 357–360).[1]

Shahrō, the wife of Munqad (?), shah of Marv, praises the beauty of her daughter Vīsa to the shah of Jurjān. On her return to Marv she betroths Vīsa to her nephew Vīrō. The shah of Jurjān sends his own nurse to Marv as a spy and then attacks Marv. Munqad and his wife are besieged in the castle Mahābād (*sic*), whence they flee to Herat. The local king Fīrūz poisons Vīrō. The general of the shah of Jurjān, Bahrām, attacks king Fīrūz and kills him. Another Bahrām (of Marv) ascends the throne of Herat and marries Fīrūz's daughter Shams-bānū. Munqad, Shahrō, and Vīsa flee to Tūrān. Rāmīn, the son of the khan of Turkestan, falls in love with Vīsa. The khan puts his son under the tuition of a ' perfect shaykh ', but Vīsa continues to correspond with him. Finally Rāmīn escapes to Herat and, after a number of adventures among the evil *ṣūfīs* and honest *qalandars*, finds Vīsa and marries her.

As one can judge by this resumé, the geographical background and the relationship of the heroes are drastically modified. The whole tone of the story is changed : instead of expressing the intensity of human passions, Lāmi'ī

[1] Hammer, II, 63, commits new mistakes by saying that the original poems on Vīs and Rāmīn were written by the ' great ' Niẓāmī (of Ganja) and by Faṣīḥ Jurjānī, a descendant of the author of the *Qābūs-nāma*!

tries to amuse and edify. The end of his poem is tinged with mystic reflexions and is full of abstract discourses on justice, generosity, etc. The poem, characteristic of the time of Sultan Sulaymān, is of no value for the study of the original legend, whose framework has happily survived in Gurgānī's version.

Appendix II (1947)

1. My friend M. Minovi has kindly lent me a photographic copy of the article of my old teacher Baron R. Stackelberg (*Drevnosti vostochnïya*, Moscow, 1896, II/1, pp. 10–23) to which I refer in my Introduction. The author used the Indian edition and Graf's article. He states that 'from the marrying of a still unborn daughter of Shahrō [cf. Minovi, 49, verse 88] results the tragical sin of Mōbad whom Fate visits with grievous punishments'. The final triumph of the lovers is not conditioned by any 'moral prevalence over the other dramatis personæ'. Mōbad is presented in the poem in a rather comic light. However, the 'simplicity and *naïveté* with which various deceits and stratagems (of the lovers) are told . . . constitutes, in our view, the outstanding merit of the poem'.

The chief importance of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* consists in its characterization of ancient Persian culture. While the *Shāh-nāma* acquaints us with the 'external side of Persian life, idyllic and lyric motifs prevail in Gurgānī's poem in which the leading role belongs to women. Rāmīn, as a typical Persian noble, is not only a mighty hunter, but a lover of women and wine.

On the whole, the external and internal background of the *Shāh-nāma* and *Vīs* is identical. The epoch and the manners reflected in the poem are those of the Sasanian Persia. Zoroastrian-Parsi views prevail in the poem, such as marriage of brothers and sisters, the influence of stars on men's destiny. Mercury is especially mentioned as Mōbad's *dabīr* (Indian, 12/Minovi, 28). Persian and Arabic names of the planets alternate as in the *Shāh-nāma*. Zoroastrian views are reflected in such passages as that describing the temporary impurity of Vīs (Ind. 46/Min. 71), cf. Vendidad, fargard 16; the purifying quality of fire (Ind. 136/Min. 193), and the influence of the evil eye (Ind. 261/Min. 343). The preparation of a talisman by the nurse is illustrated by a passage in the *Gāthās*, 51 (Vohuxšaθrā), 9–10, where fire and iron are linked up with mythological motifs.

With some misunderstanding Stackelberg interprets the passage in the Introduction concerning the lack of 'poetical art' in the original of the poem as a would-be hint at the 'absence of versified works in the middle Persian literature' [1] (see above, p. 3, our explanation of the text).

'In spite of the Persian spirit of *Vīs-u Rāmīn*—at least in its present form—there is a possibility that the story penetrated into Persia from outside, namely from India. Certainly such an admission cannot be based merely on references

[1] With reference to Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, II, 11.

to the Indian places [e.g. ملون, p. 241—apparently misread ملتان—whereas Gurgānī is referring to *dībā-yi mulavvan*, Minovi, 320] or plants (نیلوفر) which occur in other Persian writers as well. But, as the substance of the romance of Vīs has nothing in common with Old Persian epics, its heroes not being connected with the legends and the mythology of ancient Iranians, and as, on the other hand, the story in its general lines coincides with the contents of *Tristan and Isolde* we are inclined to admit—in spite of the total iranicization of the groundwork (*obshchiy stroy*) of the poem—that the common source both of the Persian and the Western tale was Indian. It is known that India furnished to Asia and Europe an inexhaustible store of fairy-tales and poetical subjects.' At present *Vīs-u Rāmīn* is appreciated only in India ; it is forgotten in Persia, although the dictionaries (*farhang*) show that it used to be read in its time. 'We cannot say whether later Persian poets have referred to it' (but see below, the quotation from Sa'di).

The simplicity of the language in *Vīs-u Rāmīn* may be responsible for the lack of interest in it on the part of sophisticated readers. Old prefixes زی فرا باز are common in Gurgānī's text ; in some cases *v* is preferred to *b* : ورنا (for برنا), واشام (Armen. *varshamak*), اورنجن (Armen. *aparanjan*). Personal names in *ō*(*y*) are frequent. Of other names the author refers to اذرباذ (< Aturpat), ایزدیار (see Sebeos, ed. Patkanian, 76, etc.), بهروز (Pahl. *Rōčvēh*), فرخ زاد (Sebeos *xoroxzad*), and زرستون—'with some doubt, we quote here the Pahlavī name of *Zarstan*, daughter of Arjāsp'. [Cf. *Ayātkār-i Zarērān*, ed. Pagliaro, 1925, § 71 : Zarstan, daughter of the Khionite King Arjāsp.]

2. Of references to *Vīs-u Rāmīn* in later literatures Stackelberg himself found the well-known verse (Indian ed. 342) [1] :

اکرصد سال گبر آتش فروزد * سرنجامش همان آتش بسوزد

imitated in the *Gulistān* (I, story 16, ed. Platts, p. 26) where the second hemistich is improved :

چو یک دم اندران افتد بسوزد

As a parallel Stackelberg quotes the answer of the Magians to the Armenian bishop Leontius : 'and if we come close to it (i.e. the Fire) and prostrate ourselves before it, it reduces us to ashes'.[2]

In point of fact references to *Vīs-u Rāmīn* are fairly numerous in Persian literature. Perhaps the earliest quotation, in which Gurgānī is mentioned by

[1] In Min., 443, the second hemistich runs هم او روزی بدان آتش بسوزد

[2] Elisæus (d. A.D. 480), ch. VIII. Stackelberg translates from the text ed. by Kananian, p. 355. Similarly in the Russian translation, Tiflis, 1853, p. 296, but cf. the translation of V. Langlois, 1869, II, 241 : ['si on lui donne peu de nourriture il a très faim et si nous ne lui offrons rien il s'éteint tout-à-fait.] Si ensuite nous allons auprès de lui et que nous l'adorions il nous brûle. . . .'

name, is in that curious compilation: *Kitāb-i Samak-i 'Ayyār*. The author (*mu'allif, rāwī, muṣannif*) of the story is Ṣadaqa ibn Abil-Qāsim of Shīrāz, but it was reduced to its final form by Farāmarz son of Khudādād son of 'Abdullāh al-Kātib al-Arrajānī (*jam' āvaranda-yi kitāb*) who began his work on 4th Jam. I 585/20 June 1189. On fol. 86 of the unique MS of the Bodleian (Bod. Ouseley 379, f. 88) three verses are quoted from the poem of *Fakhr-i Gurgānī*, corresponding to verses 301, 302, and 300 on p. 358 of Minovi's edition.

References to *Vīs* in Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī are common, although Gurgānī's authorship is not mentioned. *Dīvān*, ed. Nicholson, p. 4 :—

ندیدهٔ تو دواوین (sic) وَیس ورامین
نخواندهٔ تو حکایت وامق وعذرا

In the *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, III, 228 : *Vīsa* ; IV, 1828 : **Vays* rhyming with *Uways* ; V, 2980 : *Vīs* rhyming with *Bilīs* (< Iblis).

3. S. H. Taqizadeh draws my attention to a curious verse (Minovi, 44) in which the astrologers fix the day for Vīs's betrothal to her brother Vīrō :—

چو گردشهای ایشانرا بدیدند * زآذرماه روزی برگزیدند
کجا آنگه زگشت روزکاران * درآذرماه بودی نوبهاران

'When the star-gazers considered the course (of the stars) they chose one day of the month Ādhar, because at that period, owing to the march of time, springtime occurred in the month of Ādhar.' My learned friend writes [1]: 'From this one might gather that the composition of the original book took place after the fourth century A.D., because the beginning of spring, i.e. the vernal equinox, does not coincide with the first of Ādhar before A.D. 507 ; nor can it coincide with Ādhar (even with the last days of the latter) before A.D. 388. As the insertion of the usual epagomena did not take place before A.D. 399, Ādhar could not, even legally, be included in the spring. It is possible of course that the book has gone through several redactions, and that that period, namely from A.D. 400 to 508, refers to the Sasanian *rifacimento* of the tale'. [From ch. L, v. 8 ('Vīs withered like a rose from the month of Ādhar') it is clear that Gurgānī considered Ādhar as a month late in the year.]

The point brought up by the author of the exhaustive study on Persian calendars is naturally most interesting, but he himself opens me a back-door out of my *shish-dar*. We are still at the beginning of our studies of *Vīs-u Rāmīn*, and even the astrological hints in the descriptions of the night on which Mōbad carries away Vīs from her castle (Minovi, 80–3) may yield their secrets some day.[2]

4. The severe judgment which Nöldeke had passed on *Vīs-u Rāmīn* is well known (*Das Schahname*, 2nd ed., § 32). 'In a very unpleasant manner

[1] I translate his Persian.

[2] [In *BSOAS*, 1962, xxv/2, p. 281, I have taken *Ādhar* for a contraction of *Ādhār*, the month of the Seleucid era (beginning 1 March). Gurgani refers to *Ādhār* three times, cf. Minovi, 319, 361, 481.]

PLATE I

JŪRĀB (GŪRĀB)
South of Hamadān.

Facing page 193

are depicted the joys of drinking bouts of husband and wife for whole weeks in *Vīs-u Rāmīn*, a poem the æsthetical value of which cannot be considered higher than its morals'. To this unmerited verdict one might oppose the episodes like that when youthful Vīs, still faithful to her betrothal with Vīrō, seeks isolation from old Mōbad and rebuts the intrigues of the nurse who wants her to meet Rāmīn (Minovi, 96, etc.).

As a portraiture of Parthian manners one might quote Plutarch's description of Surena who 'was no ordinary person, but in wealth, family, and reputation the second man in the kingdom, and in courage and prowess the first, and for bodily stature and beauty no man like him. Whenever he travelled privately, he had one thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his concubines, one thousand completely armed men for his lifeguards, and a great many more light-armed . . .'. Then again Plutarch speaks of Surena as 'keeping behind him a whole Parthian Sybaris in his many wagons full of concubines' and refers to his van, 'fierce and terrible with spears and arrows', in contrast to his rear 'terminating in loose women and castanets, music of the lute, and midnight revellings' (Crassus, 'Dryden's translation', London, 1902, III, 356, 373). Surely *Vīs-u Rāmīn* does not describe any scenes of loose manners and promiscuous amusements, but a conflict of earnest and exclusive passions, to match with those of the Celtic lovers of the West.

5. I have to thank several other friends who communicated to me their most kind remarks on my article. Their appreciation shows that I have played my part in the *course au flambeau*.

6. On my 70th birthday, I dedicate this article to my wife (5.2.1947).

Appendix III (1954)

In my articles on Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī's poem *Vīs-u-Rāmīn* [1] I made a point of its realistic geographical and historical background which, in my opinion, connects it with the Arsacid tradition. One of the important places in the story is the castle of Gūrāb in which the heroine Vīs was kept and which belonged to the family of her future rival Gul. Muslim geographers still referred to this place lying at the junction of the roads from Hamadān and Nihāvand to Karaj, and Gūrāb is mentioned in the course of the military operations of the Seljuk Sulṭān Mas'ūd (towards 541/1146), see *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 242. In more recent times its titles to distinction had been forgotten.

1. At this place I wish only to reproduce the photograph of the site taken at my request by my lamented friend A. C. Edwards († 11th September, 1951), who in his letter (dated Hamadan, 21st July, 1948) wrote: 'Jurab is situated about 5 miles from Malāyir, on the new Malayir–Sultanabad [2] road. The

[1] See *BSOAS*, 1946, XI/4, and 1947, XII/1.

[2] Sultānābād (now called Erāg) is the medieval Karaj Abī-Dulaf, as indicated by the name of the river کره رود (i.e. * کرج رود) in its neighbourhood.

ruined castle is a very substantial affair. It is, indeed, the most imposing *qal'a* that I have seen in Persia and certainly [? V. M.] the oldest. It can be seen for miles. It must have been circular or slightly oval in shape, with a diameter which I identified as about 40 metres. There is little left of the walls or battlements which must have surrounded the top of the eminence. I should imagine that the fortress was built on the top of an already existing hillock to which (probably) more earth was added to raise it to the present imposing height '.

Gūrāb, as situated at a crossing of the roads, on the southern approaches to Hamadan, was certainly an important strategical point. I think some day it will be found that a castle existed here even at the time when the pre-Iranian ' Zagros peoples ' were dominant in the region. It is curious that our poem has preserved the memory of the ancient glory of Gūrāb. On the other hand, this detail enhances the realistic tendencies of the old legend.

2. The story of Vīs and Rāmīn, as narrating the love of a young queen for a young relative of her old husband, naturally reminds one of the similar plot of Tristan and Isolde,[1] and is bound to occupy the attention of specialists in western European medieval lore. Recently I have had the occasion to examine the introduction to a special collectanea on the motif of Tristan and Isolde [2] in which O. M. Freidenberg has conveniently summed up the characteristic features of the legend. In addition to the basic, and very general, likeness in the romantic situation, I have found in Dr. Freidenberg's longish record only two points of similarity with *Vīs-u-Rāmīn* : the episode of a maid (in our case the nurse) deputizing for her mistress on the marital couch, and the episode of the hero temporarily forgetting the heroine. Tristan's retirement to the forest might perhaps be compared with Rāmīn's retirement to Daylam. The results of the comparison look somewhat meagre. Isolated details can certainly belong to the common stock of human fantasy, which is not unlimited as regards situations in a three-cornered romance.

The general atmosphere of the two poems is very different. Apart from the talisman built by the crafty nurse (a native of Khūzān), *Vīs-u-Rāmīn* is devoid of magic or symbolic elements which abound in the Celtic legend. The sea which fills in the background of *Tristan and Isolde* is naturally absent in the Iranian story. But one of the curious features in Gurgānī's poem is Rāmīn's patiently-borne ordeal in the snow before Vīs's residence. Snow as an element of a romantic story is unexpected in purely Persian surroundings. Here the imagination of the original story-teller seems to move in the framework of the Parthian north.

[The distinguished scholar in comparative literary studies, Professor Žirmunsky, in his article on ' literary relations between the East and the West

[1] See *BSOAS*, XI/4, p. 4. See above, p. 4 (now p. 155).

[2] Тристан и Исольда. Труды Института языка и мышления, II, 1932, p. 15 (in the R.A.S. Library). I leave aside O. M. Freidenberg's special endeavour to interpret the poem as a cosmic myth (Sun-Water-Underground Region).

in the development of epics ',[1] admits of considerable analogy of the subjects of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* and *Tristan and Isolde*,[2] but states that the repeated discussion of the problem has proved ' entirely inconclusive '. He thinks that in both stories ' poetical thought may have followed similar and internally consistent paths in reflecting the typical conflict of the feudal period when conjugal obligations were often based not on love but on family relations and politics '. Despite the similitude of such episodes as the escape of the lovers from the ordeal by fire, such facts and details are insignificant in the general plans of the two plots: the latter develop out of dissimilar initial situations and end differently. V. M. Žirmunsky very rightly stresses the fact of the courageous disclosure by Vis of her fidelity to her brother, and then to Ramin, as against the stratagems used by the western couple of lovers. He insists on the close dependence of the French romance from the Celtic background of the story of Diarmaid and Grāinne. To this reasoning I should like to add the entirely original rôle of the mother Shahro whose surrender of Vis to Mobad is the real cause of the misfortunes of the daughter (see Minovi, ch. 28, vv. 20–4).]

Appendix IV (1962)

Later developments

1. Two articles by M. Minovi
2. The new edition of the poem (1959)
3. Pahlavi and the ' language of Fahla '
4. Gurgānī and Toghrīl-bek[3]

1. *Two articles by M. Minovi*

The promised vol. II of Professor Minovi's edition of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* has not yet appeared and the variants of the important MS of Istanbul remain unknown. On the other hand we owe to the editor two interesting articles shedding light on the poem of Gurgānī.

(A) In the first of these (see the Tehran monthly *Sukhan*, VI, 1, 1333/1954, 13–21, and VI, 2, 1333/1954, 129–37) M. Minovi reviews the scanty data on the origin of the story and on the biography of Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī, and gives a summary of the poem.

He admits the possibility of the Parthian origin of the plot[4] and makes the interesting suggestion that the original which Gurgānī had before him was in Middle Persian transcribed in Arabic characters (Pāzand), though I personally still believe that the text used by Gurgānī was an antiquated Persian (*fārsī*) translation of the original Pahlavi.

Drawing attention to the fact that the poet in his conclusion calls himself

[1] Published in 1916, reprinted in the volume Народный героический эпос, 1962, see pp. 65–74 and 383.

[2] The earliest redaction not later than A.D. 1150.

[3] As the complete text of Annex IV is still easily available in *BSOAS*, 1962, XXVIII, part 2, I omit in the present reprint points 3 and 4 in which I discuss and contend the views recently expressed on *Vis-u Ramin* by other scholars.

[4] To the guess in this direction found in *Tārīkh-i guzīda* he adds the similar utterings of Ḥājjī Khalīfa and the *Haft iqlīm*.

young (*javān*) but elsewhere speaks of his disappointments in love experienced 'many days ago', and taking it that the poem was completed in 446/1054, Minovi tentatively assumes that the author was born *circa* 406/1016 (?).

Already in 1312/1933 Professor Badī' al-zamān in his *Sukhan va sukhan-varān*, II, 1, p. 5, referred to the queer story which Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār, in his *Ilāhī-nāma*, tells about Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī. The poet living at the court of the 'shāh' of Gurgān was suddenly overcome by love for one of the king's minions. The king hastened to give his *ghulām* to the poet, but the beautiful slave perished in an accident. In despair (*divānagī* 'madness') Fakhr al-dīn wandered in the wilderness with the story of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* on his tongue (*vird-i zabān*). Minovi is sceptical about the story told by 'Aṭṭār in a mystical spirit, but it merits some attention as indicating Gurgānī's connexions in his homeland. The king in question might have been one of the later Ziyārids.[1] The great sensibility of Gurgānī may be also reflected in this anecdote.

Even less certain is the time of Gurgānī's connexion with a certain *Thiqat al-mulk Shahriyār* whom he served apparently as a kind of literary adviser, reading and composing poetry for him. He finally derided his patron for his stupidity in a pungent satire quoted by 'Aufi. Minovi tentatively takes this *Thiqat al-mulk* for the ra'īs of Rayy *Thiqat al-mulk Abū Muslim Surūshyārī*,[2] and the result of such a surmise would be that Gurgānī was still alive *circa* 460–70/1067–77. It seems somewhat strange, however, that Niẓām al-mulk[3] would have given his daughter to such an asinine person as described in the satire. The episode might better suit the early years of Gurgānī's career than the time when he had *Vīs-u Rāmīn* to his credit. *Thiqat al-mulk* is the title of several vazirs and dignitaries of the Ghaznavid and Seljūqid time, but its combination with the name Shahriyār (not Abū Muslim!) is unexpected. This princely name was typical for the rulers of the Bāvandid dynasty of Ṭabaristān, and reading (with an *iḍāfat*) *Thiqat al-mulk-i Shahriyār* 'the Confidence of State of Shahriyār' one might expect that the *Thiqat al-mulk* in question had previously served under the Bāvandid Shahriyār III b. Dārā (A.D. 965–1006), or had some connexion with the Bāvandids of the collateral line whose names and sequence are still insufficiently known. In this case we should lose the *terminus ad quem* of Gurgānī's life but acquire some additional indication of his early adventures in the neighbourhood of his native Gurgān, and in the country where the use of Pahlavi is attested in several inscriptions (see p. 5 [now 155], n. 1).

(B) In the second article, which appeared in *Majalla-yi adabiyāt* (Tehran), I, 3, 1333/1954, 62–77, Professor Minovi gives, with an ample commentary, the Arabic text of an ode which Abū Nuwās addressed to a Zoroastrian youth.

[1] Minūchihr 403–20/1012–29; Anūshirvān 420–41/1029–49; Dārā (one year). The Seljūqid Toghrīl appeared in Gurgān already in 433/1041, Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 340, and Kay Kāvus b. Dārā, who was considered as a ruler in 441–62/1049–69, and died *circa* 475/1082, led the life of a knight-errant fighting infidels first on the Indian, and then on the Transcaucasian front.

[2] cf. M. Mo'īn in his commentary on *Chahār-maqāla*, Tehran, 1336/1957, 197.

[3] [Though 'he had no opinion of poetry', see *Chahār-maqāla*, anecdote XVI.]

The poem bristles with Middle Persian words.[1] Abū Nuwās appeals to Bihrūz in the name of the planets, of Iranian festivals, etc., and finally (ix, v. 19) of

و ما يتلون فى شروين دستبى و فرجردات را مين و ويس

i.e. ' what one reads concerning Sharwīn of Dastabī,[2] and in the " sections " (perhaps " episodes ", *farjardāt*) of Rāmīn and Vīs '. Abū Nuwās (see *EI*) was born in southern Persia and lived in 130–90/747–801 (or 145–99/762–814) and his poem belongs probably to the earlier part of his career. We have thus a very important indication that the story was popular in Iran over two and a half centuries before Gurgānī. Consequently any surmise concerning the invention of the story by Gurgānī (Christensen) falls to the ground. The term *farjardāt* ' sections, fragments, episodes ', might indicate the state in which it was preserved.[3]

2. *The new edition of the poem (1959)*

Twenty-four years after the publication of the text by Professor Minovi, a new edition of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* was produced by the scholar of the new generation M. J. Maḥjūb, Tehran, 1337/January 1959. In his extensive introduction (105 pp.) the editor sums up all the known data on Gurgānī and his poem. He has considerably increased the number of quotations from Gurgānī's poem, or direct imitations of it by later poets. They clearly show the spell which Gurgānī has cast over his posterity including Niẓāmī in his *Khusrau and Shīrīn*. The text (pp. 1–388) is followed by a revised translation of parts I–III of my essay ' *Vīs-u Rāmīn* ' made by M. Muqarrabi [4] (pp. 389–440), notes on the text (pp. 441–62), a list of readings differing from Minovi's text (pp. 463–8),

[1] The words quoted in the poem seem to belong to the archaic stock of terms surviving in Zoroastrian circles rather than to the actual speech in southern Persia *circa* A.D. 800. Cf. Henning, ' Mitteliranisch ', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, 1, 1958, 86, ' seltene und altertümliche Wörter '.

[2] Sharwīn was the ruler, or governor, of Dastabī (apparently **Dasht-pey* ' the edge of the plain '), as was called the region between Qazvīn and Hamadān. The Muslim authors referred to by Minovi (Dīnāvarī, Ḥamza, Ibn al-Faqīh, and the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*) somewhat vaguely describe the background of Sharwīn's adventures. Much clearer is Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, ch. ii, who confirms that the Byzantine emperor Arcadius during his fatal illness placed his infant son Theodosius under the protection of Yezdegerd I who honestly discharged his obligations. Arcadius died in A.D. 408, and Yezdegerd I (' the Sinner ') ruled A.D. 399–421. It is quite possible that Sharwīn acted in Byzantium as a representative of his king and that popular lore embellished his exploits. Cf. Bury, *The history of the later Roman Empire*, 1923, II, 2 ; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 1944, 355 ; A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, 1952, 96.

[3] Somewhat free is the interpretation of Abū Nuwās by his early commentator Ḥamza of Iṣfahān (b. towards 280–90/833–902, d. towards 350–60/961–71) who says that the exploits of Sharwīn were ' sung ' and that the *farjardāt* of Vīs and Rāmīn were like *qaṣīdas*, which would suggest that they formed a series of poetical ' odes, or ballads '. Still more vague are the Arabic verses attributed to a poet of Iṣfahān and quoted in the anthology (*Muḥaḍarāt al-udabā*) of Rāghib Iṣfahānī who died in 502/1108 (Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 1943, 2nd ed., 343) : a company of noble Arabs asks a slave (*ghulām*) to sing to them in Persian and to pour out for them wine of the kind which Vīs and Rāmīn drank in the morning and in the evening.

[4] First published by M. Muqarrabi in *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn*, IV, 1–2, 1335/1956, 3–73.

an index of archaic words (pp. 469–80), and detailed indexes of names, places, tribes, books, etc. (pp. 480–503).

The text of Maḥjūb differs from that established by Minovi chiefly in restoring some variants offered by the early Indian edition, and one regrets that the Istanbul MS remained inaccessible to the editor.[1]

No important facts concerning Gurgānī have emerged from the re-examination of the sources but M. J. Maḥjūb has reminded us of a reference to the patron of the poet, discovered by Professor Badī' al-zamān in his *Sukhan va sukhanvarān*, II, 1, 1–14, and the addendum at the beginning of the volume. This valuable book appeared in 1312/1933 but was still inaccessible to me in 1946. The learned author identifies the dedicatee of the poem with the governor of Iṣfahān whom Nāṣir-i Khusrau mentions in his *Safar-nāma*, ed. Berlin, 1314/1922, p. 138. Nāṣir-i Khusrau returning from his pilgrimage via Basra visited Iṣfahān in Ṣafar 444/June 1052 after the capture of the town by Toghrïl. He speaks with praise of its young and cultured governor appointed by Toghrïl. He was called Khwāja 'Amīd (of Nīshāpūr) and apparently belonged to the family of secretaries having served under the rulers of Ghūr (*az dabiran-i *Sūrī*).[2] Maḥjūb takes up the identification of his teacher but is somewhat sceptical about my reference to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 23, because of the difference in the name of 'Amīd's father (*Muḥammad* in Gurgānī rhyming with *al-Muayyad*), but *al-Ḥusayn* in Ibn al-Athīr) and also because Gurgānī and Nāṣir-i Khusrau speak of him as a 'young man', which would be in some contradiction with the report of Ibn al-Athīr, x, 23. The latter says under the year 456/1064, that when the daughter of the caliph (betrothed to Toghrïl) was to be returned from Iṣfahān to Baghdād the dignitary appointed by the new sultan Alp Arslān to accompany her died of smallpox, and in his stead the king sent the 'Amīd al-Muẓaffar who also fell victim to the same disease. Maḥjūb rightly thinks that such a commission would suit only a man well on in years but he seems to forget that between the capture of Iṣfahān in 443/1051 by Toghrïl and the hurried appointment of the 'Amīd by Alp Arslān in 456 thirteen years had passed and the 'Amīd must have crossed over the limit between 'young age' and 'the age of discretion'. Consequently I do not see any obstacle to finding in Ibn al-Athīr the end of the story of the man who sponsored the composition of *Vīs-u Rāmīn*.

In any case the plentiful and careful apparatus of the new edition of the poem will be of great utility to students of the poem of Gurgānī.

I omit the end of my 1962 article but I wish to retain the mention of the excellent French translation of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* by Professor H. Massé, Unesco, Paris, 1959.

[1] A copy of this MS was obtained by Minovi soon after the publication of his text.

[2] [For the moment it will be enough to assume a family link between the 'amīd of Isfahān and Abul-Faḍl Sūrī, the governor of Khorasan under Mas'ūd of Ghazna. 1964.]

A new edition of the old Georgian translation of the poem (see above, p. 151, n. 2) was published by A. Gvakharia and M. Todua, Tbilisi, 1962 ; it contains a careful collation of the MSS and constant references to the Persian text, with commentaries and indexes (761 pp.). A Russian translation of the Georgian text by S. Iordanishvili was also published in Tbilisi (1960) under the supervision of the late veteran scholar K. Kekelidze. The existence of the Georgian translation is an important and significant fact but at times the translator simplifies the text and thus his help in restoring the difficult passages of the Persian original is somewhat limited.

GARDĪZĪ ON INDIA

ON several occasions, when my Persian coaster ventured into the Indian Ocean and was battered by too heavy seas, and I was murmuring the verse of Hāfiz :

کجا دانند بیم ما سبک باران ساحلها

Dr. L. D. Barnett, like the expert pilot he is,[1] came to the rescue. As a token of gratitude I wish him to accept my translation of the chapter on India extracted from the unpublished part of Gardīzī's historical work.

Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Maḥmūd Gardīzī[2] dedicated his work to the Ghaznavid Sultan 'Abd al-Rashīd ibn Maḥmūd (440–4/1049–53). This king's title *Zayn al-milla* is echoed in that of the *Zayn al-akhbār*. Gardīzī's chapter on the caliphs stops at 423/1032, and that on the Seljuks at 432/1041, which is the *terminus post quem* for the actual compilation of the work. The appendices following the history may have been added somewhat nearer to the time of the dedication. One detail recorded in the text is curious : Gardīzī refers to Bīrūnī (d. on 3 Rajab 440/13 Dec. 1048) as his personal acquaintance.[3] Gardīzī's birth-place is still shown on the maps 34 miles east of Ghaznī. Gardīz is mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* (compiled in A.D. 982) as a ' frontier town between Ghaznīn and Hindūstān, situated on the top of a mound and possessing a strong fortress with three walls. The inhabitants are Khārijites '. In his chapter on India, Gardīzī quotes his countryman Ḥamd ibn Valak Gardīzī, thereby confirming his links with his native town. The name of the author's father Ḍaḥḥāk is curious. It may be Arabic, but, as in the *Shāh-nāma*, it may be the Arabic disguise of the Iranian *Zohāk* (*ažī-dahāk*). If in Central Persia Zohāk was a tyrant, in Eastern Khorasan several places were connected with his memory and the dynasty of Ghor was proud of its descent from Afrīdūn's opponent (*Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, tr. by Raverty, 306–7).

Only two manuscripts are known of the *Zayn al-akhbār*, the one belonging to King's College, Cambridge (King's College, 213) and the other to the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Ouseley, 240). I shall quote them respectively as *C.* and *O.* The date of *O.* is unimpeachable : 21 Dhul-Ḥijja 1196/27 Nov. 1781. The date of *C.* has been much discussed. In the colophon, above the word *sana* (' year ') appear only the figures 93 clearly written. Underneath the line stand the digits 12. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 21, suggested the date 930/1524, though the dot seen to the right of 93 can hardly be taken for a zero following it.[4] Dr. M. Nāzim, the editor of the historical part of Gardīzī (Berlin, 1928, p. 1) read the

[1] [21 Oct. 1871–29 Jan. 1960. *Sit ei terra levis* !]

[2] Barthold, *Otchot*, 78–80 ; *Turkestan*, 20–21 ; C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, II/1, 63.

[3] *C.*, f. 175*a* : *chunīn shanīdam az Khwāja Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī*. Gardīzī's chapter on Indian festivals (*C.*, 172*a*–177*a*) is based on Bīrūnī, see Sachau's transl., II, 178–184, and 346. Gardīzī's text has a few additions.

[4] This dot may belong to *min* preceding *sana*.

date as 1093/1682 'because the scribes of the eleventh century A.H., when giving the date, usually omitted the figures denoting the thousand'. Professor M. Qazvīnī categorically denies the existence of this habit and suggests either 903/1497 or 930/1524.[1] Unfortunately, the script itself is not a decisive guide in the present state of Persian and Indian-Persian palaeography. The general impression from the writing of *C.* is in favour of its appurtenance to the sixteenth or seventeenth century. This MS is partly water-stained. The Oxford MS is written in a much clearer script but, as Barthold had already seen,[2] it is but a transcript of *C.* (or, less likely, of its original). All the mistakes and lacunae of *C.* are repeated in *O.*, but sometimes the latter has some useful guesses. On the whole, the text of both MSS is far from satisfactory: the archaic Persian expressions have often been misunderstood and the Indian terms can be restored only by guess-work and by comparison with other sources.

Gardīzī's chapter on India contains a precious indication that his source is the last work of Abū 'Abdallāh [Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad] Jayhānī. It is probable that, in his turn, Jayhānī was using the text of Ibn Khurdādhbih much more complete than the abridgment of it published by de Goeje in *Bibl. Geogr. arabicorum*, VI. And, as I have suggested in my edition of Sharaf al-din Marvazi (p. 126), at the bottom of the greater part of the earlier information on India must be the report of an agent whom the Barmakid Yaḥyā ibn Khālid sent to India (*circa* A.D. 800) to collect medicinal plants and to draw up a report on Indian religions.

In my edition of the chapters on China, the Turks, and India from Sharaf al-din Marvazi's *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayāwān*[3] (quoted: ṬḤ), I have used Gardīzī's data in great detail, but only now will the readers be able to judge for themselves of the interesting picture which a keen Muslim observer drew of the manners and customs of the Indians, probably over two centuries before Bīrūnī. The broken pieces of his mirror have been picked up by many later authors,[4] but none of them has preserved the traces of the original in such a colourful way as Gardīzī. The simplicity of his Persian (slightly tinged by local tradition) can only be compared with that of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, but the lacunae and misunderstandings in the MSS greatly complicate the task of a translator. I have purposely given up any pretence to a literary form, in order to preserve the vague character of the passages which cannot be restored or improved in the present circumstances.

For lack of space in Dr. Barnett's *Festschrift*, I can give here only the translation of the text, but the facts quoted by Gardīzī have been analysed by me in great detail, concurrently with the parallel passages of Sharaf al-zamān Marvazi, and the few additions will be given in the footnotes.

[1] *Bīst-maqāla*, II, Tehran, 1313, pp. 196–201. [2] *Turkestan*, 21, note.

[3] Royal Asiatic Society, 1942. The present article must be regarded as an Annex to Marvazi.

[4] *Al-Fihrist*, Muṭahhar ibn Ṭāhir Maqdisi, the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Sharaf al-din Marvazi, Shahristānī, etc. References to all these books are given in my edition of Marvazi's text (ṬḤ).

[C 197b] Records of the Indians

1. The people of India are skilful, clever, and shrewd. They make good and subtle things. From their midst come many sages, especially in the province (*vilāyat*) of Kashmīr. Their arts are very prodigious. In their religion there are differences, as well as in their customs. I have set forth here information about them such as I could find, in order that it should be known.

2. Relationship. The Indians are very fastidious in maintaining (the rules of) relationship and will not take a wife from anywhere, or give a girl away [**O 247a**] unless the match suit their origin. Abū 'Abdallāh Jayhānī says in his book of history (*Kitāb-i tavārīkh*) that there are seven classes (*gurūh*) of them. (*a*) The first is called Sākb.tri [1]; this class is the greatest among them and all the Indian tribes prostrate themselves before (its members), while the latter do not do so before anyone. Kingdom (kingship?) belongs to them [2] and they are few. (*b*) (The Brahmans . . .) but they are not kings. They . . . prostrate themselves before the S.mnānī (*sic*) but the S.mnān [3] do not do so before them. Most of these Brahmans drink no wine and eat no meat. (*c*) The third are the *Kshatriya (spelt *K.shīriyān*) who do not drink wine more than thrice (at a time). The Brahmans do not give them their women, but take women from them. (*d*) The fourth are the Shudra (spelt *Sūdhriyān*). They are agriculturists and gardeners (*pālīzbān*). They associate [**198a**] with the Kshatriya, from whom they take women and to whom they give theirs (but the Brahmans) do not give them women. . . . (*f*) The sixth are the Chandala who are singers and also carry out punishments. They *have beautiful women. If a Brahman falls in love with such a woman, the keepers of religion expel him and consider him no more a Brahman. For this reason he who touches a Chandala becomes subject to harm. These Chandala go about with a piece (of wood) in their hands; at the end of that piece of wood there is a ring and within it smaller rings are fitted, and with this piece of wood they give warning that men, on seeing that sign and on hearing the sound of the rings, should get out of their way and no harm befall them. (*g*) (The seventh)

[1] In my edition of Marvazi, p. 124, I have followed the explanation of this term as **Chakravartī* (H. W. Bailey), but the late Sir R. Burn drew my attention to the new interpretation offered by S. H. Hodivala as *Śākyaputra*, the term applied to medieval Buddhist priests [but what about the kingdom (*mulk*) belonging to them?]. The whole paragraph 2 is out of order and has lacunae. If S. H. Hodivala's hypothesis is right the original source of the report must have been Buddhist, which has some obvious chronological importance. See below, § 10*d*.

[2] ṬḤ: *wa fīhim al-mulk*.

[3] Either the Buddhists have wrongly got into the system of Indian castes, or some distinction should be made between the *S.mnān* and the Buddhist *shamanī*, see below, § 10*b*. Cf. *Tanbīh*, 161. [However, *śramaṇa*, as H. W. Bailey points out to me, means only 'an ascetic'. We should not then follow Sachau in his further tentative suggestion that at the time of the Muslim conquest (*circa* 91/710) 'Sindh was Buddhistic', on the ground that, according to Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, pp. 438–9, the *shamaniya* were the negotiators on behalf of the local population. Still less is it possible to describe the temple of Daybul (Sindh), *ibid.*, 437 (English translation by F. C. Murgotten, New York, 1924, p. 218), as a Buddhist temple, for *al-budd* in the Arabic text often seems to have the same general meaning as the Persian *but*, i.e. 'an idol'. On the real Buddhists see Marvazī, § 43 (ṬḤ, p. 46).]

are the class called *Dunbi (spelt *Rūbnān*) [1] who are black-skinned. They are all players on stringed instruments and dancers (*pāy-kūb*). They are altogether like the Chandala. The latter mix with them and take women from them but do not give them theirs.

3. Their ACCOMPLISHMENTS (*adab*). Their sciences and accomplishments are manifold. One of them is charms (*afsūn*). It is reported that, should they be willing, they will do what they wish. With their charms they heal, and, whatever limb it be, they expel illness from it and pass it over to some other person. Another accomplishment is telepathy (lit. 'imagination and thought'), and it is reported that by it they obtain wonders [**O 248a**] and address words to the absent by means of telepathy, and thus it happens. By persuasion and telepathy (*i'tiqād-va-vahm*) they solve matters difficult beyond words. Also they produce fancies (*gumān*) and show phantoms by which great sages are perplexed (reading **taḥayyur* for *tamīz*). They also have a procedure called **sīmāband* (spelt *sh.māt.nt*) which refers to the wonderful talismans [**198b**] which they make. They recite incantations (*khwānish* 'hymns'?) tantamount to talismans and they impart these incantations to their disciples. Of these incantations one particularly astonishing is (that) stopping hail (*zhāla*),[2] which they chase from one place to another. And thus they make contracts with villages and other places for protecting them against hail. They make contracts from year to year, and, should someone refrain, they will send hail against his land.

4. Another incantation (*khwānish*) is against snake-poison, which they remove from a man's body. ḤAMD IBN VALAK (?) GARDĪZĪ told me that a man was bitten by a snake; thereupon (*bar jāy*) he grew cold and became like a corpse and they wanted to bury him. Meanwhile, an Indian came up and said: 'he has fainted but has not died'. He then kept reciting a spell (*afsūn bi-khwāndan īstād*?) and that man recovered his senses. (The Indian) brought out the poison from where the snake bit him [**O 248b**] and the man got up and walked away.

5–6. And they produce many similar wonders, by means of reciting spells (*afsūn khwāndan*). And they have a medical science the like of which no one has seen in the lands of Islam. Their claims in it are numerous, such as to maintain health, to avert illness,[3] to put off senility, to increase sexual power, and besides, to restrain (*bāz-dāshtan*) inveterate ailments—such as some of our friends have witnessed and ourselves have heard.

7. (Among) the wonders (are their) mathematics, geodesy, geometry, and astronomy, in which their science and authority (*sangī*?) have reached a degree which it is impossible to explain for it is superhuman. (Similarly they excel in) the art of singing and dancing and in the construction of implements of [**199a**]

[1] i.e. the *Ḍōm* > *Ṛōm*, ancestors of the Romany-Gypsies.

[2] On the use of *zhāla* instead of *tagarg* in Afghanistan see Bogdanov, 'Stray Notes', *JASB*, XXVI, 1930, No. 1, p. 123.

[3] C. *tadbīrī-yi bīmārī* (?): O. *b.rb.di* (**bihbūdī*? or *burīdan*?).

merriment: they operate (*bijunbānand*) some wonderful stringed instruments (*rūd*) in a most difficult way while no other limb (*andām*) is moving (unnecessarily).

8. They have invented (*nihāda-and*) manifold arms in great numbers (?) and they fabricate implements (*sāz*) of war, such as horns (*būq*) and drums, as well as contraptions producing fearful (*fajī'*) and terrifying sounds, such as the voice of the elephant or the roaring of the lion or of the *tiger, so that he who hears them [**O 249**] becomes terror-stricken and horror and dismay fill his heart.

And (they) also (make) stringed instruments for merriment and concerts.

9. The men producing such things are in the east of India (in the region) called *KĀMRŪP.[1] They make such things that whoever sees them or hears them admits that they are *not human beings, but peris.

The towns in which (*andar ū*!) these marvels are produced or found are situated from Qandahār (Gandhāra) towards Kashmīr, and also in (?) the province of Ganges (*Gang*). One of these towns is JALLANDHAR, in whose province is found much myrobalan, *terminalia bellerica, embilica officinalis*, and the **jāshāk* tree.[2] The Indians say that a king of this country would live up to 250 years, while at any time he would ride, hunt, and have intercourse with women, just like young men, all this being due to medicines and wiles (*ḥīla*).

Other towns (or lands) are SARĀVAST (*Śrāvastī*) ,which is said to be the birth-place of Buddha,[3] and *KUŚINAGARA (spelt *K.shk.ri*), which is said to be the place where Buddha perished (*sic*); also CHITRAKŌT,[4] which produces *shayṭara-yi hindī*,[5] while in its mountains there are numerous **jāshāk* trees and (other) things [**O 249b**]; here is the abode of the great men (nobles?) and here their sages learn charms and [**199b**] every science. The towns UJJAYNĪ (*sic*) belongs to the worshippers of Māhakālī (see below, § 22) and the astronomical tables of 'Arkand'[6] were calculated from its longitude. In it are situated numerous repositories of books and wisdom.

10. COMMUNITIES. Thus says [Abū] 'Abdallāh Jayhānī: the Indians are divided into 99 divisions which can be reduced to 42 varieties, and their basic foundations are fourfold. With God's help, I shall explain these four foundations (*asās*).

(*a*) First come those affirming (the existence of) the Creator, may his majesty be exalted, and who believe in prophets, with regard to commands and

[1] i.e. Assam. Mis-spelt *Kāmrūt* in *C.* and *O.*

[2] Spelt *dār-i khāshāk*. W. Henning has pointed to the Ssk. *jāṣaka*-wood, 'a kind of yellow fragrant wood' (letter 24.XII.1947).

[3] *Śrāvastī* was not the birth-place of Buddha but the reputed scene of many of his exploits.

[4] Chitrakōt, perhaps 'the Chitra-kūṭa in the Dandaka forest', whither Rāma repaired during his exile. In Böhtlingk's dictionary the name is explained as a mountain in Bāndalkhaṇḍa, now called Kāmtā (H. W. Bailey).

[5] Rather *shītaraj* 'lepidium latifolium' than *shāh-tarraj* 'fumaria officinalis'. Cf. Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaq, tr. Achundow, nos. 351 and 348.

[6] i.e. Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍa-khādyaka* from which Biruni derived his knowledge of Indian astronomy.

interdictions, reward and punishment, that is to say that everyone finds reward or punishment to the measure of his works (*kardār*).

(*b*) (The second are those who) reject the prophets ; they are called SHAMANĪ (i.e. Buddhists, see (*d*) below ?).

(*c*) The third believe in God, may he be exalted, and in Paradise and Hell, saying that in going there they remain there for ever, for God's mercy (*'aṭā*) and chastisement are uninterrupted.

(*d*) The fourth class say that reward and punishment consist in transmigration, either in happiness or in misfortune, and that Paradise and Hell are in proportion to one's achievements or sins ; they are not eternal and when one has obtained a reward (*pādāsh*) proportionate to one's deeds [**O 250a**] one comes out of them. These all are the sayings of the SHAMANĪ who are (also) called BUDDHISTS (*budī*). [See below, 15.]

11. Those of the Brahmans who believe in the Creator say that God's apostle unto his creatures was an angel (*frishta*) called BĀSDĪV (Vāsudeva), who, in human form, came to them with a message, but he had no book with him. He had four hands ; in one he held an unsheathed (*kashīda*) sword, in the second the baldric, in the third a [*chakkar*] [1] which is an Indian weapon [**200a**] which they throw from the elephant's back and which is a ring with sharpened edges ; in the fourth, he had a lasso. He was riding on a Sīmurgh [2] and had twelve heads like those of a man (*mardum*), of a lion, of a horse, of an elephant, of a boar, of a ram, of a cow, of a wolf, of a cock, of a dog, of a male camel,[3] and of a falcon. The (adepts) have many explanations of these mysteries.[4] They say that this Bāsdīv brought the following message : ' God the Exalted says [**O 250b**] that you should worship me and hold me great. The Fire, which I have exalted and to which I have given the highest places, and whose splendour I have put on, I have destined it to be of use to the people of this world, be it for the sake of sacrifices, (namely) of perfumes and butter (*raughanhā*), or be it for (the preparation of) food and cereals (*dāngū*).[5] I forbid them [for the sake of perfumes and butter ?] [6] to cut the throats of the animals and to kill them, except for sacrifice '. He also ordered them to tie on and keep a thread hanging from the right shoulder towards the left arm-pit, called **junū*.[7] He forbade them to drink wine, to tell lies, and to eat the food belonging to someone outside their community, and not (to one) from their bosom (*kanār*). He made fornication licit unto them in order that procreation should be kept up without diminution and the world be bright. He ordered them to make an idol to his likeness and to worship it by circumambulating [**200b**] its four sides, three times a day. (On these occasions) they strike cymbals, make fumigations with *incense,[8] and stamp their feet before the idol. They

[1] The name left out in the text. In ṬḤ, *sh.kū*, read **sh.k.r*, i.e. *chakra*. MS C. 205*a* has a marginal note : ' *bajjar* (**vajra*) and *chakkar* (**chakra*), are both names of Indian weapons.

[2] ṬḤ : *anqā*, i.e. the divine carrier Garūḍā.

[3] *Nar*, or of a goat (*buz*) ?

[4] Or of these heads.

[5] The text is not quite clear.

[6] Perhaps only repeated from the preceding line.

[7] Or *jnyw* (**janeū* ?) ' guṇa thread '.

[8] **Dukhna*. C. and O. *rukhna* ' paper '.

worship the cow and prostrate themselves before her wherever they see her. No Brahman should cross the Ganges. [**O 251a**] One of the rules of their religion is not to teach it to anyone who is not of their seed (*dhurriyat*). Whoever has left their religion is not re-admitted except after he has made himself clean and they have purified him. The purification consists in shaving his head, his beard, his eye-brows and eye-lashes, and any hair on his body. Then they collect five things : cow-dung, cow's urine, milk and butter and Ganges water, and mix all five, giving them to him to drink in a copper bowl to the amount of one *riṭl*. Of the same water they *pour [1] on his head, after which they rub (*ṭalā*) his body, and thus for ten days, in proportion to his rebellion and his neglect of religion. Then he approaches a cow and prostrates himself before her.

12. (The second sect) are the MAHĀDEVĪ who say that their prophet was an angel, Mahā-dev by name, who came unto them in human form, riding a cow and wearing a crown adorned with dead-men's bones. He wore a necklace made of the same bones. In one hand he held a skull, in the other a lance shaped as a trident and [**O 251b**] with peacock feathers attached to it. He came and ordered them to worship the Creator, (saying) : ' and also worship Mahā-dev as God, may he be glorified and exalted ', as whatever happens to them [**201a**] happens through him. They make idols in his likeness. Their habit is to collect what they can find to make a necklace, which they put round the neck of someone whom they exalt. Of the same material they make a crown which they place on his head. Then they smear his face and body with ashes, after which they wrap the lower part of his body in a cloak (*khirqa*), two fingers thick and reaching from his waist to his feet. This cloak is dyed in every colour which can be formed without being mixed (with other colours ?). Then they attach bells to his feet and he takes a staff and places it on his neck. From this staff on to his back an empty gourd and an earthen pot (*safālīn*) are suspended. One of them contains ashes with which he daily smears his body, and when someone gives him alms he smears with them the forehead (of the giver). In the other, he keeps his food. It is forbidden to this man [**O 252a**] to kill animals, to eat meat, to have intercourse with women, and to hoard property. His pittance is from alms. This class is also called *bhrāra*.[2] In the matter of charms they are mighty skilful. In the other hand this man holds a drum (*ṭabl*) to which are suspended two **gūsarī* [3] to beat the drum. And when the man agitates it and it produces sounds, they take it for worship. They mostly walk in fields and deserts, but when they enter a village they praise God with shouts because he is the Creator of Mahā-dev, [**201b**] and they also commemorate Mahā-dev. They agitate the drum with one hand and then

[1] Read : **rīzand*, for C. and O. *āvīzand*, ' they suspend ' (?).

[2] Ssk. *bharaṭaka* ' a devotee of Śiva ' (H. W. Bailey). The Muslims usually render the Indian cerebrals *ḍ* and *ṭ* by *r*.

[3] C. *brdwdwkwsry āvīkhta* : O. *prdwdwkwsri* ? In Persian *gūsarī* would mean ' cow headed ' (?), but it may be some Indian term *kūsrī*, or *dūkūsrī* ?

praise the Mahā-dev in verse and in songs (*shi'r-u-laḥn*) (in which) they invite people not to desire the world—so that people gather round (them) and to the sound of the bells attached to his feet dogs begin to howl.[1]

13. The KĀLĪ are those people who say that their prophet is an angel called Shib (Śiva). He came unto them in human form. He smeared himself with ashes and wore a bonnet of red felt, three spans (*badast*) tall and having round it pieces [2] of skull-bones. He came [**O 252b**] and brought with him a man of the rulers (*buzurgān*) of the age who put this (necklace ?) round his (*sic*) neck. Even now those who venerate him make necklaces (*qalīda*) of the same kind and place them round his (i.e. his idol's ?) neck. They tie a similar girdle round his loins, place similar objects in his hands, and attach them to his feet like anklets (*khalkhāl*). In one hand he holds a skull and in the other a drum similar to that of the *bhrāra* (see § 12), it is of the Mahā-devī. And that false prophet of theirs told them that this (idol ?) was their creator. God (forgive them) for what they say ! And on (his ?) head he made something like a human (phallus), which (is) round, two cubits (*rash*) long and one (?) span in diameter (*quṭr*). This they call in their *language [3] **lind*,[4] or correctly *ling*, meaning 'the Prophet's phallus'. They worship it, saying that the phallus (*nar*) is the cause of procreation in the world. These men are naked and have no clothing except for the bonnet such as we have described. They go about in the likeness of Shib (Śiva) [**202a**] suspending to their phallus a large bell such as prevents them from any intercourse with women. Men or women meeting them prostrate themselves before them (it ?) and venerate them (it ?) [**O 253a**] and thus seek to approach God. They bring them as guests and seat them on chairs in view of the heaviness of the bell which (they wear). Then they fumigate his phallus with incense (*bakhūr*), while he blesses them, and they say : 'may the Almighty apportion to us part of your merit'. Their livelihood consists of alms and they are stark naked (*hama birahna*). Some of them perforate their bodies and insert into them (*ba-andarān*) rings made of copper, tin (*arzīz*), or iron, until the body shines like a [lacuna].

14. The RĀMĀNĪ live in the region of D.KSHĀYT, i.e. North (read : South ?) in the town of Bāznāyan.[5] This Rāmān was a great king, the cleverest of his age. Later his ambition rose so high that he claimed to be a prophet and he told men that his religion was a path to Paradise and he was the guide to Paradise. The people of that kingdom accepted his creed and he invited

[1] Or, the inhabitants (*sukkān* ?) begin to shout.

[2] O. *pāra*.

[3] *Bryān* read *ba-zabān*.

[4] C. and O. *knd*.

[5] See ṬḤ, p. 133. I had taken *D.kshāyt* for **Dakshāpat* 'Deccan', but Dr. Barnett suggests for *Bāznāy.n* **Bāraṇāsī*, i.e. Benares, and for *D.kshāyt* **deh-i Kāshī*, as the district is called. [He also pointed to the existence of Bhadrachalam on the Godaveri where a cult of Rāma existed. A name which in Arabic script resembles *Bāznāyan* is *Nārāyan* which Bīrūnī quotes in his *India*, transl. Sachau, I, 202 : from Kanoj, marching in a N.W. direction, at a distance of 88 farsakhs one reached the capital of Gujarat called Bazāna. Bīrūnī adds : 'This town is called Nārāyan by our people. After it had fallen into decay the inhabitants migrated to another place called Janūra (?)'. In order to identify Bāzāyan with Nārāyan one should first establish the latter's relation to Rāma, and to connect Gujarat with D.kshāyt (?). Cf. ṬḤ, p. 133.]

them to worship him, saying: 'if you seek God's approval worship me'. His intimates and adepts say [**O 253b**] that a discussion took place between him and the demon (*'ifrīt*) Rāvān and the demon did not accept his creed. The demon lived in the island *Vaḍavā-mukha.[1] The walls of the islanders (?) were of jewels and pearls interwoven with rubies and emeralds and other precious (*bīsh-bahā*) stones. In the island [**202b**] there were all kinds of verdure and perfumes. Concerning this castle (*bāra*) they say wonderful things which it would be too long to explain, (for example) that he (Rāmān) built a bridge on the sea, and other similar things. Rāvān carried off the wife of Rāmān and brought her to that island. A war broke out between them and it went on until Rāmān killed the demon and brought his wife back.

15. [BUDDHISTS, see above, § 10*b*.] Those who believe in the Creator and in rewards (and punishments), but reject prophets, say that God called upon his creatures wishing (*khwānad*, read: *khwāhad*) them to have no need of anybody else, because he has placed in their minds inclination to Good and hatred of Evil, (and he taught them) not to accept [2] anything from another person which would be unacceptable to Reason, and to oppose the nature of their bodies. [**O 254a**] (As) God has no need of his creatures, or of their worship, they say that Paradise can be reached (only) through mental exertions (*kardār-i 'aql*) and through opposition to the nature of the body, for (*zīrā-ki*) this is a matter difficult to attain and especially to persevere in till the goal is reached.

16. Some others say that the way to reach God in truth is through the annihilation (*nā-chīz*) of the body and the elimination of the coarse (*kathīf*) soul which leads the body into sin and makes sin appear pleasant to the eye.

17. Some others connect a (true) sage with (the knowledge of) astronomy, medicine, and other sciences. They are all philosophers (*khudāvandān-i andīsha*) using their senses perpetually to that purpose (*tadbīr*). According to them, through hardship and great pain one can reach a state in which one can see angels, [**203a**] converse with them and derive benefit from them. They have produced books of sciences and arts (*adab*). They say that through *sensibilia* they can rise to the conception of *intelligibilia*. The first step (*qismat*) is to use the will (*isti'māl-i khwāsta*?) for the object desired. The (second) is to think how wiles (*ḥīla*) should be expelled from their ambition (*da'vā*); (then) to master (*qam'*) the things which they acquire and to abstain [**O 254b**], by means of (high) aspiration (*ba-himmat*), from anything which (others) present as good. The place of these 'rishi' (spelt *ra'īsān*) is a mountain where for their bodies [3] they adopted [4] the peaks. They prepare their food of dates, plants, and herbs so that it should be light for their senses. As they eat such plants all their life, their eyes become sharper and their hearts quicker in the uptake.[5] They obtain

[1] Spelt: *v.jva-shym.n.* In Arabic, *ḍ* ought to have given *r*.

[2] **ham-dāstān na-būdan* (for *na-būdand*).

[3] *Az bihtarīn*, read: **az bahr-i tan*.

[4] *Sarhā-yi kūh sākhta-and.* Perhaps **sarāhā-yi kūh* 'mountain abodes'. [This obscure passage may be connected with the mythical Mt. Meru, cf. Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. I, 247.]

[5] *Zūd-yāb-tar*; ṬḤ: *sarī' al-idrāk.*

anything they wish, be it rain or wind, or hail ; they bring down birds or capture animals, fly like birds, or (produce) charms. They have invented (*nihāda*) many wonders in order to consolidate (*durust*) their religion. It is said that one of them was sitting at a place while birds were making much noise. So he prayed and all the birds shed their feathers and fell down. When the report reached the king of that time he said : ' expel this man from my kingdom, lest he pray for something which might ruin my country '.[1]

18. There is a sect called *N.KRB.NTĪ, i.e. ' those fettered in iron '. They always shave their heads and beards and of their bodies hide only their privy parts [**203b**]. They plate their bodies in iron from waist to breast [**O 255a**], as they say, in order that their bellies burst not from the excess of learning contained therein. They always carry a jug. They do not teach their religion or speak to anyone until he has embraced their religion.

19. Another group are the GANGĀYĀTRĪ. They are found at any place in India. Their law is that anyone who has committed a sin which would offend his parents, or (any other) wicked deed,[2] wherever he be of the far or near places of India, travels from there to the Ganges and washes himself in its water, and this is the purification (*kaffāra*) of his sin. Should he die on that journey, this too will be accepted from him. [*Nigaḍa-bandha.*]

20. The group called [RĀ]CH.N.RT (?) [3] are mostly of princely families of India and form the king's party (**shī'a* for *snī'a*). Their religion is to serve the kings and to help them in any case. They say ' we do not weary ourselves without a profit or some necessity (*bī-naf'ī yā daf'ī*). The best thing is to serve the kings and attend on them in struggling against their enemies. Should we gain victory, our rank (*miqdār* ?) in the king's service will increase and our glory [**O 255b**] rise, and we shall obtain the best things in the world. If, however, we die in our endeavours we shall go to Paradise with all its blessings '. These people are manly, courageous, and valiant. They have deadly swords and are very impatient (*sakht nā-ṣabūr*) to sacrifice their life.

21. Another sect are the BHĀDRŪRĪ (?) who say that there were three brothers. Two of them made a plot (*ḥīla*) and the third brother, whose name was Bhādr.rū, fell from his horse and died. They skinned him (*āhīkhtand*) and expanded his skin, and this vast earth is from that skin, the mountains from his bones, the waters from his blood, and the trees and plants from his hair. And under this allegory (*ramz*) is another meaning. Their law is to keep the hair long, letting it down straight from every side so that they look out from underneath that hair. They wear vests (*ṣidra*), letting their hands out

[1] [The late Professor A. Foucher, in his letter of 30 August 1948, drew my attention to the original story in the *Divyjāvadāna*, XVII (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 211). Five hundred rishis endowed with five supernatural powers lived in a wood near Vaiśālā (now Basārk, near Muzaffarpur, N.N.E. of Patna). The noise of the flying birds disturbed their meditation and the rishi Dukmukha made an angry protest, whereupon the birds lost their wings. The king ' of the four continents ' pitied the birds and expelled the rishis who migrated to the Sumeru.]

[2] *Tā sīna bar dast-i ū biravad*, read : **yā sayy'ia*. Cf. ṬḤ, p. *30 : *ijtaraḥa sayy'iatan.*

[3] **Rāja-nara* ' King's man ', or *rājanya-* ' man of Kṣatriya caste ' ? (H. W. Bailey).

of (?) their sleeves and keeping their chests uncovered. Round their waists they attach chains and each is accompanied by another man who holds him by that chain. They do not drink wine. Their pilgrimage is to a mountain called Chūn-ghar (Jūnagarh ?). They repair thither to mourn (**nauḥa* for *tavajjuh*) Bhādrūz (*sic*). They occupy that mountain and on it they have built a large house (on which) [**O 256a**] they have represented (*nigāshta*) Bhādrūz on a horse. This building has a door on entering which they tie up their mouths, *lest their breath should touch the idol's body. There they perform sacrifices. When these men visit other countries they tell the stories on which their creed is based, and in the meantime they nod.[1] Apart from that house they have other houses (in which) the likeness of Bhādrū (*sic*) and his two brothers JŪN and M.RS are represented, and idols are found (in them), but they venerate that house on Mt. Jūn-ghar (above all).

22. Another sect is called *MAHĀ-KĀLĪ. They have an idol called Mahā-Kāl which has four hands [**204b**] and is sky-blue. He has much hair, his tusks [2] come out and his belly is protruding,[3] while on his back an elephant's skin is thrown from which blood is dripping. On his head and shoulders there are two snakes; in *three of his hands he holds a snake, a skull, and a stick, while his fourth hand is raised towards his head. On his head he wears a crown made of skulls. They say [**O 256b**] that this was a demon (*dīv*) whom they worship in view of his exalted state, as he had many virtues and many vices. Therefore in India they build many temples (to him) and daily the adherents of this religion visit the temple, prostrate themselves before the (idol), and circumambulate him. They have a place called *UJJAYN (spelt *Aj.r*, see above, § 9) with a large idol representing (Mahā-Kāl). They take before him their needs in this lower world and the world beyond and from him learn charms (*'azā'im*). They do wonderful things saying that they all are from (Mahā-Kāl's) teaching. Men come before him and say: 'give me this woman, or give me that thing'. Some people come to worship him while for several days they refrain from food and humble themselves asking him for their needs. Some take an iron lamp and shaping its bottom like a spear place it on their palm and press it until it has pierced the palm and made a hole in it. Then they light the lamp and kneel down on both knees before the idol with lamentations saying [**205a**]: 'accept from us our visit to this house'. [Mahā-Kāl = Śiva.]

23. The sect called DĪVĀTRĪ [**O 257a**] have a custom to make an idol and to seat it on a calf.[4] Before it (or, for it: *az bar-i ū*) they pitch a high tent (*qubba*). Then they pull the calf along and people circumambulate it, striking cymbals and playing on stringed instruments. On that day all the courtesans (*qaḥba*)

[1] *Va sar-rā mījunbānand*, unless this is some circumlocution for 'deceiving, playing a hoax'?

[2] *Ashk-hā-yi ū bīrūn khazīda*. ṬḤ: *kāshir al-nāb* 'with grinning teeth'. Cf. the name of a peak in Ghor *Ask* (**Ashk*) 'tooth' in *Ṭabaqāt*, 39 (tr. 310). The parallel form is *yashk*, cf. *Vis-u-Rāmīn*: a wild boar gores Mōbad with its *yashk*. [See Maḥjūb's edition, Tehran, 1337/1959, ch. 101, v. 34, and cf. ibid., ch. 85, v. 2, and p. 34: **pīl-ashkīn* 'made of ivory (elephant's tooth)'. (**Ishk* may be better.).]

[3] *Bar-āmada*, perhaps **birahna* 'naked'.

[4] Gardīzī must have misread the Arabic *'ajala* 'cart' as *'ijl* 'calf'.

that be in the whole country assemble there. They sit on horses and elephants and bedeck themselves with many ornaments, men marching in front of them, and thus they circumambulate the idol. This happens in spring and when that day is over they carry the idol back to its place. The idol has a special treasury in which other idols are preserved in the shape of kings, chiefs of various countries, and leaders of other sects. They have (other) idols [1] shaped like horses, birds, and (grazing-) animals. They display them on that day and around them people play, but when the festival is over, they take them all into the treasury. [*Devī-Chaktiya* = Kālī.]

24. Another sect is called B.KTĪ.[2] Their custom is to make an idol in the shape of a woman with a crown on her head. She has four hands: with one she touches a nail (*mīkh*), with another she draws a sword, in the third she holds a *bajjar* (**vajra*), and in the fourth a *chakkar* (**chakra*), these two latter [3] being Indian weapons. [**O 257b**] When the Sun reaches (the zodiac of) Libra (22 September–22 October), they adorn this idol and before it place a dais (*takht*) on which they display whatever plants they can find and twigs of trees. And they bring together perfumes as well. Then they offer sacrifices: they bring buffaloes and sheep of various kinds placing grass before them that they may eat it. Whenever an animal raises its head they strike it with a sword in front of the idol and this is their sacrifice. [**205b**] Thus they carry on till the end of the festival. This is done by the commoners. As to their kings, they find a man, red-haired and green-eyed. Then before the idol they fix a sharp sword (*katāra*) blade upwards, and tell the man to lay (his head) on the sword. A man strikes him on the head so that the blade penetrates up to the handle into his forehead and he dies on the spot (*dar sā'at*). They say that in this way they acquire a great reward (*muzd*). At that moment they display great joy, entertain guests, and drink wine.

25. Another sect is called *JALA-BHAKTĪ (spelt *Jk.hk.nān*), i.e. 'water-worshippers'.[4] They say that on the waters there is an angel and water is the origin of all plants and animals. It is the origin of life: wherever it be plentiful, there plants, [**O 258a**] the breeding of animals and the prosperity of the world are on the increase. A man (of theirs) enters the water up to his waist and stays there (*andar ū*) for more than two hours. He holds sweet basil (*sipargham*) in his hands and splits it into small pieces (*pāra*) which he throws into the water as he swims (*ashnā*) and sings something. When he wants to retire he stirs the water with his hand and scooping up a little pours it over his head and the parts of the body which are not submerged. Then he goes, after a prostration before the water.

26. Another sect is called *AGNI-HOTRĪ (spelt *K.hrt.riyān*), i.e. 'fire-

[1] C. *banātī*; O. *butān*, which is obviously right.

[2] Probably **Dahkīnī*, as in Shahristanī.

[3] i.e. the club and the disk. Both terms are separately spelt out in the margin.

[4] An abridged account of this sect is found in Idrisi, second clime, section 9, see the edition by M. Ahmad, Aligarh, 1954, p. 83.

worshippers '. According to them Fire is the greatest of the elements and substances. Whoever burns himself in it purifies himself of all impurities (*palīdīhā*), while the fire becomes exalted (*buzurg*). They make a quadrangular hole in which they kindle a great fire. Then they bring food, garments, gold, silver, precious stones, cereals (*dāngū*), and perfumes and throw them into the flames, as they circumambulate them. Great kings belong to this sect.

27. Another sect is called CHANDRA-BHAKTĪ (spelt *J.ndr.rbhaktiyān*) [**206a**], i.e. ' Moon-worshippers '. According to them the Moon is one of the great angels. Of him they have made an idol seated on a calf. [**O 258b**] Before him are four (other) idols.[1] In his hand he holds a jewel. Every month these people fast for half a month (or, during the middle of the month ?). They do not break their fast until the new moon appears. And when the moon rises they go up on to the roofs, sprinkle perfumes, and look at the moon with pleasant faces.[2] Then they come down to their homes, break the fast, and go before the idols stamping their feet and playing.

28. Another sect is called *ADITYA-BHAKTĪ (spelt *Awtbhaktiyān*), i.e. ' Sun-worshippers '. They have made an idol seated on a calf. Four horses are harnessed [3] to (the idol) and before the idol there is an angel whom they worship prostrating themselves before him, burning incense and playing the flute (**nāy* for *pāy*) and striking cymbals. The idol has numerous estates and much grain. And they tell many stories about this idol. The sick come and fast before him for a day and a night, which they call *lak-han*, (hoping to) dream a dream, (after which) they are told that their wish has been fulfilled, and break their fast. There were two of these idols but Amīr Maḥmūd, God have mercy on his soul, pulled down one of them, and the other still exists in Hindūstān. [Sultan Maḥmūd died on 30 April 1030.]

29. Another group are the MAHĀBR.FTĪ (?).[4] Their custom is that a man goes to a graveyard and there collects the burnt bones [**O 259a**] of the dead. Then he enters a village and cries abusing the people : ' O, rebels, o sinners, who have become captives of your passions and slaves of your nature and have succumbed (*uftāda*) to the rebellion (*fitna*) of your passions. How long will you be killing your fathers and raping your mothers ? ' [**206b**] that is to say, ' men and women will never reach repentance (*tauba na-yāband*) until they have become like me and trodden my path ; let them know themselves and humble themselves in order to endear themselves (to God) '.

30. Another sect is that called *AMRAG-CHARĪ (*mṛgacara*). They resemble animals, go on all fours, tear up grass with their mouths, do not cut their *hair (read : *mūy* for *būy*) and do not struggle (*kār*) against anything (?).[5]

[1] *al-Fihrist* : ' four ducks ' (*rab'at al-buṭūṭ*).

[2] *Ba-rū'ī nīkū nihand*, perhaps **bīnand* ; cf. ṬḤ : *wa naẓarū ilayhi bi-wajhin ḥasanin.*

[3] *bar-vay sakht karda.*

[4] Sir R. Burn thought the name might be *Mahā-brahmanān ' a despised section of Brahmans who deal in funerary rites ', which is somewhat doubtful.

[5] *Ba-hīch chīz* **ba-kār nayāyand* (O. *kār nayayand*). ṬḤ : *lā yasta'milūna ḥīlatan fi daf' ḍarr* Perhaps instead of *chīz* one should read *ḍarr*.

31. Another sect is that called *MUNI, i.e. 'the silent'. They do not harm or pain anybody, and do not speak to anyone (*har kas*). They eat what food they can find, except meat, and do not marry.

32. Another sect is NĪKSĪ (?), i.e. 'those seeking the road to Paradise'.[1] They enter villages and women and other people follow them (*hamī-āyand*) and (thus) they stroll in the markets. Then they plunge themselves into their thoughts and for a time remain in that state. Then (such a man) will exclaim: 'I have forgotten how to walk', and some man will come up, seize his foot, set it (on the ground), then a second time move his foot forward, [**O 259b**] and thus with difficulty make him walk saying: 'go this way', and he will go and pray for him (who helped him).

33. Another sect is called K.STK.RTĪ and SĪD.R.[2] They are naked and cover only their privy parts. On their necks they wear a staff, and suspended on it are a gourd in which there is everything and also a bag (*kharīṭa*) with food. In the other (?) hand they hold a fan of peacock's feathers. These people like discussions (*ahl-i jadal*?). With each of them comes a disciple. They have chairs on which they sit and all day long they have no other business [**207a**] but to pluck hair out of their heads, brows, eyelashes, and limbs. By that they intend to mortify (*'adhāb*) their body. They say that there was a king who was attracted towards this religion. So they bared his body and said: 'all this hair has to be plucked out and while this is done thou must not shout but only say: "o comfort!" (*ay rāḥatā*)'. When much of it was plucked out and the operation became painful, he shouted and they said: 'thou hast spoilt thy business'. He became silent and kept saying (*ba-guftan īstād*): 'o, comfort'. They said: 'if thou goest on saying like this till all thy hair is gone thou shalt enter paradise'. As they went on with their operation he felt great pain and could stand it no more. [**O 260a**] So he withdrew himself from their hands and returned to his own status and religion. When asked about the reason, he answered: 'one must flee from a religion whose very beginning[3] is a lie'.

34. Among them there are people who burn themselves in the fire, doing this in the following way. They dig a ditch near a water, and fill it with burning stuff (*ātash*). That man (of theirs) comes and fumigates himself, prostrates himself before everybody, and throws himself into the ditch. When he is on fire he comes out and entering the water plunges into it for so long that he is nearly dead. Then entering the fire and water alternately he goes on until he dies. Should he die in the fire or in the water, they proclaim him one of Paradise, but should he die between the two they become afflicted (*tāfta*) and say: 'he has not reached Paradise'.

35. Some heat stones and collecting them while they are very hot[4] place

[1] Dr. Barnett suggests **mumukshī* 'seekers of salvation (*mokṣa*)'.

[2] Dr. Barnett suggests **keśa-kartī* 'cutting hair' (or *keśa-luñcī* 'plucking out hair'), and for سيدر بيندر* (< *vījanadhara*) 'fan-bearer'.

[3] i.e. the declaration: 'o comfort'.

[4] *Bas tabān*, read: **tābān*.

these burning pieces of stone on the belly (of the man who wishes to undergo the test) until a hole appears in his belly and his bowels (*rūdagān*) fall out and he dies. Some others kindle four fires and stand in the middle holding one foot in one hand and resting on the other ; and thus they remain until they are on fire and the contents of their entrails (*rūdāb*) [**O 260b**] spurt from them and finally they fall from weakness and die being consumed by the fire.

36. Some carve pieces out of their thighs and flesh and cutting them into (small) slices throw them into the fire, while singing some of those incantations (*khwānish*). Men gather round such a man, praise him, incite him (to seek) his reward (*muzd*), and pray that the Almighty grant them the same rank. Thus they go on until the man dies.

37. Some enter cow's dung up to their calves (*sāq*), then sit down and set fire to the dung until it burns. And they remain in the same position until the fire envelops them and they fall down and die.

38. Some heat an oven (*tannūr*) and the man sits in it, catches fire, and burns. The people ask him : ' has the sweet basil of Paradise reached there (*ānjā rasīd*) ? ' and he answers them until he burns up and is dead.

39. Others again who kill themselves by hunger and thirst are called ANSHĪ.[1] Some die on the twentieth day and some survive up to thirty days. First they are unable to walk, then to sit, then to utter a word, [**O 261a**] then their senses are annihilated and they become like blocks of dry wood and finally they grow motionless and numb (*bi-y-afsurand*).

40. A sect [**208a**] called *TRIŚŪLĪ (spelt : *t.rshūlī*) has the following custom. There is a tree named **bātū* [2] whose nature is such that coming out of the soil it grows up and then long twigs shoot out of it in every direction, and reaching the soil take root and grow up again and again. Left alone they would cover the province, but some (of the twigs) are pruned and some set fire to, so that it should acquire more strength (?).[3] The people of this creed have a place where the waters of the River Ganges flow together. There stands a huge tree wide-spreading (*pahn bāz-shuda*).[4] Under it they have fixed something which they call **trisūl* ' trident '. It is made of iron and is like a stake driven into (the soil), rising above the level of the river several tens of cubits (*chand dah rash*). It is hard as the hardest wood.[5] Its top forms three branches, each long, hard, sharpened, and neatly polished, so that it shines like fire. A man sits by (?) the course of the river (*az gudhāra-yi āb*), close to the tree, reading a book and addressing the River Ganges : ' O (*yā* ?) great one, either return, or (show) the road to Paradise ! [6] Thou art a stream coming from the centre of Paradise and showing to the men [**O 261b**] the road thereunto (*bad-ū hamī*

[1] Prakrit *aṇasiya* ' not eating ' (Sir R. Turner).
[2] *Vaṭa* ' banyan tree '. Spelt : *tāb.r.*
[3] *C.* and *O.* : *tā quvvatī bīshtar gardad* ?
[4] On the Prayāga tree see Biruni II, 284 (tr. II, 170).
[5] *Va siṭabrī-yi ū chūn chūbī har-chi siṭabrtar.*
[6] Possibly here too *yā* . . . *yā* represent exclamations : ' o return, o show ! '

rāh numā'ī). Blessed is he who climbs on to the tree and throws himself on that stake '. And the people there listen to it, and one of them climbs on to the tree, flings himself on to the stake, cuts himself to pieces on its blades, and falls into the river. And the people who are there pray for him and say : ' he has gone to Paradise '.

41. There is a sect [lacuna] whose habit is to assemble daily [**208a**] on the spot where the Ganges unites (*gird shavad*) with the Yamuna (*Jaun*). Each brings a weapon as sharp as a sword, a dagger, or such like. One of these devotees who wishes to purify himself and seeks approach to God, comes near those people and they throw upon him whatever they have of garments, ornaments, golden necklaces, bracelets, and such like, and they set upon him with all their sharp weapons, slay him and cut him in two : they throw one part into the Ganges and the other into the Yamuna saying : ' let these two streams take him to Paradise '.

42. There is a group among them from which devotees go out to the desert. A large throng accompanies such a man, reciting a prayer [**O 262a**] and encouraging him. Then he parts with them and sits alone in the desert. Birds of prey (*ṭuyūr-i shikara*), such as eagles, hawks, falcons, gerfalcons (*shāhīn*), kites (*ghalīvazh*),[1] ospreys (*humāy*),[2] and such like gather round him, while he sits quiet. The birds approach him growing bolder and bolder until they peck him with their beaks. They pierce his limbs, peck his flesh, and he keeps silent and does not resist [3] until (the birds) have taken off his flesh and eaten it. He loses his life without making a movement. When these birds have eaten all his flesh (only) his bones remain, and when the birds are gone the onlookers (*ahl-i ān naẓẓāra*) draw near and each takes a piece of the bones as a blessing. They carry the bones away, burn them in their houses and, at a moment of need, use them (*ba-kār dārand*) in the medicines administered to the patients (whose illness) is very grave.

43. These [4] were the records of the Indians which we have brought to light. What we have found, we have brought to light here. Success is from God and in him (we put our) trust.

In the year $\frac{93}{12}$ of the Hijra.[5]

[1] *Milvus govinda* ' the pariah kite '.

[2] Contrary to the legendary auspiciousness of the *humāy*, this bird, in its private capacity, is only an *ustukhwān-khwār* ' bone-eater '. W. Henning identifies it with ' osprey < ossifrage ', *BSOAS*, 1947, XII/1, p. 42.

[3] *Va mirā' na-mīkunad ? O. mir'āh ?*

[4] [On purely empirical grounds I have divided Gardīzī's report into 42 paragraphs. The latter are not devoted each to one sect, but I notice now that Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 71, affirms that there are 42 sects (*milla*) among the Indians. As the author must have used the original source, i.e. the report of the Barmakid envoy to India *circa* A.D. 800, which also underlies Gardīzī's account, it is possible that Ibn Khurdadhbih too had referred to the number of items (not *sects* !) in his source. Cf. also Idrīsī, first clime, section 10, ed. M. Ahmad, Aligarh, 1954, p. 24, on the 42 ' sects '.]

[5] See Preface. *O.* has ' on the 21 Dhul-Ḥijja 1196 H. (27 November 1781)' .

A FALSE JAYHĀNĪ

1. *Jayhānī's Lost Work*

ABŪ 'ABDILLĀH MUḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AL-JAYHĀNĪ, who in 302/914 became vazir to the infant Samanid king of Bukhara,[1] was the author of the celebrated geographical work *Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*. According to Muqaddasi, this *opus magnum* was in seven volumes and in it one found incorporated 'the whole of Ibn Khurdādhbih's original work'. Muqaddasi himself saw it in Fars in 'Adud al-daula's library.[2] He also saw in Khorasan an abridgment of this geography, one copy of which was attributed to I. Khurdādhbih, and the other (somewhat expanded) to Jayhānī.[3]

Jayhānī's work has not come down to us, probably on account of its bulkiness, and we know it only through the references found in numerous authors belonging chiefly to the eastern part of the Islamic world. These quotations—both those acknowledged by the borrowers, and those which are unacknowledged—have been closely scrutinized and now it would seem about time that they should be collected in a special treatise, similar to the theses published on classical authors who are known to us only in excerpts.[4]

In 1923, in the library attached to the sanctuary of Mashhad, A. Z. Validi found a new copy of Ibn al-Faqīh's *Kitāb al-buldān*, more complete than the abridgment which de Goeje published in *BGA*, v. The discovery in itself was highly interesting and the discoverer published a responsible account of it in 1924.[5] Yet two years later rumours, based on mere hearsay, announced the discovery of the original Jayhānī.[6] In point of fact, the Mashhad MS (212 ff.) proved to contain only the second, and still abridged, part of Ibn al-Faqīh (roughly corresponding to pp. 173–330 of the printed edition), and of Jayhānī the only real news was that in 309/921 Ibn Faḍlān was his guest in Bukhara, as recorded in the traveller's own introduction to his journey.

Before a photographic copy of the MS was brought to Europe, the rumour caused quite an excitement in learned circles, and Dr. S. Janicsek in a well-informed article [7] had to give a warning against excessive expectations. He

[1] Naṣr b. Aḥmad, 301–331/914–943.

[2] 'Adud al-daula reigned in A.D. 975–983.

[3] Muqaddasi, *Bib. Geogr. Arab.*, III, 3–4, 241.

[4] Barthold and Marquart were the pioneers in the Jayhanian studies. References to their works and to some new facts will be found in my translation of the 'Ḥudūd al-'Ālam', *GMS*, 1937, Index, and in my edition of Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazi's chapters on China, the Turks, and India, *RAS*, 1942, Index.

[5] A. Z. Validov, 'Meshedskaya rukopis Ibn ul-Fakiha', *Izv. Ross. Akad. Nauk*, 1924, 237–248. This MS also contains a more complete text of I. Faḍlān's journey and two *risālas* by Abū Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil. [See my List of Publications, No. 169.]

[6] See *Ephémérides orientales*, Leipzig, No. 28, January, 1926, 'Einige Bücherschätze in Persien': 'Das Original-werk, der ungekürzte tausendseitige [*sic*] Ibn al-Faqīh befindet sich in der Bibliothek von Mashhad. Und auch [*sic*] der Djaihani selbst ist da!'

[7] 'Al-Djaihānī's lost Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik: is to be found at Mashhad?', *BSOS*, 1928, v/1, pp. 15–26.

himself was of the opinion that the supposed discovery in Mashhad might refer to the work represented in the Br. Mus. Add. 23542 and Or. 1587. This was contrary to what we have just said about A. Z. Validi's real discovery, but of the two MSS of the British Museum we shall presently speak in detail.

2. *The* Ashkāl al-'ālam *found in Kabul*

A sensation similar to that of 1926 may result from a recent discovery in Kabul of a MS entitled *Ashkāl al-'ālam* ' of Jayhānī '. The discovery was announced in a Kabul periodical and the author of the article, Mr. Hāshim Shāyiq, has given a detailed description of its appearance, accompanied by a sufficient number of quotations from the Persian original.[1] Only a few minutes' consideration was enough to convince one that the MS was a work entirely different from al-Jayhānī's *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*,[2] but that it was identical with the two above-mentioned MSS of the British Museum described with habitual accuracy in Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, I, 415.[3] Even the lacunae in the text (in the regions of the Jibāl, the Caspian Sea, and Khorasan) are the same in the three copies.

The geography is an abridged translation from Arabic, the translator's name being 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Salām.[4] The dedicatee to whom the Arabic original belonged and at whose request the Persian translation was carried out, is described as Abul-Nāṣir (Add. 23542, f. 3*a*, quite clearly Abul-Mufākhir) 'Alī khwāja ibn Muhammad Waliyyu Amīr al-mu'mīnīn, and later (f. 42) as 'Alī khwāja Naṣīr [*sic*]. Rieu recognized him as the governor of Jand (on the Jaxartes) appointed on behalf of Chengiz-khan in 616/1219.[5]

3. ' *Abul-Qāsim* ' *Jayhānī*

The Kabul MS is endorsed on the back as *Masālik* (*wa*) *Mamālik of Jayhānī*. In the text of the three MSS the work translated is several times described as ' *Ashkāl al-'ālam of Jayhānī* ' (once: *Jahānī*), and the translation begins with the words: ' Thus speaks the author of the book Abul-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad Jayhānī that in the present collection (*majmū'*) the climes of the kingdoms of

[1] *Āryānā*, 1321 H., 1/2, pp. 27–32; 1322 H., 1/3, pp. 40–4, 1/5, pp. 23–7. The stocks of this review have been destroyed by a fire and I am most grateful to M. R. Curiel, of the Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan for having sent me a microfilm of the article, as I am also obliged to my friends M. Minovi and Dr. Mosaheb for their help in deciphering this copy.

[2] Or for that matter from I. Khurdādhbih's *Masālik*. Gardīzī refers to Jayhānī's work once as *Kitāb-i akhbār*, once as *Masālik va mamālik*, and once as *Kitāb-i tavārīkh*; Sharaf al-Zamān Marvazi calls it *al-Masālik*, and 'Aufi *Masālik va Mamālik*, see M. Nizamu'd-Din, *Introduction to the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt*, p. 102.

[3] Add. 23542: 77 ff. (each page of 18 lines), 19 maps, dated 1251/1835; Or. 1587: 129 ff. (each page of 17 lines), 19 maps, dated 1256/1840; Kabul Museum: 43 ff. (each page of 28 lines), 19 maps, scribe: Ḥājjī khan, son of the late Hājjī Muhammad Husayn Qazvīnī; of the digits of the date only ?18 appear in the colophon. [Cf. now, C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, II/1 (1958), 119.]

[4] His colophon appears in both Or. 1587 and the Kabul MS.

[5] See now Juvayni, I, 69; Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Bérézine, XIII, 71 (transl. 46); Barthold, *Turkestan*, 416.

the world are mentioned in order that the lands of Islam and their particulars . . . become known '.

As Rieu's careful collation of the Persian translation has shown, it is but an abridgment of Iṣṭakhri's *Masālik wal-Mamālik* published by de Goeje as vol. I of the *Bibl. geographorum arabicorum.* Rieu explained the attribution of the book to Jayhānī as a ' vague recollection of the famous geographer '. In fact a considerable confusion existed about the attribution of the old geographical works, and if the Arabic MS which 'Alī-khwāja produced from his library to be translated by 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Salām was as defective in the beginning as it is in the middle, the translator, writing some 300 years after Jayhānī, may have introduced (from memory !) the name of a famous author into the book which he was unable to identify.

However, the probable mistake in the attribution is aggravated by the discrepancy in the name of Jayhānī, for the famous vazir was called Abū 'Abdillāh Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Naṣr al-Jayhānī.[1] Curiously enough the *kunya* ' Abul-Qāsim ' is affixed to the name of a Jayhānī in a passage of Zakariyyā Qazvīnī (who died in 682/1283). It is no easy task to check the quotations in the two works of Z. Qazvini, neither of which has an index. At least in one case [2] Z. Qazvini quotes from the genuine Jayhānī : his description of the ' Poisonous Mountain ' (*Jabal al-samm*) in Tibet can be checked by a similar quotation in Bīrūnī.[2] The other of Z. Qazvini's quotations, which refers to a stream in Azarbayjan whose water possesses petrifying properties, cannot be verified.[3] In his *Āthār*, 189, Z. Qazvini quotes as his authority for it the famous doctor Muhammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī who got his information from al-Jayhānī, author of the ' eastern Masālik '. In the *'Ajā'ib*, 176, al-Rāzī is said to have got his information from ' Abul-Qāsim al-Jayhānī, author of the *eastern* Masālik wal-Mamālik '.

Confusion does not end there. As regards the published text of the *'Ajā'ib*, Dr. Ruska's analysis has shown that it is possibly only a late re-edition of Qazvini.[4] Consequently we cannot say yet whether *Abul-Qāsim* stood in the original Qazvini,[5] or was a later interpolation.[6] The term ' eastern *Masālik* ' as applied to the original Jayhānī can hardly be an ancient term.[7] In the

[1] *Al-Fihrist*, 138 ; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā*, VI, 293, etc.

[2] Qazvini, *'Ajā'ib*, 164, *Āthār*, 52 ; cf. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 271 (transl. 263).

[3] Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 285, repeats the fact on the authority of Z. Qazvini. [In 1904 I saw a spring of such a kind on the road from Khoy to Mākū.]

[4] The MS on which Wüstenfeld based his edition bears the title of *Tuḥfat al-kā'ināt* ; its author is a certain Ahmad al-Takrūrī and its date is 1154/1741. See Ruska, ' Kazwinistudien ', *Der Islam*, 1913, 260–1. The *nisba* ' Takrūrī ' is curious in view of (see below, n. 7) Takrūr (in French : Toucouleur) lies on the Senegal River in Central Africa, see *EI* under *Takrūr*.

[5] A MS written in Qazvini's lifetime (in 675/1280) exists in Munich (No. 464).

[6] Influenced perhaps by the *Ashkāl al-'ālam* ?

[7] On the same page, *'Ajā'ib*, 176, it is followed by a reference to 'Udhri, ' author of the *Andalusian* Masālik wal-Mamālik '. Speaking of the sources of the *Āthār*, Wüstenfeld (*Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 2nd March, 1848, p. 353) says that Qazvini reproduces Rāzī's quotation from the journey of ' Abul-Qāsim Jayhānī, author of the *African* [*sic*] Masālik '. This is an obvious misunderstanding. In the paragraphs on Morocco Qazvini refers to a certain al-faqīh ' Ali ibn

midst of this uncertainty, one would ask: why should Z. Qazvini have quoted *Abul-Qāsim* Jayhānī through Rāzī, if this Jayhānī was the same as the great vazir? It is true that Rāzī (d. in 313/925, 62 years old) was a contemporary of Abū 'Abdillāh Jayhānī, but Qazvini quotes the latter's story of the 'Poisonous Mountain' without any intermediary. It is true that Rāzī may have reported some oral remark of Jayhānī's, but generally speaking Azarbayjan lay far from the field of Jayhānī's direct competence.

Should we admit some mistake in the name of 'Abul-Qāsim Jayhānī', we might surmise that it was not in the *kunya* (Abul-Qāsim), but in the *nisba* (Jayhānī). In point of fact the *Fihrist*, 299, reports that Rāzī's teacher of philosophy was a Balkhī who is described as a great globe-trotter (*kāna . . . yaṭūfu al-bilād wa yajūlu al-arḍ*). In the list of Rāzī's works there are two books referring to *Abul-Qāsim* Balkhi,[1] i.e. apparently his teacher. The author of the *Fihrist* could collect only some loose sheets of the writings of this Balkhi, and if Qazvini actually quoted some information derived from 'Abul-Qāsim **Balkhi*' it was natural that he quoted it as transmitted by Rāzī.

May not some similar confusion about this little-known personage be responsible for the puzzling quotation on the opening page of the *Ashkāl al-'ālum*? For the moment we cannot go any further.

4. *The* Ashkāl *is a Translation of Iṣṭakhrī*

A collation of the *Ashkāl* with the text of Abū Isḥaq Ibrāhīm al-Istakhri's *Masālik wal-Mamālik*, as published by de Goeje,[2] has convinced Rieu that the *Ashkāl* is but an abridged translation of Iṣṭakhri. He discovered in the text only some later additions to Iṣṭakhri, such as references to the *Shāh-nāma* and to the extinction of the Sāmānid and Farīghūnid dynasties, which probably belong to the translator 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Salām. The text of the original from which the translation was made was defective. In both MSS of the *Ashkāl* Rieu found the same lacunae corresponding to pp. 181–197, 218–224, and 253–268 of Iṣṭakhri's text, and the same passages are omitted in the Kabul MS (H. Shāyiq).

We must bear in mind, however, that Iṣṭakhri only revised and completed the *Suwar al-aqālīm* of Abū Zayd Balkhi—a contemporary of the vazir Jayhānī, and an entirely different person from (Abul-Qāsim ?) Balkhi who was Rāzī's teacher. Long passages from Abū Zayd must of course survive in Iṣṭakhri's text.

Abdillāh Jinḥānī al-Maghribi, whom he seems to have met personally, see *Āthār*, 17: under *Takrūr*, and 132, under *Z.k.nd.r* (*ḥaddathā-nī al-faqīh 'Ali ibn 'Abdillāh al-Maghribī al-Jinḥānī*). The birthplace of this Moor: جنحان (?) has been confused with جيهان in Northern Afghanistan, Yāqūt, II, 181 (from Ḥamza al-Isfahānī). I could not identify this *Jinḥām*. Iṣṭakhri, I, 109, mentions a جنجان but in Fars! (See Addenda.)

[1] Opposite the name of *Abū Zayd* Balkhī some ill-advised glossator added in the margin of the MS: *wa huwa Abul-Qāsim*, see *Fihrist*, II, 56, which is entirely wrong.

[2] In the conclusion, p. 348, this book is called *Kitāb al-ashkāl*. Biruni quotes Abū Isḥaq al-Farisi's [i.e. Iṣṭakhrī's] work as *Ashkāl al-aqālīm*, see *Kitāb al-jamāhir*, ed. Krenkow, 1355/1936, Index, 40.

On the other hand, according to Ibn-Ḥauqal (p. 236, new ed. 329), who further revised Iṣṭakhri's work, the most successful part of the latter was the map of Fars. In fact the whole description of Fars bears the earmarks of a native of the country. It is equally probable that the very good account of the neighbouring province of Khūzistān could have been compiled only by Iṣṭakhri himself.[1] For example, the author describes in the first person how he sailed down the Karun, and this characteristic and personal passage is correctly translated in the *Ashkāl*.[2]

5. *The* Ashkāl *and Abū Zayd Balkhi*

For several reasons Dr. Janicsek thought that the *Ashkāl* represented a translation not from Iṣṭakhri but from the latter's predecessor Abū Zayd Balkhi. Most of his considerations do not appear decisive. Thus (1) he attaches some importance to the fact that the climes in the *Ashkāl* have numbers; (2) he says that, as Balkhi knew Jayhānī, he could have mentioned his name in the beginning of the book; (3) he points to the smaller size of the *Ashkāl* in comparison with Iṣṭakhri.

In addition to what has been said about the description of Khūzistan, one can easily object to Dr. Janicsek's points: (1) Muqaddasi says only that Balkhi divided the world into twenty climes, and not that he added numbers to the headings; (2) as Balkhi knew the vazir Jayhānī he would not have misquoted his name; (3) the translator himself admits that he was commissioned by his patron to abridge the original,[3] and in Dr. Janicsek's own opinion, p. 25, Balkhi's work was shorter than the *Ashkāl*.[4]

One remark, however, merits our attention. According to Dr. Janicsek the maps of the *Ashkāl* are of a more primitive type than those accompanying Iṣṭakhri's book.[5] Some amount of simplification and stylization could be attributed to the later copyists, but one point in the maps of all the three MSS cannot be overlooked. Muqaddasi, 10, while describing Abū Zayd Balkhi's map of the world says that he has given it 'the form of a bird with its beak at Qulzum [Suez]—he takes no notice of the Gulf of Wayla [or Ayla, i.e. the Gulf of 'Aqaba]—its neck in 'Irāq and its tail between Abyssinia and China'.

[1] cf. de Goeje, 'Die Istakhri-Balkhi Frage', *ZDMG*, 1871, xxv, 49: 'Der Verfasser (of the *Masālik*) sagt, dass er sehr viele Reisen gemacht habe, und aus dem Buche erhellt, dass er nicht nur die östlichen Länder, sondern auch Arabien, Syrien, Aegypten, Irak, Khuzistan [*sic*!, V. M.] und Ray besucht hat. Dies wird wohl kaum von Balkhi gesagt werden können'.

[2] *BGA*, I, 85: *rakibtu-hu anā min 'Askar Mukram ilā-l-Ahwāz. Ashkāl* (Or. 1587, 51): *mu'allif migūyad: az 'Askar-i Mukram dar kashtī nishastam tā ba-Ahwaz.* The routes in Khuzistan suggest that the traveller was coming from Fars.

[3] *Farmān rasīd ki īn kitāb-rā az lughat-i tāzī ba-alfāẓ-i fārsī naql bāyad kard va dar ān ṭarīq-i ījāz va ikhtiṣār sipard.*

[4] Muqaddasi, 4, says that Balkhi 'briefly described each map without giving useful particulars or setting forth clearly and in order the facts worth knowing'.

[5] See K. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae*, 1926–1930; and a convenient reproduction of them in Kramers, 'La question Balḫi-Istaḫri-Ibn Ḥauqal et l'Atlas de l'Islam', in *Acta Orientalia*, x/1, 1931, pp. 9–31.

PLATE I

CIRCULAR MAP OF THE WORLD
(Brit. Mus., Add. 23542, f. 59.)

Muqaddasi admits that each of the copies which he consulted 'was unlike the others', but the statement about the image of the bird is definite. Such a fowl is no longer distinguishable on Iṣṭakhri's maps,[1] but on the circular map of the *Ashkāl* representing the world (*jumlagī-yi 'ālam*) it is very clearly outlined (though with its head pointing to China and its tail separating Egypt from Nubia). [See Plate.]

Consequently: the text of the *Ashkāl* is an abridgment of Iṣṭakhri, though its maps may go back to the original version of Balkhi. In fact of the three copies of the supposed Balkhi's work which Muqaddasi saw (*BGA*, III, 5) one was attributed to Balkhi, 'in regard to its maps (*yunsab ilayhi bil-ashkāl*)', the other was considered as the work of Iṣṭakhri and the third as that of Karkhī. This confusion makes it plausible that Balkhi's *maps* were sometimes added to other authors' works. Such seems to be the case of the *Ashkāl*, at least for the first circular map.

6. *The Origin of the Kabul Copy*

Only while examining the MSS of the British Museum have I duly appreciated Rieu's indication that Or. 1587 was transcribed for Sir Henry Rawlinson in Kabul in Rajab 1256/Sept. 1840. On a fly-leaf Sir Henry has explained that the original of Or. 1587 was 'an old and fine MS which I obtained at Isfahan in 1837 and which, being lent by me to Edward Conolly,[2] was lost by him during the troubles in Afghanistan'. Would then the Kabul MS which has now come to light be the original of Or. 1587 lost by E. Conolly in Afghanistan? Now, too, it has become clear to me that Sir H. Rawlinson's tantalizing quotations in his 1840 article[3] from 'Abul-Qásim Jayháni's Ishkálo-l Álam [*sic*]' have in view the work which interests us, and probably the original 'Isfahan' copy of it. It must be added that though Rawlinson took it for the work of 'the famous [*sic*] Jayhānī', he, with his usual perspicacity, even then identified it with the Geography translated by Sir W. Ouseley.[4] Though the latter published it under the name of 'Ibn Hauqal' it was afterwards discovered to be due to the pen of Iṣṭakhri.[5]

Add. 23542 was copied in Baghdad in Ramadan 1251/Dec. 1835–Jan. 1836 for Col. Robert Taylor, resident in Baghdad in 1828–1843.[6] Rieu, who collated this MS with Or. 1587, found them identical in very minute details. To this

[1] cf. also in Kramers's edition of Ibn Ḥauqal the map facing p. 7. (See Addenda.)

[2] Edward Barry Conolly was in command of the escort of the British envoy in Kabul and was killed in Kohat on 29 September 1840.

[3] 'The Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana', *JRGS*, x, 1840 (communicated by Viscount Palmerston), p. 106. [Cf. above, article No. 6 of the present volume.]

[4] 'The Oriental Geography of Ebn-Haukal, an Arabian traveller of the tenth century.' Translated by Sir W. Ouseley, 1800.

[5] See Moeller, *Liber climatum auctore scheicho Abu Ishako el-Faresi*, Gotha, 1839, Preface, p. 2.

[6] In the colophon of the transcript he is given every kind of honorific epithet and called *balyūz beg*. The latter is a Levantine version of Low Latin *bajulivus*, Fr. *bailli*. As a designation of the consul the term survived in Kurdistan till the first world war.

I should like to add that each of the manuscripts has nineteen maps of absolutely identical contents, with the only difference that the artist of Add. 23542, who used a bright Persian range of colours, was much superior to his Kashmiri colleague, who preferred ugly dark tones.[1] More than this: the other three tracts found in both MSS are identical.[2] In view of all these considerations I suggest that Add. 23542 had been copied from the same old MS which later was bought by Sir H. Rawlinson in Isfahan.[3] No importance should be attached to the detail that the scribe of the Baghdad copy left out the colophon of the translator and inserted his dedication to Col. Taylor immediately after the end of the text, whereas the scribe of Or. 1587 signed after the name of the translator, which also figures in the MS now discovered in Kabul.

The three manuscripts mutually complete and explain one another; but whatever the explanation may be of the mysterious reference to 'Abul-Qāsim Jayhānī' (see above), the *Ashkāl* has nothing to do with the great work of the vazir Jayhānī, the loss of which we continue to deplore.

List of Maps

In the following table, under *A*, the maps of the traditional 'Atlases of Islam' (Kramers) are enumerated in the order in which they usually appear; under *B* the maps at the end of Add. 23542 (the maps reproduced in Dr. Janicsek's article are marked with an asterisk); under *C* the corresponding maps of Or. 1587; under *D* the Kabul maps (those reproduced in H. Shayiq's article are marked with an asterisk).

	A	*B*	*C*	*D*
Map of the World	1	1	1	1*
Arabia	2	2	2	2
Indian Ocean	3	3	4	3
Maghrib	4	4*	5	4
Egypt	5	5	3	5
Syria	6	6	6	6
Mediterranean	7	7*	7	7
Mesopotamia	8	8	8	8
Iraq	9	9	9	9
Khuzistan	10	10	10	10
Fars	11	11	11	11
Kirman	12	12	12	12
Sind	13	13	13	13
Armenia, Azarbayjan	14	?	?	?
Jibal	15	?	?	?
Gilan-Tabaristan	16	14	14	14
Caspian Sea	17	15	15	15
Central Desert	18	16	16	16
Sijistan	19	18	17	17*
Khorasan	20	17	18	18
Transoxiana	21	19	19	19
Total	21	19	19	19

[1] The figures on the maps (birds, fishes, genii) are the same, but occasionally turned in opposite directions.

[2] My argument will gain in force if they have survived in the Kabul copy. (See Addenda.)

[3] Whither it may have gone after a copy of it had been made for Col. Taylor (in 1251/1835–6)

ADDENDA

A. Monsieur D. Schlumberger has most kindly placed at my disposal a very good microfilm of the whole of the Kabul MS. This enables me to make the following additions :

1. At present the MS contains only the *Ashkāl al-'ālam*, but, as M. Curiel suggests, the other treatises contained in the London MSS may have been separated from it. Consequently the binding and the endorsement on it may be later additions.

2. Before the text there is a note in Persian, of recent origin, making suggestions concerning the identity of the author and the dedicatee (of no importance). Surrounded by it are traces of the endorsement by Ḥājjī-khān, apparently the copyist of the MS. He seems to present the MS (together with two other books, *Yūsuf va Zulaykhā* and *Makārim al-akhlāq*) to one of his sons, the other children being admonished not to interfere with this decision. A postscript suggests that on 9 Muharram (no year) probably the same Ḥājjī-khan was still alive (*ḥayāt-i musta'ār bāqī-st*) in Kiyākalā (?). Could this name be read *Karbalā*, it might explain the origin of the copy made for Col. Taylor in Iraq.

The order of maps (in the text) exactly corresponds to that of Or. 1587, whereas Add. 23542 gives the maps in a slightly altered order at the very end of the MS.

B. The Circular Map of the World in the Kabul MS differs from the map reproduced in the present article only in small details. The tail of the bird represents the sources of the Nile ; its body is the Mediterranean and, opposite it and beyond an isthmus, lies the Persian Gulf ; the head of the bird occupies the place of the Black Sea (or the Caspian) ; its beak is turned in the direction of the Oxus and Jaxartes flowing into the Aral Sea. Professor J. H. Kramers, a specialist on Arab cartography, tells me that in his researches he has not met any bird-shaped maps. This increases the interest of the circular map, which does not lack imaginative quality.

C. My former colleague, Monsieur G. S. Colin, had no difficulty in explaining to me the Moroccan names : *Z.k.nd.r* is **Zugundur* in the central part of Jbel Sirwa ; الحنجانى should be restored *الحيحانى, i.e. of the Berber tribe الحاحة, whose members are called *Ḥīhā'ī* or in common parlance *Ḥīḥī*.

D. I dedicate this article to my friends, past and present, of the Délégation française en Afghanistan.

ON SOME OF BĪRŪNĪ'S INFORMANTS

IN his praiseworthy edition and translation of Bīrūnī's *India* Professor E. Sachau has analysed the whole range of Indian and Greek sources [1] which went into the preparation of this monumental work. Similar methods have to be applied to all the works of the 'Iranian Eratosthenes'.[2] Only then shall we be able to explore the foundations of his judgments and appreciate the flashes of his genius in drawing his own conclusions from the facts.

To this end I wish to offer my suggestions regarding some items in Bīrūnī's *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* and *Taḥdīd al-amākin*.[3]

I. In *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* Bīrūnī quotes a number of points relating to the Far East which are found in the same arrangement only in one other known source, namely in Marvazi's *Ṭabā'i' al-ḥayāwān* [4]:

1st	Clime	No. 57	سرغور
2nd	,,	125	قتا
,,	,,	124	اوتكين
3rd	,,	293	تكسين
,,	,,	294	خاتون سين
5th	,,	571	توسمت
,,	,,	573	سولن

In Marvazi these places are arranged in itineraries, with distances between them indicated in days of travelling. In Bīrūnī they are quoted separately according to their longitudes and latitudes.

Immediately after the itineraries connecting the lands of Islam with Mongolia, China, and Manchuria, Marvazi gives an exceptionally valuable account of an embassy of the rulers of Qitāy and Yughur which visited the court of Sultan Mahmud *circa* 418/1027. It would be natural to assume, therefore, that the description of the unusual roads depended on the reports of the said envoys. The ambassador of Qitāy came undoubtedly on behalf of the Emperor Shêng Tsung (983–1031) of the Liao dynasty [5] which had conquered Manchuria and Northern China and formed a powerful State in A.D. 937–1125.

[1] See now two additional quotations from Homer identified by Professor Kratchkovsky, *Izv. Akad. nauk U.S.S.R.*, 1945, IV, No. 5, pp. 200–5.

[2] As Bīrūnī is called by J. Marquart, *Das Reich Zābul*, p. 248.

[3] The texts are found reproduced in A. Z. Validi Togan's *Biruni's Picture of the World*, Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India, No. 53, pp. 10–53 and 54–68.

[4] Minorsky, *Sharaf al-zamān Ṭāhir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India*, 1942.

[5] *Qitāy*, in Chinese *Kitan*, was the name of the people led by this dynasty.

The other envoy represented some Uyghur ruler, probably the king of the Sarī-Uyghurs of Kan-su.[1]

Sharaf al-zamān Marvazi was only a compiler and the last date found in his work is 514/1120. Bīrūnī died in 440/1048 and it would have been quite possible for Marvazi to use his works, but the fact is that no *detailed* report on the two embassies has been found in any of the known writings of Bīrūnī. Thus we have to postulate that Marvazi used some official record of the reception and interrogation of the ambassadors in Ghazna.[2]

As the embassy came to Ghazna in A.D. 1027 and the *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* was compiled shortly after 421/1030, it is also safe to assume that Bīrūnī's additional place-names in the Far East were in some way connected with the passage of the rare guests. Great was my pleasure when, in another of Bīrūnī's works,[3] I found a *direct* indication that he 'interrogated the ambassadors from the Qitāy-khan'. He asked them about the value they attached to *khutū*,[4] but he could not have missed the opportunity of completing his knowledge of the more important problems of Far Eastern geography. Only with his usual leaning to mathematical accuracy he tried to express the ambassadors' itineraries (as still available in Marvazi) in terms of astronomical co-ordinates.[5]

II. Another name which percolated into Islamic geography through Bīrūnī is *Waranj/Warank*, by which name Norsemen were known in ancient Russia and Byzantium.[6] In his *Taḥdīd al-amākin* [7] he speaks of the sea which turns away (*mun'aṭif*) from the Circumambient Ocean 'to the north of the Saqāliba (Slavs)' [8] and states that 'it is called the Sea of the Varang (*Bahr Waranj*) because this nation lives on its coast'. Opposite it lies a region where snow and ice abound, though cold is not excessive (Scandinavia ?).

'There are even some of those (Varangs) who on their fishing and predatory expeditions during the summer stubbornly (navigate) that sea and sail on in the direction of the North Pole up to the place where at the summer solstice the sun rotates above the earth. (The sailor) sees it and boasts among his people

[1] In A.D. 840 the Uyghurs were driven from the territory they occupied in the present-day Mongolia and retreated to the West, where by the beginning of the tenth century they formed two kingdoms: in the Chinese province Kan-su and in Eastern Tian-shan (Turfan). See more on the subject in my Addenda to the *Ḥudūd*, *BSOAS*, 1955, XVII/2, 262–3.

[2] It has always been a habit in the East to interrogate ambassadors on the countries they represented.

[3] *Kitāb al-jawāhir*, ed. Krenkow, p. 83, and *Ṣaydana* in *Bīrūnī's Picture*, p. 118.

[4] A still mysterious product described as the horn of some animal. Bīrūnī himself explains it as 'the frontal bone of a bull in the country of Khirkhīz'. See *Ṣaydana*, in *Bīrūnī's Picture*, p. 118; cf. *Der Islam*, II, 1911, 345–58.

[5] The complete title of the book *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin fī taṣḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin* clearly indicates Bīrūnī's intention to connect astronomical co-ordinates with the finding out of distances. In the *Qānūn* he used this method the other way round.

[6] Slavonic *vareng/var'ag*; Greek: *Barang-os*.

[7] *Bīrūnī's Picture*, p. 63.

[8] Probably the Baltic still confused with the White Sea, etc. The text is rather involved. See A. Z. Validi's translation in *ZDMG*, 1936, 90/1, 39, and my commentary in *Marvazi*, pp. 115–16.

of having reached a place where there is no night.' In Bīrūnī's biography found in Yāqūt's *Irshād al-arīb* (VI, 310) an anecdote is quoted about 'an ambassador from the extreme limits of the Turks' who told Sultan Maḥmūd exactly the same story, namely that 'beyond the sea, in the direction of the *Southern*[1] Pole' he saw the sun rotate above the earth, so that there was no night. When Sultan Maḥmūd got angry and accused him of heresy, Abū Naṣr ibn Mishkān[2] calmed his master by pointing to the artlessness of the Turks. Then the Sultan questioned Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī and the latter began to explain the matter briefly and convincingly, and finally the question was settled. This story, which is possibly derived from the *Maqāmāt* of Abū Naṣr ibn Mishkān (now lost), is important in that it indicates the presence of Bīrūnī at the audience.

Who could this ambassador have been ? By a most happy coincidence the author of the *History of Bayhaq*[3] reports that in 415/1024 the padishah of the (Volga) Bulghars dreamt that he should make an offering to the mosque of Sabzavār and Khosraugird. To this offering he joined wonderful presents for the 'padishah of Khorasan', i.e., certainly for Sultan Maḥmūd.[4] Yāqūt's story makes it certain that, just as in the case of the Qitāy embassy, Bīrūnī fully utilized this chance of completing his information on the Polar regions with which the Volga Bulghars entertained active trade. It may be added that the *Taḥdīd al-amākin* was composed in 1025, i.e., within one year of the coming of the Bulghar ambassador.

III. As a further illustration of Bīrūnī's eagerness to acquire knowledge by interrogating travellers one might quote his own statement in the *Ṣaydana* as to how he obtained Greek names of plants from a Greek who happened to visit hwārazm.[5]

One knows Bīrūnī's emphatic utterance on his attachment to the Arabic language and culture.[6] This does not alter the fact that the characteristic and unbounded curiosity of Bīrūnī[7] must have been stimulated not by any exclusiveness of his sympathies but rather by the variety of his experience and environment. He was born on the borderland of the old world of Iranian culture and the steppes teeming with Turkish nomads. At the court of Qābūs ibn Vushmagīr he could still observe numerous remains of old pre-Islamic times which survived in the Caspian region ; in Ghazna and India he witnessed the astonishing contrasts of the world of Indian culture. Bīrūnī may have

[1] All the parallels and the general sense leaving no doubt whatever that we must read *Northern* instead of *Southern*.

[2] Head of the Correspondence Department under Mahmūd and Mas'ūd (d. in 431/1039).

[3] Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī Bayhaqi, known as Ibn Funduq, wrote his history in 563/1164 ; see p. 63 of the Tehran edition (1317/1938).

[4] According to M. Nazim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, p. 53, in September, 1024, Maḥmūd was in Balkh.

[5] See Meyerhoff, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Bīrūnī*, 1932, p. 42. [6] l.c., p. 40.

[7] l.c., p. 42, Arabic text, 14 : *qad ḥażaytu fī gharīzatī mundhu ḥadāthatī bi-farṭ al-ḥirṣ 'alā iqtinā' al-ma'ārif* : 'from my youth I have enjoyed my natural greed for acquiring (various kinds of) knowledge'.

spoken disparagingly of his native provincial tongue,[1] but it was a sister of Soghdian whose cultural legacy is coming to light only now. We may yet hear of a literature which existed in the Khwārazmian language which has been deciphered by Professors W. Henning (London) and A. Freiman (Leningrad). Khwārazm was an old cultural land. Bīrūnī himself compiled a *History of Khwārazm* and has drawn up a long list of the ancient Khwārazmian kings [2] some of whose names have been retrieved from the local coins.

When thirty-seven years ago I visited Bīrūnī's native country, I could not help admiring its ancient system of irrigation canals. The imposing ruins which Professor S. P. Tolstov has discovered amid the sands now stretching around the Khwārazm oasis are other vestiges of its former glories.[3]

These multifarious impressions and influences must have presided over the growth of Bīrūnī's genius.

[1] l.c., 39–40, Arabic text 12–13 : ' And I judge by myself : my native language is such that, were Science treasured in it, one would feel as astonished as (at finding) a camel in a roof-gutter or a giraffe in a drove of noble steeds. Then I switched to Arabic and Persian but in both of them I (feel like) an embarrassed outsider (*dakhīl wa mutakallif*) '.

[2] Now lost and known only through quotations, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 20. See also E. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte von Khwārazm, Sitz. W.A.W.*, 1873, LXXIII, 471–506.

[3] See now a detailed description in S. P. Tolstov, *In the footsteps of the Khwarazmian civilization*, 1948 (in Russian). During his latest expedition to Khwarazm (1948) Professor Tolstov discovered 81 written documents in old-Khwarazmian. [See also his new work *Po drevnim deltam Oksa i Yaksarta*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 218, 257.]

THE AQ-QOYUNLU AND LAND REFORMS

1. Uzun Hasan and his *qānūn*
2. Qāḍī 'Īsā's reform under Sultan Ya'qūb
3. The policy of Ahmad-beg Aq-qoyunlu

THERE still remain many interesting and important problems connected with the emergence in the fourteenth century of the Turkman federations of the Qara-qoyunlu (780–874/1378–1469) and Aq-qoyunlu (780–908/1378–1502). The roots of the Persian *risorgimento* under the Safavids (1502–1722) go deep into this preparatory period.

On the internal policy of the Qara-qoyunlu our documentation is still insufficient. Having succeeded the Jalāyirs the Qara-qoyunlu must have inherited the administrative pattern evolved under the Mongol il-khans.[1] New tendencies become noticeable under the Aq-qoyunlu. It is true that a document from the last stage of their domination [2] clearly indicates that institutions saturated with extra-Islamic elements remained strong-rooted, but we hear also of several attempts made in their time to introduce some financial and administrative reforms. Apparently the rulers, under the cover of 'Islamic institutions', wished to reduce the disintegration of central authority resulting from the system of grants of land made in the guise of salaries, pensions, etc. Such grants were meant to be temporary and conditional, but numerous 'immunities' attached to them transformed beneficiaries into almost independent princes and lords.

§ 1. Uzun-Hasan and his *qānūn*

Under the founder of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty, Uzun-Hasan, the financial situation was fixed in some regulations, the original text of which has not survived. In Persia we learn of them only through the occasional references of historians to the *dastūr-i Ḥasan-beg* or *qānūn-i Ḥasan pādshāh*. These enactments were still applied at least down to the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp Safavī.[3] More fortunately detailed examples of Uzun-Hasan's regulations have survived in Turkish archives. They concern the region of Diyarbekir, Mardin, Ergani, Urfa, Erzinjan, Harput, Birejik, Chermik, and Arabgir which once formed the original (westernmost) part of Uzun-Hasan's dominions.[4]

[1] See especially the very illuminating data of Rashīd al-dīn's *Tarīkh-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn (and also available in good Russian translation by Arends, 1946). See also Minovi and Minorsky, 'Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī on Finance', *BSOAS*, 1941, x, 3, 755–89. [See above, article No. 5.]

[2] Minorsky, 'A *soyurghal* of Qāsim Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)', *BSOS*, 1939, ix, 4, 927–60.

[3] *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, Br. Mus. Or., 140, f. 63v: 'until now [Shah Ṭahmāsp's time] his regulations (*'amal*) concerning the organization of finance (*istīfā-yi māl*) and the collection of the governmental fees (*ḥuqūq-i dīvānī* ?) has been a law (*qānūn*)'. See *Sharafnāma*, ii, 120, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 10r. Quoted in Minorsky, 'A Civil and Military Review in Fars in 881/1476', *BSOS*, 1939, x, 3, 142.

[4] Published by Professor Ömer Lütfü Barkan in *Tarih vesikalari*, 1941, i, 2, 91–106, and 3, 184–97, and digested in a clear résumé by W. Hinz in *ZDMG*, 1950, Bd. 100, Heft 1, 177–201.

It is doubtful whether Uzun-Hasan during his not too long reign (871–83/1466–78), could have carried out a systematic survey on the territory of his new empire which from Diyarbekir extended to Fars. The reasoned conclusion of W. Hinz (op. cit., p. 179) is that Uzun-Hasan's *qānūn* chiefly fixed and confirmed the various local practices inherited from ancient times. Consequently it was not a financial system but a practical register of local customary law.

According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, Uzun-Hasan's regulations were applied in Fars, (Persian) Iraq, and Azarbayjan, but even under Uzun-Hasan's immediate successors there were periods when in practice the financial situation became utterly confused.

In the *Ta'rīkh al-Ghiyāthī* [1] the meaning of the *Qānūn-nāma* is explained somewhat differently, but the author gives some interesting hints at the improvements of the administration. ' (Uzun Hasan) was just and beneficent and wished to abrogate the *tamghā* [2] altogether throughout his kingdom. However, his amirs (!) did not agree with (this plan) and he fixed it at one dirham in 20 dirhams, (i.e. reducing it) by half [3] and thus diminishing it from what the earlier sultans used to levy. He abolished the brothels and the taverns and gambling (*maysar*) dens belonging thereto, throughout the kingdom. And he fixed (*aṭlaqa*) the amount of the (land-) tax (*khārij al-māl* ?) which used to be collected throughout the kingdom. And he wrote a *Qānūn-nāma* concerning complaints and quarrels occurring among people. He insisted upon the chastisement of the guilty by strict punishment (*bil-ta'zīr*), fines, etc. And he sent the *Qānūn-nāma* to all the (provinces of his) kingdom to be acted upon. He did not neglect any principles of justice that he was able to fulfil. He liked learned and accomplished men, and he treated the population of conquered countries with every kind of appeasement and justice.'

The interpretation of the *Qānūn-nāma* as a penal code differs from the sense given to the term by other historians and needs further checking.

§ 2. Sultan Ya'qūb and the reform of Qāḍī 'Īsā

The reign of Uzun-Hasan's son and successor, Sultan Ya'qūb (883–96/1478–90), is presented by chroniclers as on the whole peaceful and successful but, thanks to his special historian, we now know what political and social

[1] Still unpublished. The author 'Abdullāh b. Fatḥullāh al-Baghdādī al-Ghiyāthī was still alive in 891/1482. The passage on Uzun Hasan's reforms is quoted in 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī's *Ta'rīkh al-'Irāq*, III (1357/1939), 254. On the author, ibid., II, 110. See B. Lewis, in *BSOAS*, XVI, 3, p. 599.

[2] The non-Islamic levy, originally the octroi and later a kind of capital levy, see ' Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī on Finance ', § 9 (*b*) ; under the Mongols the tamgha levy amounted to 1 : 240 of the capital ; cf. Barthold, ' Inschrift der Manuče Moschee ', German trans. by Hinz, *ZDMG*, 1951, Bd. 101, p. 263.

[3] Thus apparently fixing the rate at 1 : 20. Even at this diminished rate it would be twelve times the rate of Mongol times ! The text, as given in 'Azzāwī, is not quite clear :

اراد ان يبطل التمغات من اصلها فى جميع بلاده فلم يوافقه امراؤه فجعلها درهما من كل عشرين درهما على النصف واقل مما (كان) ياخذه السلاطين قبله.

strife was going on behind the official scene. The *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* of Faḍlullāh ibn Rūzbihān has never yet been systematically utilized.[1] Its author [2] was a gifted and learned man and a pupil of the well-known Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhawī (d. 902/1497). As a convinced sunnī, having close family links with the shaykhs of Fars, he was utterly opposed to the Safavids and finished his days in exile in Central Asia.

The chief part in the events described by Faḍlullāh belongs to the chief qāḍī Ṣafī al-dīn 'Īsā of Sāva, son of Shukrullāh-vazīr. He was the tutor of Sultan Ya'qūb and exercised a great influence upon his ward. Khwāndamīr is full of praise for his virtues and piety. He says that Sultan Ya'qūb empowered him to write his confirmation (*tauqī'*) opposite the great royal seal and that without that approval the documents were not valid. From the mouth of Qāḍī Ḍiyā al-dīn Nūr-Allāh, Khwāndamīr heard a story how, at a solemn audience given to the ambassadors of Egypt and Turkey, Sultan Ya'qūb appeared in a gold-embroidered coat (*diglacha-yi zar-dūz*). Qāḍī 'Īsā declared that such attire was unlawful for men and told his attendant Amīr Sirāj al-dīn to take the *diglacha* off the sovereign's shoulders and to dress him in a coarse caftan of natural colour (*farajī-yi ābaft-i khud-rang*) and the Sultan gracefully submitted to this operation. Khwāndamīr also praises the manners of Shaykh Najm al-dīn Mas'ūd, son of Shaykh 'Īsā's sister, who was in charge of ' civil and financial affairs ' and ' sowed the seed of attention and kindness in the hearts of the peasants '.

Quite different is the impassioned report of Faḍlullāh ibn Rūzbihān, which is unique in its extremely detailed presentation of the arguments put forward by the opposition.[3] Such documents are very scarce in Persian and Muslim literature. Faḍlullāh pays lip service to Qāḍī 'Īsā's virtues and, by way of introduction, tells (f. 154b) how in Ramadān 893/August 1488, he commanded strict punishments to be applied by the *muḥtasibs* to drinkers of wine, ' whose vessels of life ' should be upset with condign torture. He then explains how the qadi began to impress his views on the State organization.

From the time of Chingiz-khan, land problems (*umūr-i milkī*) had got into confusion and the Islamic law became infested with the Chingizian *yāsā*, and the qadi's wish was to enforce the commandments of the *sharī'at*.

The author, Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān, acknowledges the benefactions which he had received from the qadi but proclaims his desire to speak the truth. Then he prepares his indictment by insinuating that Qāḍī 'Īsā wasted much time on

[1] I have used both the Paris MS (Bibl. Nat., ancien fonds persan, No. 101) and the Istanbul MS (Fatih 4431), of which Professor Hinz most kindly lent me the photographs. I have prepared a detailed analysis of the contents of this remarkable work which I hope will see the light some day. [See now my *Persia in A.D. 1478-90*, an abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khurjī's *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XXVI, 1957, which gives a full characteristic of this remarkable work.]

[2] Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, 1, 300.

[3] The original report occupies in the Paris MS ff. 159a–170a and 179b–194a ; in the Fatih MS. ff. 177a–191b and 199a–212b.

writing poetry; he elevated a worthless crew devoid of nobility; he falsely pretended to be a learned shaykh and it was this conceit that led him astray.

In Ṣafar 894/January 1489, his position, already strong, became paramount and he wielded almost royal power. The only other person admitted to manage the affairs of finance and land was Shaykh Najm al-dīn Mas'ūd *parvānachī* [1] whom the king appointed *amīr-i dīvān*.

The qadi's ambition was to rise above all the notables and dignitaries of Persian Iraq and Fars in order to collect by legal means [2] a sum which would equal the revenue obtained from various *tamghās* [3] which constituted the major part of the heads of revenue (*abwāb al-māl*). Then an order would be obtained from the king to abrogate these non-Islamic levies.[4]

One night the qadi invited Shāh Sharaf al-dīn Maḥmūd Daylamī, who was the vazīr and mushrif of the Divan,[5] and declared that the king's wish was to liquidate the abrasions (*khadsha*) made by the royal nails on the rulings (*nishān*) of the Sacred Law. The qadi took upon himself the task of revising the *kharāj*, but requested Daylamī to accompany him on the journey in order to regularize the items of taxation (*ḍabṭ-i jihāt-i mālī*) and dues collected from the peasants for public interests (*ḥuqūq-i māl-al-maṣāliḥ*),[6] and to enforce the rules of justice and equity (*'adl-u-savīyat*). Should the collection of *kharāj* be regularized, the victorious army would not suffer any harm.[7]

Though Daylamī felt that the qadi wanted to make him the scapegoat, he could not help obeying him. Then the qadi alleged the need of his attendance on the king and appointed his brother Imām al-dīn Shaykh 'Alī to act as his deputy. A royal decree was obtained for Shaykh 'Alī to dismiss in (Persian) Iraq and Fars any official at his discretion, and an appropriate mandate was also given to Sharaf al-dīn Daylamī. On 4 Rabī' I 894/5 February 1489, the two commissioners set out on their journey with the object of eliminating innovations.

[1] *Parvānachī* is the official concerned with *parvānas*, lit. 'fly-leaves', i.e. correspondence and orders of appointments, apparently not of the highest level. This may have been the original rank of Najm.

[2] *Abwāb-i kifāyat*. In Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī's treatise on finance, the term is explained as revenue from bringing dead lands to cultivation, from mines, fisheries, purchased land, etc. In my commentary I tentatively translated the term as 'lawful exertions and prosecutions', but it may have had a more general use.

[3] Octrois, municipal levies. See Barthold, *Nadpis na mecheti Manuche*, 1911, p. 34 (Germ. transl. by Hinz, *ZDMG*, 1951, Bd. 101). See especially Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī's treatise, § 9 (*b*), where *tamghā* refers also to a kind of capital levy (amounting to 1 : 240). [See above, article No. 5.]

[4] The text of Faḍlullāh bristles with technical terms which still admit only of an approximate interpretation. Etymologies are here of little help and the phraseology of the manuals of accountancy admits of various interpretations.

[5] Perhaps the vazīr of finance but rather the director and inspector of the Chancery. Each department had a vazīr and a mushrif.

[6] *Maṣāliḥ* 'public weal, state needs', cf. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, I, story 32; *maṣāliḥ-i mamālik* 'state affairs', cf. also Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī, § 11 (*d*) and ch. III.

[7] The expenditure on the army belonged to the *maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī* 'state interests', see Naṣīr al-dīn's treatise, § 19.

From the *ordu-bazar* [1] they dispatched *bukā'uls* [2] to all parts of Iraq and Fars to proclaim that the soyurghāls of the *ḥashvī* and *kharjī* [3] classes were suspended and that no money should be collected until the trustees of the Dīvan had estimated the lands and surveyed (*ḥarz-u masāḥat*) the area.

The author, who till then had sat quietly in his corner, went to see Khwāja Shaykh 'Alī and explained to him that the enforcement [4] of the rules of the *sharī'at* was subject to (*mauqūf bi*) supporting such people as scholars and *'ulamā*. He was sorry to see that the first step of the commissioners was violence and vexation. It appeared that the dotations (*musallamīyāt*),[5] both *ḥashvī* and *kharjī*, had become insecure (*nā-musallam*). If you wish to attack an enemy how can you disrupt the centre of your host ? The abrogation of *soyurghāls* was an unmixed evil. ' I know ', said Faḍlullāh, ' many of the great *'ulamā* of Shīrāz ' who sought loans on their *soyurghāls* before the latter fell due and hoped to settle the debts from the next instalments.

Shaykh 'Alī got angry and pointed out that the author intervened because he had friends and relatives in Fars.[6] Let him write out their names and, should hardship be inflicted, they would be exempted from the application of the law. The author retorted that the important matter was the principle, but in the meantime quoted the name of his relative Khwāja Niẓām al-dīn Aḥmad Ṣā'idī,[7] who had a thousand poor and destitute persons in his charge to maintain for whom he needed a *soyurghāl* in addition to his own resources. Shaykh 'Alī said that his task was only to report on the situation, but the next one hears of him is when the new settlement (*kifāyat*) was an accomplished fact.

The author proceeds to describe how the *bukā'uls* took the orders to each district (*bulūk*) and anybody ' looking like a *mullā*, or assuming the name of a *qāḍī* ' went on with the survey exaggerating every item both with regard to lands and animals. ' The bull supporting the earth would not escape their register, nor even Aries, or Taurus, or Capricorn.' [8]

The poor people of Fars appealed to *'ulamā* and *imāms*, and Jalāl al-Islām

[1] This is not a geographical place but rather a settlement of traders and artisans attached to the royal camp.

[2] Officials, originally attached to the Royal Table, but in fact having the functions of executive officers. This is an example of how offices and titles changed their purpose. [In Mongol the term would be **bōke'ül.*]

[3] *Soyurghāl* is the tenure of lands assigned to the beneficiary by the State. The *kharjī* class may have been the grants issued to defray the expenses of a dignitary or an amir rendering some services. The *ḥashvi* class may have been those issued as a mere favour. However, from the point of view of pure accountancy, Hinz (*Die Welt des Orients*, 1949, p. 315) opposes the terms *bāriz* and *ḥashv* as referring respectively to items ' mit Errechnung des Endzahlenproducts ' and those without such evaluation. I wonder whether this interpretation would apply in our case.

[4] *Raf'*, here definitely in the sense of ' elevation ' and not of ' suppression '.

[5] Prima facie this term refers to ' immunities '.

[6] See lower down references to Khafīf and Bāqilī.

[7] A well-known family of noblemen of Isfahan.

[8] Consequently herds and flocks were also registered. The non-Islamic *qopchur* was originally a levy on flocks and herds, before the term acquired a more general meaning. See on the shaky terminology ' Naṣīr al-dīn ', ch. III, § (*e*).

Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Ṣādiqī Davānī,[1] the mujtahid Abū-Yazīd al-Davānī and Maulānā Muḥammad al-Muḥyavī wrote letters to Qāḍī 'Īsā but the latter remained adamant.

The commissioners stopped at Qazvin where people from Rayy, Qum, and Hamadan were gathered, and then proceeded to Isfahan. Using all kinds of chicanery (*manāqiẓ-va-shanāqiṣ*) they proceeded to check the pious bequests of the sultans (*auqāf-i abwāb al-birr-i sulṭānīya*) and, on this pretext, without any fear dispossessed even the possessors (*mallāk*) of unimpeachably clear estates (*amlāk-i khāliṣ-i pāk*).

On the denunciation of some heretical qadi, whose unhallowedness appeared on his ugly face, the purchases (*matā'*) of the borough of Ardistān were proclaimed a royal pious foundation (*waqf-i abwāb al-birr-i sulṭānīya*), whereas the number of possessors (*mālik*) of one half of Ardistān went up to over 10,000. How at the time of Sultan Öljeytu could such a vast community have conspired (*ijmā'-va-ittifāq*) unheeded to buy up the estates and split them up into small lots (*khurda-rīzī-yi ḥiṣaṣ*) [2] ? The people of Ardistān protested but were turned away by Qāḍī 'Īsā. Shaykh Abū-Isḥāq Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh Tabrīzi (Nīrīzī ?), called *Haḍrat-i 'allāmī* wrote to Shaykh 'Alī saying that the denunciation of the vicious (*fāsiq*) shaykh constituted an aberrant argument (*burhān-i fāriq* ?); why should not his worship (*nuvvāb*) listen to the clear testimony (*bayyina*) of the people of Ardistān ? But Shaykh 'Alī replied that he had noticed no relevant testimony (*bayyina-yi dākhila* ?), and proceeded via Yazd to Shiraz.

Here he did even more mischief than in Isfahan. The governor of Fars, Amīr Muẓaffar al-dīn Manṣūr-beg Pornāk,[3] was an unprincipled man, and through some personal interest (*aghrāḍ*) did not object to Shaykh 'Alī's actions. Following the abolition of soyurghāls most of the charitable funds (*abwāb al-khayr*) and hermitages (*khānaqāh*) had to close down. But suddenly the day of retribution came with 'the dreadful death' (*vāqi'a-yi hā'ila* ?) of His Majesty.[4] The governor [5] put Shaykh 'Alī in fetters (*band*) and his house and belongings were pillaged. He had not even a morsel of bread to eat and finally in Tabriz was subjected to torture (*shikanja*), loss of limbs, hanging, and dishonour (*ta'līq-u tafḍīḥ*). As for Qāḍī 'Īsā he fell in Qarabagh into the hands of the ferocious Ṣūfī Khalīl and Fate apportioned to him condign punishment

[1] Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. As'ad Davānī, author of the *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* (830–908/1427–1502), see Minorsky, 'Civil and Military Review', *BSOS*, x, 1, 1939, 144.

[2] The meaning is apparently that the smallholders who had bought their lots could not have done so if Öljeytu's waqf really existed.

[3] On him see below.

[4] Sultan Ya'qūb died on 14 September, 1490. Despite Faḍlullāh's detailed description of the course of his illness the circumstances of his death are not quite clear, see Lārī, *Mir'āt al-adwār*, Br. Mus. Add. 7650, f. 229b, the Italian merchant, Hakluyt Society, 1873, pp. 183–4, and the Georgian Chronicle, trans. Brosset, II, 329, according to whom the Sultan was poisoned.

[5] The author promises to illustrate his narrative with the story of the shaykhs of Sāva (*quḍāt-i Sāvajīya*) (MS. Fatih, fol. 199a and fol. 191a, refers to Part II of his work which apparently was never written).

in the arena of retribution (*maydān-i jazā*). Such punishment for such deeds was necessary as a warning to men.

After this anticipation of later events the author goes back to the point at which signs of decline appeared in the affairs of Sultan Ya'qūb. He tries to connect these misfortunes with the changes in the basic laws of justice and in the benevolence which the king showed to the world-serving (*jahān-parvar*) Qāḍī 'Īsā. The structure of the State was strong, but stronger was the wind that destroyed the gardens of Erem. By nature the king was generous but the garb of righteousness covered the lining of evil and deadly poison was admixed to the cup of wine.[1]

The author describes in detail his personal interventions against the policy of Qāḍī Ṣafī al-dīn 'Īsā. One day at the camp on Mt. Sahand (south of Tabriz) [2] he visited him at the moment when one of the vazirs was praising those commissioners who were oppressing the people of Fars. He evaluated at 4,000 tomans the sum recovered by the treasury from the available items of *taqabbulāt* [3] and a small part of the arrears (*mukhtaṣar-i muṭavvalāt* ?). This sum was paid out to the holders of drafts issued by the Supreme Divan.[4] The qadi was sweetly smiling at the recovery of such a sum—each rotten dinar of which was extorted with a thousand tortures. Faḍlullāh, with his habitual ' zeal before God ',[5] remarked that, even though this revenue (*māl*) enriched the treasury, it undermined the foundations of the State. No bliss would result from suppressing the pension (due to the family) of Abū 'Abdullāh Khafīf and stopping the means of existence (*ma'ishat*) of the house of Rūzbihān Bāqilī.[6] The qadi got angry and at night summoned the author to a private interview (*khalvat*) which seems to have been stormy. ' When the qadi said that his brother strove to cut the oppressors' hand from the skirts of the oppressed, Faḍlullāh told him a story of a monkey which evicted the snake from the house of a lizard but occupied it itself. So the qadi's brother too withdraws estates from the oppressed and sows in them seeds of encroachment. In Sharrā and Farahān [7] Khwāja 'Alī, in the course of 20 days of stocktaking, seized an area to plough which 100 pairs of oxen would be needed.'

[1] See above p. 233, n. 4.

[2] MS. Fatih, f. 195a : the summer quarters of the court were at Sahand in 895/1490.

[3] *Mā-haḍar-i abvāb-i taqabbulāt.* See *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 176, where I suggest for *taqabbulāt* some contracts accepted from the government. A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 1953, 441 : ' *taqabbul* (?) some kind of levy made when a taxpayer agrees to the assessment fixed by the revenue officer (Aq-qoyunlu) '. The text on which this explanation is based is not indicated.

[4] This indicates the purpose of the government : to collect the revenue and, out of it, to pay the salaries and stipends instead of remunerating the claimants in grants and assignments on lands.

[5] **Tama''un fī wajhi 'llāh*, instead of *t.m'r wajh fī 'llāh*, as twice in the text ?

[6] The former of whom died in 371/982 and the latter in 606/1209, see *Shadd al-izār*, ed. M. Qazvīnī, pp. 38–46 and 243–7.

[7] In the central part of Persian Iraq. If there is no mistake in the text, the number of oxen is not impressive. About 1620, the mutavallī of the sanctuary of Ardabīl had 650 pairs of oxen to lend to his share-croppers, see *Silsilat al-nasab*, pp. 113–4.

The second of the unpleasant stories was about an ass whose ambition was to flutter in the garden like a crow, and the third about the caliph and a hermit who ruined the state. There is no doubt that this Sheherazade-like performance before the qadi was purely imaginary. Faḍlullāh would never have dared to present his brilliant but mordant caricatures to the original.[1] All that interests us at this place is the intermediate arguments of the two parties in which their real views are reflected.

The qadi kept repeating that the object of the commission was legal, that the population was thriving and the soldiers paid regularly. To maintain the administration of the kingdom (*ḥauza-yi mulk*) one had to collect offerings (*ṣila* ?) from the inhabitants and to transmit them (*waṣla*) to the soldiers, for otherwise the opponents (of the state) might display greed and the depletion of the army's ranks would open breaches in the kingdom.

To this Faḍlullāh retorted that most of the soldiers had abandoned the path of valour and adopted the way of agriculture and the majority of the owners (*arbāb*) in (Persian) Iraq were sturdy Turks (*Turkān-i buzurg-chomaq*).[2] Should the commissioners (*arbāb-i kifāyat*), who have gone to Iraq, investigate their transgressions and encroachments, they might arouse their hatred and anger, and collect nothing of the sums in arrear.[3] The attitude of all the inhabitants to (the collection) of the differences (*amr . . . dar tafāvut*) would be contrary to the expectations (*ma'kūs*) and the encroachments (*taṣarrufāt*) would upset the taxation (*istīfā*). A few dinars likely to be collected would amount to an insignificant sum, which forms the sustenance of the great *'ulamā* and the masters of hermitages (*khavānīq*), whereas the consequence would be to provoke squabbles (*ghirghasha*) among the administration of the 'private demesnes' (*injū*), that of the 'seals' and that of the lands transferred to the 'state' category (*mutaḥawwal al-mamālik*).[4]

Then, in despair of royal subventions (*i'āna*), the poor people (*ḍa'īfān*) might invoke God's assistance (*ighātha*) and sanguinary maledictions might bring decay to the State. The people being ruined and the army disturbed, the few dinars buried in the treasury (*dar khazīna-va-dafīna*) would not ward off the army of misfortune, or the troops of the enemies. Then, thanks to the advice of the supreme vazir, the royal throne might taste the bitter poison of colocynth (*zahr-i 'alqam*), like unto the cup which the caliph Musta'ṣim had to drink through the intrigues of Ibn al-'Alqamī (A.D. 1258).

Thus the fourth parable is introduced. The vazir Ibn al-'Alqamī was a

[1] In the story of the hermit the latter has even the same weakness for poetry as Qāḍī 'Īsā and imagines himself a Mutanabbī and an Abū-Nuwās.

[2] 'With big sticks.' The argument ('let sleeping dogs lie') is specious but the hint at the situation obtaining in Persian Iraq is very interesting.

[3] *Vujūh-i tafāvut*, apparently the difference between the old assessment and the increased value of the estate.

[4] On the opposition between the state (*mamālik*) administration and the demesnes (*khāṣṣa, injū*) see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 24. The 'seals' were the various registration fees collected by the keepers of the seals, ibid., § 98.

shī'ite (!) wishing destruction to the caliphate.[1] When previously the *Khwārazm-shāh ('Alā al-dīn) marched against Baghdad the caliph Naṣīr al-dīn defeated his army at Asadābād.[2] But al-'Alqamī kept all the revenue in the treasury. The army chiefs were disgusted and no troops were left. Then the vazir invited Hulagu and the latter, when the caliph Musta'ṣim was suffering from hunger, sent him only gold.[3]

The author pretends that this picture silenced Qāḍī 'Īsā. On coming home the author had a dream boding an imminent catastrophe and on the morrow he took leave of the company (*jamā'at*), and from Mt. Sahand returned to Tabriz to spend the month of Ramadan [4] in perusing the sacred book and in conversing with doctors of law.

Faḍlullāh's indignation against the reform indicates how much the interests of the spiritual lords depending on government grants were united with those of the other holders of *soyurghāls*, namely the military chiefs. He wished to intimidate Qāḍī 'Īsā [5] by the vision both of curses of the ' poor people ' and of complications with the powerful Turkish amirs. With regard to the latter threat he proved right, as the sorry end of Qāḍī 'Īsā showed soon after. Elemental interests had the better of the Islamic motives with which Qāḍī 'Īsā tried to clothe his centralizing projects.

No other historian mentions Qāḍī 'Īsā's plan of reforms. The *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (IV/3, 331) speaks definitely of the *soyurghāls* issued under Sultan Ya'qūb to qāḍīs, sayyids and 'ulamā,[6] and according to Mīr Yaḥyā (fol. 64a) this king confirmed the *soyurghāls* and appointments made by his father Uzun Hasan.[7] Faḍlullāh's text suggests that the idea of reforms was conceived by the qadi only towards the very end of Ya'qūb's reign.

The death of Sultan Ya'qūb suddenly upset the situation. According to Khwāndamīr (IV/3, 332), Ṣūfī Khalīl, the new war-lord supporting the infant king Baysunghur, for a time had been resentful (*dhakhīra*) towards Qāḍī 'Īsā and he made him ' drink the drink of martyrdom '. Shaykh Najm al-dīn escaped with his life [8] but soon after was poisoned in Shirvan whither he accompanied Baysunghur after the latter's expulsion by his cousin Rustam. Of the qadi's acolytes executed together with him Lārī (f. 229b) mentions his maternal uncle Khwāja 'Abd al-Malik Sāvajī. According to Ghaffārī (f. 193b) the events followed in rapid succession: Ya'qūb died on Thursday, 11 Ṣafar

[1] Is this some particularly venomous hint at Qāḍī 'Īsā ?

[2] In 614/1217. In the text ' Khwārazm-shāh ' is mis-spelt as the Mongol general ' Chormaghun ' (f. 211 b).

[3] See Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī in Juvayni, III, 290.

[4] In 895 Ramadan began on 19 July 1490.

[5] The ' past qāḍī ' (*qāḍī-yi māḍī*) as he rather unceremoniously calls him after his death.

[6] See also Lārī, f. 229a, on ' colleges and retreats (*biqā'-va-ṣavāmi'*) ' resounding with pious recitations at the time of Sultan Ya'qūb.

[7] This would suggest that the grants had to be confirmed by each new king. See below Sultan Ahmad's refusal to do so.

[8] According to Faḍlullāh (MS. Fatih, f. 190a) Shaykh 'Alī was tortured in Shiraz by Qāsim Pornāk and died some time after.

896/24 December 1490; Qāḍī 'Īsā was put in fetters on 8 Rabī' I/19 January 1491, and four days later hanged in the *ordu-bazar* ('soldiers' market').

Such is the picture of events which can be culled from Faḍlullāh's singular report, and not the least remarkable feature of the latter is the purely practical attitude of the learned author imbued with Islamic learning. He most violently opposed the 'back-to-Islam' plan of Qāḍī 'Īsā as soon as the latter trod on the toes of the material interest of his learned friends and relatives in Fars.

§ 3. The policy of Aḥmad-beg Aq-qoyunlu [1]

While struggles and clashes were going on between Uzun-Ḥasan's grandsons, Baysunghur (son of Ya'qūb) and Rustam (son of Maqṣūd), their cousin Aḥmad-beg appeared on the stage. He was the son of Uzun-Ḥasan's eldest son Oghurlu-Muḥammad. In 879/1474–5, in view of some disappointment, this prince escaped to Baghdad and thence went to Turkey. Sultan Mehmed II received him with much kindness and gave him his daughter, of whom Aḥmad-beg was born. Oghurlu-Muḥammad lost his life in 882/1477 as he was apparently making for his father's dominions.[2]

The short episode of Aḥmad-beg's reign is clearly summed up in Ḥasan Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. Seddon, pp. 13–4.

In 902/1496–7 a certain Ḥasan 'Alī Tarkhānī went to Turkey to tell Sultan Bāyazīd II (880–918/1481–1519) that Azarbayjan and Persian Iraq were lying defenceless and suggested that Aḥmad-beg, heir to that kingdom, should be sent there with Ottoman troops. Sultan Bāyazīd liked the idea of 'sultanate' over those two territories [3] and accepted Tarkhānī's plan. Rustam-beg's amirs betrayed him. Ḥusayn-beg 'Alī-khānī put to death the king's *lala* 'Abd al-Karīm beg and on 1 Ramadan/3 May 1497 proclaimed Aḥmad-beg (whose sister was his wife). The rivals clashed on the Araxes and, when the amir Ayba-sultan [4] went over from Rustam to Aḥmad, Rustam was taken prisoner and put to death. Ḥusayn-beg 'Alī-khānī, who now became the most powerful amir, for some personal reasons killed Muẓaffar Pornāk (see above § 2). Although Ḥusayn himself was soon executed by Aḥmad-beg,[5] blood-feuds continued. Aḥmad gave to Ayba-sultan the governorship (*ayālat*) of

[1] I very much regret that, despite my endeavours, Professor I. P. Petrushevsky's 'Internal Policy of Ahmad Aq-qoyunlu', published in *Izv. Azarbayjan. Filiala Akad. Nauk*, 1942, No. 2, had remained inaccessible to me. On the other hand, a parallel study may prove its utility, as when the decipherment of a difficult document is checked by communicating it to two independent scholars.

[2] See Ghaffārī, f. 192a.

[3] This little-known episode can be considered as a prelude to Sultan Selim's campaign against Shah Ismā'īl in 1514.

[4] Perhaps **Ay-apa*? This venturesome man, particularly responsible for the disruption of the Aq-qoyunlu kingdom, belonged to a collateral branch of the ruling Bayundur clan. His personal name was Ibrāhīm b. Dānā (or *Dāna*) Khalīl b. Kūr-Muḥammad b. Qara-'Othmān, whereas Uzun-Ḥasan was son of 'Alī, son of Qara-'Othmān. Ayba-sultan is usually mentioned in conjunction with the Qājār troops. The Qājār clan emerges for the first time at this period.

[5] According to Mīr Yaḥyā, f. 66a, in Dhul-Ḥijja 902/July 1497.

Kerman. On the way there Ayba-sultan plotted with Qāsim-beg Pornāk (brother of Muẓaffar) [1] and together they marched against Ahmad-beg. In the battle fought at Khwāja-Ḥasan-māḍī,[2] near Isfahan, Ahmad lost his life on Wednesday 17 Rabī' II 903/13 December 1497.[3]

The interesting detail in Ahmad-beg's career is his attempt to change the financial policy, on which several reports are extant.

The oldest contemporary historian Khwāndamīr (born *circa* 880/1475–6) reports that on his arrival from Turkey [4] Ahmad-beg ' announced to the peasants and sharecroppers (*ra'āyā va muzāri'ān*) the introduction of rules of justice (*qavā'id-i 'adālat*). He raised the standard of respect for the *sharī'at* and gave orders that the vazirs and the (officials) of the Divan should not charge (*ḥavāla*) any creature one dinar or one maund (*yak mann bār*) in excess of what was due (*mutavajjah*) in accordance with the *sharī'at*, that they should exempt (*mu'āf*) all classes of humanity (*ṭavā'if-i insānī*) from divan impositions (*takālīf-i dīvāni*) and not molest anyone with *ikhrājāt* and *shiltāqāt*.[5] He drew the pen of deletion [6] through the fixed emoluments (*muqarrarīyāt*) of the holders of *soyurghāls* and did not confirm (*imḍā*) the documents of exemptions (*nishān-i mu'āfī*) of any of the turban-wearers (*arbāb-i 'amā'im*). But this dispensation (*ma'nī*) did not turn out blissful for him ', for only six months later he was killed in a pitched battle with Ayba-sultan and Qāsim Pornāk.

Mīr Yaḥyā, born in 886/1482, was another contemporary of the later Aq-qoyunlu. According to him [7] Ahmad-beg ' was a king kindly to the subjects (or peasants, *ra'īyat-parvar*). During his short reign the gates of *ikhrājāt* were closed to such an extent that no creature made bold to take unlawfully a straw from a peasant (*ra'iyat*). He abstained from forbidden things, idle pastimes (*malāhī*) and drinking wine. He strove to propagate the Sacred Law and to enforce the exalted faith and he treated the 'ulamā and the learned people with respect and kindness. At his gatherings much scholarly converse went on and he himself took part in it. He had a shaykh who was called Nuqṭaji A'lā and whom he followed (*sulūk*) readily, not swerving from his words and opinions. However, parsimony (*imsāk*) was a dominant trait both of the shaykh

[1] Mentioned above in connexion with Qāḍī 'Īsā's commission.

[2] Khwāndamīr, III/4, p. 334, calls this place *K.hyz* (or *Kyhaz*)*ōläng*. In Mongol *ōläng* means ' grass, meadow '. The first part of the name should be restored probably as كهير **Kehēr*, in Mong. ' desert, steppe ', see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 233 : *keherün Bāyāvut*, and Ibn Muhannā's lexicon, ed. Kilisi Rif'at, p. 217 : الصحراء = كهر, cf. N. Poppe, *Muqaddimat al-adab*, Moscow 1938, p. 439. It is curious that about A.D. 1497 Mongol toponymy should have been still remembered in Central Persia. [Original Mongol : keger.]

[3] Mīr Yaḥyā gives 18 Rabī' II 903/14 December 1497, while Ghaffārī, f. 194b, omits the day of the month.

[4] *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (written after 930/1524), III/4, p. 334, line 26.

[5] *Ikhrājāt* are occasional ' disbursements ' borne by the population, for example, in connexion with the arrival of official travellers ; *shiltāq* ' a pretext ', a still more arbitrary levy. See Minorsky, ' A *soyurghāl* ', *BSOS*, IX, 4, 1939, 946–7. [Read : **akhrājāt* ?]

[6] **Qalam-i ibṭāl* (printed : *qm*).

[7] *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, Br. Mus., Or. 140, f. 66a.

and of the king and they gave no effect to the *soyurghāls* and pensions (*idrārāt*) granted by (Ahmad's) grandfather, uncles, and earlier kings. This kind of practice proved unblissful to them, and inevitably the rule of Ahmad did not last . . . He was not safe from the amirs' betrayal. In Dhul-Ḥijja 902/July 1497, he put to death Husayn-beg 'Alī-khānī who was married to his sister, and some other persons '. The author repeats the report on Ayba-sultan's appointment to the governorship (*ayālat*) of Kerman and his plot with Qāsim Pornāk. In the battle fought in the neighbourhood of Khwāja-Ḥasan-māḍī (on Wednesday 18 Rabī' II 903/14 December 1497) Ahmad lost his life together with Shaykh Nuqṭaji A'lā and many of the courtiers (*khāṣṣān*).

The historian of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ḥasan-beg Rūmlū [1] was well acquainted with the history of the Turkmans. In the first part of his statement on Ahmad-beg he closely follows Mīr Yaḥyā even in his terminology. To illustrate Ahmad-beg's respect for the 'ulamā he adds: 'Instead of orders, he wrote letters (*kitābat*) to Maulānā Jalāl al-dīn Davānī and Mīr Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad and on the *verso* apposed his seal. Thus it was that he introduced the law of justice [2] to make the Turks [3] withdraw their hands from the heads of the lowly and the peasants. Therefore the Turks, although outwardly obeying his orders, in their hearts opposed (*'inād*) him. He knew it and every few days killed one of them. Parsimony (*imsāk*) prevailed in his character and he hampered the bringing into effect of the *soyurghāls* decreed by previous kings. This procedure did not turn happy for him, etc. His face was very pink and white, he was short of stature with short legs, and therefore was called Gövdeje-Ahmad.[4]

A poet said:

The head-of-cabbage from Rūm, whom they made sultan of the world,
When Dey (December) came, was put under the sod.

The device on his seal was:

Tell the dry lip of a pauper (*darvīsh*): smile sweetly,
For we shall uproot the oppressors.'

Another contemporary of Shah Ṭahmāsp, Qāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī [5] also confirms Ahmad-beg's intentions to run the affairs of the state with justice—'in the Ottoman way' (*ba-ṭarīq-i Rūm*), as he unexpectedly adds, mindless of the compliment he makes to the rivals of his master.

[1] *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. Seddon, p. 16. The editor was unaware of the fact that vol. XI of Ḥasan Rūmlū's history (covering the years 807–99/1405–95) has also survived, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, 1, pp. 306–7.

[2] *Qānūn-i 'adālat*, possibly 'a just assessment'.

[3] Meaning: the tribal Aq-qoyunlu chiefs.

[4] The mother of his father Oghurlu-Muhammad was a Kurdish lady. Ahmad was the son of an Ottoman princess. The sobriquet *gövde*, or *gövdeje* means in Turkish 'a small trunk, a dwarfish person'.

[5] *Jihān-ārā*, Br. Mus., Or. 141, f. 194b. This author substitutes the term *tiyūl* for *ayālat* which Mīr Yaḥyā uses with regard to Sultan-Ayba's appointment to Kerman. [*Tiyūl* (northern Turkish: *tiyish*) from Turkish *tiy-mek* (Ottoman *deǧ-mek*): 'what reaches somebody, falls to his lot'. The Persians pronounce *toyūl*.]

As a dissonant note in this chorus of historians one should quote the words of Maulānā Muṣliḥ al-dīn al-Shāfi'ī Lārī.[1] According to him Gövde-Ahmad was a prince of ' exceptional villainy (**khabīthat*) ; in avarice he emulated Mādir,[2] and in baseness (*danā'at*) was famous throughout the world '.

The reports quoted indicate only the general tendency of Ahmad's democratic practices, and we cannot say whether, during his short reign, he found time to embody them in any general acts of legislative character. Ghaffārī's suggestion that his policy was run on Ottoman (*Rūmī*) lines may have been deduced from his Ottoman upbringing [3] and must have some truth in it, but in any case the direct influence behind the throne was that shaykh bearing the strange name of Nuqṭaji A'lā.[4]

The material at our disposal is insufficient but on purely historical grounds, we have to connect Ahmad-beg's policy with the reforms already attempted under Sultan Ya'qūb. Since then the nefarious system of grants indiscriminately distributed by rulers had sprung up again. Of Rustam-beg, whom Ahmad-beg succeeded, Ḥasan Rūmlū says, p. 15 : ' he was an extremely generous (*karīm al-nafs*) king and such *soyurghāls* and *vaẓīfas* (" pensions ") as he gave to meritorious people no one of the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu ever gave '. Consequently, economy and reform in the revenue department and measures to reduce the unruliness of the amirs were inevitable in view of the situation.

What seemed to be an isolated attempt of an ephemeral ruler becomes now much easier to understand in the light of the precedent from Sultan Ya'qūb's time. The Ottoman upbringing and connexions of Gövde-Ahmad may have stimulated his energy, but the normalization of taxes and the rigid revision of the *soyurghāls* were certainly local Persian problems awaiting an urgent solution.

Very curiously in both cases the opinion of the equally orthodox interpreters of the divine law was split. Most of the historians praise the financial policy of Qāḍī 'Īsā and Ahmad-beg as concordant with Islam, as against such learned champions of orthodoxy as Faḍlullāh ibn Rūzbihān and Lārī, of whom the former furiously denounces the ' back-to-Islam ' reforms of the ' Sāva shaykhs ', and the latter blackens the miserly nature of the dwarfish Ahmad.

[1] *Mir'āt al-adwār*, Br. Mus., Add. 7650, f. 230b. Lārī was a sunnite Persian who lived in India and finished his days in Turkey (in 979/1572). [On him see Babinger, GOW, 94 ; Storey, *Persian Literature*, 117 ; cf. *Aḥsan al-tavarīkh*, 454, under the year 980.]

[2] Lane, 1/7, 2699 : ' *mādir*, one who plasters his watering-trough or tank with his ordure, in order that no one besides himself may water at it '. Cf. *Lisān al-'arab*, III, 536, where this dishonouring practice is connected with the Banū-Hilāl.

[3] He was not only the son of an Ottoman princess but himself was married to a daughter of Sultan Bāyazīd. See M. H. Inanç, *Ak-koyunlu*, in *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*.

[4] Did he come with Ahmad-beg from Turkey ? Could he have had any connexion with the Ḥurūfī sect whose important branch were the Nuqṭavi ? See on them the recent works of Ṣādiq Kiyā, *Nuqṭaviyān yā Pasī-khāniyān*, 1320/1941 (there are no data on their history between 831/1427 and 973/1565), and H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, 1954, VII, 1, pp. 6, 40. The very name of the shaykh, A'lā, is strange and even suggestive.

Such a negative attitude towards reforms must be explained by the links of the critics with the groups interested in the preservation of their privileges. Faḍlullāh goes even so far as to suggest a danger for the throne if the prayers of the 'subjects' were replaced by deprecations.

The dichotomy of opinions would be less instructive had not the immediate developments justified the warnings of the critics. In both cases the initiators of the 'back-to-Islam' policy fell victims to the combination of more powerful forces and interests. Considerations of orthodoxy did not influence the course of events. And this conclusion shows the potential dangers of simplifying our approaches to the study of 'Islamic society' and its history.

6 June 1955.

PS.—Thanks to Professor I. P. Petrushevsky's kindness I am now in possession of *Sbornik statey po istorii Azerbayjana*, I, Baku 1949, 310 pp., which contains five articles by A. A. Ali-zadeh (pp. 47–143), chiefly on the Mongol period, and five articles by I. P. Petrushevsky (pp. 144–310), on the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries, namely 'Internal policy of Ahmad Aq-qoyunlu' (see our paragraph 3); 'The states of Azerbayjan in the fifteenth century'; 'The rising of artisans in Tabriz in 1571–3'; 'Azerbayjan in the sixteenth–seventeenth century', and 'Iranian sources on the history of Azerbayjan in the sixteenth–seventeenth century'.

In the article on Ahmad Aq-qoyunlu (pp. 144–52), completed in January 1942, Professor Petrushevsky used practically the same sources as myself (in my § 3) and came to the same conclusions on the purport of the centralizing tendency of the government directed against the fief-holders. In the light of my §§ 1 and 2, this trend of policy acquires a wider significance and permits one to draw additional conclusions.

20 August 1955.

PERSIA : RELIGION AND HISTORY *

I CONFESS that in preparing my paper I experienced certain difficulties. For one thing, the statement of the programme of our Conference reads : 'Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization', whereas the present tendency is rather to treat separately the history of the Arab, Iranian, and Turkish lands and peoples, as we treat the history of the European peoples regardless of the fact that in the Middle Ages they recognized the same authority of the church, and used the same Latin and the same canon law.

Second, since I did not know the exact scope of the paper prepared by my co-reporter, Dr. B. Spuler, I could not bring my paper into line with his so that there would be no gaps or overlappings.

Accordingly, I have approached my task from the purely historical side, following the course of the events which were to have repercussions upon beliefs ; for religions may be compared to mirrors in which generations, classes, and parties—often very dissimilar—seek their own images to find support for their own aspirations.

The important facts which one must take into account in speaking of Persia are : (1) that before the conquest by the Arabs or, one may say, by the Muslims, this country possessed a long administrative, cultural, and artistic tradition ; (2) that this country was conquered by the Arabs quite rapidly in the course of the second and third decades of the Hijra and that all that the conquerors could offer the conquered at that stage was the new religion, in a form not yet well adapted to the requirements of settled life, and a poetry which reflected the conditions of the *jâhiliyya* of a nomad people ; (3) that apart from some vague indications in the Syrian and Armenian sources, no indigenous documents on the course of the conquest have survived, while the Arab reports recorded much later concentrate on the outward aspect of events. Though we are more or less well informed on the conquest and the occupation of the chief cities, the situation in the countryside remains very obscure.

The Conquest

Historians are more or less in agreement that force did not play a large role in the *conversions*, but that does not mean that the Arabs met with no resistance. Many cities were taken only after a struggle. Even in the third century of the Hijra a city like Qumm had to be reduced by force, and, according to al-Balâdhurî, 'a great many of its inhabitants were slaughtered'.[1]

Since the non-Muslims were saddled with heavier exactions than were the faithful, the Arab administration was more interested in finances than in conversions ; but, on the other hand, it was this economic disparity which had become the chief incentive for the Iranian nobles to change religion. The

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degradation of the old landholders under the new masters made for the same results. Speaking of the nobility of Iṣfahân, al-Balâdhurî says they were willing to pay the *kharâj* 'but since they disdained to pay the poll-tax, they became Muslims'.[2] If at the price of this desertion the nobles retained their lands and their social position, for their part the Arabs also appreciated the advantages enjoyed by the Iranian privileged class. According to al-Wâqidî (quoted by al-Balâdhurî),[3] on their arrival in Azerbaijan the Arabs seized all they could: 'some [even] bought lands from the Persians. To these Arabs the villages turned for protection, and these [local] inhabitants became cultivators on behalf of these Arabs'.

In principle Islâm is democratic, and, though it admits slavery, it ought to have accelerated the decomposition of the system of classes officially recognized in Zoroastrianism; however, the structure of the Sassanid state remained more or less unchanged, with the class of landholders being paramount and numerous elements staying outside the new dispensation.

The Caliphs

From the time of the Umayyads little information on the internal life of Persia has survived, but, when the Abbasid propaganda had unchained new passions and loosened tongues, we hear of a series of great risings directed against the Arab domination: those of Bihâfarîdh (about 750), of Sunbâdh the Magian (756), of Ustâdh-Sîs (765), of al-Muqanna', 'the Veiled Prophet of Khurâsân' (780), and, finally, of the terrible revolt of Bâbak, which lasted twenty years and proved a sore trial to the Abbasid administration.

Externally these rebellions had a religious character, for their leaders are considered as founders of new sects. Theological hatred has distorted the facts provided about their doctrines, which it seems appealed, on the one hand, to the old beliefs of Iran and, on the other hand, reflected the influence of the great divisions within Islâm. One thing is more or less certain: the very names of the leaders and heresiarchs are purely Iranian, and among their confederates no representatives of the nobility are to be seen. Of the rebellion of Bâbak we know for certain that it was supported by the 'non-Arabs' (*'ulûj*) and directed against the established authorities, that is, against the Arabs and the official orthodoxy. In this case we seem to be able to establish contact with the life of the classes which otherwise stay outside the field of vision of the official sources.[4]

The coming to power of the Abbasids (in 750), organized by the propaganda of Abû Muslim, put an end to the purely *Arab* empire represented by the Umayyads. From the start of the Abbasid rule new elements coming especially from Khurâsân began to find their way into the governmental circles of Baghdad. The theories of the *shu'ûbiyya* revived the pre-Islamic memories. The accession of Ma'mûn (in 813), himself the son of a Persian mother, marks a new turning point in the penetration of the Persians into the administration and then into politics.

The Political Emancipation

After the period of movements with a religious appearance, the emancipation of Persia took a purely lay and political form. The break-up of the caliphate now proceeded by the falling-away of whole provinces under the aegis of new Khurâsânian dynasties. The breach which divided the Ṭâhirids from Baghdad was scarcely perceptible. The Ṣaffârids, on the other hand, both by their purely democratic origins and by their independent behaviour, turned over a new page in the history of Iran. Although officially the Ṣaffârids had to fight against the petty Khârijite leaders, their political activity seems to have been inspired by the radical ideas of those rivals. Some later sources [5] attribute Shî'ite motives to the Ṣaffârids. In any case the rulers of Sîstân dissociated themselves completely from the authority of the caliph, and, in general, religion played no significant role in their policy. The Samanids of Bukhara re-established the prestige of Sunnite orthodoxy. Their modest attempts at centralization put them at odds with their feudatories. Curiously enough, the Sunnite clergy, suspicious of the tendencies of certain Samanids (who, wanting to widen the basis of their power, tried to rely upon Shî'ite extremism and the urban classes), showed a complete lack of national ideas and sacrificed the Samanids to the Turkish outsiders.

The caliphate was unable to save the Samanids, for toward the middle of the tenth century a great movement disturbed the situation in central and western Persia and erected a wall between Baghdad and Khurâsân. This movement, which I have called the 'Iranian intermezzo', came out of the north, from the Caspian provinces. The Arabs had not succeeded in establishing themselves securely in that region, and Gîlân especially formed an autonomous and hostile enclave, governed by local kinglets and keeping up the memories of the pre-Islamic glories.[6]

It was 'Alid-Zaidid refugees who, making their way into Gîlân, converted the population to Shî'ism (*ca.* 864). From the start the movement had a democratic character. The local princes lost their power, and the new masters, by their justice, inspired great confidence in their subjects. According to Ṭabarî, 'the world has never seen justice like that of Ḥasan Uṭrûsh' (*ca.* 914).[7]

The mountainous country above the marshes of Gîlân was called Dailam. Already in antiquity the warriors of this healthy but poor region are mentioned among the mercenaries serving abroad. The Shî'ite ideas implanted by the Zaidî sayyids were of a frankly oppositional character, so far as concerned the caliphate. In the mountains of Dailam they amalgamated with the nostalgic memories of pre-Islamic times, and the combination of these tendencies found energetic supporters among the elements who felt hemmed in in their mountain haunts.

About 920 the first bands of Dailamite adventurers appeared on the central plateau. Eight years later the Ziyârid leaders put themselves at the head of the movement but soon had to give place to their former officers of the Bûyid family.

About this time the caliphate had already entered into a period of decline. After 929 one finds the mayors of the palace (*amîr al-umarâ'*) seizing the reins of government.[8] Strictly speaking, the Bûyid Mu'izz al-Daula merely continued their line, but with the difference that he, a Shî'ite, was called upon to be the guardian of the orthodox caliph. The brothers of Mu'izz had established themselves at Rayy and at Shîrâz, and thus the whole of the Iranian plateau received an independent organization and was lost to the caliphate. Under the aegis of the Bûyids, other less extensive Iranian principalities sprang up in Azerbaijan, Kurdistan, and Mesopotamia.

It must not be forgotten that the Bûyid courts of Rayy and Shîrâz were great cultural centres, that famous ministers, such as Abû al-Faḍl ibn al-'Amîd and Ismâ'îl ibn 'Abbâd, were great protectors of letters and science, and that Avicenna served as vizier at the court of the Kâkûyids, the immediate successors of the Bûyids.[9]

It seems to me, then, that the Bûyid age, which liquidated the Arab rule and organized Persia on bases antithetical to Islamic orthodoxy, was of primary importance for the formation of the national consciousness of the Persians. For 110 years the Bûyids secured an 'Iranian intermezzo' within the long series of foreign occupations. The Bûyid tradition must be taken into consideration not less than that of the dynasties of Khurâsân.

If the *Shâh-nâma* can be considered as an echo of the sentiments of the landed nobility (*dihqân*) in Samanid times, the somewhat heterodox and extremist Shî'ism of the Bûyids became the second constitutive factor in the formation of the Persian national consciousness. It was a matter not only of doctrines but of the amalgamation of the ideas with emotions and daily practice. Thus, for instance, the strange character of the holidays in Persia, which are for the most part commemorations of deaths and exaggerated mournings, must reflect the customs of the Dailamî mountaineers, who were given to immoderate lamentations, even over themselves in time of sickness.

The Turks

Turkish dynasties succeeded to the Samanids and the Bûyids. Among them, the Qara-Khânids did not reach far beyond the Oxus frontier. The Ghaznavids centred on the southern axis leading toward India and its riches, and their intervention in central Persia was of only short duration. Sunnite orthodoxy was officially re-established by Maḥmûd, who severely repressed the Mu'tazilism and other deviations which had developed at Rayy under the mild rule of the Bûyids, but until Mongol times Rayy continued to be the centre of religious dissensions.

A different matter was the invasion of the Oghuz tribes under the leadership of the Seljuqs. Their axis was aligned from east to west, and, since they travelled with their families and their flocks, they were able to settle among the indigenous population and influence its composition and its language. It is thus that Azerbaijan became Turkish-speaking. A much more serious effort

was made to establish Sunnite orthodoxy in alliance with the secular arm of the state, but for all the respect shown the caliph he did not become much more independent than he had been under the Bûyids. Even the choice of his counsellors was strictly controlled by the Seljuq viziers, such as Kundurî and Niẓâm al-Mulk.

It is customary to speak of the strong organization of the Seljuq state.[10] In fact, the period of calm and tranquillity covered by the reigns of Alp Arslân and Malik Shâh lasted only three decades (from 1063 to 1092) and was followed by long struggles and wars among the epigones. It is true that under the Seljuqs we find a close collaboration established between the conquerors and the bureaucracy recruited among the Persians. This is a new class, distinct from the Sassanid *dihqâns*. In the *Siyâsat-nâma* of Niẓâm al-Mulk we have a document of first importance setting forth the programme which combined the force of the Turks with the administrative methods of the Sassanids and the great Abbasid caliphs. The system of spies, of messengers, and of troops skilfully assorted from different elements was harmonized with the founding of the religious colleges, those nurseries of administrators who were to watch over the rectitude of the path followed by their flocks. 'Religion and government are twins, one of which cannot do without the other,' said Ghazzâlî,[11] recalling an old saying.

Behind the screen of orthodoxy, all was not going well in the Seljuq state. Here we must consider the role which Ismâ'îlism played during this whole period. Barthold regarded its development as a return to Iranian feudalism, apparently as a re-establishment of the particularism of the *dihqâns*. In reality, the resemblance of the fortresses of the Assassins to the strongholds of the former masters of the provinces was purely external. The Iranian barons reflected the isolation of the areas, which were self-sufficient economically, and the opposition of the local interests to the unifying tendencies of the monarchy. On the contrary, the Ismâ'îlîs did not work for any particularism. Their idea was to unify the country, and even countries, on the basis of a system which would permit the organization of all classes and sorts of people in a single social pyramid built according to the degrees of initiation. Visions of the order established in Egypt by the Fâṭimids haunted their imagination, as we know by the example of Nâṣir-i Khusrau. It is arbitrary to consider the chiefs of Alamût and of the other fortresses as ambitious adventurers. The severity of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbâḥ against the peccadilloes of his sons is a proof of the moral discipline which reigned at Alamût. To a certain point the Ismâ'îlîs were continuing the Bûyid tradition.[12] It is a noteworthy coincidence that their great centre was situated right in the middle of the former territory of the Dailamîs, where the oppositional tendencies must have been still alive. When one looks at the rock of Alamût one is astonished by the slightness of its area. Without the support coming from the country, such a fortress could not have withstood all the numerous and prolonged attacks which were directed against it. So far as we can judge by the names of the Ismâ'îlî leaders, they represented

the classes below the governmental circles, which had not made their peace with the Turkish invaders.[13] There is no reason to believe that the Turks, or even their Seljuq chiefs, would have been received as 'liberators'.[14] Niẓâm al-Mulk himself quotes a speech of his master, Alp Arslân, saying to his attendants: 'We are foreigners in a land which we have taken by force. We are pure Muslims and these Persians ['*Irâqî*] have a bad religion and *favour the Dailamites*'.[15] The political assassinations of the Ismâ'îlîs are morally repugnant, but that is the tactic of oppositional movements which fight against the overwhelming force of the public authorities, especially when these latter depend upon foreign conquerors.[16]

The strength of the opposition can be measured by the governmental reactions. A great part of the *Siyâsat-nâma* consists of passionate diatribes against the revolutionary schemings of the heretics. To the same end Ghazzâlî wrote his refutation of the Bâṭinites, which is on a higher plane but which is entirely in agreement with the government, and it is to be noted that at that time Ghazzâlî was professor at the Niẓâmiyya state college.

The general attitude of the Sunna toward the government can be illustrated by passages which are found in *Iḥyâ 'ulûm al-dîn*. On the one hand, Ghazzâlî analyses there with much reserve the possibility of accepting subsidies from tyrants for 'most of the funds of the sultans in our time are illicit [*ḥarâm*] and the licit [*ḥalâl*] portion of what they possess is non-existent or rare'. On the other hand, the great theologian speaks of the established powers with an almost fatalistic resignation: 'A tyrannical and barbarous sultan, so long as he is supported by force and cannot be deposed without difficulty, so that an attempt to depose him would cause a bitter civil war, must of necessity be left [undisturbed], and obedience is due to him such as that rendered to the emirs. . . . The government of our days is the result solely of force [*shauka*], and whoever may be the person to whom the possessor of force gives his allegiance, that person is the caliph'. Accordingly 'necessity legalizes what is prohibited', he says elsewhere.[17] This frankness illustrates the temporal limitations on the thought of even the most eminent among the Sunnite theoreticians.

Mysticism

From Ghaznavid and Seljuq times, the tendencies of Ṣûfî mysticism can be seen growing and spreading in Iran. Since they are foreign to the lyric poetry of the Samanid time and especially to the *Shâh-nâma*—that palladium of the Iranians—and since, on the other hand, they cannot have been brought in by the conquerors, one is forced to explain their recrudescence by certain particular factors acting on the minds of the time.

There exists an enormous literature on Ṣûfism in which mysticism is treated above all as a natural tendency of human nature, and it is true that such an inclination has appeared in all climes and at diverse times[18]; but what remains to be done is to determine its sources in each case and, further, its social, political,

and even economic background. For surely, if it is true that man is a *zôon politikon*, the ecstatic deviations which carry him to asceticism, visionary isolation, and a breach with his environment and the real world deserve not only descriptive but also psychoanalytic study.[19] On the other hand, in Persia the phenomenon is so widespread that it is hardly possible to attribute it only to the influence of example and propaganda rather than to seek for its roots in the general conditions of the time. As in the case of the emergence of mysticism in the Polish literature after the great emigration, one is tempted to consider Persian mysticism also as a result of frustration in the midst of a life which provided no direct satisfactions.

A great distinction must naturally be made among the types of Ṣûfîs. Some were ascetics who sought forgetfulness in contemplation ; at the other extreme, under the cover of Ṣûfism the hedonistic poets preached the *gaia scienza* of *carpe diem* ; some Ṣûfîs were militants leading expeditions against the infidels,[20] or ambitious men seeking a wide political following.[21] In spite of this variety of types, the essential and general influence of mysticism set the Persians on the road to quietism and submission and so doomed them to be victims of all comers.

I am not at all forgetful of the superb exotic flowers which charm all those acquainted with Persian literature and which are regarded by the Persians themselves as the chief asset of their literature. But every virtue has its faults and the Ṣûfî virtues, which at bottom reflected the vicissitudes of Persian history,[22] weakened the robust good sense which forms one of the virtues of Islâm.[23]

Accordingly, from the Seljuq time on we confront : the official religion tied closely to the interests of the rulers, the Shî'ite opposition associated with numerous movements directed against the established order, and artificial ways of evasion in which the generations that live in a dead-end age take refuge against frustration.

Central Asia and the Mongols

After the disruption of the Seljuq Empire new ethnic elements made their appearance in Central Asia : Sultan Muḥammad of Khvârazm had first to place himself in a tributary relation to the Qara-Khitai infidels, natives of Manchuria, and then lost his kingdom as a result of the Mongol conquest. The vanguard of Chingiz Khân appeared in Khurâsân about 1221, and till 1295—that is, during three-quarters of a century, or three generations—Persia lived under the rule of infidel governors and princes, who made no distinction among the creeds of their new subjects, who used Christian auxiliary troops, and who employed Jewish viziers alongside administrators hailing from the Far East. It was the greatest indignity the Muslims of the Middle East had ever experienced, and it culminated in the sack of Baghdad and the tragic death of the caliph, Musta'ṣim, in 1258.

The country was ruined, the hordes of the barbarous conquerors had to be lodged and fed, and it was a long task to absorb the newcomers. On the other hand, from the cultural point of view, the fact that Tabriz had become the capital of a great empire on the communication routes between the Far East and the West opened new horizons. The Persian miniature underwent the influence of Chinese painting, and a series of great Persian historians created works whose importance far transcends the limits of Persia and even of Islâm. As we have said, the Mongols practised an absolute tolerance toward the other religions, while their own beliefs, which were vague and primitive, had no chance of success among the conquered population. If, on the one hand, the Mongols put an end to the Baghdad caliphate, on the other, they did the Muslims a notable service in destroying Alamût, which was undermining the life of the Sunnite community. The Sunnites, freed of the internal enemy, made up their losses, and as early as 1282 an Islamized khan occupied the throne of Tabrîz for a short time.

When Hûlâgû Khân arrived in Persia (*ca.* 1256), the number of pure Mongols at his disposal was about 100,000, and in the campaigns waged against Egypt this contingent was seriously decimated. It became impossible to control vast territories and a numerous population with foreign and ethnically alien (Mongol or Christian Caucasian) troops, and in 1295 Ghâzân Khân made the weighty and inevitable decision to assimilate himself to the majority of his subjects by becoming a Muslim and converting his army to Islâm.[24]

From the start of the Mongol conquest the Persian bureaucracy, accustomed to serving the Turks and intent on keeping their posts, set about collaborating with the Mongols. The famous history of the Mongols written by 'Aṭâ-Malik Juvainî, himself a representative of a great family of officials, reflects the moral dichotomy of the time. The author sheds tears over the misfortunes of the Muslims, and at the same time[25] attributes to his infidel masters the role of those of whom God said: 'They are my soldiers through whom I take my vengeance upon the rebels'. Still more practical was the attitude of the famous scholar, Naṣîr al-Dîn Ṭûsî, who after having served the Assassins acted as counsellor to Hûlâgû on the Baghdad campaign and ended up happily in the observatory built with funds furnished by his new protectors. Such a flexibility allowed the Persians to come through many trials, but it has not been without its effects on the national character.

About the middle of the fourteenth century the Mongol empire fell apart, and the Persian territories, filled with remnants of the successive invasions, did not have time to organize themselves into a political unity. A series of principalities arose in the various corners of the Iranian plateau. Among them the most curious formation was perhaps the republic of Sabzavâr, governed by a succession of energetic leaders professing the Shî'a. It was still another example of the democratic traditions with which this form of heterodoxy was inspired on Persian soil.

TÎMÛR

The conquest of Tîmûr swept away the principalities which had been formed on the debris of the Mongol empire. The conqueror himself was a follower of the Sunna, but to the rigour of his doctrines he added an extreme veneration for the saints and the shaikhs supposed to possess supernatural powers. Even more curious among his beliefs were survivals of certain superstitions which he had inherited from his pagan Turkish ancestors. Tîmûr left Persia disorganized and stripped of its artisans, scholars, and artists, whom he had carried off to Central Asia.

Tîmûr's deviations were rectified by his son, Shâhrukh—that model of a 'most Muslim monarch'. Since for a century and a half the question of the caliphate destroyed by the Mongols had tormented the conscience of the believers, it is interesting to note the attempts of Shâhrukh's lawyers to bring in discreet allusions to the continued existence of the caliphate in the person of their master, on the basis of the Koranic passage according to which God 'gives the kingship to whom he will'. Consequently, the very existence of a powerful king presupposed the divine blessing. It was another way of approaching the problem of *de facto* power, before which Ghazzâlî had bowed. This theory left traces in the ambiguous titulature of the kings of Persia—Safavids and even Qâjârs.

In spite of the triumph of the Sunna, even in the time of Tîmûr, Faḍl Allâh Astarâbâdî (1339–93) founded the new secret sect of the Ḥurûfîs. The outward characteristic of his doctrines was the use of the numerical values of words, but apart from this cabbalism the Ḥurûfî books which have survived reveal little about their actual mysteries. Tîmûr's son, Mîrân Shâh, executed Faḍl Allâh in 1393, and his lieutenants emigrated to Turkey, where they grafted their doctrines upon those of the Bektâshî order. Even in the east the clandestine propaganda continued. The instigators of the attempt on the life of Shâhrukh in 1427 were accused of Ḥurûfism. If it was not merely a pretext for the accusation, one might conclude from it that behind the abstruse theories there was hidden some political idea which took no account of the prerogatives of the very pious Sunnite king.[26]

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The second half of the fifteenth century is filled with the domination of new conquerors, this time from the west. The Mongols had forced back a number of Oghuz tribes from the Seljuq Empire toward Armenia, Syria, and Asia Minor, and now these Turkomans tried to fill the vacuum left by the weakness and quarrels of the Tîmûrid epigones. From the religious point of view, of the two Turkoman dynasties—the Qara-qoyunlu and the Aq-qoyunlu—the former are more interesting, for, by a path as yet uncertain, Shî'ism, and even Shî'ite extremism, had slipped in to their federation of tribes.[27] This problem must be studied along with the popular heterodox movements which in the fifteenth century shook Asia Minor in opposition to Ottoman centralism.

Personally, I think that the sect, or rather the religion, of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq (familiarly called 'Alî-allâhî) was definitively formed at this time.[28] One must no longer suppose that its adepts are merely exaggerated worshippers of the fourth caliph and of his descendants. In fact, the sect believes in seven cycles of divine manifestations, and in this scheme 'Alî presided only over the second period, while the complete revelation of the Truth (*Ḥaqîqat*) took place in the fourth period, that of Sulṭân-Isḥâq, who fixed the dogmas and established the rites. The sect is interesting as a special parallel to the sects of an extremist Shî'ite inspiration (such as the Druzes, the Nuṣairî, etc.). The sect—more widespread than it is supposed—is curious for its purely popular character, for it is successful only with the common people—nomads, traders, workers, and servants.

The Qara-qoyunlu deviations may have paved the way for the spectacular rise of the great dynasty of the Safavids.

The Safavids

This period (1500–1722) is justly regarded as the great turning point during which the Persian nation retrieved itself and asserted its originality, but paradoxically enough at its initial stage the advent of the Safavids had the appearance of a new conquest. In fact, the instrument of which the founder of the dynasty made use was simply a new grouping of the same Turkoman tribes which the Qara-qoyunlu and the Aq-qoyunlu had used in order to occupy Persia. The difference was in the official doctrine professed by the new regime. It is true that under the Qara-qoyunlu there had already been some deviations from orthodoxy, but now the Safavid partisans were all fervent adepts of a special form of Shî'ite extremism. It is known that the family of the shaikhs of Ardabîl had been famed for its irreproachable Sunnite orthodoxy, and it is on this basis that they acquired a numerous following among the Turkoman tribes, even as far as Syria and Asia Minor. Only under the grandfather of Shâh Ismâ'îl had a change taken place in the family. The ambitions of the young shaikh Junaid won for him exile, and for a few years he wandered among the tribes affiliated to his house. The claims of the Safavids to descent from the family of the Prophet were somewhat suspect, but, as it seems, Junaid assumed the role of a living embodiment of the line of imams. Thus he conquered the hearts of the nomads (no less credulous than the Berber nomads), who had little interest in the pious doctrines and practices of the city-dwellers but were enthusiastic at the thought of being able to touch the hand of a being who incarnated the divine holiness and even omnipotence. Supported by the dervishes who sprang from the faithful tribes, Junaid, and after him his son Ḥaidar, tried to concentrate the energy of their followers on raids against the Caucasian infidels. Although by their marriages the Safavids were related to the Aq-qoyunlu princes, these latter were alarmed at the formation of a state within their domain. They were eager to check the military adventures of Junaid and Ḥaidar, and one after the other the father and the son perished

in the course of their expeditions. The blood of the martyrs consolidated the Safavid party, and the young Ismâ'îl, son of Ḥaidar, grew up surrounded by hopes that he would become the avenger of his ancestors.

Independently of the pious legends which describe the visions and miracles of the young prince, we can judge of Ismâ'îl's claims from the poetry included in his *dîvân*. It is in the Turkoman dialect (' of Azerbaijan ') and was meant to be recited by his adepts. In it we find it asserted that the author is the *Fâ'il-i muṭlaq* (*Agens absolutus*) and that the *sijda* (prostration before God) is due him. When the travellers of Safavid times declared that the shahs were worshipped as God, these statements were interpreted figuratively, but they should rather be taken literally.

With the aid of his followers, Ismâ'îl had to reconquer Persia, and we know the excesses committed in carrying out this task and the names of the *émigrés* who had to take refuge in Turkey or in Central Asia.

The state founded by Ismâ'îl was a theocracy, nearly in the sense which this term bears in regard to Tibet and the Dalai Lama. The state was supported by a religion and by the assistance of the unique party of the Shâhî-sevans (' those who love the shah ').[29] Our sources often mention conflicts between the followers of the shah which could not be settled by conciliation. The shah then appealed to the discipline of the religious party (*ṣalâ-yi shâhî-sevanî*), and the followers submitted to such decisions of their supreme head.

One sometimes hears voices expressing regret at the breach in the Islamic community which resulted from the actions of Shâh Ismâ'îl.[30] But from the point of view of the Persian nation one could maintain the thesis that it is precisely this isolation which saved the Persians. From the west the Ottomans, from the east the Uzbegs, threatened Persia, penetrating farther and farther into it, and Persia would have ended by being submerged in these waves of Turkish assaults. The new religion with its ecstatic character helped to consolidate the central power, and, on the other hand, the new doctrine, which in itself had no connection with the Persian *nationality*, provided the platform upon which the Persian people could maintain its rights against absorption into an abstract Islâm and, in practice, into the Turkish ocean.

We have seen that the chief followers of the Safavids, though immunized by their beliefs against the seductions of their kindred neighbours, were Turkomans.[31] Now, states based on nomadic and tribal organizations lack solidity, and Shâh Ismâ'îl's successor already ran into difficulties with his Shâhî-sevans. Little by little the shahs found themselves obliged to disperse certain recalcitrant tribes, and a hundred years after the formation of the Safavid state Shâh 'Abbâs modernized his armed forces. For the Turkish tribes he substituted troops of fresh Caucasian converts similar to the Ottoman Janissaries.[32] The old ecstatic and anthropomorphist religion gave place to the official Shî'ism under the influence of theologians from Syria (Jabal 'Âmil) and Baḥrain, and finally the new pillar of the state religion, Mîrzâ Bâqir Majlisî, set on foot a persecution of the extremist Shâhî-sevan ' Ṣûfîs '. The nation,

once consolidated, was to change its basis while losing its former *élan*. This development was one of the causes of the fall of the Safavids at the time of the invasion of the Afghans of Qandahâr (1722), to whom the shah could not oppose, as before, the monolithic front of his single party.

As regards the intellectual and artistic life of the Safavids, E. G. Browne had expressed his surprise that this important period did not produce great poets.[33] The explanation of this fact would perhaps be that the mysticism which penetrated the Persian poetry, or gave it a special colouring, was linked to times of distress and frustration. At a time when the people was fighting for its national existence and when possibilities were opening up for useful enterprise and the improvement of general conditions, the mystical routine no longer corresponded to the conditions of the time. Then again the poets, too much tied down by the perfection of their great models, were unable to find a new technique. Even in our times the ascendancy of the past hampers the imagination of the new Persian poets. The creative energy of the Safavid time, on the contrary, found worthy expression in architecture and in miniature-painting, two arts more appropriate to the spirit of the time.

NÂDIR SHÂH (1736–47)

In a dramatic turn Nâdir Shâh retrieved the situation and, following a series of campaigns against the Ottomans, as well as in India and in Central Asia, extended his rule even beyond the frontiers of the old Iran. Nâdir had come from the Turkoman tribe of the Afshârs, which belonged to the Shâhî-sevan confederation. At the start of his career Nâdir himself had taken the name of Tahmâsp-qulî, ' slave of Tahmâsp ', to show his attachment to the last Safavid. After his brilliant victories and the deposition of Tahmâsp, Nâdir suddenly changed his religious policy and even made it a condition to his accepting the crown that the Persians should abandon the deviations of Shâh Ismâ'îl. His intention was to reunite Islâm by getting the Sunnites to recognize the Shî'ites as the fifth orthodox rite (*rukn*, ' pillar '), placed under the patronage of the fifth imam, Ja'far the Truthful. The contemporary sources explained this unexpected about-face by purely temporal intentions, especially by Nâdir's hope of incorporating more easily the conquered territories and even by his designs in the direction of the Ottoman Empire. In any case these plans failed lamentably. The Ottoman and Sunnite clergy, probably seeing through Nâdir's essential purpose, categorically refused to rehabilitate the Shî'ites. Toward the end of his reign, and even after a fresh victory over the Ottomans, Nâdir recognized the superiority of the sultan's rights as ' the Caliph of the peoples of Islâm and the lustre of the Turkoman race (*dûdmân*) '. It was clear that after the general disillusionment produced by such a finale Nâdir could no longer overcome his difficulties. The Shî'ite clergy, which he had despoiled of its material advantages, especially felt itself wronged. In the Shî'ite books Nâdir's conduct is described as monstrous, and Nâdir's insignificant successor

who restored their sequestered properties to the clergy received the title of 'Just' ('Âdil Shâh).

Shî'ism was accordingly restored, and Nâdir's fiasco shows that that form of Islâm, associated with the memories of Safavid greatness and appealing to the Persians' sentiments, had defeated the attempts to modify it. But the triumphant Shî'ism was no longer provoking any strife, while it assured the enjoyment of worldly goods to their old beneficiaries.

The Qâjârs (1779–1925)

During the Qâjâr period—up to the Persian Revolution (1905)—the Shî'ite clergy played an important role in public life, maintaining established privileges and paralysing the progress of the country.

A single attempt to reform the religious life of Persia under the Qâjârs was made by the Bâb and his followers. In spite of all that has been written upon his religious system by De Gobineau, Kazembek, E. G. Browne, and Nicolas, the main lines of his attempt to recast the elements of Islâm, and especially of heterodox Islâm, remain vague; the life of the new prophet was too short (1820–50) for him to be able to work out an orderly system. It is an interesting fact, however, that the new preaching was addressed definitely to the middle classes, to the petty bourgeoisie, the lesser clergy, and the traders. The Bâb himself belonged to a family of merchants, and it is curious to find among his demands such trifling details as the legalization of loans at interest, the fixing of the monetary standard, and the inviolability of (commercial) correspondence.

In a recent work the activity of the Bâb has been studied with relation to the economic crisis which Persia went through at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Further, the author [34] points out the extremely radical character the preaching took after the arrest of the Bâb. His followers, gathered in Mâzandarân, went so far as to suggest the abolition of private property, which was regarded as a usurpation. The shah's government, relying on the great landed nobility, closely connected with the administration, drowned the revolt in blood, and Bâbism, transformed into Bahâ'ism and directed by the new leaders from abroad, then took a vague, humanitarian, and harmless form.[35]

To what has been said about the social and political roots of the Bâbîs one could add that practically the same classes took part in the Persian Revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the Qâjârs, except that the Bâb was still thinking in medieval and religious terms, while in the twentieth century the basic ideas were shifted to a purely lay field. One need only glance at the photographs of the protesters who in the summer of 1904 sought asylum in the British legation to recognize the character of the class which opposed the rule of the princes (among whom must be included the princes of the church) and of the great landed proprietors.

Riza Shah

We cannot follow further the vicissitudes of Islâm in Persia. Under Riza Shah Pahlavi the people's attention was turned toward new undertakings and new horizons. The Europeanization of the state was pursued with remarkable zeal, and public displays of a religious type, such as the celebrations of the month of Muḥarram, were looked down upon. The role of the clergy was considerably reduced, so that it was kept out of political affairs.

In the troubled period since the end of the second World War the clergy has begun to regain its former position, but it is best not to come to any conclusion on events which belong to the realm of purely political current affairs.

This survey—inevitably too summary—of the role played by the religious factors in the history of Persia since the Arab conquest allows us to formulate some conclusions, though naturally only approximate ones.

1. It seems unadvisable to reduce the life of the Muslim states simply to the influences of the religious law of Islâm. The conversion to Islâm in many cases, as Mr. Spuler has recently confirmed, was the result of political and economic factors.

2. In the case of Persia one must definitely take account of its pre-Islamic culture and of its extra-Islamic inspirations. For example, at all times, as De Gobineau noticed, the influence of the Iranian epic went along side by side with the ' belief in the imams '. It already sustained the national consciousness at the time of the *shu'ûbîs*. It was of service to those kings who plumed themselves on their Iranian origins. All across the Middle East it provided patterns of virtue for the conduct of princes. It formed a counterweight to the quietism preached by the Ṣûfîs.

Some of the most famous Persian poems (the *Shâh-nâma*, the poems of Niẓâmî) are based on traditional Iranian or purely lay subjects. The panegyrics, which form so important a part of Persian poetry, are likewise *Gelegenheitsgedichte* of a non-religious inspiration. Miniature-painting, that eminently Persian art, illustrates by preference the exploits of the national heroes and only to a smaller degree religious or Ṣûfî themes.

3. It is with a certain justification that Mr. Spuler speaks of the *religious governmental* party which gathered around the official Sunna. Accordingly the Sunna acquired a certain class character. It is certain that the higher bureaucracy, which had quickly ranged itself on the side of the conquerors at the time of the Turkish and Mongol invasions, rendered some service to the people in civilizing the invaders and smoothing the harshness of the barbarous and foreign administration, even though at the same time, by its submissiveness, such administration regularized the position of the conquerors and the subjection of the people.

4. The rule of the foreign conquests weighed heavily upon the lower classes, who in the end had to pay all the additional charges which resulted from the need to *feed* the conquerors and their hordes. Our historical sources reflect

chiefly the point of view of the ruling classes, but little by little we are beginning to find and uncover a great many facts on the administrative practices and on the life of the non-official classes—an unchanging life, interrupted only by sporadic uprisings. This documentation is much more abundant and varied than was supposed in the time of the historians 'primarily of Islâm'. Quite recently one of our colleagues,[36] in a richly detailed work, showed how archaic a system of agrarian relations has survived in Persia across the ages up to our day. It was the cause of the debasement of the masses and often of great dissatisfactions. The official Islâm, with its judges and preachers, rarely placed itself on the side of those affected, for the high clergy itself possessed lands and did not set itself off from the great proprietors, while the middle clergy depended upon the public authorities through the distribution of pensions and other allowances.[37]

5. Under these circumstances the cause of the non-privileged classes was espoused particularly by the unofficial Islâm, connected at first with the pre-Islamic survivals and later with Shî'ism. If powerful parties can elaborate detailed systems and maintain purity of line in their doctrines, the opposition, leading a hazardous and hidden life, is forced to accept compromises and varied coalitions. On this account the unofficial Persian Islâm has always preserved traces of multifarious contacts as it became more and more heterodox but more popular and accessible to the masses. Miracles and the presence of living incarnations served to comfort the elements which found no justice at the hands of the ruling classes. Even the moderate and 'official' brand of the Shî'a contained a mass of well-known associations and allusions which (like the union of the house of 'Alî with the Sasanian princess, the sufferings of the martyrs, etc.) made it a much more living force than the cold dogmas of the rigid law of Islâm.

One of our esteemed colleagues [38] has passed a rather severe judgment on the duplicity of the Shî'ites with their 'most unattractive flavour of moral ambiguity' and their emotionalism. However, one must not speak of Islâm and its subdivisions as if these were logical and absolute categories. In fact, their contents and incidence change according to the conditions of Time and Space. In Persia one must above all keep in view the vicissitudes of history. The Persians themselves, except in the ancient times, have rarely been aggressive conquerors of non-Iranian territories, but their homeland, situated on the main road connecting Central Asia with the Nearer East, has experienced long periods of alien invasions. This explains their emotionalism and the need to look to secrecy and plotting. From this point of view even the reprehensible practices of the Ismâ'îlîs served as a check on the conquerors and a corrective to oppression. If then Shâh Ismâ'îl, with armed might, undertook to break the opposition of the official Islâm, he soon found the path leading to the hearts of the Persians. Not only during the 222 years of Safavid rule, but even up to our day, Shî'ism, with its overtones and its aroma of opposition, of martyrdom, and of revolt, is matched quite well with the Persian character—a character

formed in the course of a long history which is very different from the history of other peoples nearby.

NOTES

1. *K. Futûḥ al-Buldân*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), p. 314. 2. ibid. 3. ibid., p. 329.

4. Unfortunately the witness of the Iranian sources on the Arab conquest is extremely scarce. Very important is the pathetic passage inserted in the Great Bundahishn; it reflects the feelings of the Zoroastrians in those 'bad times', see H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems in the 9th-century books*, 1943, p. 195: 'The Dēn was ruined and the King of Kings slain like a dog. They eat the bread. They have taken away the sovereignty from the Ḫusraus. Not by skill and valour but by mockery and scorn have they taken it. By force they take from men wives and sweet possessions, parks and gardens. Taxes they have imposed, they have distributed them upon the heads. They have demanded again the principal, a heavy impost. Consider how much evil those wicked ones have cast upon this world, than which ill there is none worse. The world passes from us'. The author awaits the second coming of Vahrām shāh.

5. Already in Niẓâm al-Mulk, *Siyâsat Nâma*, ed. Ch. Schefer (Paris, 1891–97), p. 11, not to speak of the late (1010/1602) and very Shî'ite *Majâlis al-mu'minîn* of al-Shushtarî (Teheran, 1286).

6. As late as A.D. 1020 one finds in Mâzandarân Pahlevî inscriptions on tombs of Muslim princes.

7. *Ta'rîkh*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901), III, 2296.

8. About 329/941 one already finds among them a Dailamite called *Gôr-angêj*, 'hunter of wild asses'.

9. It must not be forgotten that the range of the Iranian Renaissance was extensive, and great men such as Firdausî (d. *ca.* 1021) and Bêrûnî (d. 1048) were contemporaries of Avicenna (d. 1037).

10. For example, bills drawn on the shores of the Oxus, and payable in Syria, etc.

11. *Al-dîn wa-l-mulk tau'amân fa-lâ yastaghnî aḥadu-humâ min al-âkhar*. See M. al-Ghazzâlî, *Iḥyâ'* (Cairo, 1346/1927), II, 123. [Very curiously under 31/651 Ṭabarî's source, I, 2874, puts the same principle into the mouth of a Zoroastrian priest (*mōbad*) admonishing the murderer of Yezdegerd III: *Inna al-dīn wal-mulk muqtaribāni: lā yastaqīmu aḥadu-humā illā bil-ākhar.*]

12. The grand master of Alamût, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, was married to a descendant of the former Bûyid princes; see Juvainî, *Ta'rîkh-i Jahân Gushâ*, ed. M. Qazvînî (London, 1937), III, 239.

13. B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismâ'îlism* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 92, writes that Ismâ'îlism was 'the natural expression, in the theocratic milieu, of the depressed classes, Persian and Semite alike'.

14. 'Erlösung,' as B. Spuler expresses it in his *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), p. 129.

15. *Siyâsat Nâma*, p. 140.

16. One must keep in mind the manners of a time when governments themselves turned to the professional services of the Assassins when it was a question of liquidating some distant enemy.

17. The first passage is to be found in *Iḥyâ*, p. 124, and the second is concealed in *Al-iqtiṣâd fî-l-i'tiqâd* (Cairo, 1327), p. 98, l. 10: *wa-lâkinna al-ḍarûrât tubîḥu al-maḥẓûrât*. My attention has been drawn to these passages by H. A. R. Gibb, *Islamic Society and the West* (London, 1950), p. 31.

18. In his *Literary History of the Arabs* (2nd ed.; Cambridge, 1930), R. A. Nicholson writes (pp. 384–5): 'No doubt the origin and the growth of mysticism in Islam, as in all other religions, ultimately depended on general [internal?—V. M.] causes and conditions, not on external circumstances'. He admits the existence of such factors as the political anarchy under the Umayyads, the sceptical tendencies under the first Abbasids, and the arid form of Muslim theology, which by opposition provoked tendencies toward quietism, spiritual authority, and emotional faith. Nevertheless, toward the end Nicholson repeats that mysticism 'was not called into being by any impulse from without' (pp. 384–5). I desire to make it clear in this regard that I am not speaking of psychological reasons for the phenomenon but of its generalization and spread.

19. I know only of one work of a medical specialist who stressed the problem of Ṣûfî psychology. Dr. Kazansky wrote on the basis of his professional observations in Turkestan, and his curious and rare publication (*Mistitsizm v Islame*) appeared in Samarkand in 1906. He treats mysticism as a morbid attitude of the human mind toward the phenomena of the outer world. Some of the characteristics of the mystic are: prolixity in speech, florid language, symbolism, depression, ecstasy, or asceticism. Dr. Kazansky explains these states by the psychological law of ' dispersed excitement '. Persian Ṣûfism triumphed over Arab asceticism. ' A Ṣûfî's progress to Truth has the appearance of a clinical demonstration of hypnotism '. The specific psychological action exercised upon the dervish by his master (*murshid*) consists in the weakening of his will and in leaving in his consciousness only a minimal number of ideas, capable of provoking ecstasy. Through the continuous practice of prescribed exercises (*dhikr*) a dervish easily falls into a hypnotic state and, like some hypnotic or hysteric subjects, can empirically guess the treatment indicated for some illness, sense at a distance the specific ' smell ' of the sex, age, etc. The *dhikr* affects the normal condition of the body (acceleration of the pulse, perspiration, involuntary movements, dilated pupils). When a whole group of dervishes carries out identical movements, an individual dervish becomes subject to imitative nervous fits. A dervish believes in his superiority over other men and places himself outside the recognized rules of social conduct, etc.

20. Of whom Abû Isḥâq Kâzrûnî converted 24,000. The Bûyid governor of Fârs tried to moderate his cruelties to the Zoroastrians. See F. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abû Isḥâq* (Leipzig, 1948), pp. 20–2 (' Glaubenskrieg ') and 39.

21. Like some of the masters of Ardabîl.

22. For the sake of illustration one could cite the time of Abû Sa'îd ibn Abî al-Khair when the Iranian Renaissance was already shaken by continuous struggles and the approach of the Turks (immediately after the death of the shaikh the invaders destroyed all his foundations); the flight of Jalâl al-Dîn's family before the Mongol hordes; the charged atmosphere at the time of Sa'dî, who compared the state of affairs in his time ' to the tangled hair of a Negro '; and the interminable fighting and crimes of the kinglets of Shîrâz with whom Ḥâfiẓ was contemporary.

23. Speaking of the abuses resulting from the authoritarian ways of the shaikhs, the same eminent specialist, R. A. Nicholson, wrote (in connection with Abû Sa'îd of Meyhana): ' Stories of the type showing the saint as a minister of divine wrath and vengeance must have influenced many superstitious minds. The average Moslem's fatalism and belief in clairvoyance lead him to justify acts which to us seem desperately immoral ' (*Studies in Islamic Mysticism* [Cambridge, 1921], p. 42).

24. In this he was following the advice of his Muslim emir, Naurûz, and this latter had more success than the Arab shaikh who, according to Montholon, made similar suggestions to Napoleon, promising him the obedience of the millions of his fellows.

25. *Jahân-gushâ* (Leiden, 1912), I, 17.

26. The Nuqṭavî (' cabbalists ') are mentioned as late as the time of Shâh 'Abbâs (see *'Âlam-Ârâ*, pp. 324–5 [under 1002/1593]) as materialists who do not believe in the resurrection of body and bones. Nevertheless, the identity of their teaching with the doctrine of Shaikh Faḍl Allâh is not quite certain. See now Ṣ. Kiyâ, *Nuqṭaviyân yâ Pasîkhâniyân* (Teheran, 1320/1941), and H. Ritter in *Oriens*, VII, No. 1 (1954), 1–54.

27. See V. Minorsky, ' Jihân-shâh and His Poetry ', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XVI, No. 2 (1954), pp. 271–97.

28. In the old khanate of Mâkû the canton bearing the name of Qara-qoyunlu (which I visited in 1904) is inhabited exclusively by Ahl-i Ḥaqq.

29. Here the word ' shah ' has a double meaning, for it designates not only the shah ' king ' but also 'Alî, who bears the title *shâh-i vilâyat*, ' the Shah of Holiness ' (or perhaps ' of relationship to the Prophet ').

30. See, for instance, A. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London, 1934–54), I, 392, who makes use of the idea of an ' Iranic society ' including Persia and the neighbouring lands: ' This schism of the Iranic Society, on the moral and religious as well as the political plane, severed all the threads that previously knit the Iranic social fabric together '.

31. The tribes *Shâmlû*, *Rûmlû*, ' those of Syria, those of Asia Minor '.

32. About the end of the seventeenth century the former Shâhî-sevans served only decorative ends and were relegated to their *tauḥîd-khâna* where they practised their *dhikr*.

33. See in E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature* (Cambridge, 1924), IV, 27, the very significant letter of M. Qazvînî, for whom the only poetry worth considering was the Ṣûfî poetry.

34. M. S. Ivanow, *The Bâbî Revolts in Irân (1848–52)* (Moscow, 1939) (in Russian); see *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XI, No. 4 (1946), 878.

35. I recall the question I once posed to a Bahâ'î leader on the life beyond. The answer was: 'Every day our opinions on this point become milder [*mulâyimtar mîshavad*]'.

36. Ann K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (London, 1953).

37. I expect to publish soon the account by an author of the fifteenth century of the tempest raised in his time among the clergy by the decision of a pious vizier who wanted to restore the ways of primitive Islâm. (To appear in *BSOAS*, vol. XVII, No. 2 [1955].) [See above, article No. 15.]

38. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam* (2nd ed.; Chicago, 1953), p. 191.

THE OLDER PREFACE TO THE *SHĀH-NĀMA*

THE systematic study of Dante's works was begun only half a century after his death, and yet careful re-sifting of the material has recently led to a remarkable discovery of *Scala Mahumeti* which has thrown new light on the sources of *La Divina Commedia*.[1] A similar search for the sources of the *Shāh-nāma* will need to go on for many years. Firdausī died some three centuries before Dante [2] and the roots of his tradition are hidden in the hoary past of Iran. Taking Th. Nöldeke's famous essay [3] for our landmark, we should score up a number of new studies [4] on the various aspects of the *Shāh-nāma*, but at this place we shall direct our attention to a few important contributions on Firdausī's sources and predecessors due to the pen of his own countrymen.

In the second edition of *Das iranische Nationalepos* the Nestor of Iranian studies made full use of an important parallel text, namely the chapters on the old Persian kings in Tha-'ālibī's *Ghurar as-siyar*.[5] No sooner was this revised version out, than a series of remarkable articles on the *Shāh-nāma* began to appear in the Persian periodical *Kāveh*, published at that time in Berlin. The author, signing '*Muḥaṣṣil*', as was soon disclosed, was Sayyid Ḥasan Taqīzādeh. A closer study of older Arabic and Persian sources enabled him to systematize the references to the series of Arabic *Siyar al-mulūk* which appeared in the wake of the translation of the Pahlavi *Khwatāy-nāmak* made by the well-known Ibn al-Muqaffa' (executed *circa* 139/757 [6]). The authors who rearranged the same, or similar, materials were :

1. Muḥammad b. al-Ǧahm Barmakī.
2. Muḥammad b. Bahrām b. Miṭyār al-Iṣfahānī.

[1] See the masterly résumé of G. Levi Della Vida, 'Nuova luce sulle fonti islamiche della Divina Commedia', in *al-Andalus*, XIV, 2 (1949), 377–407.

[2] Some time between 411/1020 and 416/1025 (?).

[3] 'Das iranische Nationalepos' (additional note to the first edition signed in December 1895), in *Grundriss d. iranischen Philologie*, I, 2, 130–211 ; second revised edition, 1920 (the Preface signed in July 1920). From the second edition an English translation was published by the late L. Bogdanov in K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Publications, No. 7, Bombay, 1930.

[4] Among them there are such important works as A. Christensen's numerous books and studies and F. Wolff's *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, 1935. [See also the contributions by H. Massé, T. Kowalski, H. Ringgren, M. Molé, R. Humber, K. H. Hansen, G. von Grünebaum, Dh. Ṣafā, Bozorg-e 'Alavī, Ahmed Ateş, M. N. Osmanov, etc.]

[5] *Histoire des rois de Perse, par Aboū Mansoūr 'Abd al-Malik . . . ath-Tha'ālibī*, published and translated by H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1900. The book was finished before 412/1021. The question is still *sub judice*, whether the author of the *Ghurar* is identical with Tha'ālibī, the famous author of the *Yatīmat ad-dahr*, etc. (who died in 429/1037). Zotenberg, *op. cit.*, p. xviii ; G. Gabrieli, *Rendiconti della R. A. dei Lincei*, 1916, XXV, pp. 1138–43, the editor of the Persian translation Maḥmūd Hedāyat, 1328/1949, and F. Rosenthal, *JAOS*, 1950, pp. 151–2, answer the question in the positive sense, whereas Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 9, 18, and Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 342, 582 (*Sup.*, I, 581, 499) distinguish between the two authors. For a further comparison of the *Ghurar* with Firdausi, apart from Zotenberg's own remarks, see Taqizadeh, *op. cit.*, and Hansen, *Das iranische Königsbuch*, 1954, pp. 41–5.

[6] See 'Ahbās Eghbāl, *'Abdullāh ibn al-Muqaffa'*, Berlin, 1926, p. 13.

3. Hishām b. Qāsim al-Iṣfahānī.
4. Mūsà b. 'Īsà al-Kisravī.
5. Zadōya b. Shāhōya al-Iṣfahānī, etc.

In Iran, too, a parallel movement was noticeable and several Persian *Shāh-nāmas* were composed. Their authors were:

1. Mas'ūdī Marvazī (in a *qaṣīda* [*sic*] written in the metre *hazaǧ*).[1]
2. The poet Abū 'Alī b. Aḥmad Balkhī (in verse?).
3. Abū l-Mu'ayyad Balkhī (in prose).
4. Daqīqī (episode of Lohrāsp, in *mutaqārib*).

In an article, 'Ein Beitrag zur Schahname Forschung', dated Karlsruhe, 15 March 1922, Nöldeke hastened to greet the contribution of Taqīzādeh as using the sources which he himself could not use and correcting some of his conclusions.[2]

It is not clear on what sources the earlier versions were founded, but from Firdausī's Introduction we know that his work [3] was based mainly (though not exclusively) on the translation of the Pahlavi text (or texts) into Persian which was carried out in 346/951 by some experts, on the initiative of the Lord of Ṭūs Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq, and under the supervision of his secretary (or 'servant') Abū Manṣūr Ma'marī.

Probably in connexion with the celebration of Firdausī's millenary in September-October 1934, the great Persian savant M. Qazvīnī worked to restore the so-called 'older' Preface which one finds prefixed to some manuscripts of the *Shāh-nāma*.[4] A number of scholars, including Mohl and Nöldeke, had used the 'older' Preface, but Qazvīnī: (*a*) for the first time established its text; (*b*) by very cogent arguments he supported Taqīzādeh's view that this document (apart from some later interpolations) must represent the text of the introduction to the Persian translation from the Pahlavi; (*c*) finally,

[1] A clear presentation of the newly established facts is found in Dr. Dhabīh-Allāh Ṣafā's useful work on Persian epics, *Ḥamāsa-sarā'ī dar Īrān*, Tehran, 1324/1945, pp. 71–269.

[2] Both the articles of the *Kāveh* series (1920, Nos. 10–12; 1921, Nos. 1, 3, 7 [corrections], 11, and 12), and Nöldeke's appreciation were later reprinted in the commemoration volume *Hazāra-yi Firdausī*, Tehran, 1322/1944, pp. 17–107 of the Persian part, and pp. 58–63 of the Western part. (Unfortunately the reprint of Taqīzādeh's article leaves out the corrections introduced in *Kāveh*, No. 7.)

[3] And apparently that of his predecessor Daqīqī, from whose unfinished work Firdausī incorporated 1,000 verses in his *Shāh-nāma* with proper acknowledgments. The dates of Daqīqī are still very vague. It is usually assumed that his patron was Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Bal'amī II who served as vazīr to the Samanids 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ, Manṣūr b. Nūḥ and Nūḥ b. Manṣūr (976–97) and was the author of the Persian *rifacimento* of Ṭabarī's history. Curiously enough the copy of the 'older' Preface used by Wallenbourg, p. 51, calls his patron 'Abū l-Faḍl Bal'amī, in the reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301–31/915–43)', i.e. the father of Bal'amī II who was also an enlightened man and patronized Rūdakī. See Barthold, 'Bal'amī', in *E.I.* Wallenbourg's reading is doubtful, as in this case it would be natural to find Daqīqī's name in § 5 of the older Preface (see below).

[4] Most of the post-fifteenth century copies have the Preface (829/1425) attributed to the Timurid Baysunqur b. Shāhrukh (d. in 837/1433), though some of its elements are already found in Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī's *Tārīkh-i guzīda*. A few MSS. of the intermediate epoch have still another Preface, see Qazvīnī, *Bīst-maqāla*, p. 2. Cf. Br. Mus. Add. 15, 531; Rieu, II, 535.

he claimed priority of date for this Preface (dated 356/April 957) over other earlier works in Modern Persian.[1]

As a homage to our *maestro*, I wish to offer an English rendering of the text published by Qazvīnī. Armed with new material, I am following in the steps of my predecessor, Jacques de Wallenbourg,[2] who nearly 150 years ago ventured on the same task.

On the surface the text looks simple but its difficulty consists in the vagueness of its style still redolent of Pahlavi. Some details remain obscure and need further verification. I think, however, that even at present the passing of the ancient and abstruse text through the filter of translation will be useful as showing what conclusions and comparisons can be derived from it for tracing the elaboration of Persian national tradition.

I wish only to add a few words on Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad, son of 'Abd ar-Razzāq, the man for whom the Persian translation from the Pahlavi and the Preface were prepared.

Except for his immediate ancestors, his pedigree quoted in the Preface (§ 17) is definitely a patchwork of some obliging genealogist.[3] The curious fact is that both he and his 'servant' Ma'marī are brought into connexion with a holder of the title *kanārang*, 'Lord of the (eastern) March'.[4]

The title *kanārang* is mentioned already under the Sasanians but the *kanārang* meant in the pedigrees of Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq and Ma'marī is certainly the ruler at the time of the Arab conquest who is mentioned in Arabic sources (Balādhurī, 334, 404–5, Ṭabarī, I, 2886). He provoked a race between the governors of the rival Baṣra and Kūfa, promising to surrender to whichever captain reached him first. This happened to be 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir, with whom (*circa* 32/652) he made a pact to pay a tribute of 600,000 dirhams. His son

[1] Qazvīnī's article was printed first in *Bīst Maqāla-yi Qazvīnī*, Tehran 1313/1934, pp. 1–64, and reproduced in *Hazāra-yi Firdausī*, pp. 123–48. For the second edition nine MSS. were collated, instead of the six mentioned in the first edition. Some variants of lesser importance have been omitted, but several important notes *added* to the text.

[2] See the very rare booklet entitled: *Notice sur le Schah-Namé de Ferdoussi et traduction de plusieurs pièces relatives à ce poème.* Ouvrage posthume de M. le Conseiller I. et R. de Wallenbouug, précédé de la biographie de ce savant par A. de Bianchi, Vienne 1810, 96 pp. (translation of the older' Preface, pp. 25–69). Von Wallenbourg was an Austrian diplomat who spent 20 years in Constantinople. His main work was the translation of Ǧalāl ad-dīn's *Mathnavī*, the manuscript of which perished in a fire. He died on 28 June 1806 at the age of 43 years. His translation of the Preface shows his good knowledge of Persian, but already Mohl, in the Preface to his edition of the *Shāh-nāma* (originally 1838; second edition 1875, p. xvi), said: 'on ne peut pas se fier à sa traduction'. Since then over a century has gone by [cf. Nicholson, *The Mathnavī*, I, 2].

[3] As already pointed out by Bīrūni, *al-Athār al-bāqiya* (written in A.D. 1025), pp. 28, 39.

[4] This title, apparently connected with the word *kanār* 'edge, frontier, march' (and equivalent with *Pahlau*, Parthia), is mentioned by Procopius, *De bello Pers.*, I, § 5, at the time of Kāvād (488–531). The χαναράγγος was 'ruling in the remote Persian province coterminous with the land of the Hephthalites' and his name was Γουανασταδης. He was replaced by his relative Ἀδεργουνδάδης (I, § 6). In his place Khusrau (531–79) appointed his son Οὐαρράμης *Vahrām (I, § 23). Balādhurī, 405, spells the title كنارنك and Ṭabarī, I, 2886; II, 1019, 1118, كنارى.

who joined the Arabs became the client of the Banū Naṣr family [1] and was known under the Arab *kunya* Abū Salṭ. The latter's son 'Omar was considered by the Arabs as an expert rider (*afras an-nās*). He got involved in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath and for a time occupied Rayy, Ṭabarī, II, 1118–20; cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 1902, p. 150. The remnants of the rebels used Abū Salṭ's authority to force 'Omar to oppose Ḥaǧǧāǧ and Qutayba, but when the latter advanced, the Tamīmites betrayed 'Omar, and with his father, he sought refuge with the ispahbadh of Tabaristan. He wished to attack his host on the ground that he was nobler (*ashraf*) than he. His father dissuaded him from such a course, but then, at the instigation of Ḥaǧǧāǧ, the ispahbadh killed his guests and sent their heads to Ḥaǧǧāǧ (I. Athīr, IV, 395, under 83/703). A daughter of the old *kanārang* seems to have been married to the last Sasanid Yazdegird and bore him Pērōz III; the two daughters issued from this marriage (Bābūnaǧ and Ṭamhīǧ) were sent by Ibn 'Āmir to Baghdad, see Ṭabarī, I, 2872. The sons of the *kanārang* are accordingly called 'maternal uncles' (*akhwāl*) of Kisrā. See Ṭabarī, I, 2886; Yāqūt, II, 411; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 68, 74.

Beyond the kanārang the pedigree cannot be taken as a witness of truth but rather as a measure of ambitions. While the origin of the Samanids was taken back to Bahrām Chūbīn,[2] and that of the Būyids to the minister of the same rebel, that of the Lord of Ṭūs was further carried up to the Kayānid kings.

Of Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq the early Muslim authors speak with respect.[3] He definitely belonged to that old Iranian nobility which carefully fostered the interest in Iranian tradition.

Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq had a stormy career. His first mention [4] on the political stage dates of 334/945, when he was ruler of Nīshāpūr on behalf of the well-known Abū 'Alī Chāghānī, the rebellious vassal of the Samanid Nūḥ b. Naṣr. In 336/947 he is mentioned as a rebel in his own right against his suzerain Nūḥ. He was defeated and took refuge with the Būyid Rukn ad-daula who posted him in Dāmghān. Meanwhile (in 337/948) the ruler of Adharbayǧān, the Musāfirid Marzubān marched on Rayy. With the help of his brothers and vassals, Rukn ad-daula captured Marzubān and appointed Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq to Adharbayǧān. In that province he established order and there even exists a dīnār which he struck in Marāgha in 337/948.[5] Soon, however, his secretary, who had accompanied him from

[1] While torturing one of 'Omar's associates Ḥaǧǧāǧ referred to 'Omar as 'slave ('*abd*) of the Banū Naṣr', see Ṭabarī, II, 1120 (after Abū Mikhnaf).

[2] Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 440; Marquart, 'Beiträge', in *ZDMG*, 1895, XLIX, p. 660.

[3] Miskawayh, II, 117: 'a great commander . . . in Khorasan'; Gardīzī, 42: 'he was a man of clean (morals), knew usages very well, led a good life and in his actions was very good'.

[4] Tha'ālibī in his *Yatīmat ad-dahr* refers to Abū 'Alī Dāmghānī who, after 50 years' service under the Samanids, lost his office *circa* 378, and adds that, before that period, he had acted as a secretary to Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Razzāq. From this Taqīzādeh (*Hazāra*, p. 57) pointedly concluded that Muḥammad must have been active (in Ṭūs?) already in 328/939.

[5] R. Vasmer, in *Islamica*, 1927, p. 170.

Khorasan, deserted to the enemy and Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq, growing weary of the unfamiliar surroundings, returned to Rayy in 338/949 and began negotiations with his former suzerain Nūḥ. In the following year he returned to Ṭūs. When in 342/953 Nūḥ sent troops against Rayy, Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq is mentioned among the negotiators with Rukn ad-daula. In Ǧumādà II 349/ August 960 Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq was appointed *sipahsālār* (Gardīzī, 42), but from I. Athīr, VIII, 396, we learn that in this year Rukn ad-daula marched on Gurgān and was met by Firūzān and Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq (to both of whom he gave large sums of money). Perhaps in view of such behaviour, on 20 Dhul-Ḥiǧǧa 349/10 February 961 he was replaced by Alptegin and from Nīshāpūr returned to Ṭūs. Soon the Samanid 'Abd al-Malik died (Nov. 961), and Alptegin made up his mind to proceed to Ghaznīn.[1] On orders from Bukhārà Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq pursued him (Dhul-Ḥiǧǧa 350/December 961) but without success. Understanding that he would not be reappointed as *sipahsālār*, he let his men pillage the country and wrote a letter to Rukn ad-daula inviting him to Gurgān. The local ruler Vushmagīr bribed Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq's physician Yuḥannā to poison his master. In the meantime, operations were opened against Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq, who was defeated and put to flight. Being already ill he lingered behind and a Slavonic (*Saqlabī*) slave cut off his head (in 350/January 962).[2]

This outline of events [3] shows Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq's strong links with his native Khorasan and his involvement in contemporary politics. His vacillations between the two Iranian dynasties, the Samanids in the East and the Būyids in the West, were inevitable in view of the geographical position of the fief of the *kanārangs* and were in accordance with the feudal habits of the time. Taking him altogether, he was a typical representative of that interesting period ' between the Arabs and the Turks ' which I have called the Iranian *intermezzo*.

Firdausī, in his early years, did certainly know the Lord of Ṭūs and could have met the translators from the Pahlavi whom he had gathered round him,[4] but it is curious that, when he set to work on the *Shāh-nāma*, it was some unnamed friend of his who procured for him the text of the translation. Firdausī himself does not appear to have been on very close terms with the

[1] Where he founded a new principality.

[2] As pointed out by Taqīzādeh an amīr called Tārūdī is mentioned as an adviser to the ' remnants (*baqāyā*) of 'Abd ar-Razzāq('s family) ' in 425/1033, see Bayhaqī, 1305/1887, p. 434 (new edition, 1324/1945, p. 427). Muḥammad ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq had two brothers: Rāfi' and Aḥmad.

[3] The three main sources are Miskawayh, II, 117, 119, 132, 135–6; Gardīzī, 41–5, and Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 346, 353, 360, 379.

[4] Firdausī, in the beginning of the story of Hormuz, says of Mākh: ' I asked him '. In the beginning of the story of *Kalīla and Dimna* he quotes Shādān Burzīn. At the end of the story of Rustam and Sohrāb he names Bahrām. In the beginning of the story of Rustam's death he speaks of the information which he derived (*yāftam*) from Āzād Sarv. In the beginning of the story of chess he refers to ' old Shāhōy '. See Ṣafā, pp. 75–6.

ruler's circle, but more probably after Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq's death his archives were looted and dispersed.[1]

Translated from the Persian [2]

§ 1 (**134**) Laud and glory to God who has created this and the other worlds, who has brought forward (*padhīdār*) us, (his) slaves, in the world, and who apportioned equally (*barābar*) rewards for the good-minded and retribution (*bādhāfrāh*) for the evil-doers. Let praise be for the chosen, the pure and the faithful (*dīn-dār*), especially for the best of God's creatures Muḥammad Muṣṭafà, may God bless him, the members of his house and his progeny.

§ 2. The work on the *Shāh-nāma* began with what was brought together [3] by Abū Manṣūr Ma'marī, the minister (*dastūr*) of Abū Manṣūr, son of 'Abd ar-Razzāq, son of 'Abdullāh, son of Farrukh. Thus (he) says first (**135**) in this book: 'As long as the world has existed, people have sought knowledge,[4] held Speech great, and considered it the best memorial (*yādhegār*), because in this world men become greater and richer through knowledge. As men have understood that nothing permanent remains of them, they strive that their names remain and their vestiges (*nishān*) stay unbroken, such as (spreading) prosperity, or making places strong, or courage, daring (*shūkhī*) and giving one's life, or promoting wisdom for the benefit of men, or inaugurating new practices.

§ 3. Thus acted the Indian king when he brought forth 'Kalīla and Dimna', 'Shānāq',[5] and 'Rām-va-Rāmīn'.[6]

§ 4. Likewise Ma'mūn, son of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, possessed the high-mindedness (*manish*) of kings and the aspiration of the great (*mihtarān*). One day, as he was sitting with the high (dignitaries), he said: 'So long as a man (*mardum*) is in this world and possesses power, he must strive for his memory (to survive) and for his name to be alive after his death'. His secretary (*dabīr*) 'Abdullāh, son of Muqaffa', said to him: 'Of Kisrā Anūshirvān something has remained which has not remained of any other king'.[7] Ma'mūn asked: 'What is it?' He answered: 'He brought a book (*nāma*) from India which the doctor Burzōya translated from the Indian (**hindavī*) into Pahlavi, so that (*tā*) his name has lived on among the people of the world, and (every day) he spent

[1] According to Ṣafā, *op. cit.*, 173, Firdausī began to work on the *Shāh-nāma* towards 370–1/980–1.

[2] The paragraphs introduced in the text are mine. The numbers in black refer to *Hazāra-yi Firdausī*. (V. M.)

[3] *Gird-āvarīdha.*

[4] *Gird-i dānish gashta-and.*

[5] Indian sage and doctor, see Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, II, 32–3. The author's name has been taken for the name of the book. (M. Q.)

[6] This strange combination stands for *Ramāyana*. See Bīrūnī, *India*, 159, 204, on Vālmīki and his *Rām-va-Ramāyan*. (M. Q.)

[7] Ibn Muqaffa' was executed under Manṣūr b. Muḥammad (136–58/754–75), who is here confused with the Persophil Ma'mūn (198–218/813–33).

(*hazīna*) [1] 500 ass-loads (*kharvār*) of dirhams '. Ma'mūn wanted (to see) the book and, when he saw it, he ordered his secretary to translate it from the Pahlavi into Arabic (*tāzī*).

§ 5. When the late (*sa'īd*) amīr Naṣr,[2] son of Aḥmad, heard this story, he liked it, and he requested his own minister Khwāǧa Bal'amī to translate it from the Arabic into Persian and thus the book fell into men's hands and every man turned its pages (*dast badhū andar zadand*). (Then) he requested Rūdakī to turn it into verse, and ' Kalīla and Dimna ' was on the tongues of the great and the lowly, and thus Rūdakī's name has lived on and this book (**136**) became a memory of him. Then the Chinese [3] added images to it so that the seeing and the reading of it should please everybody.

§ 6. The amīr Abū Manṣūr, son of 'Abd ar-Razzāq, was a blissful (*bā farr*), successful (*khwīsh-kām*), clever man ; he was highminded (*buzurg-manish*) in his felicity (*kām-ravā'ī*), and possessed a fully royal establishment ; his way of life was princely (*sāz-i mihtarān*) and his thoughts elevated. By birth he was of a great race and belonged to the seed of the ispahbads of Iran.

He heard the story of ' Kalīla and Dimna ' and the example (*nishān*) set by the shāh of Khorasan and liked it. He wished from Destiny that of him too the memory should remain in this world. Therefore he commanded his minister (*dastūr*) Abū Manṣūr Ma'marī to gather owners of books from among the noblemen (*dihqān*), sages and men of experience from various towns, and by his orders his servant (*chākar*) (the said) Abū Manṣūr Ma'marī compiled the book (*nāma kard*) : he sent a person to various towns of Khorasan and brought wise men therefrom [*variant* : and from elsewhere ?], such as Shāǧ, (Mākh ?), son of Khorāsānī (Khwānī, Sarkhānī) from Herat (Harē) ; Yazdāndādh, son of Shāpūr, from Sīstān ; Māhoy Khurshīd, son of Bahrām, from Nishāpūr ; Shādhān, son of Burzīn, from Ṭūs. He brought all the four and set them down to produce (*bi-nishānd ba-firaz-āvardan*) those books [4] of the kings, (**137**) with their actions (or wars ? *kār-nāma*), their life-stories, the epochs of justice or injustice, troubles, wars, and (the royal) institutions (*āyīn*), beginning with the first king (*kay*) who was he who established the practices of civilization (*mardumī*) in the world and brought men (*mardumān*) out of (the condition of) beasts—down to Yazdagird Shahriyār who was the last of the Iranian [5] kings.

§ 7. (This was done) in Muḥarram when the year was 346 [6] from the flight of the best man of the world Muḥammad Muṣṭafà, God's blessings on him (i.e. in April 957) and they called (the book) *Shāh-nāma*—so that men of

[1] *Hazīna*, Vullers, II, 1453 : . . . ' (2) expensa pro re familiari, quotidianus, sempiternus '.

[2] The Samanid, 301–31/914–43.

[3] *Chīniyān*, or reading : *chandān*, ' so many images were added to it '. In a MS. which formerly belonged to Mr. K. Onou I noted : ' then he requested Khwāǧa Bal'am [*sic*] that the Chinese should illustrate it (*taṣāvīr*) and it should become nearer to understanding '.

[4] *Nāma-hā*, perhaps ' Stories '.

[5] '*Aǧam* ' non Arab '. This Arabic term sounds like a false note in the text.

[6] *Va sāl bar* 346 (*būd*). On the use of *bar* see Minorsky, ' Some early documents in Persian ', in *JRAS*, Oct., 1942, 187.

knowledge may look into it and find in it all about the wisdom (*farhang*) of the kings, noblemen and sages, the royal arrangements (*kār-u-sāz*), nature and behaviour, good institutions (*āyīn*), justice and judicial norms (*dād-u-dāvarī*), decisions and administration, the military organization (*sipāh ārāstan*) (in) battles, storming of cities, punitive expeditions (*kīn khwāstan*) and night attacks, as well as about match-making (*khwastārī*) and respecting honour (*āzarm*).

They compiled this Book of Kings and brought it out (*guzārish kardand* 'said') and in it there are matters which while being said (strike) the reader as important and everybody has some utility to derive from the book (*dārand tā az-ū fā'ida gīrand*).[4] They may also find in it matters which appear frightening, and this is good, if you can understand their substance (*maghz*), and will serve you well and be pleasant. (Such) for example (are the stories) of the exploits (*dastburd*) of Arish,[2] of the stone which (*kuǧā*) Afrīdūn stopped with his foot,[3] or of the snakes which sprang up from Zohāk's shoulders—all this in its meaning comes apt to the learned and clever, but displeases (*zisht gardānadh*) the enemy of wisdom. Many are the wonders in the world,[4] as our Prophet, God bless him, said (in Arabic): 'Speak of the sons of Israel and there will be no sin (in it)',[5] i.e. (in Persian) 'let them hear whatever will be said of the sons of Israel, because it has been and is not a lie'.

§ 8. Anyway (*pas*), if the learned wish to create a book, it behoves them to achieve seven things with regard to it:

First—the groundwork (*bunyādh*).

Second—its blissfulness (*farr*).

Third—its cleverness.

Fourth—the (mention of the) name of the Lord of the book.

Fifth—the due proportion (*andāza*) of the matter and the amount of words.

Sixth—setting example (*nishān*) of wisdom of (to?) the person for whom the book has been written.

Seventh—attention to all the issues (*dar-hā*) of the subject.

[1] Variant: '*azīz dārand*: 'everybody likes'.

[2] Variant: 'of Kayūmarth, Tahmūrāth, the dīvs and Ǧamshīd, the story of Farīdūn and his birth and that of his brother'.

[3] The story of the stone which Farīdūn's brothers rolled on him from the mountain. However, in our case (reign of Zohāk, v. 319) the poet says that, by order of God, Farīdūn awoke in time and stopped the stone by a spell (*afsūn*). This divergence of detail from our text (which seems to be more genuine) is noteworthy.

[4] Firdausī himself in his Introduction, ed. Vullers, v. 130, gives a warning:

'Do not consider the Book (of Kings) as a lie and a story,
'Do not consider the movement (*ravish*) throughout Time as uniform,
'In what in it suits Reason,
'Or has a secret meaning'.

[5] In Arabic with a Persian translation. S. H. Stern kindly gives me the reference to this *ḥadīth* in at-Tirmidhī, II, 111, and Abū Dā'ūd, II, 82; cf. G. Vajda in *J.As.*, 1937, 117, note 1: 'transmettez de ma part ne serait-ce qu'un verset, et racontez au sujet des enfants d'Israël, sans encourir de péché, mais quiconque a mis volontairement un mensonge sur mon compte, qu'il occupe [d'ores et déjà] sa place au feu'.

§ 9. And the reading of this book (brings) the knowledge of the affairs (**138**) of the kings and the rewards (*bakhshish*) given to a lot of people (*gurūhī*) for accomplishing (*varzīdan*) the affairs of this world. This book offers utility to everybody, it is a recreation (*rāmish*) for the world, comfort to the afflicted and medicine (*chāra*) to the weary.

And *people read this book of the affairs (*kār-nāma*) of kings [1] for two purposes: the one is because when (*tā*) they learn the actions (*kār-kard*), the conduct and the ceremonial (*āyīn*) of the kings, they will be able to get on (*sākhtan*) with anyone in administration (*kad-khudā'ī*); the other is that the book contains stories both pleasant to (their) ears and suitable to (their) strivings (*kūshish*), for it contains good and clever matters, such as (the opposition between) the rewards of Good and the retribution of Evil, animadversion and mildness, rudeness and gentleness, daring (*shūkhī*) and restraint, engagements and issues, advice and admonition, wrath and contentment, and the wonder of the affairs of the world.

Let people know and find out all we have mentioned in the book and now let us begin about the affairs of the kings and their stories.

§ 10. *Beginning of the story.* Wherever there was a resting place of men, they divided (*bi-bakhshīdand*) this Earth into four directions from one end to the other, and into seven parts which they called *kishvar*: the first was called *Arza*, the second *Shaba*, (**139**) the third *Fardadhafsh*, the fourth *Vīdhadhafsh*, the fifth *Vaurubarast*, the sixth *Vauruǧarst* and the seventh, which lies in the middle of the world, *Khunras-i Bāmī*.[2] In the latter we live, and the kings used to call it Īrān-shahr. A corner (*gūsha*) of it which is called *Amast* (?) consists of Chīn-and-Māchīn, Hindūstān, Barbar, Rūm, Khazar, Rūs, Saqlāb, Samandar and Burṭās.[3] What remains outside it was called *S.k.na*.[4] The Sunrise they called *Bākhtar*, the Sunset *Khāvar*. They called Syria and the Yemen, *Māzandarān* (?) [5]; (**140**) 'Irāq and Kūhistān (*ancient Media ?), **Sūristān*. Īrān-shahr stretches from the Amūya river to the river of Egypt (Miṣr), and those other *kishvars* lie around it. Of the seven *kishvars* Īrān-shahr is the grandest (*buzurgvār-tar*) from the point of view of every art. What lies towards

[1] Reading as amended by M. Q.

[2] The names of the *kishvars* in Pahlavi are spelt: *'rzh, swh, prdtpš, wdtpš, vrbršt, wrwčršt, hwnyrs*. Cf. Bundahiš, ch. 5, § 8 (transl. by West, p. 24).

[3] This enumeration definitely belongs to the time of the Samanids, though according to Ṭabarī, I, 2876, the last Sasanian, Yazdegird, before his death applied for help to the rulers of China, Farghana, Kabul, and *malik al-Khazar*.

[4] Neither *Amast* (*Amat, Abast, Rāmat*) nor *S.k.na* (*Saksiya, Bīkīya, B.nkīna*) could be explained. This division looks quite different from that described by Yāqūt, Introduction, I, 17–18, where the earth is divided into the northern and southern halves. In the former, two quarters are distinguished: north-eastern (Iraq, Khorasan, Tibet, China, etc.), and north-western (Ǧazīra, Syria, Egypt, the Byzantine empire, the Franks, etc.). Yāqūt does not name his authority (*wa qāla ba'duhum*).

[5] I take it for a misreading of Mizraim (Egypt), which in *Ardāy Vīrāz nāmak*, I. 4, is called *Muzrāyīk (H. W. Bailey). M. Qazvīnī points to two passages, in Ibn Isfandīyār and in *Muǧmal at-tavārīkh*, where the same confusion with the name Māzandarān is found.

Bākhtar is held by the Chinese ; to the right of it [1] are the Indians, and to the left the Turks and also the Khazars. And what is still more to the right (*rāst-tar*) is held by the Berbers.[2] On the left [3] of the Rūm are the Westerners (*khāvāri*) and the Māzandarānī (Mizraim ?) ; and Egypt (Miṣr) is said to be a part of Mazandarān (Mizraim !). And all this is the land of Īrān (*Īrān-zamīn*) because Īrān forms the larger part of what we have mentioned.

§ 11. Know that people have much to say about the beginning of this book (*kitāb*) and we shall mention the version (*guftār*) of each group, so that it be known to him who wishes to understand, and he may follow the road which he pleases.

From the book(s) of Ibn Muqaffa',[4] Ḥamza Iṣfahānī [5] and their like we have heard that from (*az . . . farāz*) the time of Adam the Pure (*ṣafī ?*), God's blessings on him, down to the time when they began writing this book 5,700 years had passed. The first man who (**141**) appeared on the earth was Adam. I have got similar information from Muḥammad b. Ǧahm Barmakī ; and likewise (it became clear) from Zādōy b. Shāhōy and from the book of Bahrām Iṣfahānī, and similar information was obtained from the ' Path (*rāh*) of the Sasanians ' of Mūsà b. 'Īsà Khusravī (Kasravī), from Hishām, son of Qāsim Iṣfahānī, (**142**) from the book on the kings of Pārs [6] which was produced from the Treasury (*ganǧ-khāna*) of Ma'mūn, from Bahrām-shāh, son of Mardān-shāh Kermānī, from Farrukhān, mōbad of mōbads of Yazdagird Shahriyār, from Rāmīn who was Yazdagird Shahriyār's slave (*banda*)—(and) the information obtained was identical.[7]

§ 12. And from their collapse (*furūdh ?*) [8] let (another) 200 years pass and we shall say how many years have passed from Adam's time. And they agreed (*gird āmadand*) on the statement (*guftār*) which we shall mention. Whatever we discuss (*guzārish*) of this book must be told (*āvard*) from the statements of the *dihqāns*, for this kingdom was in their hands and they know the affairs and proceedings, whether good or bad and whether more or less. Therefore we must go by what they say. Consequently, whatever we learn concerning them, has been collected from their books.[9] And (our) difficulty arises from

[1] Looking eastwards.

[2] This name is connected with the town Berbera on the south coast of the Red Sea.

[3] Looking eastwards.

[4] Translated the *Khwatāy-nāmak* in the middle of the eighth century A.D. On his death see at the beginning of the present article.

[5] Ḥamza finished his book at the end of Jam. II, 350/middle of July, 961. As the translation of the Four Zoroastrians was completed in 346/957, this shows that, unless the reference to Ḥamza is an interpolation, the Preface to the translation was written at least four years later, cf. M. Q.

[6] Ḥamza's parallel passage shows that it was this book which came out (*mustakhraǧ*) from Ma'mūn's library. (M. Q.)

[7] Qazvīnī, *Bīst-maqāla*, p. 43, gives a comparative table of these authorities as mentioned in Ḥamza, *al-Fihrist*, Bīrūnī, the *Muǧmal at-tavārīkh*, the present Introduction and the Preface to Bal'amī's work (which is far from being a mere ' translation ' of Ṭabarī).

[8] See towards the end of this paragraph.

[9] A candid acknowledgment.

the fact that when the reign lasts long, or when the creed of a prophet disappears through (the appearance of another) prophet and a long time elapses, the great forget those events and disfigure their nature and (the account) deteriorates (*bar furūdī oftad*), as it happened to the Jews between Adam and Noah, and equally between Noah and Moses, and between Moses and Jesus, and between Jesus and our Muḥammad, God bless him.

§ 13. This has been said because the Earth was very empty of men, and when people are deficient, kingship is of no use, for the great exist by the lesser; but where there are people, there is no means of doing without the great. The (superiority) of the great over the lesser results from human essence (*gauhar-i mardum bāyadh*), just as the (superiority) of the prophet of men (*mardum*) resulted from (the nature) of the man (*mardum*).[1]

It is also said that for 170 years odd after the death of Kayūmarth there was no king (**143**) and the inhabitants of the world were wandering (*yala*) like sheep without a shepherd on a grazing ground (*shabāngāh*), until Hūshang the Pīshdādh came. And four times kingship disappeared from Īrān and no one knows how much time there passed.

The Jews say from the Torah of Moses, on him be peace, that since the time of Moses to the day when the Arab Muḥammad, God bless him, left Mecca, 4,000 years [2] had passed. Meanwhile, the Christians (*tarsā*, 'quakers') say from the Gospel of Jesus that the time which elapsed was 5,593 years.[3] And some people call Adam Kayūmarth. This is the computation of the Time gone by, which we have mentioned according to their [4] (computation of) time (*rūzgār*), but God, the Exalted, knows best how it was.

§ 14. The beginning of the appearance of men (*mardum*) was from Kayūmarth, and those who call him Adam say that the first king who sat (on the throne) was Hūshang whom they call Pīsh-dād, because he was the earliest person who established the rule of justice among men.

Another lot were the Kayānians; the third lot the Ashkānians and the fourth the Sāsānians. In the intermediate periods there were wars (*paykār*) and contests (*dāvarī*), because of revolts against one another, inroads and strivings for elevation and superiority, and because of their (such?) reigns this *kishvar* became very empty. So strangers would come and seize the kingdom (*pādshāhī*) with humiliations (*furūtanī*?). Thus it was at the time of Ǧamshīd, at that of Naudhar, at that of Iskandar and so on.

§ 15. Consequently, prior to speaking of the kings and their deeds (*kārnāma*), let us mention the origin (*nizhād*) of Abū Manṣūr, son of 'Abd ar-Razzāq, who ordered his servant (*chākar*) Abū Manṣūr Ma'marī to compile this book in

[1] The phrase is obscure. De Wallenbourg, p. 42: 'les prophètes lesquels quoique issus du commun des hommes, se trouvent pourtant placés au-dessus d'eux'.

[2] Qazvīnī restores after Ḥamza: 4042.

[3] Perhaps the 5,593 years counted from the Creation of the World to Jesus Christ are meant in the text. Wallenbourg, p. 42: 5093.

[4] Apparently, of the Jews and Christians.

prose. We shall also mention the latter's origin (to explain) what kind of man (*chūn*) he was, and who they (both of them?) were that they reached such position (*ānǧā*).

§ 16. And after they had compiled it in prose, Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Subuk [1]-tegin, ordered the sage Abū l-Qāsim Manṣūr Firdausī to turn it into the *darī* ('court') language in verse, (**144**) and the circumstances of it will be mentioned at their proper place.[2]

§ 17. First, the *genealogy of Abū Manṣūr, son of 'Abd ar-Razzāq*: Muḥammad, son of 'Abd ar-Razzāq, son of 'Abdullāh,[3] son of Farrukh, son of Māsa (Māsā, Sāsiya, etc.) son of Māzyār, son of Kushmihān, son [4] of Kanārang, son of Khusrau, son of Bahrām, son of Ādhar-Gushasp,[5] son of Gūdharz, son of Dādh-afarīn, son of Farrukh-zādh, son of Bahrām (who at the time of Khusrau Parvīz was *ispahbad*), son of Farrukh Būzurǧmihr [*sic*] (who was Nūshirvān's minister), son of Ādhar-Gulbād (?) (**145**) (who at the time of Parvīz [*Pīrūz?] was *ispahsālār*), son [6] of Burzīn (who at the time of Ardashīr Bābagān was *sālār*), son of Bīzhan, son of Gīv, son of Gūdharz, son of Gashvādh. The latter was called Gashvādh because [7] no one of the sālārs of Īrān did create such order (*āyīn*) as he did, for he established the ranks of pahlavāns of the provinces (*kishvar*) and marzubāns, and distributed (*bakhshish*) the seven kishvars, but he was cross-tempered (*kazh-mardum*?), as reported in three versions (*si gūna*). Gūdharz was sālār at the time of Kay-Khusrau, and it was he who killed Pīrān who was Afrāsiyāb's ispahbad. He was the son of Ḥashvān,[8] son of Āris,[9] son of Bindōy, descendant of Mīnūchihr, descendant of Irağ, (**146**) son of Afrīdūn, son of Ābtīn, one of the children of Ğamshīd. As to Pīrān he was son of Vīsa, the youngest son of Zādashm, son of Tūr, son of Afrīdūn, son of the above-mentioned Ābtīn, one of the children of Ğamshīd.

§ 18. *Genealogy of Abū Manṣūr Ma'marī*: Abū Manṣūr, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Abdullāh Ğa'far, son of Farrukh-zād, (son of?) Kasal (?) Garān-khwār ('glutton'), son (?) of (the) Kanārang.[10]

[1] Perhaps: **sū-bek* 'general'? [Or *Sevük*, cf. Bosworth, *The ghaznavids*, 1963, p. 272.]

[2] § 16, as M. Qazvīnī points out, is a later interpolation.

[3] This name, common among converts, would indicate the stage at which Islam penetrated into the family. The Muslim names under which the immediate descendants of the *kanārang* were known to the Arabs (see above, p. 263) may have been only the masks of their proper names but they stand in the way of any identifications. The *kanārang* had a brother and several sons (Ṭabarī, II, 2886; Yāqūt, II, 411), and this still further complicates the checking of Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq's ancestry.

[4] As instead of *fulān ibn fulān*, the older Persian manuscripts use Persian *iḍāfat*, i.e. *fulān-i fulān*, it is quite possible that the title *kanārang* belongs here to Kushmihān, or to Khusrau The earlier part of the genealogy is a definite forgery.

[5] See above, article No. 9, ch. VI, § 3.

[6] Several of these پسر 'son' should be restored as نبیر 'grandson, descendant'.

[7] Justi, *loc. cit.*, 114, explains his name as 'schöne Reden führend'.

[8] Ṭabarī, I, 2, 608, *Ğūdarz ibn Ğushvādhaghān* (M. Q.).

[9] According to Ṭabarī Āris was Ğashvādh's ancestor in the eighth generation (M. Q.).

[10] Qazvīnī was doubtful as to where the genealogy of Ma'marī ends. According to the text, both the master and his secretary had the same ancestor, the *kanārang* whose father served

§ 19. And the Kanārang was the son of Parvīz's sarhang and was employed by him on great missions. When Parvīz went to the gate of Rūm (Byzantium), the Kanārang went in the van of his army and he took the ramparts (*ḥiṣār*) of Rūm [1] and was the first man to scale the wall and come to grips with the Emperor (? !) whom he captured and brought to the shah.

At the time when Sāva (Shāba ?),[2] king of the Turks, came to the gate of Harē (Herāt), the Kanārang met him and with his lance threw him down and (Sāva's) army was defeated. After the fight of Herat (Parvīz) gave him Nīshābūr and he had even (*khud*) given him Ṭūs. Khusrau (Parvīz) said to him: 'You said you would rout (them with ?) one thousand men ?' He replied: 'Yes, I have said so'. Khusrau selected 1,000 men from among the prisoners and malefactors and armed (*s.lyḥ*) them. On the following day he sent the Kanārang with these thousand men to a plain, while he himself (**147**), with the great chiefs of the army, looked on from afar. The Kanārang came to grips with them (with the enemy) fighting now with the sword and now with arrows. Some he killed and some he wounded (*khist*). Every time that he pushed his horse forward, many perished, and finally the enemy wavered and fled. The Kanārang joined the shah and saluted (*namāz burd*) and greeted (*afarīn*) him. Khusrau gave him Ṭūs. Among the heroes there was a man called R.qiya, who was a match for the Kanārang, and he asked Khusrau for him and took him to Ṭūs. It was this R.qiya of whom Khusrau Parvīz said, when the Kanārang asked for 1,000 men to fight the Turks: 'If you like, take 1,000 men, but, if you like, take R.qiya who will be less troublesome for you'. So both (*har duvān*) of them went to Ṭūs with a thousand Iranians and (the Kanārang) treated R.qiya well. [They fought the Turks and were victorious and took up residence in Ṭūs and the Kanārang assumed kingship (*pādshāhī*) and treated R.qiya well.] He was a matchless archer. One day the Kanārang and R.qiya went hunting with (their) sons and captains (*sarhang*). The Kanārang said: 'Whatever game we hunt to-day, we shall hit it in the head to show our marksmanship (*bārīk-andāzī*)'. Whatever the Kanārang brought down had an arrow through its head and R.qiya praised the Kanārang. On another day the Kanārang ordered to bring a sack (*ghirāra*) filled with straw. He pressed his steed forward, struck with his lance and raising the sack with it flung it on the ground. He was killed at the time of Yazdagird Shahriyār.

§ 20. When 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb [3] sent 'Abdullāh son of 'Āmir to invite people to accept the faith of Muḥammad,[4] God bless him, the Kanārang sent

under Parvīz (590–628). This *kanārang* could easily have survived till the time of the Arab conquest. Both Ibn 'Abd ar-Razzāq and Ma'marī are shown as being 6–7 generations remote from him. The following § 19 refers then to both of them.

[1] Normally this would refer to Constantinople but perhaps the author means here Jerusalem which was taken in June 614.

[2] King of the Hephthalites killed by Parvīz's uncle Bistām, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 82–4.

[3] Qazvīnī points out that 'Abdullāh b. 'Āmir was sent to Khorasan in 30–1/650–1, under *'Othmān*.

[4] The stories of this paragraph surely belong to local lore and bear witness to how historical events grow into legends.

his son to Nīshābūr to receive (*padhīra*) him.[1] The people were in the citadel (*kuhandiz*) and did not obey and he ('Abdullāh ?) asked for his help (i.e. the Kanārang's son ?), and he gave it and (all) went well. Then he ('Abdullāh ?) asked for a loan (*vām*) of 1,000 (?) dirhams (**148**) and (the Kanārang ?) asked for a security (*giravagān*),[2] but he replied that he had no security (to offer). Then (the Kanārang) said : ' So give me Nīshābūr ', and he gave it to him. Having received the money he gave it back. Then 'Abdullāh ibn 'Āmir offered (?) him that (*ān* ?) battle and the Kanārang went to fight him, and this story has remained in the saying (*dāstān*) : ' Ṭūs belongs to so-and-so, but he holds Nīshābūr as a security '.[3] Ḥasan ibn 'Alī Marvazī (or : Abū l-Faḍl Barīki ?) was a descendant of his. On his mother's side the Kanārang was from Ṭūs. He lived 120 years and Ṭūs always belonged to the Kanārang family until the time of Ḥumayd (ibn Qaḥṭaba) aṭ-Ṭā'ī [4] who took it from their hands and this dignity fell to the lot of another family (*dūda*) (but) at the time of Abū Manṣūr, son of 'Abd ar-Razzāq, they (re)captured Ṭūs and merit went to merit (*sazā basazā rasīd*). The genealogies of the two men who are responsible for this book are such as we have reported.[5]

[1] In fact Balādhurī, 334, reports that the invitation had come from the *marzubān* (i.e. *kanārang*) of Ṭūs. He further, 404, describes the siege of Nīshāpūr where ' the population ' resisted for several months ; and after the capture of the town *its* marzubān still resisted in the citadel, but finally made a pact with Ibn 'Āmir paying him 1 million (or 700,000) dirhams. This marzubān, though apparently a subordinate of the ruler of Ṭūs, acted independently of him.

[2] ' The loan ' apparently is a euphemism for a tribute, which, according to Balādhurī, 404, was fixed for Nīshāpūr (see above), and 'Abdullāh himself appointed an Arab governor over it.

[3] This saying confirms the impression that it was the ruler of Ṭūs who was meant to hold Nīshāpūr as a security.

[4] The governor of Khorasan (between 152/769 and 159/775), on behalf of the 'Abbāsids.

[5] Qazvīnī omits the end of the Preface on Daqīqī and Firdausī, considering it a later addition. This part too was translated by de Wallenbourg, pp. 51–69, but left unfinished because of ' détails . . . moins intéressants, et même très invraisemblables '.

PŪR-I BAHĀ'S 'MONGOL' ODE

§ 1. Pūr-i Bahā and the manuscripts
§ 2. Translation
§ 3. Commentary
§ 4. Pūr-i Bahā in his milder mood
§ 5. List of terms explained
§ 6. Persian texts

§ 1. Pūr-i Bahā and the Manuscripts

PŪR-I BAHĀ (probably Tāj al-dīn, son of Bahā al-dīn) was a contemporary of the Mongol il-khan Abaqa (663–80/1265–82), son of Hulagu, and was closely associated with the family of great statesmen, Juvaynī. He is now a forgotten poet and the information available on him has been scarce.[3] Even the most accurate editor of the history of 'Alā al-dīn Juvaynī [2] forgot to mention Pūr-i Bahā among the panegyrists of the Juvaynī family. Yet Pūr-i Bahā enjoyed a considerable reputation in his day. According to Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī (*Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 816) his *dīvān* was well-known (*mashhūr*), and Waṣṣāf (see below) readily quoted his verses.[3] Two centuries after his death, Daulatshāh in his *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* (pp. 181–5) still prefixed the title *fakhr al-afāḍil* to his name. The chief reason why Pūr-i Bahā is now so little known is the highly complicated language which he uses. To a Persian of our day much of his poetry would appear as the fruit of a baroque dialectal muse, but behind the prickly hedge of Mongol and Turkish words, which Pūr-i Bahā uses in profusion, one clearly feels the inventive originality of a poet who mirrors the life of his epoch. First of all his poems must be rendered intelligible and the hints contained in them deciphered. This task would require the combination of a Mongolist and a Persian scholar in the same person, which is not my case. My excuse in approaching the subject is that, having recently studied the Persian histories of the Mongol epoch, I have found in my texts parallels to almost the whole range of Pūr-i Bahā's vocabulary.

When in some modern Turkish paper we read of a *filim* (film) which has not come out as *net* as desirable, we feel the breath of modern western civilization bringing with it fresh names for fresh things and ideas. Such, in the opposite direction, was the penetration of new institutions, habits, and words which the great Mongol flood had brought in its wake. Pūr-i Bahā was a satirist obsessed by the strange jingle of terms which from military camps and market-places found their way into chancelleries, not even respecting the intimacy of private

[1] See E. G. Browne, *LHP*, III, 111–15 and 177; cf. also H. Massé, *Anthol. persane*, 1950, 147.

[2] Muḥammad Qazvīnī in the Preface to the *Jihān-gushā*, I, pp. LXIV–LXXXI.

[3] See also Sayf Haravī, *Tārikh-nāma-yi Harāt*, ed. M. Z. Siddiqi, Calcutta, 1944, pp. 346–7 (under 675/1276).

homes, where they buzzed and hummed like tedious bumble-bees. In the ode which forms the main subject of the present article, the poet, with his tongue in his cheek, only amuses himself with the vocabulary which 'no Firdausī, no Daqīqī, no Bundār, no Anvarī' had ever used before. In another difficult poem of his, which I hope to explain elsewhere, he is much more outspoken, while he connects the queer new term *qopchūr*, sounding like the cracking of a Tatar whip, with the scourges of the newfangled financial administration, which had infested 'the earth, the water, and the fire'.

As already said, Pūr-i Bahā is a poet following his own way, and his poetry does not move in that artificial paradise where the philosophers ponder over 'whence' and 'whither', as they listen to nightingales murmuring their madrigals to the roses. Pūr-i Bahā's barbaric harmonies echo the sounds that filled the air at a time as formidable as that of 'le chef borgne sur l'éléphant gétule'. The period during which Iran was ruled by infidel kings led to many developments not foreseen in the books of law written by grave Islamic doctors.

Pūr-i Bahā's verses are a discreet warning against too abstract an approach to Persian poetry, just as his time is a warning also against too general theories of 'Islamic culture' and the single stream of 'Islamic history'.

In my translation of the ode I have left the original Turko-Mongol terms and explained them separately in my notes. It will be seen that, though the later generations called the ode 'Mongol', many of the foreign elements in it belong to Turkish stock and reflect the *lingua franca* of the time.

To establish the text of the ode I have used the following sources :—

D. Daulatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, ed. Bombay, 1887, pp. 81–2 ; ed. E. G. Browne, 1901, pp. 282–4.

W. The *collectanea* of the Vienna Library, A.F. 301, ff. 252a–254b (photographs), in which the text is accompanied by a Turkish commentary. According to Flügel's catalogue, III, 511, the commentator's name was Kāmī-efendi, and he must be the well-known scholar Mehmed Kāmī (1649–1724), on whom see Babinger, *GOW*, 256. The commentary is helpful, but fantastic in its historical part.

C. Cambridge University Library, E. G. Browne collection, V. 5 (7). The very valuable *Majmū'a* of ancient dīvāns, written in Shiraz in 827/1424, in a microscopic hand, gives a much fuller version of the ode (ff. 225b–226b).

BM. British Museum, Or. 9213, is the fullest collection of Pūr-i Bahā's poems at present known. The ode under discussion is missing in it, but the manuscript offers many important parallels.

I had prepared the translation of the ode according to D (Bombay, 26 verses ; Browne, 28 verses) and W (26 verses), when a longer version suddenly came to light in C (46 verses). Both the inimitable style and the sequence and connexion of the verses show that C corresponds to the author's original. Some verses may have been omitted in the anthologies as being less intelligible. Only for one of these additional verses could a parallel reading be found in Waṣṣāf's *History*, I, 73. The interpretation of the ode presented considerable

difficulties, but I have not shunned the task, even though a few expressions remain doubtful, thinking that a tentative explanation might be useful for future decipherers.

A rendering of the ode was attempted by Hammer in his *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, Pest, 1840, 460–2. The translation (26 verses) apparently follows Daulatshāh and was a feat for its time. Criticisms of its misunderstandings would be useless nowadays, and I hope that in another 115 years the same leniency will be shown to my own, by that time obsolete, interpretation.[1]

According to Daulatshāh our ode was dedicated to 'Izz al-dīn Ṭāhir Faryūmadī, a high Persian official in the Mongol administration. In fact several odes in BM Or. 9213 bear the name of this patron (ff. 4a, 13b, 15a, 28b, 43b). About 663/1265 Abaqa appointed 'Izz al-dīn *vazīr* of Khorasan. He was succeeded by his son Vajīh al-dīn.[2] A daughter of 'Izz al-dīn was married to Bahā al-dīn, son of Shams al-dīn Juvaynī.[3] After the death of Abaqa and the fall of the Juvaynī family, Vajīh al-dīn was involved in the disgrace and executed. His son Niẓām al-dīn Yaḥyā lost his life under Ghāzān.[4]

Daulatshāh, despite the great interest of his *Tadhkira*, is known for his inaccuracies in details. On the other hand, Waṣṣāf, with all the prolixity of his style, is a scrupulous historian and, very fortunately, he is definite in saying that his quotation of Pūr-i Bahā's verse (see below, v. 7) belongs to an ode dedicated to the *ṣāḥib* Shams al-dīn Juvaynī. In BM Or. 9213 four odes are found inscribed to Shams al-dīn, and three to his brother 'Alā al-dīn (the famous historian). Waṣṣāf's correction should be accepted, for it explains both the titles used in our ode (verses 17, 21) and the extraordinary hyperboles, which even in a panegyric, would have been addressed only to the highest official, whereas we know that 'Izz al-dīn was the *vazīr* of Khorasan, probably serving under the governors, the princes Tubshin-oghul and Yisüder-oghul.[5]

Waṣṣāf quotes the difficult verse in connexion with the invasion of the Chaghataid prince Barāq in Khorasan, which happened in 668/1269–70, and it is likely that the poem, containing the name of the amīr Marghā'ul, was written soon after the events (see notes to v. 7).

As already stated, the present publication follows the longer version (C). The shorter version alters the first hemistich of v. 2 and then joins it with the

[1] From M. von Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corps d'inscriptions arabes*, I, partie 3, 1917, p. 91, I learn that the *qaṣīda* was also published by Ḥusayn Dānish and Najīb 'Āṣim in the review called *Navā-yi ṣarīr* which even in Istanbul would probably be inaccessible nowadays.

[2] Already in 669/1270 (apparently after the death of his father) he was in charge of the rebuilding of Nishapur, destroyed by an earthquake. See *Mujmal-i Faṣīḥī*, Cambridge, E. G. Browne collection G. 8 (10), f. 365a, and Browne, *LHP*, III.

[3] Faryūmad lies in the neighbourhood of Juvayn and possibly friendly relations had been long established between the two families.

[4] Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), 8, 47, 67, and ed. Jahn, *GMS*, 161.

[5] Rashīd al-dīn, Russian transl., 1946, III, 81 ; Rashīd, ed. Jahn, Prag, 29.

second hemistich of v. 4. The additional verses of the longer version are: 2 (second hemistich), 3, 4 (first hemistich), 7, 13, 14, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 31, 32, 35, 37, 41. One verse appearing in D and W was apparently skipped by the scribe of C; it has been incorporated at an appropriate place as v. 22.

§ 2. Translation

The metaphors and hyperboles should not obscure the general plan of the long *qaṣīda*. In it the patron is first addressed as if he were a beauty surrounded by ḥūris and peris and relishing sweets and candies (vv. 1–4). The disconsolate poet is waiting for her (5–13), while hints are introduced at some military complications on the Oxus frontier. Suddenly the news arrives that the beauty will not come (14). The poet's devotion has not been requited (15–16). He offers to submit the case to the *Ṣāḥib-dīvān* (17–18), i.e. the patron, who this time is described in the fullness of his distinctions and in the glory of his gorgeous establishment (19–37). Towards the end a complaint is heard that among the triumphs of the *Ṣāḥib-dīvān* the faithful Pūr-i Bahā has been forgotten (38–42). He now sends his prayers as a reminder to the patron: let the encouragement come and the poet will strive to surpass the art of the ancient masters (43–47).

Apart from Pūr-i Bahā's skill and imagination, the 'Mongol' ode is interesting on account of its references to some historical events on the frontiers of Khorasan in the second half of the thirteenth century, and its vast range of technical terms completing the picture of Persian life under Mongol domination.

* * *

1. Oh (my) Uzbek beloved and highborn (*hījāurī*) beauty,
   Of whose ruby lips (my) mind is a *naukar*!
2. You are the *no'īn* of the gentle ones and in your *bulūk*
   Ḥūrīs (can be counted ?) by the thousand and the *mīrs* are like unto one hundred *peris* (?).[1]
3. At the stage of Light, to the *yāmchi*—the Sun—
   Your beauty (travelling as an) *elchi* said: *Hey, abjira morī.*
4. Let the *tuzghūchī* of sweetmeats, by way of *tuzghū* for your lips,
   Present one hundred *taghārs* of sugar as *sāvarī.*
5. So many strict *yāsās* are imposed by the *yarlighs* of grief (for you)
   That the hearts of (your) *cherīk*, peasants, and soldiers are bleeding.
6. In the Hindustan of your locks, your Turkish eyes
   Have produced a *bulghāq*, (as if they were) the Nikūdarian Mongols.
7. The Marghā'ul of (your) separation in the kingdom of (my) heart,
   In depredations competes with Jārdū (and ?) Ūrūs.
8. Like the reed-pens of *bakhshīs*, the sorcerers (**qām*) of your tresses,
   Have practised Uyghur script on your cheeks.
9. Since the *basqāq* of your love has settled in (my) heart,
   Litigation has arisen in the *yārghū* of (my) separation from you.

[1] My friend, M. Minovi, has suggested a different translation: '(There are ?) Ḥurīs (sought by) a thousand men, and *mīrs* (sought by) a hundred perīs'.

10. On the bank of the Oxus of my eyes
The troops of thoughts stand in a *nerge* like the **tumān* of Yisūderian (warriors).
11. As my *kūch* and *qalān* to the dīvān of your love,
I give now my soul as *māl*, and now my head as *qopchūr*.
12. The *tamghāchī* of my grief for you, with the tears of my eyes,
Has stamped a silvery *tamghā* on the sheets of Ja'farian gold.
13. I have lent my heart as *olagh* for the *yaraltū* of (my) union with you,
Saying that perhaps you would soon have traversed the *yām* of cruelty,
14. (When) suddenly the *elchi* of your separation arrived ;
And seizing the horse of my reason demanded the soul in addition (*bar-sarī*).
15. By way of *tekishmishi* to your lips I offered my soul for a kiss,
But you, acting as an infidel, do not display *sūrghāmishī*.
16. You have taken the soul and do not give a kiss as a balance of (payment) (*tulāvat*).
In the *yāsa* of which king is such rigour (**kijāvurī*) admitted ?
17. For this plea, to the *yarghu* of the Great Ṣāḥib
Let us carry . . .
18. Let us at once (*ba-yak-sarī*) make *tābīshmishī*, between ourselves and without (much) *qonushmishī*,
(Concerning ?) this case (*qiṣṣa*) in the presence of the *ṣāḥib-dīvān*,
19. Of (that) *Bilge Ulugh-bitikchi* of the Supreme Qā'ān, who
Knows both the ways of the *bitikchi* (art) and the path of *bahādurī*,
20. (Saying) : You are the lord, under the *yarghū* of whose orders
Are placed the Turks, the Persians, the Rūmīs, and the Berbers.
21. You are the Lord of the Time and the world lies at your command,
What need to speak of your being Lord of the *dīvān* and *daftar* ?
22. With your title the *ortaqs* have ranged over East and West
And brought you the Eastern sun as a *tansuq*.
23. The *ordū* of the sun, which they call ' heaven ',
Is (only) the *kiryās* of your dignity in its elevation, if one looks (well into the matter).
24. Fortune made a *qulirtay* (**quriltay*) in your abode,
Nay, it made a *kengach* and gave you the kingdom of Sanjar.
25. Your writ, with the lion-headed *pāyze* of the *shāh*, is running
Throughout the width of the kingdom, like an *elchi-yi sunqurī*.
26. On the roads of the kingdom the *tutqāvuls* of your mind
Have closed the path of rebellion, tyranny, and oppression.
27. When the *sūsījīs* of your *toy* present *ayāqs*
The sun (itself stands) as a cup, and the moon as a *munghur*.
28. (On) the table (*shīra*) of your donations
The *bāvurchīs* place meals of generosity in a golden dish which is the planet Jupiter.
29. The special *akhtāchīs* of your greatness
Shake on the sky the rugs (*malābis* ?) of (their) room over (?) the stables.
30. The *qūshchī* of your high aspirations, for his *qarātqū*,
Has plucked the wings of the (celestial) Eagle to serve as a pigeon-plumed arrow.

31. Owing to your felicity, when you make a *surghāmishī*,
Your *qorchī* becomes a Khusrau and your *kötelchi* a Caesar.
32. Āṣaf, who was the vazir of the Solomon of (his) time,
In the time of your fortune (would be only) someone good to serve as your *kötelchi*.
33. Whoever has been loaded (*āghirlāmishī*) with your favours,
This hoop-shaped Turning Vault attaches a *burunduq* to his head.
34. And he who has experienced the *yāsāq* of your ire,
Under the dark sod, the angry brick of the grave (*laḥad*) has turned him into a live coal.
35. On the neck of your opponent and on the foot of your enemy
Bad luck places a *cangue* (**du-shākha*), and misery (*miḥnat*) a shackle.
36. The *akhtāchī* of your punishment binds the lasso of predestination
Round the neck of your enemy, as a *chilbur*.
37. The *ayghāq* of your fortune gave his head to the winds, because
(Yours) is a young fortune and not a headlong job.
38. Pūr-i Bahā, a *du'ājī* for your felicitous palace,
Has become **yādā-īshī* and you do not pity him.
39. In the turmoil of the *bulghāqs* of the time
He has become destitute and miserable, like unto the Jamgharī prisoners.
40. As a *saughāt* to your residence he has sent this prayer
That you may remember him in your fragrant mind.
41. Should your Happiness send him the **örgejüt* of affluence
By way of kindness, mercy, and attention to a slave,
42. He may relish from the *sarghūt* of your universal rewards
A 'goblet of wealth' at the feast of your *bakhshish*.
43. Should you favour him, he will do *yārishmishi*
In poetry with Niẓāmī, Qaṭrān, and 'Unṣurī.
44. Never had verses been composed with such terms
By Firdausī, Daqīqī, Bundār, and Anvarī.
45. Among the Arabs and non-Arabs no one has heard
Such a *qaṣīda* either from Mu'izzī or Buḥturī.
46. So long as the affairs of the kingdom follow the *yāsāq* of the Sovereign,
So long as there exist the rulings of the Sharī'at in accordance with the Prophet's creed,
47. May God cherish (**isrāmishī*) you under his protection
And may your happiness last eternally by the grace of *Tengri*.

§ 3. Commentary

Here is the explanation of the exotic terms incorporated in Pūr-i Bahā's ode.

1. Our text has the feminine *ma'shūqa* which disturbs the metre. I have restored **ma'shūq* following Daulatshāh's *maḥbūb*. *Uzbekī* as a reference to the tribe is unexpected in the thirteenth century, though we know of the prince of Tabriz whose personal name was Uzbek (A.D. 1210–25).

The word clearly spelt in C as *hījāv.rī* (**hījāvurī*) must be a derivation from Mong. *hüjä'ür*. The word occurs in § 1 of the *Secret history of the Mongols*, ed. Kozin, 1941, p. 523. See Vladimirtsov, *Sravnit. grammatika mongol. yazīka*, 1929, 187 : *ijaġur/ujaġur* 'origin, basis, root; originally, an ancient family'. Cf. Poppe, *Muqaddimat al-adab*, 1938, 184, 367. The word is attested in Rashīd

al-dīn's Persian text, ed. Berezin, VII, 134 ; ed. Jahn, *GMS*, 306 : *hūjāvūr*. For this difficult and unintelligible word, with which the poet apparently wishes to strike the ear of his readers, D and W substitute the anodyne : *nigārīn-i khāvarī* ' eastern beauty ' and W even explains *khāvar* as *sharq*. The occurrence of such a rare word as *hījāvurī* in C shows the interest of the longer version. *Nöker* (plur. *nökōd*) is a Mongol word, ' a companion '. Juvaynī several times couples the terms *sharīk* and *naukar*, II, 250 : ' companion and *naukar* '.

2. *No'īn*, in Mongol *noyan*, *noyon* (later Persian pronunciation *nūyān*), ' a lord, a master ', see Vladimirtsov, *Obšč. stroy mongolov*, 1934, 70. The second hemistich seems to develop the description of the *nīkuvān* under the command of the *no'īn*. *Bulūk* (**bölük*) is a ' division '. *Hazār-marda*, apparently, ' counted by the thousand ', i.e. in effect ' the rank and file ' of the army of the beloved (?). In D and W, which after the first hemistich of 2 give the second hemistich of 4, this sequence of ideas is lost. [See, however, n. 1 to p. 277.]

3. *Yām* is the posting-station where horses are relayed. On the luminous course of Heaven the postmaster is the Sun, and to it the beauty of the beloved travelling post-haste addresses some words in Mongol : *hey* **abčira mori*, ' hey, bring a (fresh) horse ', to show that the beauty moves faster than the luminary. In Mongol *abčira* (*Secret history*, § 189) consists of two verbs *abču* ' having taken ' + *ire* ' to come ', i.e. ' to bring ', see Poppe, *Grammatika*, Leningrad, 1937, 134 (cf. in Turkish : *apkilmäk* < *alïp-kelmäk*. The expression **abj.ra m.rī* (dotless) occurs also in Pūr-i Bahā's satire on the pious foundations of Khwāf, Br. Mus. Or. 9213, f. 81a, in an obscure context (joined with the verb *khurdan*).

4. The word usually spelt in Arabic script as *t.rghū*, should be read as **tuzghu*, which appears in Kāshgharī, I, 351, with the explanation *hadiyat min al-ṭa'ām* ' a present of foodstuffs ', and with a further development, I, 355 ' a present of food which is brought out to a traveller on a road (belonging to the number of) relatives (*aqārib*) or acquaintances (*ma'ārif*) '. In our case, *t.rghūchī* (but the second time with traces of a dot : **tuzghū*) is represented as an official providing candies. *Taghār* is a weight of 100 Tabriz maunds, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Quatremère, 138 (according to W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse*, 1955, 52 : 84.3 klg.). *Sāvarī* ' a tribute, a homage '.

5. *Yāsā*, Chingizian code of laws ; *yarlïgh* ' an edict, a decree '. *Cherīk* ' a levy, militia ', cf. Ottoman *yeni-cheri*. [C has *mulūk* ' (petty) kings '.]

6. *Bulghāq* ' confusion, perturbance '. The *Nikūdaris* were a predatory tribe mentioned by Marco Polo, I, ch. 18 ; cf. *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 621, 623 ; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 398. They may have been the followers of Chaghatay's grandson *Nikūdar* (Negüder ?), who came to Persia with Hulagu but later revolted against Abaqa, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 159. Hindustan stands for the blackness of the locks. The ' Turkish eye ' is to be connected with the Nikūdaris who were operating in Sīstān and south-eastern Persia, ' in the direction of Hindustan '. [See correction at the end.]

7. By an extraordinary chance this particularly puzzling verse has survived in Waṣṣāf's *History*, I, 73, as an illustration to the story of *Marghā'ul*, one of the principal amīrs of the Chaghataid prince Barāq who invaded Khorasan in 667–8/1269–70. Marghā'ul was killed in the final clash with the army of Abaqa in 668/22 July 1270, see Rashīd al-dīn, Russian trans. by Arends, 1946, II, 69–81 (in Jahn's edition, Prag, 1941, 11–23, the end of the chapter is missing). The second hemistich in Waṣṣāf is clear : ' (Marghā'ul) in depredations competes

with the army of *Barāq* ', but, as Marghā'ul was only an amīr of Barāq, the name *Barāq* is suspect. C gives : ' competes with Jārdū Ūrūs '. The length of the first *ū* in Ūrūs is only a *scriptio plena* and does not disturb the metre. Jārdū and Alādū were the two amīrs who, with a *tūmān* of troops, accompanied prince Yisūder in his counter-raid beyond the Oxus, see Rashīd, ed. Jahn (Prag), 29, and this is the only mention of Jārdū. On the other hand, a nephew of the famous Mongol commander Jebe-noyon was called Ūrūs (perhaps in memory of his uncle's campaigns in Russia). He came to Persia with Hulagu and under Abaqa served in Khorasan, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 279. It is even conceivable that Jārdū and Ūrūs form *one* composite name. In any case C looks more specific and genuine.

8. *Qāmān* of D is certainly better than *qūmān* (?) in C, or *qā'ān* in W. *Qmā* is a shaman sorcerer, and *bakhshī* ' a native Mongol scribe '. The *Uyghur* script is written from the top downwards and resembles hanging tresses.

9. *Basqāq* is a Mongol official supervising the provincial administration, especially financial. *Yārghū* is ' a Mongol tribunal, tortures, execution '.

10. *Nerge* (a parallel form of *yerge*, or *jirge*), ' the row of huntsmen forming a *battue* '. Juvaynī, III, 100, describes the *nerge* organized by the army on the Oxus when Hulagu hunted tigers (*shīrān*). *Yisūder* (C), son of Hulagu, is better than *Yasāvur* (D). In 671/1272–3, after complaints about attacks from beyond the Oxus, Abaqa ordered the governor of Khorasan, Yisūder-oghul, son of Hulagu (see v. 7), to march on Bukhara, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), p. 29. The amīr Yasāvur is mentioned only towards 690/1291, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, 26. Instead of *cherīk* (C) I restore **tumān* (**tümen*) from D in view of Jārdū's *tūmān*, see above, v. 7.

11. *Qalān* is often used alongside *qopchūr*. According to Barthold, ' Inschrift der Manuče-Moschee ' (German translation by Hinz, *ZDMG*, CI, 1951, 261), originally *qalān* was collected from the sedentary population, and *qopchūr* from nomads, but later there was a considerable confusion in the terms and their meanings. *Māl*, probably in the general meaning of ' taxes, revenue '. *Kūch*, apart from ' migration ', means also (**güch*) ' (military) aid ' of the vassals to the khan, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 57, 145, 216, 223, 228, 251, 255, 276, 277.

12. The basic meaning of *tamghā* is ' a stamp, a seal '. It was extended to the oppressive non-Islamic levy—originally an octroi at the gates of a town, and then a kind of capital levy—see Minorsky, *BSOAS*, X, 3, 1941, 781. In this verse *tamghāchī* seems to be the official putting a silvery hall-mark on gold, i.e. the silver of tears on the gold of the sallow cheeks. D gives *ashk-i āl-i man* and *tamghā-yi surkh*, ' with my bloodstained tears he apposed a red seal on my sallow cheeks '. This would change the simile by referring it to the stamping of official documents, most of which bore a red seal (*āl-tamghā*), see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 387.[1] Cf. also v. 25. According to Kāmī-efendi Ja'farian gold was called after the Barmakid Ja'far, cf. *Gulistān*, Book III, story 17.

13. *Olagh* is the duty of the population to provide riding animals to officials, see Minorsky, ' A soyūrghāl ', *BSOAS*, IX, 4, 1939, 948. *Yarāltū* occurs in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, 273 : ' although at every *yām* there were 500 horses, there were no two horses fat enough to be ridden by the *elchī-yi*

[1] See also Waṣṣāf, 229, on the right given to Chingsang Buqā to appose the *āl-tamghā* to the *yarlīq*', and Rashid al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, 96, on the changed shape of the *āl-tamghā* (oval instead of square) after the conversion of Ghazan-khan.

yarāltū '. In Mongol *yāral* is ' an urgent business ' ; *-tu* is the suffix of appurtenance (Turkish *-lu*). The approximate meaning is : ' I shall lend my heart to be ridden by the hope of our meeting, in expectation that you will be out of the (present) stage of cruel behaviour '.

14. The hope expressed in 13 was destroyed by the arrival of a messenger who tortured the poet by the announcement that the separation was to last.

15. *Tekishmishi*, or rather **tikishmishi* ' obeisance, standing at attention ' (explained in Waṣṣāf as *muthūl*, see Vullers, I, 453). *Sūrghāmishī* instead of *soyūrghāmishī* ' to favour '. The *w* in *sū-* is a *scriptio plena* and of no account for the metre.

16. My first impression was that the word should be read in Persian: **kaj-āvarī*, with the meaning ' crookedness ', but the combination of *kaj* with *āvardan* is unknown. I now believe that the word is Mongolian **kičē'ür* augmented with the Persian abstract suffix *-ī*, i.e. ' the habits, the behaviour of a **kičē'ür* '. The word must be a *nomen agentis* (originally the name of the tool, see Poppe, *Grammatika*, p. 94) from the stem *kiče-* (*kiči'ē-*), see Poppe, *Muqaddimat*, 219, where it is explained in Turkish as *jahd qïldï*, i.e. ' made an effort, strove, toiled '. Our form would then refer to ' someone exerting himself '. Curiously enough, the word کجاوور occurs in Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 151, in the story of the meeting of amīr Körküz with a page (*ev-oghlan*) who announced himself as Sarṭāq **kijāvūr* (*kicē'ūr*), to which Körküz answered ' and I am Körküz *k.jā'ū* (**kičē'ūr*) ', and thereupon a violent dispute broke out between the two. The declaration of Sarṭāq must have sounded boastful and overbearing and, in the light of what has been said, **kičē'ūr* seems to have the meaning of ' striver, strict official '. Then in our case the poet's complaint would be of a tribunal in which excessive rigour and stricture (*kičē'ūr-ī*) would be used.

17. From this verse onwards the ode is addressed to the patron to whom the poet wishes to submit his dispute with the beloved, who also seems to be no other person than the patron himself. There follows the full enumeration of the offices held by the patron. The second hemistich of 17 could not be deciphered : ' Let us carry (or cut ?) *s.nqārs.q*, that they should believe (or should not believe ?) '.

18. *Tābïshmishī* from *tabïsh-* ' to make peace ' is better than *tā bishmishī kunīm* ' in order that we should show mature judgment ' (**pishmishī* possibly as a calque of Pers. *pukhtagī* ?). However, *bishmishī* is attested in another poem in C, f. 227a. *Qonushmishī* ' conversation ' (?) occurs elsewhere in Pūr-i Bahā and is better than *mujādala* of D and W. The construction of the verse is somewhat loose.

19. *Bilge* ' wise '. *Ulugh bitikchi*, a well-known official in charge of the special chancellery in which correspondence was in Uyghur. *Bitig* ' a letter ', cf. Juvaynī, II, 201. *Bahādurī* ' military valour '. In this case the Mongol titles are probably meant as exotic attributes of the Persian patron.

21. The poet hyperbolically elevates his patron above his actual rank of *ṣāḥib-dīvān*.

22. This verse (D and W), which apparently has been forgotten by the scribe of C, must be inserted at this place ; otherwise the word *khāvarī*, an obvious rhyme, would be unrepresented in the ode. This verse with its reference to the sun prepares the way for v. 23. *Ortaq* ' companion ' is a merchant, who, in company with a prince or a high official, operates with the latter's money.

As it stands, the verse suggests that the *ortaqs*, having travelled east and west, have brought the rising sun as a *tansuq* (' rarity '). During their journey they travelled all the way with (or by virtue of) the patron's title. So long as the dedicatee of the ode was supposed to be 'Izz al-dīn Ṭāhir (see Daulatshāh) the hint at his title (*'izz* ' grandeur, glory ') remained obscure, but if the ode was dedicated to Shams al-dīn Juvaynī, the *ortaqs* were travelling east and west with *shams*, ' the Sun ', and brought *khurshīd* (in Persian ' the Sun ') to *shams*. Kāmī-efendi (W), who apparently did not know the real dedicatee, was obliged to translate : ' the Sun having become a companion (*ortaq*) in your title has brought you *tansuqs* from east and west '.

23. *Kiryās* as explained in Persian dictionaries is ' a palace '. Contrary to their indications, the word is not Arabic but Mongolian. The term, see Pelliot—Hambis, 187, refers to a place where the persons penetrating into the palace have to leave their horses in the care of their attendants. See *Secret history*, §§ 131, 229 : *kiriäs*. Kozin's edition of this text gives *kilues*, коновязь. In support of this reading one can quote the frontier-post on the Soviet–Persian frontier (Mughān) called Кильвяз, *Kilväz. In the Russian translation of the corresponding passage of Rashīd al-dīn, I, 2, 91–2, O. Smirnova also translates *kiriās* by коновязь (' tethering rail '). Rashīd al-dīn (Blochet, 457) describes the palace (*qarši*) which Qubilay built in Daidu (Peking) which had four walls : ' the external for *kiryās*, the internal for the meetings of the amīrs, the third for the *kezik-bān* (guards), and the fourth for the courtiers '. Waṣṣāf, 229, interprets *kiryās* as *rabaḍ* ' a suburb '. Among Öljeytü's constructions in Sultaniya, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, ed. K. Bayānī, p. 9, mentions ' a *dīvān-khāna* (audience hall) for two thousand people, which they called *kiryās* '.

24. *Qulirtay* is a metathesis for the well-known *quriltay* ' a great convent of princes '. *Kengäč* (in Persian *kangāč*) is ' consultation ' of amīrs, etc. Assuming that the ode was dedicated to Shams al-dīn Juvaynī, the reason of the reference to the ' kingdom of Sanjar ' may be either the greatness of Sultan Sanjar's rule, or the particular link of Shams al-dīn with his fatherland lying on the border of Sanjar's dominions in the twelfth century.

25. Marco Polo, book II, ch. 7, describes the *pāyze*, ' tablets of authority ', and confirms that the highest class had a lion's head on them, see ed. Yule, I, 352–3. The text of C has been read accordingly. In the second hemistich *sunqurī*, from *sunqur* ' falcon ', may refer to some special class of messengers, or describe the rapidity of the messenger ' flying like a falcon '. Cf. the story told by a Turkish mamlūk travelling on behalf of Hulagu-khan, in G. Levi della Vida, *Orientalia*, IV, 3–4, 1935, 361 : *wa akhadhtu ma'ī 'asharata akādīsh wa 'allaqtu fī 'unqī al-ṭaghma, ya'nī lauḥ al-barīd*, where apparently **tamgha* (even perhaps **āl-tamgha*) plays the rôle of a *pāyze*.

26. *Tutqāvul*, see Budagov, *Sravn. slovar turestsko-tatar. narečiy*, 1869, 743 : ' the catcher ' ; the reference to the roads is another confirmation that the *tutqāvuls* were road-guards.

27. *Sūsījiyān* is a very difficult term. Seeing that they played a rôle at the feasts (*toy*) it is likely that this is a dissimilated form for **süchi-ji*, from *süjük/süchü/süchi* ' a sweet drink '. This will suit *ayāq* ' goblet '. The question is complicated by the fact that, among the classes of Ghāzān-khan's courtiers, Waṣṣāf, 456, mentions *sūsūnchiyān*. According to Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, 218, *ūlāgh* and *sūsūn* were contributions from which the priests of various religions were exempted. Theoretically the *sūsūnchiyān* would be collectors or

providers of *šūsün*, 'rations'. The word is discussed by Pelliot, 'Notes sur le Turkestan de Barthold', in *T'oung-Pao*, XXVIII, 1930, 37. He stresses the fact that the *sūsūnchī* are usually mentioned together with the *yāmchī*. In such a capacity the *sūsūnchī* would hardly figure at a feast. In our context, I still consider my first explanation of *sūsījī* as more appropriate.[1] The object compared with the moon is *munghur*, 'poculum maius vini', Vullers, II, 1220.

28. *Bāvurchī* is 'a cook'. According to the authorities quoted by Vullers, II, 498, *shīre* (in *turkī-yi Khitā'ī*) 'mensa quadrangularis, cui panes, opera dulciaria, fructus et salinum imponuntur et qua in conviviis utuntur'. Cf. Budagov, 680. This meaning suits our case perfectly. However, in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 483, *shīre* refers to a writing desk. *Āsh-i 'aṭā* are the meals (thick soup) distributed to the people on solemn occasions.

29. *Akhtāchī* 'grooms, herdsmen of the studs'. In the second hemistich the critical word seems to read **malābis* 'clothing'. *Malābis-i ḥujra* might refer to rugs. The idea seems to be that the stables rise to the sky, where the rugs have to be shaken. Should we read ملاهی مجره (?), the meaning would be that the grooms, in their eyrie, amuse themselves with playing some kind (?) of music.

30. *Qūshchī* is 'a falconer'. *Qarātqū* is a rare word standing for the 'lure'. See J. E. Harding's notes to *A perfect book for keeping sparhawks* (written about 1575), London, 1886, 44: '*Lure*. Technically a bunch of feathers, or couple of wings tied together on a piece of leather, and weighted. Being garnished with raw meat, the hawk is always fed upon it. Hence, when swung aloft, it serves to lure the hawk back to the falconers'. The Turkish commentator explains the word by *baftara*, a Persian term for such a contraption, see Vullers, I, 252, explained in Turkish: *quš qanadïndan edüp toghan caghïrdïqlarï* 'instrumentum ex plumis avium factum quo falcones et accipitres alliciuntur'. The nearest form to our *qarātqū* is found in Zenker, *Dict. turc*, 677, *qarāltghū* (?). In our verse, the falconer, for his *qarātqū*, has plucked the wings of the (constellation) Eagle (*al-Nasr al-Ṭā'ir*) to serve as the pluming of the *tīr-i kabūtarī*. The latter term seems to refer to the original arrow plumed with pigeon feathers (*qarātghū*), or perhaps to hint at the swiftness of the flight of the arrow.

31. *Surghāmishī* (for *soyūrghāmishī*) 'favours'. *Qorchi* 'archer' (from Mong. *qor* 'quiver'). *Kötelchi*—'the man in charge of a led horse (*kötel*)'.

32. The second hemistich is not quite satisfactory for a repetition of *kötelchi* just used in v. 31 is unlikely. *Dar-khorī* should be interpreted as '*a* suitable person'. The original pronunciation would be *dar-khorē* but *ē* and *ī* had been confused already in Niẓāmī's poems, as shown by J. Rypka.

33. C gives *arandaq* (?) which is unknown, or *orunduq* (?) 'a chest for keeping things' which is unsuitable. W *bar-gashta-and andaq ū charkh chanbarī* has no sense. D (Browne) **burunduq* is better. *Burunduq* is a head-rope, a halter to lead a camel. The meaning would be that the patron's favourites are led by Heaven as if on a leash.

34. *Yāsāq* is the same word as *yāsā*, here used in the sense of punishment.

35. The usual figure of speech (*laff-u-nashr*): **du-shākha* for the neck,

[1] In Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, ed. Tauer, *Archiv Orientální*, VII, 1934, 447, one finds *sūchī* for 'cup-bearer'. Would this be a further simplification of the word?

and *kalandarī* for the legs. This verse is quoted in Vullers, II, 870 (from *Farhang-i shu'ūrī*) where one reads *du-shākha* and *kalandara*.

36. *Arghamchi* is a rope with a noose (in Russian АРКАН), see Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 156. *Chilbur* 'a head-rope', see *Secret history*, § 131. The groom fastens the rope round the enemy's neck to lead him as a captive. D and W give *du-chanbarī* (*tū-chanbarī*) apparently 'a double noose' (?).

37. *Ayghaq* 'a reporter, a calumniator'.

38. *Yādā-īshī* in C must be a mis-spelling for the frequent form in *-mishī*: **yādāmīshī*, from Turkish *yadamaq* 'to be needy, worn out'. Cf. Mongol *yada-ba*, 'he became tired', in Ibn-Muhannā (Poppe). As it stands, it is a Persian adjective from the Turkish verbal noun **yadayish*.

39. *Jamghar* can be both a personal Turkish name, see Tiesenhausen, *Materials for the history of the Golden Horde* (in Russian), 1884, 540, and the name of a place. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 30, mentions a *Ṣāmghar* (with *ṣ* for *č* ?) on the way from Farghana to Khujand, cf. Muqaddasī, 341. 'The Jamgharī prisoners' are a puzzle, unless the reference is to some prisoners of the Chaghataid army captured in 668/1270, see above, v. 7.

40. *Saughāt* 'a present brought from a journey'.

41. *Örgejüt* (*örgüjüt* ?) is found in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 89: *va ba-ism-i* اورکجوت *ba-har mardī ū-rā dah akhtā dādand* 'and, as **örkäjüt*, they gave him two geldings for each (of his) men'. Pelliot—Hambis, 241, derives the word from *örge-* (Poppe, loc. cit., 278) 'to supply someone with something', although at the same place a verb *örgü-* is also given with the meaning 'to nurse, to raise'. The word is now clear but the metre would require the reading **örükjüt-i ni'mat*. Another example of the use of **örgejüt* is found in Waṣṣāf, 511 (spelt: *urkujūt*).

42. For *s.rgh.t* (D ed. Browne, *s.rghūt*) there are two possibilities. Budagov, 626, quotes *sarghut* as 'favour, nourishment' and explains it as *ni'mat*, *rizq*, *in'ām*. On the other hand Budagov, 626, gives *sïrghut*, *surghut* 'a last gulp', cf. Radloff, IV, 546: *sorqut* 'der Schluck, der Trunk, der Rest im Glase'. Budagov explains that the last gulp, or the last morsel, are offered as a favour to the youngest member at the feast, or the youngest member himself accepts it as a token of respect for his elders. As in v. 42 *s.rgh.t* is connected with the words 'to drink' and a 'goblet' it is preferable to take **sorghut* in its technical meaning. Kāmī-efendi (W) reads *sharāb-i tavāngarī* and explains it as the 'parting cup' offered at the end of the feast.

43. *Yarïshmishi* is correct for 'racing competitions'.

46. This verse is very curious as a peaceful delimitation of affairs of state and religion. Cf. Minorsky, 'Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī on finance', in *BSOAS*, X, 3, 1941, 780, on the coexistence and amalgamation of the Sharī'at and the *yāsā*.

47. *Isrāmishī* in D is better than *isrī-mishī* in C; *īsrāmaq* is well-known as 'to spare, to protect'. Cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), p. 27; ed. 'Alī-zādeh (Baku), p. 138. The word *tengri*, as a Turkish substitute for *Allāh*, is a great feat of the poet's inventiveness and skill in ending his long *qaṣīda*. It is as striking as **hījāvurī* of his opening line.

§ 4. Pūr-i Bahā in his Milder Mood

In the collection of Pūr-i Bahā's poems belonging to the British Museum the poet appears chiefly as a satirist, at times coarse but usually full of mordancy

and amusing resource. He seems to have had great disappointments in the turmoil of events (*dar kashākash-i bulghāq*, as he says), but at least one very personal poem (BM. Or. 9213, f. 63b) shows him as a lover of bucolic life enjoying the good things of this Earth. Like the ode on the earthquake in Nishapur, partly translated by E. G. Browne, l.c., this poem is written in very pure and fluent Persian, and as it throws a new light on Pūr-i Bahā's personality, I wish to quote it as an appendix, to moderate the impression of the 'Altaic' abstruseness of some of his *qaṣīdas*, which may have been the mask of a satirist expressing his incompatibility with the 'new order'. Knowing the violent persiflage to which Pūr-i Bahā subjects his enemies, we may find the assurances of *satyagraha* which he gives in his shorter poem slightly exaggerated, unless we admit that his placidity was restricted to his own class of gentlemanly squires (*āzād-mard*). No one, however, will suspect the sincerity of the catalogue of his affections, in which are mirrored the ideals of peaceful retirement, which are nostalgically cherished in all stormy epochs.

1. Praise to God that, as long as I have existed,
   Not once did cupidity and avarice disturb me.
2. No one, because of me, has spent a night in grief,
   No one has been afflicted by me for a day.
3. Never have I bent my back from greed,
   Nor made my face pale out of envy.
4. I have been the cause of no pain,
   But rather a remedy for pain.
5. Let me not be a free (noble) man (*āzād-mard*), if I have plotted,
   Or intended to plot, against a free man.
6. I am content to sit quietly in a corner,
   Free from sorrow and exempt from blame and quarrel.
7. I am fond of a few small things in the world,
   And when deprived of them, it is better to roll up (the carpet of) the story:
8. A cheerful place, new clothes, a pleasant smell,
   A good face, a few books of wisdom and a backgammon board,
9. A true friend, a sound of strings, a cup of wine,
   A pot of fat meat, a hot loaf and (a draught of) cold water.
10. I shall not turn away from these, so long as I am alive,
    And if you too are a man of reason, follow my example.
11. Drink wine and wash away the dust (of sorrow) from your life
    Before the turning vault has turned you to dust.
12. If from the first, the earth has been the stamping ground of a man,
    In the end the earth will get him underfoot.
13. Do not prefer 'credit to cash',[1] and strive
    Not to be divorced from pleasures for a moment.

[Some friends have suggested to me that this poem must belong either to Sanā'ī or to Anvarī. I have failed to find it in the *dīvān* of the former (Tehran,

[1] i.e the promises of Paradise to the available pleasures of this world.

1278) and in the *kulliyāt* of the latter (Lucknow, 1297), but now M. Minovi points out to me that the poem is included in the new edition of Sanā'ī by Mudarris-i Raḍavi, pp. 776–7. This discovery seems to be conclusive but it will remain to be verified whether a collector of poetry, or a scribe, has not incorporated in the *dīvān* of an earlier poet a favourite poem belonging to a later time. We know of the 'wandering' *rubā'īs* attributed to 'Omar Khayyam !]

§ 5. List of Terms Explained

(References are to verses.)

abjira 3
akhtāchi 29
al-tamghā 12
arandaq (?) 33
arghamchi 36
ayghaq 37
baftara 30
bakhshī 8
basqāq 9
bāvurchi 28
bilge 19
bitig 19
bulghāq 6, 39
bulūk 2
burunduq 33
cherīk 6
chilbur 36
du-chanbarī 36
du-shākha 35
elchi 13
hījā'urī 1
isrāmishī 47
Ja'farī (zar) 12
Jamghar 39
Jārdū Ūrūs 7
kalandarī 35
kengäch 24
kezīk 23
kijāvurī 16
kiryās 23
kötelchi 31
kūch 11
māl 11
malābis 29
Marghā'ul 7
mori 3
munghur 27
naukar 1
nerge 10
Nikūdarī 6
no'īn 2
olāgh 13
örgejūt 41
ortāq 22
pāyze 25
qalān 11
qām 8
qarātqū 30
qonushmishī 18
qopchur 11
qulirtāy (quriltāy) 24
qushchī 30
ṣāḥib-dīvān 21
sarghut 42
saughāt 40
sharāb-i tavāngarī 42
shīra 28
s.nqārs.q 17
soyūrghāmishi (surghamishi) 15, 31
sunqurī 25
surghut 40
sūsījī 27
sūsūn 27
tābīshmishī 18
taghār 4
tamghā 12, 25
tansūq 22
tekishmishi 15
tū-chanbarī (?) 36
tutqāvul 26
tuzghū 4
ulugh bitikchi 19
Uzbekī 1
yādā'ishī 38
yām, yāmchi 3
yarāltū 13
yarghū 9
yārishmishi 43
yarlīgh 5
yāsā 5
yasāq 34
Yisūder 10
zar-i Ja'farī 12

§ 6. Persian Text

قصیدهٔ مغولیه پور بها

1 ای کرده روح با لب لعل تو نوکری
*معشـــوق ازبکی ونکـــار هیجـــاوری

2 نوین نیکوانی واندر بلوک تو
حوران هزار مرده ومیران صد پری

3 در یام نور یامچی افتاب را
کفت ایلچی حسن تو هی ابجره مری

4 *تزغوچی نبات بتزغو لب ترا
از قند صد تغار بریزد بساوری

5 در یرلغ غم تو ز بس یاساهای سخت
خون شد دل ملوک ورعایا ولشکری

6 هندوستان زلف ترا چشم ترک تو
بلغاق کرده همچو مغول نکودری

7 مرغاول فراق تو در ملک جان کند
با جاردو اوروس بغارت برابری

8 *قامان طرّهای تو چون کلک بخشیان
کردند مشق بر رخ تو خط ایغوری

9 تا باسقاق عشق تو در ملک دل نشست
در یارغوی هجر تو برخاست داوری

10 کردند نرکه بر لب جیحون چشم من
خیل خیال تو چو چریک یسودری

11 کوچ و قلان خویش بدیوان عشق تو
گه جان دهم بمالی و گه سر بقبچوری

12 تمغاجی غم تو زد از اشک چشم من
تمغای سیم بر ورق زر جعفری

13 داذم الاغ دل بیرلتوی وصل تو
کفتم مکر زیام جفا زود بکذری

14 خود ایلچی هجر تو ناکاه در رسید
بکرفت اسب عقلم و جان خواست بر سری

15 کردم تکشمشی لبت جان *به بوسهٔ
سورغامشی نمیکنی از راه کافری

جان بستدی و بوسه تُلاوت نمیدهی
در یاسهٔ کذام شهست این کجاوری

17 با یارغوی صاحب اعظم درین سخن
سنقارسق(؟) بریم بدارند باوری

18 تابشمشی کنیم بهم بی قنشمشی (Var. در مجادله)
این قصه پیش صاحب دیوان بیکسری

19 بلکا الغ بتکچی قاآن اعظم آنک
دارد ره بتکچی و رسم بهادری

20 ای صاحبی که هست ز یرغوی حکم تو
ترک و مغول و تازیک ورومی و بربری

21 تو صاحب زمانی و عالم بحکم تست
چه جای آنکه صاحب دیوان و دفتری

22 ارتاق کشت با لقبت تا بشرق و غرب
تنسوق برد برای تو خورشید خاوری

23 اوردوی افتاب که خوانندش آسمان
کریاس قدرتست برفعت چو بنکری

24 دولت بدرگه تو قلرتای (کذا) کرده بوذ
کنکاج کرد وداد بتو ملک سنجری

25 حکمت دوان به پایزهٔ سر بشیر شاه
اندر بسیط ملک چو ایلچی سنقری

26 تتغاولان عهد تو در راه مملکت
بستند دست فتنه و جور و ستمکری

27 سوسیجیان طوی تو چون داشتند ایاق
کرد افتاب ساغری وماه منغری

28 بر شیرهٔ عطای تو آش سخا نهند
باورچیان بکاسهٔ زرین مشتری

29 اختاجیان خاص جلال تو میزنند
بر آسمان ملابس(؟) حجره بر آخری

30 قوشـــچی همت تـو ز بهر قراتقوی
بـــر کنـــد بـال نسر ببـال کبوتر ی
31 یابذ بدولت تـو که سرغـامشی کنی
قـرجیت خسروی و کتلجیـــت قیصری
32 آصف که بـــذ وزیر سلیمان روزکـــار
بعهد دولتت بکتل جیت (کذا) در خوری
33 هر کش عنـــایت تو اغرلامشی کنـــد
بر سرکشد ارنـدق (*برندق) [این] چرخ چنیری
34 وانکس که او رسید به یاساق قهر تو
در خاک قهر خشت لحـــد کـردش اخکری
35 بر کردن مخالف و بر پـــای دشمنت
نکبت کنـد دوشاخی (*دوشاخه) ومحنت کلندری
36 اختـــاچی سیـــاستت آرغمجی اجـــل
در کـــردن عـــدوی تـو بنـــدد بچلبری
37 ایغاق دولت تـو از ان سر بیـاذ داذ
کین دولتیست تازه نه کاریست سرسری
38 پوربها دعاجی درگاه دولت اســـت
یادایشی شـــذست غم او نمی خـــوری
39 مـاندست در کشاکش بلغـــاق روزکـــار
بی برک و بی نوا چو اسیران جمغـــری
40 سوغات حضرت تـو فرستاذم این دعـــا
یاذش مکـــر بخاطر عـاطـــر در آوری
41 کـر دولتت ارکجت نعمت فرستذش
از راه لطف و مکـرمت و بنـــده پروری
42 نو شذ مکر ز سرغت انعام عام تـــو
دز طوی بخشش تو ایـــاق تـــوانکری
43 یـارشمشی کنـــد چو کنی تربیت ورا
در نظم با نظامی و قطبی (*قطران) وعنصری

44 هرگز نگفته اند درین اصطلاح شعر
فردوسی و دقیقی و بندار و انوری
45 نشنوده است در عرب و در عجم کسی
زین سان قصیدهٔ ز معزی و بحتری
46 تا هست کار ملک بیاساق پادشاه
تا هست حکم شرع بدین پیمبری
47 در حفظ خویش ایزدت اسری‌مشی کناذ
پاینده باذ دولتت از فضل تنکری

APPENDIX *

1 شکر ایزدرا که تا من بوده ام — آز و حرصم یکزمان رنجه نکرد
2 هیچکس از من شبی غمکین نخفت — هیچکس روزی نبود از من بدرد
3 از طمع هرگز ندادم پشت خم — وز حسد هرگز نکردم روی زرد
4 هیچ دردی را نبودم من سبب — بلکه بودم جمله را درمان درد
5 نیستم ازاد مرد ار کرده ام — یا کنم من قصد هیچ ازاد مرد
6 با سلامت قانعم در گوشهٔ — خالی از غم فارغ از ننک و نبرد
7 چند چیزک دوست دارم در جهان — چون کذشتی زان حدیث اندر نورد
8 جای خرم جامهٔ نو بوی خوش — روی خوب وکتب حکمت تخت نرد
9 یار نیک و بانک رود وجام می — دیک چرب و نان کرم واب سرد
10 بر نخواهم گشت از این تا زنده ام — ور خرد داری توهم زین بر مکرد
11 گرد غم بفشان بمی خوردن ز عمر — پیش از آن کز توبر ارد چرخ کرد
12 کر ز اوّل پایهٔ مَردست خاک — هم بآخر پایهٔ خاکست مرد
13 نسیه را بر نقد مگزین و بکوش — تا نمانی یکزمان از عیش فرد

Correction.—Note to verse 2. According to Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 1959, 1963, under Nos. 8, 122, 296, the names of the Chingizid princes are likely to be *Tegüder. J. A. Boyle, *Islamic Studies* (Karachi), 1963, II/2, pp. 212, 217, connects the name of the Nīkūdariyān with the Mongol commander in the region of Ghazni Nīkūdar, *Negüder. Cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 139, ed. Alizadeh, 330.

* Even in the light of my second article on Pūr-i Baha (*v.i.* No. 17) the attribution of this bucolic poem (Br. Mus. Or. 9213, f. 63b) to our poet looks unlikely [1964].

PŪR-I BAHĀ AND HIS POEMS

THE poet Pūr-i Bahā of Jām merits more attention than has been given him either in his own country or in the West.[1] He was a native of Jām in Khorasan, better known as having given birth to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (817–98/1414–92). Pūr-i Bahā lived about two centuries before his famous townsman, in the second half of the thirteenth century, when Mongol il-khans were ruling in Persia.

So long as our knowledge of Pūr-i Bahā's poetical heritage was based on anthologies it was premature to attempt to form a general idea on his work, but recently more material on the poet has come to light.

First of all, in E. G. Browne's collection of manuscripts (now in the Cambridge University Library) there exists a collection of poems of the pre-Timurid period, *Majmū'a-yi dīvān-hā-yi qadīm*,[2] which its former owner apparently had not yet had before his eyes when he was writing vol. 3 of his *Literary History of Persia*. This valuable collection of poems, in the part devoted to Pūr-i Bahā, quotes five of his *qaṣīdas*,[3] and among them the famous 'Mongol' *qaṣīda* full of difficult Mongol and Eastern-Turkish words. It contains 46 verses, i.e. 21 verses more than quoted by Daulat-shāh. We know now that the ode was dedicated to Shams al-dīn Juvaynī and this alone enables us to decipher many obscure hints and allusions.[4]

A more important new source on our poet is an extensive collection of his poems which figures among the more recent acquisitions of the British Museum.[5] It was copied in Ḥaydar-ābād (Deccan) on 1 Rajab 1029/2 June 1620 for the library of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb-shāh.[6]

Here is its colophon (f. 98a):

در دار السلطنه حیدراباد لا زالت مصونة عن الشر والفساد برسم خزانة . . .
سب (؟) اعلیحضرت خدیو زمان و دارای دوران السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان

[1] The fullest account of Pūr-i Bahā is in E. G. Browne, *LHP*, III, 111–15, and 177, who collected the facts about the poet from the anthologies of *Daulatshāh*, pp. 181–5, *Haft-Iqlīm*, *Ātaš-kada* and *Majma' al-Fuṣaḥā*, and quoted 18 verses from a poem (consisting of 68 verses, Cambridge, f. 224a–225b), one quatrain and the opening verse of the 'Mongol poem' (translated by Hammer in his *Geschichte der Ilchane*, 1840, pp. 460–2). At present this account needs a complete overhauling.

[2] Mark V. 65 (7), see the *Descriptive Catalogue* of the collection, 1932, p. 225. The MS was very carefully transcribed by a Mahmūd-shāh b. Naqīb in Shiraz in 827/1424.

[3] On the earthquake of Nishapur—68 verses; the 'Mongol' *qasīda*—46 verses; the rhyme in *-mishī*—30 verses; the rhyme in *-ar*—28 verses; the *radīf* in *rūḥ*—29 verses.

[4] See Minorsky, 'Pūr-i Bahā's Mongol ode', in *BSOAS*, 1956, XVIII/2, 261–78. [See above, article No. 16.]

[5] Or. 9213. 'Bought of D. J. Macaulay 12 May 1923.' I learn from Professor C. A. Storey that the late Major Macaulay had purchased a small collection of Persian MSS from a *maulvi* in Delhi.

[6] Who ruled 1020–35/1612–26. Omitted in Lane Poole, see Sir W. Haig in *EI*. Cf. Minorsky, 'The Qara-qoyunlu and the Quṭb-shāhs', *BSOAS*, 1955, XVII/1, p. 51.

الخاقان بن الخاقان بن الخاقان سلطان محمد قطبشاه لا زال ظلال رأفته على مفارق العالمين این کتاب سمت اتمام پذیرفت در تاریخ غرهٔ شهر رجب المرجّب سنه ۱۰۲۹ کتبه العبد الداعی نظام الدین احمدبن عبدالله شیرازی عفی عنه.

According to *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (GMS, p. 816) the divan of Pūr-i Bahā was well-known, yet the title *Kitāb-i Pūr-i Bahā* which appears in our MS might suggest that it is not a complete collection of the poet's works. In fact some of the poems quoted in anthologies, and among them, surprisingly, the 'Mongol' ode, do not occur in the MS. Consequently it is possible that the MS may represent a rearrangement of incomplete copies and anthologies. However, the clear imprint of the author's personality and peculiar style guarantees the genuineness of the great majority of the poems. [But *v.s.* Annex to article No. 16.]

The manuscript consists of the following sections:

1. 39 *qaṣīdas* (and satires)—ff. 1–59b.
2. 12 *muqaṭṭa'āt*—ff. 60b–73a.
3. A *tarkīb-band* (nine couplets)—ff. 73a–76b.
4. *mathnavī dar kār-nāma-yi auqāf-i Khwāf*—ff. 77a–89b.
5. Two *ghazals*—ff. 89b–90a.
6. 77 *rubā'īs*—ff. 90b–97b.
7. Colophon—f. 98a.

The prevalent and distinctive feature of Pūr-i Bahā's odes is the combination of encomium and blame in the same poem. He praises his patron and in the meantime gives vent to his censure of some enemy. Most of the *qaṣidas* are inscribed: *dar madḥ-i fulān va dar hajv-i fulān.*

We shall first give an alphabetical list of the patrons (adding an asterisk to the folios when the same ode censures some person on the black list which is given lower down)[1]:

'Alā al-dīn (Juvaynī), the late khwāja ṣāḥib-dīvān—11b, 21a, *37b.

Bahā al-dīn, the late khwāja ṣāḥib-divān (son of Šams al-dīn Juvaynī)—24b, 26b, 33a, *43b, 50a, 52b.

'Izz al-dīn Ṭāhir, the late khwāja—4a, *13b, *15a, *28b, *43b, *61b, *64a, 66b.

Mu'īn al-dīn, the late ṣāḥib-i mu'aẓẓam—9b, 31a, 37a, 40b, 41b, 42b.

Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī, khwāja—*22b.

Qutlugh-Šāh, malik, son of 'Alī-malik—*39b.

Šams al-dīn, khwāja-yi a'ẓam, ṣāḥib-dīvān (Juvaynī)—6a, *18a, 51b, 56a, 58a.

Šaraf al-dīn Qānchi,[2] the late ṣāḥib khwāja—8b, 9a, *48b.

Tāj al-dīn, maulānā (Pūr-i Bahā's reply to him ?)—6b.

[1] The post-mortem indications, 'the late', are definitely due to the editor of the collection.

[2] *Qānchi* (*qa'ānchi*) were the agents in charge of the qa'ān's herds of camels and sheep for which the sovereign provided them with pasturages and staff. See Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, pp. 339–40, and ed. 'Alī-zādeh, p. 535 (who quotes a variant: *ghānchi*).

Vajīh al-dīn, the late ṣāḥib, khwāja (son of 'Izz al-dīn Ṭāhir)—10b, 73a (a *tarkīb-band*).

And here are the black sheep (with an asterisk when they are included in a panegyric):

'Alā Ūzī—*15.

Aṣīl al-dīn Yūsuf K.rūrūdī—*61b.

'Imād al-dīn, qāḍī—*13b, *22b, 34b, *43b.

Najīb na'lband (' horse-shoer ')—*37b, 48b.

Najm-i Asfar (nā'ib of 'Alā al-dīn Juvaynī, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, Prag, p. 48)—*18a (on his arrival in Juvayn), *28b.

Sayf al-dīn, 'amīd—*13b, *24b, 32a, 34a, 36a, 55a (parody of a poem by Ẓahīr-i Faryābī), 63a, *64a.

Šaraf Fāfā (a stuttering Turk ?)—*39b.

The chief patrons of Pūr-i Bahā were the high officials of the reign of Abāqā (663–80/1265–82), and above all Ṣāḥīb khwāja 'Izz al-dīn Tāhir Faryūmadī, who already held an eminent position in Khorasan at the time of Hulagu and who under Abaqa was appointed vazīr of Khorasan. 'Izz al-dīn Tāhir was closely connected with the great statesmen of the Juvaynī family, Šams al-dīn, the Ṣāhib-dīvān, and 'Alā al-dīn, the historian and administrator. Šams al-dīn's son Bahā al-dīn married a daughter of 'Izz al-dīn Ṭāhir. After the accession of Arghūn, 'Alā al-dīn died in disgrace (5 March 1283), Šams al-dīn was executed (16 October 1284) and so was 'Izz al-dīn's son Vajīh al-dīn (7 January 1287), under the pretext of having tried to poison the il-khan. Our poet was most closely attached to all these statesmen and after their deaths and executions [1] could not have lived happily. It remains to be seen whether any of his poems can be detected reflecting the period after his patrons' disappearance.

Some further dates can be culled from Pūr-i Bahā's poems. In a long ode he praises the restoration of Nishapur in 669/1270 (after the earthquake of 666/1267), in the reign of Abaqa-khan, ' the Nūshīrvān of our time, the lord of the World, the Sovereign of the Earth, the World-conqueror, foe-binder ', etc. The satirical poem *Kār-nāma-yi auqāf-i Khwāf* (Br. Mus. MS, f. 89b) contains the date of its composition :

مانده بد هفت روزماه رجب * کین سخن از زبان رسید بلب
ششصد وشصت وهفت از هجرت * بود و پنجه زاوّل فترت

i.e. on the 24th of Rajab 667/29 March 1269 from the Hijra, ' and fifty years from the beginning of the *interregnum* ', with a clear reference to the Mongol invasion in 617/1220. The ' Mongol ' ode already mentioned seems to have been written under the fresh impression of the invasion of the Čaghatayid prince Boraq (Baraq ?) in Khorasan (668–71/1270–2). In another poem

[1] See Rashīd al-dīn, *Tārīkh-i Ghazānī*, ed. K. Jahn, Prag 1941, pp. 8, 48, 67, 74, etc., and Muḥammad Qazvīnī's Introduction to the *Jihān-gushāy*, I, 1912 (on the Juvaynī family).

(Br. Mus. MS, f. 35b) Pūr-i Bahā speaks of Šams al-dīn Kart as still alive, while this king died in Tabriz in Ša'bān 676 (about 10 January 1278 (see *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt*, ed. M. Z. Ṣiddīqī, p. 356).

The poet's name must have been *Tāj al-dīn, son of Bahā al-dīn (Br. Mus. MS, f. 5a : Tāj-i Bahā), but in anthologies he is known as Pūr-i Bahā, which form appears as his *takhalluṣ*. Vassāf, Bombay ed., 109, quotes a verse on the death of Majd al-mulk Yazdī (8 Jam. 1681/14 Aug. 1282) composed by a Bahā al-dīn Jāmī who may be the father of our poet, unless instead of Bahā we should assume (**Pūr-i*) Bahā al-dīn. From the *mathnavī* on the *auqāf* of Khwāf dedicated to khwāja 'Izz al-dīn and his son Vajīh al-dīn (Br. Mus. MS, 78a–b) we may infer that the author himself had some relation to the administration of the *vaqfs* in Khwāf. In fact his attacks on its members reflect an intimate acquaintance with their weaknesses and scandals. In an ode addressed to Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī (Br. Mus. MS, f. 22b) the poet explains that from the time of the Samanids his ancestors were honourably known in Jām as scholars, muftīs, and qāḍīs. Their ruin was caused by a newcomer from Bākharz called Qāḍī 'Imād al dīn, who apparently assumed the rôle of the local governor. Pūr-i Bahā admits his own incompetence to hold the office of qāḍī but asks for his relative Ṣāḥib al-dīn to be appointed as *nā'ib* (deputy governor) of Jām.[1] [See above, article No. 5.]

All these details indicate the poet's social standing as a petty nobleman, capable, but of no particular qualifications, whom circumstances obliged to seek employment outside his own home. As suggested in anthologies, Pūr-i Bahā, in attendance on his patrons, may have visited north-western Iran, but his native province definitely occupied the nearest range of his panorama : the World—Iran—Khorasan :

جهانرا تهنیت کویم ندانم یا خراسانرا
مبارک باد عالم را خصوصا ملک ایرانرا

Even the mere statistics of Pūr-i Bahā's poems (see above) show the small part which lyrics hold in his production. There is nothing much to say about his ghazals, but a short poem (Br. Mus. MS, f. 63b), written in a peaceful and almost bucolic tone,[2] is sufficient to arouse the reader's curiosity. His quatrains confirm the impression that the poet tries to go his own way and displays a perfect skill in the use of his mother-tongue.

ای جامهٔ هجر را درونم مفرش
وی تیر غمت را دل مسکین ترکش
در عشق توکر زکیش بر می آید
قربان توگشتم و گرفتم ترکش

[1] This application to Naṣīr al-dīn may be connected with the latter's appointment to the inspectorship of the vaqfs. This happened towards the end of Abaqa's reign and Naṣīr al-dīn

My inner being is the *sac de nuit* for the (mourning) clothes of separation (from thee),
My poor heart is the quiver (*kīš*) for the arrows of grief for thee.
If in love for thee good faith (*kīš*) can bear it,
I have fallen your victim (*qurbān*) and abandoned the (religion).[1]

The quatrain is untranslatable in its concision but in the original the words and queer meanings come naturally in their places. Another *rubā'ī* gives a measure of the poet's assertive nature :

آنکس که بصدق سر بر افراشت منم
وآنکس که ره نفاق بکذاشت منم
آنکس که بجنک و صلح با دشمن و دوست
پیوسته دل و زبان یکی داشت منم

He who raised his head for Truth is I,
He who abandoned the way of Duplicity is I,
He who in war and peace, with enemies and friends,
Kept always his heart and tongue at one is I.

The major part of Pūr-i Bahā's work (ff. 1–73) is taken up by *qaṣīdas* and *muqaṭṭa'āt* (very similar to the *qaṣīdas*, except perhaps in their reduced length). *Qaṣīdas* are a genre over-exploited in Persian poetry. By definition panegyrics are fulsome but, strangely enough, with the spread of *ṣūfī* uniformity, *qaṣīdas*, in the hands of the better poets, such as Anvarī, Khāqānī, etc., often gave vaster opportunities for the general display of the poet's skill, brilliant similes, and vivacity of colour and expression.

As already stated, the originality of Pūr-i Bahā's *qaṣīdas* lies in their combination of encomium with blame. By his temperament and inclination our poet was a satirist and thus belonged to a class poorly represented in Persian literature, and still less explored by Iranian scholars. In his attacks on his enemies Pūr-i Bahā is more personal than 'Ubayd-i Zākānī (d. in 772/1371),

died on a tour of inspection in 672/1274, see *EI*, s.v. *Tūsī*, and Minovi and Minorsky in *BSOS*, x/3, 1941, p. 767. [See above, article No. 5.]

[2] See *BSOAS*, 1956, XVIII/1, p. 278. [Authorship doubtful. See above, article No. 16.]

[1] *Tirkaš* ' a quiver ', but *tark-aš giriftan* ' to leave it ', as suggested by my friend Professor A. A. Hekmat. *Qorbān* ' a victim, or a case for the bow ', cf. Juvaynī, III, pp. 296–8. [Persian poets like to puzzle their readers and the meaning of the last line of the quatrain admits of several interpretations. In fact the combination of **tark* with *giriftan* is somewhat unusual. On the other hand, Rashīd al-dīn (Berezin, XIII, 189 ; Russian translation by O. I. Smirnova, 115) tells the story of Bōrchi-noyon whom Ong-khan summoned to give him a present. At that moment Bōrchi was on duty (*kezik*) at Chingizkhan's tent, wearing Chingiz-khan's quiver (*kish basta*). He explained to his master that Ong-khan ' detached the quiver before his master (*bar-ū kīsh bāz kard*) and gave it to someone else '. When Ong-khan presented Bōrchi with ten gold plates (*manqūr*) he became conscious of the breach of discipline he had committed (*kīsh-i tu-rā bi-guzāshta-am*), but Chingiz-khan pardoned him. In view of this passage, Pūr-i Bahā's last verse might mean : ' I have fallen victim (surrendered) to you, and have taken up the quiver (to stand guard over you) '.]

whose shafts were directed more at the manners of the aristocracy (*ašrāf*) as a class and at stupidity in general.[1]

Some vulgarity of common abuse was of course inevitable in the field chosen by Pūr-i Bahā, and local tyrants, upstarts, favourites come under the broadside of his invective. There is no debility or perversion which he does not attribute to them. A whole poem directed against his chief enemy Qāḍī 'Imād al-dīn Mālīnī consists of disparaging diminutives in *-ak*.[2] He even accuses the qādī of offering the hospitality of his harem to paying-guests. The picture of the basest vice prevailing among the administrators of the pious foundations of Khwāf is drawn with Rabelaisian gusto. With all that, Pūr-i Bahā's mastery in Persian and his brilliance fully appear in such gems as the following description of his arch-enemy :

شوم چون بوم و کرسنه چون زاغ
دزد چون عکه بر خبر چو کلاغ
چون کلنک است جمله گردن و لنک
موش گیرست جمله مخلب و چنک
در نسب کرچه تخم او غوریست
لیک در اصل نسل او لوریست

Of ill omen, like an owl ; hungry like a rook ; a thief like a magpie ; cautious like a crow ;
Like a crane, all neck and legs ; a sparrow-hawk, all talons and claws ;
A native of Ghūr by pedigree but in effect a born Gipsy.

Pūr-i Bahā's power of ready invention can be gauged by the poem (Br. Mus. MS, f. 39b) in which he anticipates the technique which, six centuries after him, Qā'ānī used in his rendering of the amorous conversation of two stutterers.[3] In Pūr-i Bahā the comic effect is heightened by the fact that the stutterer is a Turk mixing Turkish words with Persian, and that, at his request, the poet composes an ode in praise of the great amir Nāṣir al-daula Qutlugh-shāh. The ode, intended to be in the name of the applicant, imitates his halting and vulgar speech, in which repeated syllables take the shape of entirely incongruous words, like *gil-gil*, 'dirt, dirt', *filfil* 'pepper', etc. I shall transcribe its beginning[4] :

[1] See E. G. Browne, *LHP*, III, 230–57, and A. Christensen, 'Les facéties de Ubaïd-i Zākānī', in *Acta Orientalia*, 1924, III, 1–37.

[2] 'Hereafter I shall make the *k* of diminution my *radīf*, for the stock of my rhymes in *k* has been depleted.'

[3] *Te-te-teryāki-yam-o bî ša-ša-šahde la-la-bat*
Sa-sa-sabr-o ta-ta-tābam ra-ra-raft az ta-ta-tan.

[4] I am obliged to transcribe the vowels in the *purely conventional* way, so as to make Persian *dil* (now *dĕl*) rhyme with Turkish *iĕ-gil*.

Dī ba-majlis-lis-am ān Turk-i Čigil-gil-gil-gil
Kard 'āšiq-šiq-u vālih-lih-u bī-dil-dil-dil.
Qadahī pur zi-may-i la'l-i muravvaq-vaq-vaq
Pīš-i man dāšt ki 'čaghīr-ghīr ič-gil-gil-gil'.
Guftam-aš 'Turk niyam Turkī bilmas-man-man'.
Guft 'man Pārsi-sī gūyam-at, ey ghāfil-fil-fil'.

Yesterday at a meeting that Chigil Turk
Behaved towards me like a lover and admirer having lost his heart.[1]
A goblet of clear ruby wine
He held out to me saying: 'Drink *čakhīr'.
I said to him: 'I am no Turk, I know no Turki'.[2]
Said he: 'O ignorant fellow, I am speaking Pārsī to you'.

What distinguishes Pūr-i Bahā from the majority of his confrères, who write outside space and time, is his strong feeling of his epoch. His poems are *Gelegenheitsgedichte* reflecting the atmosphere of his time and the feelings of his contemporaries. His language is saturated with new Turko-Mongol terminology brought to Persia by the latest invaders. The poet is obsessed by the strangely sounding words fitting uneasily into Persian numbers. His 'Mongol' *qaṣīda* (*v.s.* article No. 16) is a true mirror of the changes on the Iranian stage. An equally unique document is his poem on *qopčur* and the sufferings caused by this Mongol levy. This poem is a vivid and unexpected confirmation of the picture which the great historian Rašīd al-dīn drew of the confusion reigning in Mongol financial administration, before some improvements were introduced into it by Ghazan-khan.[3]

A striking feature of the ode is its 'democratic' tone, for the poet openly takes up the cudgels for the victims of Mongol oppression. In its tone it comes near to the 'Tears of Khorasan' of Anvarī,[4] though with some conspicuous difference. The earlier poet was submitting his earnest plea to the Islamic king of Bokhara. After half a century of heathen Mongol domination, there remained no hope for any intervention from outside and Pūr-i Bahā could only appeal to the understanding of the Persians who reached high positions under the new rulers. In the bitter-sweet odes presented by Pūr-i Bahā to his distinguished patrons two strains can be distinguished: the

[1] Better: 'made me (feel like) a lover'.

[2] Čigil is the well-known Turkish tribe often mentioned in Persian verse. *Čakhīr* (spelt *čaghir*) 'wine'. *Ič-gil* imperative with the strengthening particle *gil*. *Türki bilmās-mān*, the negative form used in Turkman dialects.

[3] See *Tārīkh-i Ghazānī*, ed. K. Jahn, *GMS*, ch. XVI, pp. 243–57, and the Russian translation by A. R. Arends, III, 1946, pp. 243–56. I. P. Petrushevsky in the Preface to vol. I, 1952, p. 35, suggests that Rašīd al-dīn 'intentionally darkens the picture under Ghazan's predecessors'. Pūr-i Bahā's poem rather supports Rashīd al-dīn.

[4] See Zhukovsky, *'Ali Auhad al-dîn Anvarî*, SPb. 1883, *43–52, 118–24, and Browne, *LHP*, II, 386–9. The dedicatee of the ode was apparently the Qarakhanid Ahmad b. Sulaymān (*khāqān-i mu'aẓẓam*). According to Anvarī, Sanjar called him his 'son'. His minister was Sadr-i jihān Šams-i Islam Burhān-i dīn.

Mongol Caesars receive their due, while Islam is considered as a co-existing sphere of influence. On the other hand, speaking confidently to his countrymen, Pūr-i Bahā dares to describe the Mongol period as a *fitrat* (' interregnum ') and somewhat anachronistically calls the Mongols ' these Ghuz '.[1] Following the titles of the other *qaṣīdas* one might call the ode, of which we present a tentative [2] English interpretation : *dar madḥ-i 'Alā al-dīn wa dar madhammat-i Moghul-hā*, but at the poet's time it would have been dangerous to stress the underlying meaning. One might think that in his black-and-white ode Pūr-i Bahā would equally balance the two colours, yet the nature of a born satirist has the upper hand and even in the second part of the poem addressed directly to 'Alā al-dīn Juvaynī one finds some barbs hidden among the smiles and roses.

It remains to be added that *qopchur* is originally the Mongol one per cent levy on herds. In the course of time the term came to cover various kinds of taxes which affected sedentary agriculturists and town dwellers. The latest well-argued theory is that *qopchur* was the poll-tax which in a Muslim society affected only non-Muslims but which under the Mongols was spread also on the Muslims, see I. P. Petrushevsky, *Agriculture in Iran in the 13th–14th century* (in Russian), 1960, pp. 361–9. This would explain the execration with which our poet speaks of it.

In Praise of Khwāja 'Alā al-dīn

(may his resting place be pleasant !)

1. Again the *qopčur* has cast evil and disturbance into the world.
   It has brought forth laments from the old and young.
2. The whole world has become scattered and homeless
   Because of the immense *qalan* and endless *qopčur*.
3. Under no vazir and no qā'ān
   Has anyone seen or recorded such *qopčur*.
4. The census, that in thirty years was taken once,
   Now every two or three days launches (some new) *qopčur*.
5. Like the ṣūfīs who in one breath (*dam*) used to celebrate two festivals,[3]
   Now (the government) imposes *qopčur* twice at a time.
6. Who has ever taken the census twice in one year ?
   (And yet) in spring **qalān* has been imposed and in the autumn *qopčur*.

[1] Br. Mus. MS, f. 89a : *vaqf-hā jumla īn Ghuzān burdand*, in which case *Ghuz* is used as indiscriminately as the term *Huns* in the twentieth century.

[2] It is obvious that in a difficult text reproduced from a single manuscript some details must remain doubtful. See Br. Mus. Or. 9213, ff. 11b–13b.

[3] The meaning is not quite clear, but see *Gulistān*, Introduction : ' every inhalation of the breath prolongs life, and every expiration of it gladdens our nature ; wherefore every breath confers two benefits ; and for every benefit gratitude is due '.

7. (Affairs in) Khorasan have become such that
From the spindle of an old cotton dresser [1] threads are requested as *qopčur*.
8. The *qalān* lets repartition fall on the heads of the dead
And then *qopčur* plucks the souls from the bodies of the quick.
9. By oppression, every day and night, through water, fire and wind
Qopčur is blown into this dark earth.
10. Juvayn, the Khān's demesne (*injū-i khān*) is gone (*šud* ?) to the men of Funduqdār,
For daily, like a gardener, *qopčur* visits it.[2]
11. In early spring someone from Qazvīn takes a census
And at Mihragān (in the autumn) someone else fixes (?) the *qopčur*.[3]
12. From one side someone wields a stick (shouting) : ' Now for *tamghā* ! '
And from the other side someone else shakes a fist : ' Now for *qopčur* ! '
13. By order of the people of Khorasan the *qopčur* of Rūm has been collected,
(For the same reason) that the *qopčur* of Khorasan is imposed from Damghān.[4]
14. The people of Juvayn have all become homosexuals and selfdefilers,
Because every frail infant is assessed with a heavy *qopčur*.
15. Sperm in the womb has not yet solidified into an embryo
When the name of the child has been entered under *qalān* and *qopčur*.
16. A boy has not yet been born of his mother
When they say [5] that *qalān* and *qopčur* should be paid for ' the celebrations of the circumcision ' and ' the first cutting of the hair '.
17. Do women bear twice in a year
That every six months *qopčur* is imposed on us ?
18. While a dead man under the sod has become corrupted and decomposed
His frame [6] is still paying *qopčur* for life.[7]

[1] *Zan-i pīr* would be better, but the metre requires *pamba-zan* ' cotton-carder '.

[2] [An obscure verse. The gardener visits his garden daily but who is the *Funduq-dār* ? Is *funduq* used here in the sense of ' an inn ', common in the Muslim West but almost unattested in Persian. *Funduq* (in older Spanish *alhóndiga*, now *fonda*) is said to be derived from the Greek πανδοχεῖον. Curiously enough Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in his *Geography* (see Barthold in *Sbornik statey uchenikov V. R. Rosena*, 1897, p. 20) mentions a ferry on the Oxus (downstream from Tirmidh) called *B.rdāghūy* which, according to him, is a Greek word of Alexandrian times meaning *mihmān-khāna* ' an inn ', i.e. apparently the same πανδοχεῖον. The *funduq-dār* of Pūr-i Bahā may have been the keeper of some rest-house for official travellers, and in that capacity had a right to some local levies even within the ' royal demesne ' of Juvayn ? One might mention in this connexion the strange surname of the author of the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (written A.D. 1164) : *Ibn Funduq*. He was a native of Sabzavār (Bayhaq) adjacent to Juvayn. However, from his genealogy (Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, v, 208) it appears that his ancestor in the fifth generation was *al-imām Funduq* which seems to be a *personal* nickname ' the imam Hazel-nut '.] [' The men of the inn-keeper ' ? (1964).]

[3] Apparently with reference to the variety of officials coming now from one place and now from another. [According to Rashīd al-dīn (Jahn, *GMS*, 264 ; 'Ali-zādeh, 473), Ghazan-khan fixed (or confirmed ?) the two periods for the collection of *qopčur* from the villagers : one-half after the Naurūz-i Jalālī (March) and the other ' after the beginning of the sun (?) on the first of Mīzān (September) '.

[4] This verse continues verse 11 and should come after it.

[5] Reading *mīgūyand* for *mīgūyad*.

[6] Notice the spelling *ghālib* for *qālib*, and *ghāfiya* for *qāfiya* (in v. 27), reflecting the confusion of *q* and *gh* in common speech.

[7] *Ba-jān*, or to the khān (*ba-khān*).

19. Everywhere (*ba-har-sū'ī*) where during a year taxes are collected in two instalments [1]
An increased *qopčur* is collected in any case.

20. Do the stars practise agriculture that at (the time of) assessment (*qismat* 'repartition') the *qopchur* should have raised the rank of the Earth to the Skies ? [2]

21. In current price it was water which of all things was cheap
But, through assessment,[3] *qopčur* made its price heavy too.

22. A chick has not yet put its head out of the shell
When *qopčur* has been fixed both on the cock and the hen.

23. For some, extortions would be better than this dispensation (*saviyat*) ;
For some, confiscation would be better than such *qopčur*.

24. From grief the peasants willingly march to the grave
Since *qopčur* has rushed headlong (*ba-sar*) upon their heads.

25. Should *qalān* [4] and repartition be applied to someone in this way
Qopčur will leave him neither a loaf nor a garment, nor even a dwelling.

26. If on this estimate [5] they pay *qalān* for another year,
Without doubt *qopčur* will be collected by ravens and owls.

27. The collection of *qopčur* has become so general
That *qopčur* has tried (to become) the *radīf* of (every) rhyme.

28. Have census officials become like Firdausi
That they have made of *qopčur* an epic like the *Šāh-nāma* ?

29. For the same reason the lowly and the nobles
Have *qopčur* *on their lips daily and nightly, in reproach and vituperation.

30. For fun and amusement everybody (now) folds *qopčur*
Inside the loaf, instead of condiments.

31. Except for the peasant's aggrieved heart, there is no target
(As) *qopčur* has fitted an arrow [6] on its bow.

32. Alas ! Would Life accept a guarantee for the peasants, similar to the guarantee which *qopchur* has given (for its grip) on the provinces [?].

33. Please, how can the peasants give *qalān* and *kūch*
When *qopčur* has scattered the marrow from (their) bones ?

34. Because of the burning prayer of the oppressed,
Qopčur itself is raising its sighs and cries to the (throne) of the Almighty.

35. In the hope that God, in His clemency and mercy, may throw a glance
(On ?) *qopčur*, by the grace of the fortune of the felicitous minister (*dastūr*),

[1] *Dar do bār kunand* ? See above, vv. 6 and 11.

[2] The meaning of this difficult verse seems to be : 'Do the stars work in the fields that their altitude should be taken as a norm in the assessment of the *qopchur* ?' Eventually this might be an indication that the *qopchur* had become an agricultural levy.

[3] Reading : *ba-si'r* for *ba-ši'r* as suggested to me by my late friend Professor A. Eghbal (b. 1899 in Ashtiyān, d. 12 February 1956 in Rome).

[4] Spelt : *qalād.*

[5] Reading : *šumāra* for *hazāra* (A. Eghbal).

[6] Reading : *tīr* for *pīš.*

36. The lord of the vazirs, 'Alā al-daula wal-dīn
Whose justice (has) levied *qopčur* on the whole world,

37. Vazir, having the features of a shah, he whose high fortune
By its elevation might impose *qopčur* on the head of the Arcturus star,

38. What a wonderful position (thou) hast reached that a scribe of thine
Has imposed *qopčur* from China to Qayruwān.

39. At the command of thy pen, to the treasury of the Khan
The Tatars, the Arabs, the Persians and the Turkmans bring their *qopčur*.

40. By way of *sāvarī* due to munificence and of *taghār* due to generosity,
The sea offers *kharāj* and the mines *qopčur* to the might of thy (noble) nature.

41. In thy time the kingdom has become such that, on the order of the sheep,
The shepherd's dog collects *qopčur* from the wolf. (Cf. above, v. 3!)

42. Under thy rule there obtains such security on the face of the Earth
That the escorts have ceased to collect *qopčur* on caravans,

43. The sword collects *qalān* from the necks of thy foes
And the lance has imposed *qopčur* on the heads of the rebels,

44. In order that it should never give (pay) perpetually *cherik* and *qalān*,
Qopchur (itself) has become *tarkhan* (exempt from taxation) by order of the khan.

45. May thy rule in the world last so long
That *qopčur* will never be imposed except by thy (own) order [2].

درمدح خواجه علاء الدین طاب ثراه

1. فکنده باز شرو شور در جهان قبجر
فغان زپیر بر آورد واز جوان قبجر

2. همه جهان متفرّق شدند وآواره
زبیشمار قلان وزبیکران قبجر

3. بعهد هیچ وزیری وهیچ قاآنی
چنین ندید وندادست کس نشان قبجر

[1] See also f. 5a where *tārkhān* stands for the usual *tarkhān*.

[2] For the economic problems of the Mongol epoch there exist now several studies by V. V. Barthold, A. Z. V. Toğan, I. P. Petrushevsky, W. Hinz, R. Roemer, etc. I myself studied the text of Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī's memorandum published jointly with M. Minovi, *BSOAS*, 1941, x/3, 755–89. In the course of time *qopčur* considerably changed its scope and from a levy on herds came to denote a general system of levies, which our poem has in view. [*Qalān*, often joined with *qopčur*, is a frequent financial term though its exact meaning still remains vague, see Ali-zadeh, *History of Azarbayjan in the thirteenth–fourteenth century* (in Russian), Baku, 1956, pp. 225–8. Professor I. P. Petrushevsky, *Zemledeliye*, 1960, p. 384, tentatively equates it with *kharāj*. The written form *kūch* has several meanings: 'family, migration, help'. *Kūč* (< *güč*) meaning 'help, military assistance' many times appears in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 57, 84, 216, 223, 251, 255, 267, 270, 276, 279 (but cf. VII, 228: *kūč* < *köč* 'moving the camp'). *Tamghā*, from a kind of octroi, developed into a sort of capital levy. *Sāvarī* is a 'tribute', and *taghar* 'supplies of provisions for the army'. *Čerik* (Mong. *tserik*) is '(service in) the militia or levies'.]

4. شمارهء که بسی سال بود یکباری
کنون بهر دو سه روزی کند روان قبجر

5. چو صوفیان که بیکدم دو عید کردندی
همی نهند دوباره بیکزمان قبجر

6. که کرده است شماره دوباره در یکسال؟
بهارکاه نهاده قلان خزان قبجر

7. چنان شده است خراسان کنون که میخواهند
ز دوک پنبه زن پیر ریسمان قبجر

8. فرو کند بسر مردگان قلان قسمت
برآورَد زتن زندکان روان قبجر

9. بجبر وجَور شب وروز از آب و آتش وباد
همی دمند درین تیره خاکدان قبجر

10. جوین اینجوء خان شد باهل فندقدار
که روز روز رسیدش چو باغبان قبجر

11. بنوبهار ز قزوین یکی شماره کنند [* کند]
زدامغان دکری وقت مهرکان قبجر

12. گرفته چوب ازین سو یکی که هان تمغا
کشیده مشت ازآن سو دکر که هان قبجر

13. بحکم اهل خراسان رسید قبجر روم
که مینهد بخراسان زدامغان قبجر

14. جوینیان همه گشتند لوطی وجلق
که می نهند سبک طفل را کران قبجر

15. هنوز نطفه نگشتست در رحم علَقه
که نام بچه نوشتست در قلان قبجر

16. پسر هنوز زمادر نزاد میکوید [* میکویند]
که ختنه سور و عقیقه دهد قلان قبجر

17. زنان مکر که بسالی دوبار می زایند
از آن بهر سر شش مه نهندمان قبجر

18. کذشتهٔ که رمیم و رفات شد در خاک
هنوز *قالب او میدهد بجان قبجر

19. (بهر) سوئی که بیک سال در دو بار کنند
شود هر آینه در مستزاد ازآن قبجر

20. مکر ستاره زراعت کند که در قسمت
بقدر بُرد زمین را بر آسمان قبجر

21. بنرخ از همه چیز آب بُد که ارزان بود
* بسعر قیمت آن کرد هم گران قبجر

22. هنوز جوزه زخایه نکرده بیرون سر
که بر خروس نویسند وماکیان قبجر

23. مطالبه به بسی از چنین سَویت به
مصادره به بسی خوشتر از چنان قبجر

24. رود زغصّه رعیت بپای خویش بگور
زبس که شد سوی سرها بسردوان قبجر

25. * قلان (و) قسمت ازین سان اکر بوَد کس را
نه نان وجامه کذارد نه خان ومان قبجر

26. برین هزاره (شماره؟) قلان کر دهند دیکر سال
کلاغ وکوف ستانند بیگمان قبجر

27. چنان کرفتن قبجر شدست عام که کرد
ردیف * قافیه از شعر امتحان قبجر

28. مکرکه اهل شماره شدند فردوسی
که کرده اند چو شهنامه داستان قبجر

29. زعین قصه وضیع وشریف را مانده است
بطنز وطعنه شب وروز در * زبان قبْجر

30. باسم لاغ وظرافت همه کسی پیچند
بجای نان خورش اندر میانِ نان قبْجر

31. نشانه جز دل پر حسرتِ رعیت نیست
چنانکه پیش (* تیر) نهادست برکمان قبجر

32. دریغ اکر ز رعایا ضمان کرفتی عمر
چنین که داد ولایات را ضمان قبجر

33. قلان و کوچ رعایا دکر چکونه دهند
چو مغز کرد پریشان زاستخوان قبجر

34. بنفس خویش ز سوز دعای مظلومان
کند بحضرت حق ناله وفغان قبجر

35. مکر بفضل و عنایت نظر کند ایزد
بیمن دولت دستور کامران قبجر

36. خدایگان وزیران علاء دولت و دین
که بر کرفت بعدل از سرجهان قبجر

37. وزیر شاه نشان آنکه دولت عالیش
نهد بمرتبه بر فرق فرقدان قبجر

38. زهی رسیده بجائی که یک محرّر تو
نهاده است زچین تا بقیروان قبجر

39. بحکم کلک تو آرند با خزانه خان
تتار و تازی و تاجیک و ترکمان قبجر

40. دهد بساوریِ بخشش و تغارِ کرم
بدست طبع تو دریا خراج وکان قبجر

41. چنان شدست ممالک بعهد تو که زکرک
بحکم میش ستاند سک شبان قبجر

42. زامن روی زمین شد بدولت تو چنان
که بدرقه نستاند زکاروان قبجر

43. ستد زگردن اعدای تو قلان شمشیر
نهاد بر سر یاغی تو سنان قبجر

44. همیشه تا ندهد هر گه از چریک و قلان
بحکم یرلغ خان گشت * تارخان قبجر

45. بقای دولت تو باد در جهان چندان
که جز بحکم تو * نهند جاودان قبجر

THE SECT OF THE AHL-I ḤAḲḲ *

THE term *Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ* sounds somewhat vague for in Ṣūfi terminology it is applied to the men who, having passed through the initial stages of cognition (*sharī'at* ' law ', *ṭarīḳat* ' path ' and *ma'rifat* ' gnosis ') have reached the highest degree of *ḥaḳiḳat* (' Divine Truth, or Reality '). The term was used by various systems of theology, cf. C. Huart, *Textes Houroufîs*, 1909, p. 140. In the technical sense the term is the self-designation of the adepts of a secret (esoteric) religion said to have been founded by a saint called Sulṭān Isḥaḳ (Ṣoḥāḳ). The cradle of the religion lies in the region of Shahrazūr on both banks of the Sīrwān (Diyāla) in the present-day Iraq, whence the sect has spread widely into the adjacent western borderlands of Persia (Luristān, Kurdistān, Āzarbāydjān, etc., see below). In Iraq the sect, and especially its leading group connected with Barzindja (east of Sulaimānī), are popularly called *kākā'ī*, from Kurdish *kākā* ' brother '. Very often the sectarians are referred to by the names of their subdivisions (Ibrāhimī, Khāmūshī, etc.). The name of 'Alī-Ilāhī (or 'Alī-Allāhī) applied to the sect by the outsiders is misleading because 'Alī is not the central figure of the religion and such an appellation confuses the sect with other 'Alid extremists.

The only reliable method is to describe the sect on the basis of the authentic sources, supplemented by material drawn from the narratives of travellers. The difficulties of this task arise firstly from the fact that the number of texts available is still limited (besides being often in dialect and bristling with abstruse terms), and secondly from the existence of numerous subdivisions of the sect. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ organization has no canonical unity, but resembles a federation of associated movements (see a provisional list of these subdivisions in Minorsky, *Notes*, 46 [33]). There are twelve main *khānadāns* or *silsilas* (see below), but there are branches which are not included in this list, cf. the Sayyid Djalālī (Minorsky, *Notes*, 48 [35]), and the Tūmārī (an aberrant group, Minorsky, *Etudes*, I). The account by Gobineau, the *Firḳan*, and some texts published by W. Ivanow, reveal a religious system more philosophical than the naïve legends of the *Sarandjām* (in the Ātash-begī version). Since, at the moment, however, this branch is better known to us, the following account will be based primarily on the Ātash-begī documents, to be supplemented later by material from the *Firḳan*, the author of which was a Khāmūshī.

The Dogmas. The central point in the dogmas of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the belief in the successive manifestations of the Divinity, the number of these being seven. Such incarnations are compared to garments put on by the Divinity: ' to become incarnate ' means ' to come (to dwell) in a garment ' (*libās*, *djāma*, *dūn* < Turk. **don*).

* Reprinted with the kind permission of the directors of the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (second ed., 1956). First draft appeared in the Supplement to the first edition of the *EI* (1934). In the present publication the essay has been again revised and completed.

On each occasion the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (*yārān-i čār-malak*) with whom the incarnation forms a close group.

The late Sayyid of Kalārdasht (d. in 1335/1916) is responsible for the list of theophanies quoted below. Other sources (*Sarandjām*, *Firḳān*) supply a number of variants.

In pre-eternity (*azal*) God dwelt enclosed in a pearl at the bottom of the sea. He manifested himself in the form of Khūwandagar, the Creator of the world. His second avatar was in the person of 'Alī. From the beginning of the third epoch the list becomes typically Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. The first four epochs correspond to the stages of religious knowledge: *sharī'at*, *ṭarīḳat*, (*ma'rifat*), and *ḥaḳīḳat*. According to all branches of the sect, the representative of the highest stage is Sulṭān Isḥaḳ (Ṣohāk). On the other hand, several differences of opinion regarding the successors of Sulṭān Ṣohāk are recorded.

	I	II	III	IV	V
1. Khāwandagār	Djibrā'īl	Mikā'īl	Israfīl	'Azrā'īl	?
2. 'Alī	Muḥammad-Musṭafā	Salmān	Ḳambar	Nuṣair	Fāṭima
3. Khoshīn	Bābā Buzurg	B. Faḳī	B. Ḥasan	B. Ṭahir	?
4. Ṣoḥāk	Benyāmīn	Dāwūd	Pir Mūsī	?	Razbār
5. Ḳirmizi	Kākā Mīre	K. 'Arab	K. Raḥmān	?	Zarbānū
6. Muḥammad-beg	Kā-Meridjān	K. Malakdjān	Ḳarapūst	Shāh-sawār	?
7. Shāh-Ātash	Sh. Djamshīd	Sh. Almās	Sh. Abdāl	?	Parī-khānum

Just as the divine essence reappears in each of the seven 'garments', the angels (cf. the vertical columns in the table) are the avatars of one another. For this reason their names are interchangeable and Salmān is often spoken of in the epoch of Sulṭān Ṣoḥāk, or Benyāmīn in the epoch of Khāwandagār. The angels are emanations of the Divinity (*Sarandjām*). According to a version Benyāmīn was produced from the perspiration, which is characteristic of modesty; Dāwūd—from the breath (anger); Mūsī—from the moustache (pity); Razbār—from the pulse (charity). The angels play the part of ministers to the Divinity: Benyāmīn is the deputy (*wakīl*) and the *pīr*; Dāwūd is the overseer (*nāẓir*) and judge (?); Pīr Mūsī is the *wazīr* who records good and evil; Muṣṭafā Dowdān (Nuṣair) is the Angel of Death.

The angels are usually said to be four in number (in some lists and in certain periods this number is reduced to three) but in fact a fifth angel is especially charged with the supervision of worship. This angel's symbolical name is Razbār, or Ramzbār ('entrusted with mysteries') and her feminine character is indisputable, though the sex is not emphasized: one of the informants even called Razbār *khunthā* ('hermaphrodite'). [See Additions.]

Apart from the 'Four Angels', several groups of saints are revered by the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ:

1. The *Haft-tan* ('Seven bodies') who consist of the 'Four Angels' of Sulṭān Ṣoḥāk plus 5. Mustafa Dowdān, 6. Ibrāhīm (grandson of S. Ṣoḥāk) and 7. Bābā Yādegār.

2. The *Haft-tavāna*, or *Haftawāna* ('Seven powers'?), miraculously

produced by Sulṭān Ṣoḥāk (after seven days spent with his wife behind a curtain) and looking exactly like himself. In Minorsky's copy of *Sarandjām* (*Notes*, p. 19) they are: Ḥabīb-shāh, Bul-Wafā, Shāh-i dīn, Mīr Muṣṭafā, Muḥammad Gawre-sawār, Bābā Ḥusain and Khamūsh-i Pur-čin (for variants see Ivanow, p. 163, and Edmonds, p. 186). These are the founders of the original seven subdivisions (odjaḳ 'hearths') of the sect whose number later has grown to eleven or twelve. Every Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ must be affiliated to one of them. According to the *Firkān* the 'Haftawāna' succeeded to Pīr Benyamīn of Sulṭān Ṣoḥak's epoch; at the end of the world they will unite with the 'Haft-tan' for 'originally they were One with them'.

3. *Čihil-tan*, the 'Forty bodies', whose list consists of the names of eminent dervishes and greatly varies in different traditions. The 'Forty bodies' are apparently a later addition destined to connect the sect with respected outsiders.

4. A group of Seventy-two men watching for the reappearance of the Divinity, is mentioned in the *Sarandjām*, Minorsky, p. 41 (see also Ivanow's Index, p. 29).

In general the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are fond of mentioning the numbers of the servants and hosts standing at the disposal of the Divinity. In Ḥasan aqa's *kalām* called 'Baghīshla' (Miserere) the poet invokes the protection of seventy-two sardārs, 366 men of valour (*ār*), 444 torchbearers (*čiraghči*), 9,900 servants, etc.

Metempsychosis and Eschatology. The belief in the reincarnation of the theophanies finds its parallel in the general belief in metempsychosis. 'Men! do not fear death as a punishment! The death of men is like the diving of a duck.'

Human beings must pass through the cycle of 1,001 incarnations, in the course of which they receive the reward of their actions (*Notes*, p. 131 [251]). On the other hand, according to the *Firḳān* (I, 32, 35, 57, 68) the possibilities of purification are essentially limited by the very nature of beings (see below) divided into the good and the evil. 'The more (the former) go through the world of garments and the more they suffer, the more they approach God and the more their luminous state increases', while the 'Dark ones' shall never see the Sun. As a complement to these beliefs, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ eagerly await the advent of the Lord of Time who shall come 'to accomplish the desires of the Friends and encompass (*iḥāṭa*) the Universe'. There are a number of prophetic *kalāms* which announce the coming of the Messiah. The scene of the Last Judgment (*sān* 'review') will be the plain of Shahrazūr, or that of Sulṭāniya where 'the sulṭāns shall be exterminated' (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). According to the *Firḳān*, I, 57, the Good shall enter Paradise (which is the contemplation of) the beauty of the Lord of Generosities, while the Wicked shall be annihilated (*ma'dūm*).

Rites. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ have a number of practices which are quite original.

1. We find little mention of individual prayer; on the other hand, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ attach tremendous importance to assemblies (*djam* < *djam'*) in which

'all difficulties find their solution'. The life of the community is eminently collective and the assemblies are held at fixed intervals and in connection with all important events. *Kalāms* are recited at them to the accompaniment of music. [Such meetings held privately with the participation of women (?) have led to the mischievous and uninformed suspicions of the orthodox outsiders who give the sect nicknames such as *chirāgh-söndüren* 'extinguishers of lights', etc.]

2. On solemn occasions sessions of *dhikr* are held. Specially qualified darwīshes to the sounds of music (*sāz*) enter into a state of ecstasy, accompanied by anaesthesia, which enables them to walk over burning coals, to handle them, etc.

3. The indispensable features of these assemblies are the offerings and the sacrifices: *nadhr wa-niyāz* (raw offerings, uncooked, such as male animals (oxen, sheep, cocks) intended for sacrifice, or *khayr wa-khidmat* (cooked or prepared victuals like sugar, bread, etc.). The *Firḳān*, I, 74, counts fourteen kinds of bloody or bloodless sacrifices (*ḳurbāni-yi khūndār wa-bī-khūn*). The ritual of sacrifice is regulated and the flesh is separated from the bones, which are buried. The boiled meat and the other offerings are distributed among those present and dedicatory formulae (*khuṭba*) are repeated. The term *sabz namūdan* 'to render green, i.e. living, to reanimate', is applied to the ceremony (*Notes*, p. 210 [90]).

4. 'Just as every dervish must have a spiritual director (*murshid*) so the head of every Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ has to be commended to a *pīr*'. In the course of this ceremony (*sar sipurdan*) the persons symbolizing the 'Five (*sic*!) Angels' stand around the infant. A nutmeg (*djawz-i buwā*) is broken by the celebrant as a substitute for the head. It is then worn as an amulet, together with a silver coin called *hawīza* bearing the Shī'a form of the profession of faith (*hawīza* from the Shi'a town of that name in Khūzistān; cf. *Notes*, p. 227 [107]; W. Caskel, 'Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts', in *Islamica*, 1931, 48–93, and the article Musha'sha' in the Supplement to the *EI* (1937). Links recalling blood-relationship are established between him whose head is commended and the line of the shaykh to whom the head has been commended. This spiritual relationship carries with it the prohibition of marriage between the individual and the family of the *pīr*.

5. With the object of attaining moral perfection special unions (nuclei) are formed between a man (or several men) and a woman who are called brother and sister (*sharṭ-i iḳrār*). The union is said to be formed in anticipation of the Day of Resurrection: *Notes*, p. 230 [110]; cf. the *akh wa-ukht al-ākhira* among the Yazidis.

6. Fasting is rigorously observed only for three days, as among the Yazidis. It takes place in winter and is followed by a feast. Among the divisions of the sect, only the Ātash-begī do not observe the fast, 'for the days of the (final) advent are near' and instead of fasting, they say, one ought to feast.

A distinctive sign of the male sectarians are their enormous moustaches which must never be cut. For the other rites and customs see Minorsky, *Notes*.

Firḳān al-Akhbār. The author of this treatise was Ḥādjdjī Ni'mat Allāh of Djayḥūn-ābād near Dīnawar (1871–1920) who belonged to the Khāmūshī division and who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (*ḥaḳīḳat*).[1] His son Nūr 'Alī Shāh Ilāhī (b. 1313/1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the *Firḳān* under the title of *Kashf al-Ḥaḳā'iḳ*. While confirming much that was already known, the *Firḳān* represents a tradition different from that of the Ātash-begī in as much as it makes no mention of 'seven' epochs and reserves a special position for Khāwandagār and Sulṭān Ṣoḥāk while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (Bābā Nā'ūth, etc.).

The *Firḳān* consists of four parts. The first deals with the fundamental principles of the *ḥaḳīḳat* established in pre-eternity when the Divinity was still in 'concealment' (*jāma-yi YA-yi ghaybat*), i.e. before appearing as Khāwandagār. The law remained concealed till the coming of Sulṭān Isḥāḳ (Ṣoḥāk). Then the *daftardārs* recorded these doctrines but each in his own way and according to the sources which were accessible to him. As a result the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ community has no [single ?] sacred book and its divisions are distinguished by different views. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ required a *ḳuṭb-i kull* which would be unique. So after 1324/1906 Ni'mat Allāh, by God's command, abandoned the world and became the 'messenger of the Lord of the Hour', i.e. of Pīr Benyāmīn (explained as *bin* + *yā* + *amīn* 'faithful son of Yā'). Then comes the explanation of metempsychosis (*gardish-i dūn bi-dūn* = 'going from one garment to another').

The creatures of the world are divided into two distinct categories according to their original element (*zarda-gil* or *khāk-i siyāh*). To the first belong the Saved and Luminous beings whose respective *sardārs* are Benyāmīn and Sayyid Muḥammad (in his avatar of Buzurg-sawār). To the other category belong beings of Fire and Darkness whose respective *sardārs* are Iblīs and Khannās, with whom are associated the first three caliphs, Mu'āwiya, 'Ā'isha, etc. The intermixture of the two categories of beings produces combinations which may be recognized even externally.

The second part of the treatise is mainly concerned with the correspondence of the avatars through the ages. Thus the manifestations of Benyāmīn are Noah, Jesus, and provisionally (*mihmān*) Rustam of the Persian epic; those of Razbār: Bilḳīs, the queen of Saba', Mary, etc.; those of Sayyid Muḥammad: Zoroaster, the prophet Muḥammad, etc. Next we are given the history of Sulṭān Isḥāḳ (Ṣoḥāk) and of his successors.

The third part relates the personal experiences of Ni'mat Allāh and the

[1] In 1916, travelling from Kermanshah to Deinavar I saw in Djaihūn-ābād a house decorated with small black pennants. My guide explained that it was the residence of 'a shaykh' and thinking he meant one of the numerous sunni worthies of Kurdistan I missed the unique occasion of meeting Hadjdj Ni'mat Allāh !—V. M.

commandments which he received from God during his journey 'to the beyond' (*safar-i 'uḳbā*), notably his mission to unite the *khānadāns*, to give absolution from sins (*az khiyānat pāk namūdān*), and to intercede (*shifā'at*) with the Lord of Time. [See Additions.]

The fourth part is the very full description of the rites and customs (*amr wa-nahy*), with the Gūrānī text of the formulae recited on each occasion.

The Elements of the System. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is typically syncretist. At its foundations we find Shī'a extremism. It should be noted that the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ always speak of the twelve imāms and, as a result, ought not (at least directly) to be connected with Ismā'īlism. According to the *Firḳān*, the 'religion of Truth' simply re-establishes the contents of the ten *djuz'* which were suppressed in the received text of the Ḳur'ān, but in fact the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ deviate from the orthodox Shī'a to the extent of forming a separate religious system. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ has in common with those of the Druzes and the Nuṣayrīs the worship of 'Alī, but 'Alī is completely overshadowed by Sulṭān Ṣoḥāk.

The other obvious element in the formation of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are the rites of the Ṣūfī darwīshes: election of the *pīr*, agapes with *dhikr* and distribution of food, brotherly unions.

From the social point of view, the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is professed particularly by the lower classes, nomads, villagers, inhabitants of the poorer quarters, darwīshes, etc. From this probably comes the hope that on the day of the last judgment 'the sulṭāns' will be punished (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). On the other hand, the eminently popular character of the religion is apparent in the exuberance of the miraculous and folklore element in the traditions of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. Amid the country people in the remote provinces which have at all times been outside the control of central governments, it is natural to expect to find survivals from olden times. The Divinity enclosed in the Pearl is a Manichaean idea (personal communication by Th. Nöldeke), like the belief in the purification of the 'Luminous' in the course of their transmigrations. The belief in metempsychosis cannot be directly Indian for it was already in existence in Ismā'īlism. The division of beings into two distinct categories is perhaps a later development of Zoroastrian ideas. The sacrifice of the cock has been several times connected with the corresponding Jewish rite (cf. I. Scheftelowitz, *Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer*, Giessen 1914), while the Biblical names (Dāwūd, Mūsī) may have come through the intermediary of the Ḳur'ān. The alleged Christian influence ought not to be exaggerated: if the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ in their conversations with missionaries talk of Jesus and Mary, it should be remembered that, apart from these possibly being simply reminiscences of the Ḳur'ān, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ regard them merely as avatars of their own pantheon. For the agapes it is not necessary to go farther back than the known darwīsh practices (e.g. the Bektashī). The elasticity of the system of metempsychosis is responsible for the appearance of unexpected names in the myths. In a

defective Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ MS acquired in Shīrāz W. Ivanow found a mention of Malak Ṭa'ūs, a typically Yazīdī image.

The contacts of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ with the other 'Alid sects of the 'Fertile Crescent' (Ḳizilbash, Sarli, Shabbak, etc.) are still obscure. In any case the direct influence of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ preachers of Zohāb has been traced as far west as among the 'Alawī (Ḳizil-bash) of 'Aynṭāb, see Trowbridge, 'The Alawis', in *Harvard Theol. Review*, 1909, pp. 346–55 (reprinted in *Moslem World*, 1921, pp. 255–66).

Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ and History. It is an uneasy task to establish the historical background of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ on the basis of the hints found in the writings of the sect.

The epoch of Khāwandagār belongs to Pre-eternity. The mentions of 'Ali refer chiefly to his relations with Nuṣair. The only point of interest is that Shāh Khoshīn is said to have appeared 360 (300) years after 'Ali (who was caliph in 35–40/656–61). This would bring us to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. and suit the period of one of Khoshīn's 'angels', Bābā Ṭāhir of Hamadān who, according to a report (*Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbal, pp. 98–9), met the Seldjuḳid Tughril in Hamadan in 447/1055. Curiously enough the only other bearer of the rare name Khoshīn (a 'Kurdish' amīr) is mentioned under 408/1014 in the field of Shah Khoshīn's activities, see *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahār, p. 400. Shah Khoshīn was miraculously born of a sunbeam to Jalāla, daughter of a Djāf (?) chief established at Shīr-bānk (?) Dih-i A'lā (*Sarandjām*, Minorsky MS), which seems to correspond to Shīrwāna on the right bank of the Sīrwān (Diyāla), close to an ancient mound, cf. Edmonds, l.c., 163; even now Shīrwāna belongs to the Kurdish Djāf. Several geographical references in the texts suggest that Khoshīn was the precursor of Sulṭān Isḥaḳ in the area of the Gūrān tribe. On the other hand a series of legends records Khoshīn's activities in Luristan and Hamadan. Several kalāms of the period of Khoshīn are in Persian or in a dialect imitating the popular quatrains ascribed to Bābā Ṭāhir. In any case Shāh Khoshīn seems to have prepared the links existing now between the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ of the basin of the Sīrwān and those of Luristan. The author of the *Firḳān* goes even so far as to locate the birth-place of Khoshīn on the Saimarreh (Karkhā), on the right bank of which there is a canton called Shīrwān.

The founder of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ religion is most expressedly Sulṭān Isḥaḳ (Ṣoḥāk, Ṣaḥāk). His grandfather, a sayyid of Hamadān, is said to have come to the Gūrān region which comprises the territories of Shahrazūr (north of the Sīrwān) and of Zohāb (south of the river). Soḥāḳ's father was Sayyid 'Isī (*sic*) who lived at Barzindja (some 20 km. east of Sulaimāni in Iraq) in the neighbourhood of which the sayyid leaders of the Ibrāhīmī branch of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are still established. Sayyid 'Isī in his old age married the young Dāyira (Dāyirāḳ), daughter of Ḥasan-beg Djalā (probably Djāf, cf. Edmonds, l.c., 184), who bore him a son, Sayyid (Sulṭān) Isḥaḳ. According to a *tadhkira* compiled by an intelligent Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (Edmonds, ibid.) this happened in 671/1272,

and the new religion was inaugurated about 716/1316. Sulṭān Isḥaḳ's modest mausoleum (visited by Minorsky in 1914) lies in a defile on the right bank of the Sīrwān, a short distance upstream from the bridge of Perdiwar (Pīrdiwar, *pīrd* meaning ' a bridge ' in Gūrāni and Kurdish). [Sayyid 'Isī, father of S. Isḥaḳ, is said to have had three sons of his first marriage. This must account for a further split in the family hinted at by S. Isḥaḳ, as quoted in Ivanow's Persian text, p. 79. The ninth generation from Sayyid 'Isī, Bābā Rasūl Gewra is considered the progenitor of the influential family of the orthodox Naḳshbandī sayyids of Barzindja widely spread throughout Iraq, cf. Edmonds, l.c., 69 and 184.]

After S. Isḥaḳ there is a considerable confusion in the sequence of theophanies in the lists connected with the original branch of the sect. It is as yet obscure which of them fell into the category of less complete or temporary, manifestations of the Godhead (*shāh-mihmān*, in the terminology of the *Firḳan*). In general the tendency of the Ibrāhīmī sayyids is to establish some family links between such epiphanies and S. Isḥaḳ (chiefly through the Haftuwāna). The branch of the Ātash-begis believes in a more rigid series of three additional theophanies (V. Ḳirmizi ; VI. Muḥammad-beg ; VII. Khān-Ātash).

A saint of great importance in the Gūrān circles is Ibrāhīm considered to be S. Isḥaḳ's grandson (through one of the Haftuwāna). Ibrāhīm lies buried in Baghdad (perhaps in Kirkūk ?) and in a kalām he is described as one who gave up Baghdad to ' the sack ' (*tārādj*). This hint might fit into the scheme of S. Isḥaḳ's descendance (see above) as the time of Ibrāhīm would fall into the second half of the fourteenth century when Baghdad, under the Djalā'irs and the Turkmans of Ḳara-ḳoyunlu and Aḳ-ḳoyunlu, often changed hands.

Returning now to the theophanies of the Ātash-begis we can state that the area of Ḳirmizi's activities is still placed in the Gūrān territory of the Sīrwān basin. One might think that the popular name of Ḳirmizi (' clad in crimson ') is identical with that of Aḥmad Mīra-Sūr (' Red Mīr '), one of the Haftuwāna who lies buried near Khurmāl in Shahrazūr (see Edmonds, 186, 200).

The typical point about Ḳirmizi is that the kalāms of his companion Ḳushči-oghlī are in the Turkish dialect of Āzarbaidjān, which would also be suitable for the middle of the fourteenth century when the post-Mongolian dynasties (see above) tried to link Baghdad with Tabrīz.

Muḥammad-beg began his career among the Dilfān of northern Luristan and later moved to Ādjarī where he began his predications. Adjarī is a district on the eastern bank of the Djaghatu river which from the S.E. flows into Lake Urmiya. The *Sarandjam* mentions the clashes of Muḥammad-beg with the Bilbās (a well-known tribe of the Mukri Kurds, to the W. of the Djaghatu).

After Muḥammad-beg's death his son Khān Ātash was chosen to succeed him at the behest of an apparition clad in crimson (*ḳirmizi-pūsh*) which suggests some affiliation of the sixth and seventh theophanies to the fifth theophany of Ḳirmizi. Ivanow, 1953, pp. 172–7, quotes a curious text purporting to belong to an eye-witness of Khān Ātash's exploits. In it his miracles are mentioned

under the years 1080–2/1669–71 and his intention to leave this world is announced in 1114/1704.

Khān Ātash is said to have assumed the shape of a falcon and flown skywards from Mt. Sahand (south of Tabrīz), but his mausoleum is in the village bearing his name and lying N.E. of the said mountain on one of the tributaries of the Ḳizil-özän (Safīd-rūd). It now forms a small administrative centre. The brother (and one of the 'angels') of Khān Ātash, with the latter's family, moved to Kermānshāh and we possess a complete list of the seven descendants of Khān Ātash, of whom Aghābakhsh died in 1917 in Garrabān, a village situated 40 km. S. of Kermanshah, just below the confluence of the Gāmāsīāb and the Ḳara-su forming the Seimarreh (Karkhā).

The dates of Khān Ātash allow us to assign to his father Muḥammad-beg a period in the first part of the seventeenth century (some time after the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I). The contacts of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ with the Ṣafawids are reflected in the *Ḳutb-nāma*. This remarkable poem, composed in Āzarbaidjān Turkish, carefully enumerates all the manifestations of the Godhead, see Minorsky, *Matériaux*, pp. 72–82; verse 46 states that at the time of Khatā'ī '(God) spoke in Turkish and became the *pīr* of Turkistan'. We now know that Khatā'ī was the *nom de plume* of Shāh Ismā'īl I who addressed his Turkman followers in Turkish verse. In this case 'Turkistan' refers to Āzarbaidjān and other territories occupied by the Turkman tribes (cf. Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 26a). Thus the ultra-shi'ite Ismā'īl (907–30/1502–24), under the modest title of *pīr*, is introduced into the syncretic pantheon of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ between S. Isḥaḳ and Ḳirmizi, which may also serve as a useful indication for establishing the time of the latter.

Distribution of the Sect. The cradle of the sect is definitely the territory occupied by the Gūrāns and now split between Iraq and Persia. The Gūrān are an agricultural race speaking a language cognate with the dialects of Central Persia, see Minorsky, 'The Gūrān', *BSOAS*, 1943, XI/I, pp. 75–103. The Kākā'i chiefs of Ta'ūḳ claim to be direct descendants of S. Isḥaḳ, see al-'Azzāwi, *al-Kākā'iyya*. Many Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ sanctuaries are scattered in Shahrazūr, see Edmonds, l.c., 200. The great sanctuaries of Perdivar (in Aurāmān-i Luhūn), Bābā-Yadegār (in Zohāb), Benyamīn (in Kirind) lie within the Persian territory. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ tribes and colonies are found in many places to the north of the ancient road from Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn to Kermānshāh (the tribe of Sendjābī includes some sunni divisions living in peaceful coexistence with the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ).

A number of tribes of Northern Luristan (Dilfān, etc.) are Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. Numerous groups of the sect are found in Hamadan, Tehran, Warāmīn, Māzandarān (Kalārdasht), and even in Khorasān where one of the brothers of Khān-Ātash is said to have migrated. In the Turkish speaking Azarbaidjan the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are numerous in the region of Tabrīz-Marāgha (round Mt. Sahand), and in Mākū (the district of Ḳara-ḳoyunlu). Adherents of the sect are even found to the north of the Araxes (in Ḳara-bagh).

In view of the dispersion and secrecy of the sectarians and of the fact that in towns they belong to the modest classes of the population it is impossible to give a general estimate of their numbers. (For details see Minorsky, *Notes*, pp. 41–59.)

Literature. The first references to the genuine Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ are found in the European travellers at the beginning of the nineteenth century: Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, 141; G. Keppel, *Personal narrative of a journey from India to England*, 1817, II, 61 ff. H. Rawlinson, who commanded a regiment recruited from the tribe of Gūrān (Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ), was the first to give any reliable information about the sect, 'Notes on a march from Zohab', *JRGS*, 1839, 36, 39, 53, 57, 95, 97, 99, 105, 109. Baron de Bode visited the shrine of Bābā Yādegār, *Biblioteka dl'a čteniya*, St. Petersburg, 1854, t. cxxiii, p. 45, cf. also his *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, I, 371–8; II, 180. The first general outline of the doctrines of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is in *Trois ans en Asie*, by Gobineau, Paris, 1859, 338–70, who was in direct contact with the representative of the sect in Teheran, see Schemann, *Gobineau, eine Biographie*, Strasburg, 1913, I, 506–7, and Minorsky, 'Gobineau et la Perse', in *Europe*, Paris, Oct., 1923, 116–27. An interesting anonymous article (signed: Sh.) on the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Tabrīz appeared in the journal *Kavkaz*, Tiflis, 1876, nos. 27, 29, and 30. The first authentic document of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ (a *Kalām* of thirty-four verses, 'the Credo'), was published with important notes by V. A. Žukowsky in the *Zap.*, 1887, 1–25. The American missionary, S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1896, collected a certain amount of information at first hand. In 1902 Minorsky acquired in Teheran an authentic Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ MS, dated 1295/1843 and containing a collection of religious legends listed under epochs (see above) (*Kitāb-i Sarandjām* 'Book of the Fulfilment') in Persian, and also a number of *Kalāms* in Turkish (translated and published in Russian with a French summary: V. Minorsky, *Materiali dl'a izučeniya persidskoy sekti 'L'udi Istinī ili "Ali-Ilahi"'*, Moscow, 1911, published as fasc. XXXIII of *Trudi po vostokovedeniyu izdavayemïye Lazarevskim Institutom*. Idem, 'Notes sur la secte des Ahlé-Haqq', in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1920, 20–97 (pp. 61–84: detailed bibliography containing fifty-four items), and 1921, pp. 205–302 (also published in book form with certain additions); a review by F. Cumont in *Syria*, 1922, p. 262. V. Minorsky, 'Un traité de polémique Behaï—Ahlé-Haqq', in *JA*, 1921, 165–7. Dr. Saeed-Khan, 'The sect of Ahl-i Haqq', in *Moslem World*, 1927, 31–42. Gordlevsky, 'Karakoyunlu', in *Izv. Obsčestva izuceniya Azerbaydjana*, Baku, 1927. Ajarian, 'Gyorans and Toumaris, a newly found religion in Persia', in *Bull. de l'Université d'Erivan*, French translation by F. Macler in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, 1926, 294–307. V. Minorsky, 'Etudes sur les Ahl-i Haqq: 'Toumari' = Ahl-i Haqq', in *RHR*, 1928, 90–105. F. M. Stead, 'The Ali-Ilahi sect in Persia', *MW*, 1932, 184–9. Y. N. Marr, 'Radeniye sektï L'udi istinī' (in Y. Marr, *Statyi i soobščeniya*, II, 1939, 248–54). Ch. P. Pittman, 'The final word of the Ahl-i Haqq', *MW*, 1937, 147–63 (makes use of a text of the *Sarandjām* which closely corresponds to that translated by Minorsky). W. Ivanow, *An Ali-Ilahi fragment, Collectanea* (The Ismā'īlī Society), I, 1948, 147–84; idem, *The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan, Ahl-i Haqq*, Texts, Bombay, 1953 (the text and analysis of the *Tadhkira-yi a'lā*, which in fact is an amplified copy of the Ātashbegī text (*Sarandjām*) translated by Minorsky and Pittman; in the Appendix

Ivanow gives some additional texts and fragments on Khān-Ātash, etc.). 'Abbās al-'Azzawī, *al-Kākāiya fil-ta'rīkh*, Baghdad, 1368/1949 (the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ of Kirkūk considered jointly with various 'Ali-Ilāhīs); reviewed by Minorsky in *Oriens*, 1953, pp. 408–12. Minorsky, 'Un poème Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ en turk', in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, 1954, pp. 258–62. M. Mokri, 'Cinquante-deux versets de Cheikh Amīr', *JA*, 1956, No. 4, pp. 391–422 (the poet, who belongs to the Khāmūshī division, briefly tells about the first four theophanies but is silent on the successors of Sulṭān Isḥāḳ). Idem, 'Le symbole de la Perle dans le foklore persan et chez les Kurdes fidèles de Vérité', *JA*, 1960, No. 4: on pp. 476–8 the author quotes several Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ MSS in his possession, such as *Shāh-nāma-yi ḥaḳīḳat*, *'Alam-i Ḥaḳīḳat*, etc. C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 1957, contains a chapter on the *Kākā'īs* of Iraq (pp. 182–201) full of carefully checked information. [The latest accession to the literature is the treatise *Burhān al-Ḥaḳḳ* by Nūr 'Alī Ilāhī (son of the author of *Firḳān*), Tehran, 1312/1963, 176 pp. This is the first printed book by a genuine representative of the sect. Though above all Nūr 'Alī Ilāhī tries to conciliate his creed with the common Shī'a views, his statements on the saints and branches of the sect, his descriptions of the rites and his interpretations of the Gūrānī quotations merit all attention. Cf. also a further contribution of M. Mokri, 'La Pierre Noire' in *J.A.*, 1962, fasc. 3, pp. 369–433, presenting some more Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ materials in his possession.]

Additions

P. 307. **Ranzbar* ('keeper of mysteries') is the title of Dāyarāk, mother of S. Isḥāḳ.

P. 310, last line. 'The journey to the Beyond' happened during Ni'mat Allāh's grave illness, at the age of thirty. God (MS., p. 28, l. 8) appointed him his representative (*valī va nā'ib*) in expectation of the appearance of the *Ṣāḥib-zamān* and told him to announce that this event was imminent (MS., p. 25, l. 8).

P. 313, line 14. The problem of 'temporary manifestation' is discussed in detail by the author of the *Burhān* in the chapter on the *khānadāns*, pp. 55–64.

LA PERSE AU XVe SIÈCLE

1. Pour ma communication [1] j'ai choisi une époque dont les complexités n'ont pas été toutes débrouillées, mais sur les divers aspects de laquelle j'ai souvent concentré mon attention, croyant y trouver les racines de la Perse moderne. Du reste, c'est la période durant laquelle on voit s'établir des relations d'amitié entre la république de St. Marc et les gouvernants contemporains de l'Irân, et à ce titre j'ose espérer que le thème pourra être de quelque intérêt pour mes auditeurs romains.

« Que devient la lune lorsqu'elle disparaît ? » a-t-on demandé un jour au fameux sage oriental. « On la morcelle en étoiles », répondit le vieux Khodja Nasr ed-din. Ce phénomène est bien connu en Perse où, après chaque conquête globale par un envahisseur, on voyait surgir dans chaque coin du plateau iranien de petites principautés qui, du point de vue culturel, étaient loin de marquer un temps d'arrêt ou de régression. Leurs petites cours, en effet, étaient avides de tout ce qui pouvait rehausser leur prestige et leur splendeur.

Dans la première partie du XIVe siècle une constellation de petites principautés fleurit sur les ruines de l'état mongol en Perse (XIIIe–XIVe siècle), pour être éclipsée, vers la fin du même siècle par la nouvelle pleine lune de Tamerlan. Les conquêtes de celui-ci créèrent une unité artificielle dans l'aire énorme faite de territoires hétéroclites, distincts par leur géographie, leur ethnographie, leur culture et leur passé historique, qui s'étendaient de l'Asie Centrale à l'Inde, à la Russie méridionale, et jusqu'à la Méditerranée. Cet agglomération de pays manquait entièrement de cohésion : à peine les hordes tchaghataï quittaient-elles une région qu'elle repartait en dissidence et qu'il fallait la reconquérir de force.

Les petites principautés furent remplacées par des gouvernements tenus par des descendants de Tamerlan. Mais ce principe paternel n'assura l'unité que pour peu de temps car, déjà sous le successeur de Tamerlan, le grave et pondéré Châhrukh, les rivalités et les conflits reprirent de plus belle.

2. De toute façon, pendant que la tradition du grand empire tchaghataï survivait à l'est, à l'ouest du monde musulman se levait le nouvel astre de l'empire Ottoman. Après la mort de Tamerlan, les deux puissantes monarchies n'en vinrent plus aux prises, car entre elles se trouva un territoire-tampon dont les destins vont occuper notre attention. Ce territoire anciennement habité par les Arméniens, les Kurdes, les Araméens, et les Arabes, était maintenant contrôlé par des tribus turcomanes. Or les Turcomans Oghuz étaient les tribus qui firent leur apparition dans l'Asie Antérieure au onzième siècle lorsque, sous l'égide de la dynastie des Seldjouks, elles s'étaient répandues à travers la Perse, en Transcaucasie, en Arménie, en Anatolie et en Syrie. A l'origine les Turcs Ottomans étaient aussi des Turcomans, mais, chose

[1] Faite à l'Istituto per il Medio ed il Estremo Oriente Rome, le 25, V, 1956. Cf. mes études préalables Nos. 72, 115, 118, 156, 161, 162, 164, 171, 172, 184.

étrange, leur unité ethnique n'assurait pas la concorde entre eux et les Turcomans. Les Ottomans, attirés dans l'orbite de la Méditerranée, se sédentarisaient, et, en prenant racine, acquéraient les habitudes des anciens peuples civilisés qu'ils remplaçaient maintenant sur cette arène historique. Pendant ce temps-là, les masses des Turcomans restaient nomades, et les tendances quelque peu anarchiques de ce mode d'existence (« way of life ») les séparaient de plus en plus des Ottomans. A présent, lorsque les Turcs de Turquie manifestent tant d'intérêt pour leurs confrères de Perse, de la Transcaucasie et de l'Asie Centrale, il est étonnant de lire quels termes les vieux historiens Ottomans appliquaient aux Turcomans. Sa'd ed-din, les traitait de « Turcs sans compréhension » (*atrâk-i bî idrâk*), de « Turcomans sans foi » (*Turkmân-i bî îmân*), de brigands (*achqiyâ*), etc.

A l'époque mongole on entend peu parler de ces Turcomans du Moyen Orient qui restent masqués par la couche administrative mongole. Mais après la chute des Mongols on voit apparaître deux confédérations puissantes des Turcomans : ceux du Mouton Noir (au Nord du lac de Van) et ceux du Mouton Blanc (entre Diyarbakr et Erzéroum). On croit que ces noms reflètent les totems des fédérations, qui auraient figuré aussi sur leurs étendards, mais nous possédons quelques spécimens du drapeau Aq-qoyunlu (ceux du Mouton Blanc) sans ces images. Peut-être s'agissait-il seulement des races de troupeaux élevés par ces deux groupes nomades.

Il faut également faire une remarque sociologique. On appliquait parfois aux Qara-qoyunlu (ceux du Mouton Noir) le nom de *Bahârlu*, et aux Aq-qoyunlu celui de *Bayandur*. Il n'y a aucun doute que ce soient là des façons de désigner les clans dominants, autour desquels s'opéra l'union des autres éléments constitutifs des fédérations qui se composaient de nombreux clans et divisions de clans.

Je crois avoir établi que les chefs Bahârlu devaient être originaires de la bourgade de Bahâr près de Hamadan en Perse, où, en effet, il y avait existé une vielle principauté turcomane. La plupart de ces chefs paraissent avoir péri en se rangeant autour du caliphe, au moment de la marche de Hulagu khan sur Baghdad (1256), mais quelques rejetons de la famille durent conserver assez de prestige pour imposer leur autorité à leurs congénères sous le ciel de l'ancienne Arménie. Des considérations semblables s'appliquent aux Bayandurs, chefs des Aq-qoyunlu.

Dans l'épopée de Dede-Qorqud, que notre regretté collègue E. Rossi a rendue familière au monde occidental, on trouve un tableau de la vie des Turcomans. Le fond de l'épopée remonte encore au temps où ils vivaient en Asie Centrale, mais les détails de la version existante reflètent le cadre géographique du plateau arménien et de l'Anatolie.

Partagés ensuite entre deux dynasties rivales, les Turcomans différaient beaucoup au point de vue de leur orientation politique. Ceux du Mouton Noir étaient d'abord étroitement associés à la dynastie des Djalayirs qui continuait la tradition mongole et s'appuyait sur deux capitales : Tabriz et

Baghdad. Avec les Djalayirs les chefs Qara-qoyunlu partagèrent le choc des invasions de Tamerlan et plusieurs exils. Plus tard ils se substituèrent à leurs anciens maîtres, pour supporter à eux seuls la pression des Timourides.

De leur côté, les Aq-qoyunlu de Diyarbakr tournaient leurs regards inquiets vers le nord et l'ouest et voyaient d'un œil jaloux le pouvoir grandissant des Ottomans. Pour eux les Timourides étaient des alliés autant contre leurs rivaux, les Qara-qoyunlu, que contre les Ottomans. Aussi est-ce aux côtés de Timour qu'ils prirent part à la bataille d'Ankara (1402), où le Sultan Bayazid fut fait prisonnier.

On voit le jeu compliqué des intérêts des deux fédérations occupant des territoires sur lesquels chacun des deux grands empires contemporains avait des visées. La situation était rendue plus aigüe par les différences dans l'attitude religieuse des deux dynasties. Les Aq-qoyunlu suivaient la voie d'orthodoxie sunnite, tandis que plusieurs princes Qara-qoyunlu étaient soupçonnés d'hérésie, comme nous allons le voir tantôt.

3. Pour compléter le tableau général, il faut mentionner ici encore un facteur qui acquit une importance primordiale dans la suite, et qui est l'existence à Ardabil, entre Tabriz et la Caspienne, d'un centre religieux des descendants du grand cheikh Safî al-dîn, contemporain des derniers Mongols.

Récemment un document mongol a été trouvé à Téhéran concernant les faveurs accordées par l'il-khan Abu-Sa'îd aux descendants du chef spirituel de Safî al-dîn. En commentant son contenu, j'ai été quelque peu frappé par les astuces dont Safî al-dîn avait usé pour écarter les descendants de son propre chef spirituel et pour occuper sa place. D'autre part la correspondance du grand vizir Rachid al-din, publiée à Lahore en 1947, confirme pleinement la vénération dont jouissait la famille des cheikhs d'Ardabil vivant dans l'odeur de sainteté et encore complètement orthodoxes. La théorie de leur origine alide paraît avoir été inventée plus tard, et le titre de *sayyid* qui convient aux membres de la famille du Prophète, n'accompagne pas le nom des premiers cheikhs. Rien, non plus, n'indique leur appartenance à la race turque car les poèmes de Safî al-dîn, qui nous sont parvenus, sont en persan ou en dialecte iranien local. Les premiers adeptes de la famille devaient être les habitants du district de Talych, qui jusqu'à nos jours conservent leur dialecte iranien, et les paysans que les sources désignent par le nom de *kabûd-pûchân*, « ceux vêtus de bleu », c'est-à-dire probablement de tissus fabriqués à la maison. Mais la région d'Ardabil, adjacente à la steppe de Moûghân, riche en pâturages, avait de bonne heure attiré de nombreux nomades turcs, et, pour mieux pouvoir pénétrer dans leurs cœurs, les Safavides durent certainement apprendre leur langue, comme nous le voyons plus tard dans les poésies de Châh Ismâ'îl composées en turk d'Azerbaïdjân. Une fois les Turcomans des environs d'Ardabil convertis, par une chaîne de réaction, la propagande safavide se répandit à travers toute la zône habitée de Turcomans et, pour maintenir la ferveur des adeptes, des *khalîfas* (*locum tenentes*) spéciaux furent nommés auprès des tribus. Ces agents de liaison jouèrent ensuite le rôle principal dans l'élévation des Safavides.

Il ne sera pas hors de propos de remarquer ici que, malgré ses origines démocratiques, l'Islam sunnite était devenu le symbole et le soutien d'un état organisé, avec un cortège de prescriptions et de règles qui concernaient en première ligne les citadins. La réglementation minutieuse qu'il donne à la vie ne cadrait pas bien avec les habitudes des nomades. L'Afrique du Nord, le Kurdistan et l'Asie Centrale nous fournissent des examples de la préférence que les nomades montraient pour la direction des chefs des ordres religieux. Ces santons comprenaient mieux les coutumes locales, et le prestige de leur sainteté était plus direct et plus compréhensible que les finesses juridiques des théologiens et des légistes. Ce qu'on cherchait était l'autorité spirituelle et la manifestation tangible et visible des forces surnaturelles.

Dans notre cas il faut surtout se souvenir de la quantité d'énergie que les Ottomans eurent à déployer afin d'annexer les principautés turcomanes d'Asie Mineure et pour incorporer les nomades dans leur système politique. Les révoltes contre les Ottomans, organisées par des chefs derviches au XIVe siècle, avaient laissé des traces en Anatolie, et maintenant les chefs dirigeants turcomans voyaient sans déplaisir l'existence du centre éloigné d'Ardabil. Il leur permettait de se concentrer dans le sens opposé à la menace de l'étatisme ottoman, centralisateur et niveleur.

4. Après la liquidation en 1410 de leurs anciens suzerains Djalâyirs, les Qara-qoyunlu occupèrent Tabriz et de cette capitale tâchèrent de se répandre en Perse par les brèches qui s'ouvraient dans le mur Timouride. Tout récemment on a vu paraître dans le *rifacimento* turc de l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam* un aperçu soigné (par F. Sümer) de l'histoire des Qara-qoyunlu depuis les débuts de leur dynastie en 1378 jusqu'à 1469. La période de l'indomptable amir Iskandar (1420–37) est surtout pleine de batailles sanglantes avec les Timourides, de revers pénibles et de raids audacieux. La confrontation des données de l'historien ecclésiastique arménien Thomas de Metsop' avec le cadre chronologique de l'histoire des Timourides, connue sous le nom de *Matla' al-sa'dain* (dont l'édition a été complétée à Lahore en 1949), a permis de restaurer le tableau des souffrances de la population arménienne prise dans l'étau de ces féroces incursions. Thomas souligne le fait que les autres populations voisines, telles que les Kurdes, souffraient autant que les Chrétiens.

Pendant le long règne du frère et successeur d'Iskandar, Djihân-châh (1437–67), les affaires se tassèrent considérablement. Une ligne de délimitation avec les Timourides fut d'abord établie, qui laissait en possession des Qara-qoyunlu la province de l'Azerbaydjan, mais ensuite les Qara-qoyunlu se répandirent jusqu'au Golfe Persique et pour quelque temps occupèrent même la splendide capitale des Timourides, Herat.

Comme nous avons dit, l'époque des Qara-qoyunlu est suspecte au point de vue de l'orthodoxie. Les sources mésopotamiennes [1] accusent plusieurs princes de déviations sérieuses allant jusqu'au rapprochement avec les chefs

[1] Surtout *al-Ta'rîkh al-Ghiyâthî* qui jusqu'ici nous est surtout connu par les citations dans l'histoire de l'Iraq du maître Abbas Azzaoui

ultra-chiites de la région du Chatt-al-Arab (connus sous le nom de *Mucha'cha'*) et même jusqu'aux sympathies envers les doctrines chrétiennes. Djihân-châh lui-même était un homme de culture considérable et dans ses moments perdus s'adonnait à la poésie. J'ai eu l'occasion d'analyser le manuscrit unique de son *divan* de poésies persanes et turcomanes d'inspiration fadement pieuse, sans y découvrir de traces particulières de déviation religieuse, excepté peut-être dans quelques expressions indiquant des sympathies alides. Mais le détail le plus curieux est que l'exemplaire du British Museum, transcrit 21 ans après la mort de Djihân-châh, lui donne le titre suggestif de *Sultân al-'ârifin* (*Le Sultan des gnostiques*), qui révèle des ambitions spirituelles dépassant les préoccupations directes qu'on pouvait attribuer à ce rude guerrier.

De toute façon, une certaine réaction contre la rigidité de la *sunna* à l'époque des Qara-qoyunlu est un fait indéniable. Nous avons mentionné les Moucha'cha' chiites qui à cette époque dominaient dans la Basse Mésopotamie. J'ai démontré que le fondateur de la dynastie chiite des Quṭb-châhs, qui commença à régner au Deccan, dans l'Inde, en 1543, était un arrière-petit-fils du farouche Iskandar. J'ai toujours le sentiment que la religion des Ahl-i Haqq (« Gens de la Vérité »), qui s'est presque complètement détachée de l'Islam, avait revêtu son organisation définitive à l'époque des Qara-qoyunlu. Il y a un demi-siècle, me trouvant dans le ci-devant khanat de Makou, j'étais arrivé dans un canton dont le nom de Qara-qoyunlu m'intriguait. A mon vif étonnement j'ai pu me convaincre qu'il était peuplé d'Ahl-i Haqq, avec lesquels j'entretenais d'excellentes relations. C'était une coïncidence suggestive qui permettait de remonter aux origines de mes amis, les Gens de la Vérité.

Tels sont les symptômes qui reflètent l'atmosphère de l'époque et qui peuvent nous préparer pour le changement radical dans la politique safavide.

Djihân-châh entretenait de bonnes relations avec Ardabil, et nous apprenons par notre historien arménien (Thomas de Metsop') qu'en 1440 le « cheikh cruel »,— à ce qui parait, Ibrâhîm, arrière-grand-père de Châh Ismaïl,— l'accompagna dans son expédition contre la Géorgie chrétienne. Plus tard, Djihân-châh soutint l'autorité du frère d'Ibrâhîm et lui permit d'expulser le fils d'Ibrâhîm, Djunayd, dont le caractère entreprenant causait des inquiétudes.

5. Nous venons de voir qu'en Asie Antérieure, au XVe siècle, la *sunna* était rongée de plusieurs côtés par une sorte d'inquiétude religieuse. Beaucoup de tribus écoutaient la parole venant d'Ardabil. D'autre part le jeune et hardi cheikh Djunayd ressentait certainement son exil à la suite de sa brouille avec son oncle, l'orthodoxe. On comprend donc son désir de faire peau neuve pour reprendre, en son nom, la direction des ouailles turcomanes. En se proclamant successeur des imâms chiites et l'incarnation de leur substance divine, il se préparait à jouer un rôle beaucoup plus actif et important que celui d'un mystique assis sur le tapis (*poûstîn*) de la méditation et acceptant de pieuses offrandes.

Djunayd passa six ans en exil (de 1449 à 1456) en Syrie et en Anatolie où, selon le vieil historien ottoman « il marchait parmi les nomades » (*yürükte*

yürürken). Pendant cette période turbulente il entreprit même une expédition contre l'empire de Trébizonde, mais sans succès.[1] Finalement le jeune cheikh trouva asile chez le maître des Aq-qoyunlu.

Pendant que l'attention des Qara-qoyunlu était tournée vers le plateau iranien, leurs rivaux du Mouton Blanc tâchaient de consolider leur position en Arménie et suivaient d'un œil jaloux les succès des Ottomans, qui après la prise de Costantinople en 1453, étaient devenus libres d'arrondir leurs possessions en Anatolie. La figure centrale dans l'histoire des Aq-qoyunlu est le prince Hasan, en vénitien Assambei, surnommé « le Long » à cause de sa haute stature : en turc *Uzun Hasan*, en arabe *Hasan al-Tawîl*. C'est chez lui que Djunayd passa trois ans, et Uzun Hasan le traita avec tant d'égards qu'il lui donna sa propre sœur en mariage. Les prétentions religieuses de son beau-frère devaient froisser l'orthodoxie impeccable de Uzun Hasan, mais il appréciait sans doute le fait que Djunayd était un refugié venu de chez ses rivaux Qara-qoyunlu, et que les relations qu'il avait établies avec les Turcomans occidentaux pourraient verser de l'eau au moulin des Aq-qoyunlu.

6. Ici nous voyons entrer en scène le quatrième élément, lequel, dans une certaine mesure, influença la marche des évènements. L'empire gréco-géorgien des Comnènes de Trébizonde, qui vivait ses derniers jours, essayait d'apaiser la turbulence de ses voisins barbares en leur donnant en mariage des princesses impériales, dont la beauté était célèbre à travers l'Asie Antérieure. C'est ainsi que, d'après Chalcocondylas (ch. IX) l'empereur de Trébizonde avait établi des liens de famille avec les Aq-qoyunlu (*hoï Leukoï 'Asprobatantes*), la famille du prince Timouride Djoûkî et les fils de Qara-Yusuf Qara-qoyunlu. Déjà le grandpère de Uzun Hasan avait pour mère une princesse de Trébizonde, et en 1458 le dernier empereur accorda à lui-même la main de sa nièce Kyra Caterina que les sources musulmanes appellent *Despina* (en grec *Despoïna*). Fier de cette parenté, Uzun Hasan voulait assumer le rôle de protecteur de l'empire des Comnènes. En 1460 il envoya son neveu à Constantinople pour prier le Sultan Mehmed II de ne pas molester ses nouveaux parents. Certaines mesures préventives prises par Uzun Hasan irritèrent les Ottomans et en 1461 le Conquérant de Constantinople occupa Trébizonde également. Uzun Hasan dut se contenter de pourparlers diplomatiques conduits par sa mère, laquelle réussit à conserver à sa belle-fille certains trésors héréditaires.

7. Le dénouement était loin d'être satisfaisant pour Uzun Hasan, mais lui-même conservait encore toute sa force. Cette situation fut vite appréciée à Venise. Aussi, dès 1463 le Sénat avait décidé de chercher une alliance avec les Aq-qoyunlu pour parer à la menace Ottomane dans la Méditerranée.[2] Toutefois, les distances constituaient encore des obstacles sérieux pour la réussite de tous ces plans.

[1] Ses randonnées ont été retracées par W. Hinz dans son livre *Irans Aufstieg*, publié en 1936.

[2] J'ai souvent cité cet exemple dans ma série de cas où l'Occident voulait s'appuyer sur le Moyen Orient contre le Proche Orient. Je le faisais pour maintenir la distinction historico-géographique qu'il faut faire entre ces deux régions.

Le premier ambassadeur vénitien, Quirini, partit pour la Perse en 1463. Ensuite deux ambassadeurs de Uzun Hasan visitèrent Venise. Pendant ce temps là, en 1467 et 1469, le chef des Aq-qoyunlu rehaussa son prestige par deux victoires éclatantes. Lorsque Djihân-châh Qara-qoyunlu marcha sur lui, il épia ses movements à travers l'Arménie et, profitant d'un moment d'insouciance, attaqua son camp. Djihân-châh perdit la vie et en peu de mois son état s'écroula. C'est alors que le dernier Timouride énergique Abû-Sa'îd crut le moment venu de faire valoir les anciens droits de sa famille sur la Perse. Avec une énorme armée il partit de Herat contre Uzun Hasan mais les rigueurs de l'hiver de l'Azarbaydjan et le manque de vivres décimèrent ses troupes. Abû-Sa'îd, fait prisonnier, fut mis à mort par un Timouride, à qui on avait reconnu à cet effet un droit de *vendetta*.

Tout le plateau iranien gisait maintenant aux pieds d'Uzun Hasan. Il devenait une force de premier ordre, bien qu'il soit possible qu'en dispersant ses forces sur des territoires aussi vastes, il eût affaibli son front occidental.

En 1469 les Ottomans enlevèrent aux Vénitiens l'île d'Eubée (Négroponte), que la république avait possédée pendant 264 ans. Tandis que l'envoyé de Uzun Hasan insistait pour recevoir des armes perfectionnées, la Sérénissime eut la brillante idée d'envoyer en Perse Caterino Zeno, marié à la nièce de Despina Caterina, épouse de Uzun Hasan. Zeno fut très aimablement reçu au palais, et « ce qu'il y a de plus extraordinaire — remarque Ramusio — il pouvait entrer dans les appartements privés même lorsque les deux majestés étaient au lit ». Finalement Messer Iosaphat Barbaro fut chargé d'un convoi de 6 *bombarde*, 600 *spingarde*, des *schiopetti* et des munitions, accompagnés de 200 fusiliers avec leurs officiers. Dans les instructions données à Barbaro il était dit que « Venise ne concluerait jamais de paix avec les Ottomans avant de les avoir forcés à céder à la Perse toute l'Asie Mineure jusqu'aux Détroits ». Ces promesses dépassaient certainement la limite du possible. Barbaro fut longtemps retardé à Chypre, où il prit part aux opérations de la flotte de l'amiral Mocenigo, et le convoi d'armes à feu n'arriva jamais à sa destination. Pendant ce temps là, soit sur sa propre initiative, soit sur les instances d'ambassadeurs habiles, Hasan avait déjà engagé la lutte en Asie Mineure.

L'armée du sultan, sous son commandement personel, se mit en branle, et malgré un succès initial de Uzun Hasan, le feu de l'artillerie ottomane faucha ses troupes et il dut battre en retraite jusqu'à Tabriz.

Maintenant plusieurs ambassadeurs vénitiens se pressèrent à sa cour : Ognibene, Barbaro (très en retard !) et Ambrogio Contarini. Uzun Hasan les entretenait de promesses de *cavalcar adosso all'Ottoman*, mais lorsque les troupes furent rassemblées il les détourna soudain contre la Géorgie, laquelle jusque là jouait le rôle d'un associé dans les plans de l'alliance entre le lion de St. Marc et celui du Soleil Levant.[1]

[1] Mon ami G. Levi della Vida me rappelle la survivance dans le parler vénitien de nos jours de l'expression *far un sancassan* « faire du fracas, du désordre ».

Uzun Hasan décéda le 6 janvier 1478 et fut bientôt remplacé par son fils Ya'qûb. Au cours de l'année 1485 encore, on voit présents au camp persan près de Qazvin des représentants polonais, hongrois, et l'envoyé du bailo vénitien de Costantinople, pendant que d'autre part Ya'qûb recevait l'ambassadeur ottoman Davoud-pacha. Il ne restait décidément aucun espoir de relancer les Aq-qoyunlu contre la Turquie.

8. Il nous faut ici reprendre l'histoire des Safavides.

Dans des circonstances qui ne sont pas très claires, Djunayd regagna Ardabil après son long séjour auprès de Uzun Hasan. Cette circonstance le rendait sans doute encore plus suspect aux yeux de Djihân-châh. Même si ce dernier avait quelques velléités chiites, il ne voulait certainement pas que l'initiative politique passât dans les mains d'un autre. L'oncle orthodoxe de Djunayd était encore en vie et, comme son fils était marié à la fille de Djihân-châh, il devait se ranger aux opinions de son souverain. Sentant sa position à Ardabil embarassante, Djunayd eut l'idée agréable à tout musulman d'aller combattre « les infidèles » au Caucase du Nord. L'entreprise lui réussit et il se préparait à la recommencer lorsque le Chirvanchah, maître des territories au nord de la Koura, s'opposa à son passage à travers ses domaines, et Djunayd perdit la vie dans une bataille (en 1460).

Son fils Haïdar, né de la sœur de Uzun Hasan, vit le jour dans le camp des Aq-qoyunlu et, à l'âge de 9 ans, son grand-père maternel (maintenant tout-puissant) l'installa à Ardabil. Plus tard il lui donna pour épouse sa propre fille, née de la princesse de Trébizonde. Les sources vénitiennes donnent à la jeune princesse le nom de Marta, tandis que les musulmans l'appellent Halimeh-begoum.

Haïdar grandit entouré de l'adoration des adeptes de son père qui voyaient en lui une nouvelle incarnation divine. L'histoire de Faḍlullâh b. Rûzbihân, dont je viens de préparer une traduction abrégée,[1] contient des renseignements curieux sur la jeunesse de Haïdar, qui, à l'âge où on doit rester penché sur une ardoise, se passionnait pour les récits des héros du *Châh-nâmeh*. Faḍlullâh était un sunnite zélé, mais certains détails qu'il révèle peuvent servir de correction aux données des sources safavides, rédigées dans un ton purement hagiographique.

Haïdar ne voulait que suivre les voies de son père, et maintenant le désir de venger sa mort s'ajoutait à ses plans. Par trois fois il entreprit des expéditions contre les « Circassiens infidèles ». Comme les Circassiens habitent très loin, au N.O. du Caucase, j'ai longtemps pensé que ce terme était employé d'une façon vague, mais récemment je suis tombé sur un précieux passage, ajouté à la fin de la relation de Giosafà Barbaro. Un moine dominicain lui communiqua les observations qu'il avait faites en 1486 dans la région de la mer d'Azov où régna une grande confusion à la nouvelle des dévastations produites par des fanatiques venus de la Transcaucasie. Ceci coïncide avec le temps de

[1] Paru dans la série de la R. Asiatic Society en 1957.

l'expédition de Haïdar, et il parait qu'en effet le cheikh serait arrivé dans la région de Kabarda, peuplée de Circassiens dont un nombre considérable professait alors la foi chrétienne. Vu les liens de famille, le sultan Ya'qûb Aq-qoyunlu était enclin à trouver des excuses aux aventures de son neveu, mais en 1488 le jeune cheikh, avant de pénetrer dans le *dâr al-harb* des infidèles, se rua sur les domaines du Chirvânchâh, fils du meurtrier de son père. Ce dernier appela Sultan Ya'qub à la rescousse. Des troupes furent envoyées à la poursuite du jeune cheikh et il tomba mortellement frappé d'une flèche. Il laissa trois jeunes fils dont le cadet était le futur fondateur de l'état safavide. Deux ans après (en 1490) Sultan Ya'qûb mourut soudain et les épigones Aq-qoyunlu, ou plutôt les émirs préposés à leur éducation (*atabeks*), commencèrent une série de luttes acharnées.

9. Cette période embrouillée paraissait au premier abord un sujet aride et rébarbatif, mais, en principe, toute époque de troubles contient des révélations et des enseignements. C'est un fait étonnant que les ministres des derniers Aq-qoyunlu formaient des plans pour assainir le régime des fiefs. Sous l'invocation du retour à l'Islam originel, ils voulaient centraliser l'administration et réduire l'arbitraire des émirs féodaux. Ces tentatives finirent en fiasco vu l'opposition des sphères intéressées parmi lesquelles, à côté des détenteurs de fiefs, on voyait des religieux savants qui voulaient garder les bénéfices accordés par les rois. Un autre fait mémorable était la brève apparition sur le trône de Tabriz d'Ahmed-beg, né en exil d'une princesse ottomane et lui-même marié à une fille de Bayazid II. Il fut installé en Perse avec l'appui du sultan et, d'après les historiens, voulait réorganiser l'administration sur le modèle ottoman. Ahmed-beg périt dans la tourmente, mais cet épisode de courte durée montrait dans quelle direction les affaires de la Perse auraient pû s'acheminer : elle allait être engloutie par ses voisins de l'Ouest et de l'Est.

10. Pendant l'époque des troubles les trois jeunes orphelins du Safavide Haïdar étaient tantôt emprisonnés et tantôt associés aux luttes. Leur aîné voulant s'échapper de l'atmosphère de soupçons qui l'entourait à Tabriz, périt dans une escarmouche avec le détachement envoyé à sa poursuite par son oncle Aq-qoyunlu. Les espoirs des adeptes safavides se concentrèrent sur son cadet, Ismâ'îl, qu'ils réussirent à cacher dans une retraite parmi les jungles du Guilan. Il avait 12 ans lorqu'il en sortit pour réunir les amis de sa famille. Dans une bataille sanglante les troupes Aq-qoyunlu furent mises en déroute et à l'âge de 14 ans Ismâ'îl occupa le trône de Tabriz pour fonder l'état que nous voyons encore de nos jours.

Les circonstances de ce succès éclatant ont occupé l'attention de tous les historiens de la Perse, tant indigènes qu'étrangers, mais il reste toujours des détails à éclaircir. Sur l'arrière-plan du Moyen Orient, l'avènement des Safavides peut apparaître comme une troisième tentative d'organiser les Turcomans restés en dehors de l'état centralisé des Ottomans. Mais les fédérations Qara-qoyunlu et Aq-qoyunlu, basées sur l'autorité de certaines familles et sur les liens existant entre les tribus, étaient tour à tour tombées en poussière. Ce que les Safavides

offraient maintenant était d'une nature différente. Leur propagande était conduite par un réseau de lieutenants (*khalîfa*) accrédités auprès des tribus et l'union était basée sur une doctrine politique et religieuse qui coupait à travers le système des clans. En ce temps là l'organisation safavide était une théocratie qui ressemblait beaucoup plus au régime de Lhasa qu'à celui de Calvin à Genève. Il ne s'agissait plus de l'autorité morale des vieux cheikhs orthodoxes. Depuis cheikh Djunayd, à la tête de la pyramide il y avait un personnage qui incarnait la sainteté des imams, et même celle de 'Ali divinisé. On ne sait pas si le nouveau crédo a été jamais rédigé et promulgué en termes clairs, mais tous les observateurs, hostiles ou favorables, ne laissent aucun doute sur la ferme croyance des fidèles en la divinité des Safavides. Un document très intéressant à ce point de vue est le recueil de poèmes que Chah Ismaïl a composé en dialecte turc d'Azerbaydjan pour l'édification de ses acolytes turcomans. Le manuscrit principal que j'ai étudié fut transcrit seulement 18 ans après la mort de l'auteur et, dans un poème, le chah se donne le rang de *fâ'il-i mutlaq* (« Agens absolutus ») et s'arroge la prérogative de la *sidjda* (« prosternation des fidèles ») qui revient exclusivement à Dieu.

En termes laïques, les Safavides s'appuyaient sur un parti unique renforcé par l'exaltation religieuse des *chahisevan* « ceux qui aiment le chah », ou, si on veut, « ceux qui aiment 'Ali », car un des titres du premier imam divinisé était *châh-i vilâyat*. Les histoires citent de nombreuses circonstances où l'on n'arrivait pas à établir l'accord dans quelque affaire importante. Le chah faisait alors appel aux devoirs de ses fidèles (*ṣalâ-yi châh-sevanî*) et tout le monde se résignait à sa volonté.

Il n'y a aucun doute sur l'opposition que Chah Ismaïl, entouré de ses sectateurs turcomans, rencontra parmi la majorité sunnite de la Perse contemporaine. Nous avons des listes de graves interprètes de l'orthodoxie qui durent se taire, s'expatrier, ou même perdirent leur vie, mais les autres classes s'accommodèrent vite des exagérations des principes chiites, lesquels dans l'histoire de la Perse si souvent couvraient des mouvements véritablement populaires.

11. Je dois abréger cet exposé qui est déjà sorti des limites du XVe siècle, mais à la fin la question se pose de savoir, comment le mouvement, qui à l'extérieur avait l'air de la troisième vague de conquête turcomane, a-t-il pu conduire à la création de l'état national persan ? Après 1500 une recrudescence de l'influence turque en Perse est indéniable, surtout à la cour et dans l'administration. Toutefois une considération est d'une importance capitale. La doctrine, ou si on veut, l'hérésie safavide dressa des rideaux de fer entre la Perse et ses voisins de l'Est (les Uzbeks) et de l'Ouest (les Ottomans), et sous la protection de ces rideaux, défendus surtout par les éléments *châh-sevan* turcomans, la Perse eut le temps de restaurer la conscience de son individualité nationale et de travailler à la prospérité et à l'embellissement du pays. Jusqu'à nos jours la Perse est pleine de monuments et de souvenirs artistiques de l'époque safavide, et le caractère du peuple garde des traces des impulsions données par Chah Ismaïl et ses successeurs.

IBN FARĪGHŪN AND THE *ḤUDŪD AL-'ĀLAM*

1

THE short encyclopedia of human knowledge bearing the name of *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* has attracted the attention of several Oriental and European scholars. Speaking only of recent years, in 1950 Professor H. Ritter described two copies preserved in the libraries of Turkey.[1] In 1952 Professor F. Rosenthal wrote with much interest of the historical part of the *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* giving the author's name as 'Ibn Farīghūn' and dating his work from about the middle of the tenth century.[2] A considerable step forward in identifying the author was made by Dr. D. M. Dunlop in 1955.[3]

Though several copies of the work are known in Egypt, the Escorial Library and Turkey, the correct personal name of the author is only approximately known. It is spelt شعيـــا,[4] معن, معبى. His patronymic ابن فريعون had been read as Ibn Furay'ūn, etc. until it was fixed as Ibn Farīghūn, and thus immediately a link was established between the author and the region of Gōzgān, in eastern Khorasan [5] (now in northern Afghanistan).

In the title of his book the author is described as a pupil (*tilmīdh*) of Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Zayd (? !) al-Balkhī. Despite a divergence in the pedigree (ابن زيد for ابن سهل), probably due to the scribe, both Ritter and Dunlop take this scholar for the well-known author of the *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm*, the geographical work re-edited and completed by Iṣṭakhrī. Balkhī died on 19 Dhul-qa'da 322/ 31 October 934 at the age of eighty-seven or eighty-eight.[6]

As also indicated in the title of the *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm*, the work was presented to the amir Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. [Abī Bakr] Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar, whom Dr. Dunlop has appropriately identified with the well-known feudal lord of Chaghāniyān, who belonged to the local dynasty of Āl-i Muḥtāj. In 329/940 Abū 'Alī [7] succeeded his father as the governor of Khorasan on behalf of the

[1] H. Ritter, *Philologica (XIII)*, in *Oriens*, 1950, III/1, pp. 83–5, No. 189.

[2] See *A history of Muslim historiography*, 1952, pp. 32–4: 'The work is a comprehensive encyclopedia in tabular form, which is a remarkable arrangement found in so early a period. The main topic in each case is written in large letters. Thin lines lead from it to the detailed explanations which are written in smaller letters and, as a rule, vertically'.

[3] *The Ǧawāmi' al-'ulūm of Ibn Farīǧūn*, in *Z. V. Togan'a Armağan*, Istanbul, 1955, pp. 348–53. For references to manuscripts see this article.

[4] Which led Steinschneider to read it as *Sha'yā* and explain it as 'Isaiah', see Dunlop, p. 351. Though the capital of Gōzgān bore formerly the name of Jahūdhān (now Maymana, see *Ḥudūd*, ch. 23, § 53), I do not think an alien would call himself by a local princely patronymic.

[5] Not 'in the Turkish lands', as D. M. Dunlop says. Cf. below.

[6] See de Goeje, *Die Istachri-Balchi Frage*, *ZDMG*, 1871, XXV, pp. 42–58, and Barthold's Introduction to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, Engl. transl., p. 15. Cf. below, note 3.

[7] On him see Barthold in *EI* (1st ed.) under Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr Muḥammad and the detailed notes by M. Qazvīnī and M. Mo'īn in the new edition of the *Chahār-maqāla*, Tehran, 1333/1954, pp. 178–88. See also the information which Miskawaih gives on 'Ibn-Muḥtāj', *Eclipse*, II, pp. 155–61. See now B. Spuler, *Čaghāniyān* in *EI*².

Sāmānids and distinguished himself by brilliant operations in northern Persia where he temporarily occupied Rayy. In 334/945 he was recalled by his overlord, the Sāmānid Nūh ibn Naṣr (331–43/943–54). Abū 'Alī marched on Bukhara, captured it and proclaimed another amir. Then he patched it up with Nūh and returned to his former governorship but became involved in a series of intrigues with the Būyids and died of the plague in Rayy on 10 Rajab 344/ 30 October 955. His fief Chaghāniyān lay north of the Oxus in the close neighbourhood both of Gōzgān and Balkh.

In dedicating his synoptic encyclopedia of sciences to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad of Chaghāniyān the author followed in the steps of his teacher, for Balkhī wrote a 'Book of answers (*kitāb ajwiba*) to Abū 'Alī al-Muḥtāj' (as for the latter's father Abū Bakr b. al-Muẓaffar he wrote a treatise 'On the limits (or scope ? *ḥudūd*) of Philosophy').[1] It is equally noteworthy that, at the head of the list of Balkhī's works, both the *Fihrist* and Yāqūt mention a *Kitāb aqsām al-'ulūm* 'The book of classes of sciences'. It seems unlikely that, in the lifetime of Balkhī, his pupil could have dedicated to a member of the Muḥtāj family a work the title of which, *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm*, suggests a theme very close to the contents of the *Aqsām al-'ulūm*. Therefore we might assume that the *Jawāmi' al-'ulūm* was written at a period after the death of Balkhī (in 322/934) and before that of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (344/955).

These hints at the background of Ibn Farīghūn are sufficiently conclusive. If his personal name still awaits decipherment, it may be because the scribes were embarrassed by some local Iranian appellation. Even now the name of Ibn Sīnā remains unexplained! The name Farīghūn belongs to the older Iranian stock of the Oxus basin (see below). It was used exclusively in the family of the rulers of Gōzgān, known collectively as Āl-i Farīghūn and individually as *Ibn Farīghūn*. With some overstatement F. Rosenthal affirms that Farīghūn 'is quite a common Iranian name' and points to a traditionalist mentioned by Ibn al-Jauzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, x, 64. But the man mentioned there was not 'Farīghūn' but Muḥammad b. Aḥmad *Ibn* Farīghūn, the latter name being probably used not as the name of his grandfather, but as a kind of family name (similarly to Ibn Muḥtāj). Besides, he died in 536/1141, i.e. 128 years after the Ghaznavids had annexed Gōzgān in 408/1017. His *nisba* was al-Afrānī al-Nasafī, and he died in his country, i.e. in the region of Nakhshab, lying north-west of Chaghāniyān and also across the river from Gōzgān. It is quite possible that he was a native of Gōzgān and claimed his origin from its noble family. On stronger reasons the author of the *Jawāmi'* who wrote in the early tenth century A.D. might be suspected of being a scion of the ruling house, or of one of its lateral branches. It is hard to imagine a commoner calling himself Ibn Farīghūn at a time when the Banū Farīghūn were still ruling.

[1] See the list of Balkhī's compositions in *Fihrist*, 138 (forty-two works), and more completely in Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, II, 142–3 (fifty-four works).

2

The authorship of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* remains a total puzzle. The texts and books of reference which have been examined up to the present contain no mention of this remarkable and systematic geography of the World; no shade of influence of the *Ḥudūd* on later geographical literature has been as yet discovered. In his Introduction (f. 1b) the author says: 'owing to the glory, victoriousness and auspiciousness of the Amir Lord (*al-sayyid*) Malik the Just Abul-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, client of the Commander of the Faithful, may God prolong his existence, and owing to the felicity of his days, we have begun this book about the properties (*ṣifāt*) of the Earth in the year 372 of the flight of the Prophet, on whom be God's blessings'. The year corresponds to A.D. 982 and the dedicatee is undoubtedly the contemporary ruler of Gōzgānān (Gōzgān, Jūzjān), i.e. of the region situated between the two eastern 'quarters' of ancient Khorasan, namely Marv and Balkh.

Unlike Mas'ūdī, Ibn Ḥauqal or Muqaddasi, the author was no traveller and his work is only a compilation from other sources and reports, with the exception of the territory of Gōzgān and its dependencies [1] which he describes with unusual competence.

The identity of the patron was established soon after the discovery of the unique copy of the *Ḥudūd* [2] in 1892 (see Preface to my translation). I remember how in 1922, when the MS happened to be on my desk in Paris, our unforgettable friend Muḥammad-khan Qazvīnī eagerly turned its pages and spotting the description of Gōzgān exclaimed: 'The book was composed there!' In fact the author must have been a long-time resident of Gōzgān, nay even a native of it.

The book is a masterpiece of précis writing and bears witness to the great experience of the author. His restraint from using fulsome honorifics is noticeable. While speaking with sympathy of Transoxiana 'where justice and equity reign', he refers to its Sāmānid ruler, the suzerain of Gōzgān simply as 'King of the East' (*malik-i mashriq*). Speaking of the ruler of Gōzgān he describes him only as one of the 'margraves' (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) who 'in Khorasan is known as *malik-i Gōzgānān*' (f. 20b). The pedigree of the patron stops at the name of his father, though he is called 'a descendant of Afrīdhūn (افريذون)' which is possibly the scribe's slip for Afrīghūn (افريغون), an alternate form of Farīghūn (فريغون).[3]

[1] cf. also his paragraphs on Chaghāniyān (transl. p. 114). The description of Gīlān is original and detailed but it may be based on the reports of the intelligence service of the Sāmānids at the time of their struggle with the Būyids for possession of Rayy.

[2] At that time usually known as 'MS Toumansky'.

[3] As already mentioned this name is most likely connected with the lore of the Oxus basin. Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār*, p. 35, mentions Afrīgh, the founder of the Khwārazmian dynasty, who built the castle of Fīr in the year 616 of the Alexandrine era (A.D. 305). Arthanmūkh, the tenth shah of the dynasty was a contemporary of the Prophet of Islam. In 93/712 the fourteenth shah invited the Arabs to help him against his rebel brother. As a result the power of the dynasty

The title of the book cannot be interpreted as 'the limits of the World', but rather as a complex of boundaries within which the countries are contained. Thus the world is presented as a system of compartments the frontiers of which, according to the four points of the compass: East, North, West and South, are enumerated at the head of each chapter.

In my commentary to the *Ḥudūd* I have tried to ascertain the sources from which about one thousand names, or groups of names, were derived. My collation with other contemporary geographic texts has brought me to the conclusion that, apart from the *akhbār* (intelligence information) [1] the author's main sources were:

(*a*) I. Khurdādhbih's *Masālik wal-mamālik*, probably in a more complete form than the abridgement published in de Goeje's edition;

(*b*) the unknown book, which was also used by I. Rusta, Gardīzī, Sharaf al-dīn Ṭāhir al-Marvazī,[2] etc., and which seems to be the now lost work of Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Jayhānī (earlier part of the tenth century A.D.).[3] It must be noted that, according to a somewhat mischievous remark of Muqaddasi, p. 241, Jayhānī incorporated in his book the whole of the original work of I. Khurdādhbih—of course apart from his own valuable information.

(*c*) I wrote in 1937, p. xviii: 'Iṣṭakhrī (< Balkhī) is without doubt the source most systematically utilized in the *Ḥudud*'. Balkhī's work is now lost but it may have already contained most of the names quoted in the *Ḥudūd*; on the other hand, copies of Iṣṭakhrī's re-edition of Balkhī were bound to be spread in Khorasan because it was known that it was an improvement on the familiar work of a local scholar.

(*d*) A very important detail of the composition is that the author (ff. 5b, 8b, 25b, 33b, 37a) refers to a Map (*ṣūrat*) which he prepared and on which a few places seem to have been indicated which are omitted in the text (cf. chapter 26, § 20). Moreover, I have suggested that the order in which some series of names are mentioned in the text (for example in India) can be explained by the fact that the author was reading them off his Map (and not grouping them in their

was reduced but they continued to bear their title until the twenty-second of them, Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad, was murdered in 385/995 (he was the fifth to bear an Islamic name), see Sachau, *Zur Geschichte v. Khwārizm*, pp. 499–501. Barthold, *Ḥudūd*, p. 6, points out that the Farīghūnids appear on the stage about the time of the Sāmānid struggles with the Saffarids (end of the ninth century), i.e. at the time when the rule of the Afrīghids was limited and waning. A connection of the Farīghūnids with the dynasty of Khwārazm is not unlikely. Unfortunately, the report of the *Ḥudūd* on the Khwārazm is very brief (ch. 26, § 21).

[1] See Gōzgān, Gīlān, etc. However, the term *akhbār* (see my translation, pp. 55, 79, 83), is rather loosely used by the author with reference to written materials, or to what he had heard (*shanīdīm*).

[2] See my edition of his passages on China, the Turks and India, 1942, pp. 6–8.

[3] He is mentioned among the patrons of Balkhī, see Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, II, 141.

natural sequence). It is known that Balkhī's text was likewise an explanation of a Map.[1]

3

Summing up our remarks on the *Jawāmi'* and the *Ḥudūd* we can say that :

1. The name of Ibn Farīghūn and his connections clearly point to the region of Gōzgān. Similarly both the dedication of the *Ḥudūd* and the particular competence of its author refer to the same region.

2. The periods of the activity of the two authors are not in opposition. Even if the author of the *Jawāmi'* was born in the beginning of the fourth/tenth century he must have been in his sixties when the composition of the *Ḥudūd* was begun in 372/982.

3. The striking patronymic of ' Ibn Farīghūn ', as we have tried to explain, suggests some relationship between him and the ruling house of Gōzgān. On the other side, we can use only the slender argument concerning the restraint noticeable in the dedication of the *Ḥudūd*. We have to admit that the works of the great authors of the early Khorasanian days look freer from the fulsome flattery of later times.[2] In any case the introduction of the *Ḥudūd* is particularly sober and contains no sign of any expectation of largesse. Its tone is not that of a dependent commoner, but of a man conscious of his position in society.

4. It is risky to compare the styles of the two books written in different languages, especially as the text of the Arabic work is quite insufficiently known from a few quotations. One might notice only the similar trend of mind of the two authors who endeavoured to render their subjects as far as possible digestible to their readers by using the method of synoptic tables of *tashjīr*, or by a Map accompanied by a brief and clear description of the ' compartments ' of the world.

5. The *Jawāmi'* is written in Arabic, the international language of the time ; therefore it has survived in several copies, of which the oldest, written in 393/1002, i.e. twenty-one years after the composition of the *Ḥudūd*, has emerged so far West as the Escorial library. The *Ḥudūd* is one of the oldest works composed in modern Persian, earlier than the *Shāh-nāmeh*. The change

[1] In the lists of *al-Fihrist*, p. 138, line 24, and in Yāqūt, op. cit., the geographical work of Balkhī is referred to as *Tafsīr ṣuwar kitāb al-samā' wal-'ālam li-Abī-Ja'far al-Khāzin*, ' Explanation of the images of the Heaven and the World in the book of Abū Ja'far al-Khāzin '. For the sake of simplicity the book has been called *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm* ' Images (i.e. Maps) of the Climes '. On Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī-I. Ḥauqal see now a summary in the comprehensive (919 pp.) posthumous work of Professor I. Y. Kratchkovsky, *Arabskaya geograficheskaya literatura*, forming vol. IV of his ' Selected works ', Moscow, 1957. See especially pp. 194–218 : ' the classical school of the tenth century geographers '.

[2] See the introduction of the final version of the *Shāh-nāmeh*, the dedication of Bīrūnī's *al-Athār al-bāqiya* to the Ziyārid Shams al-ma'ālī (p. 362 of Sachau's edition), etc. [More florid are the formulas used by Bīrūnī in his later work, the *Kitāb al-jamāhir*, dedicated to the Ghaznavid Maudūd (432–40/1041–8), ed. F. Krenkow, 1335/1936, pp. 31, 267.]

of language from Arabic to Persian might be a token of the new literary tendencies encouraged under the Sāmānids. It would be no wonder if the local writer, who in the early part of the fourth/tenth century cultivated his Arabic, had followed the fashion of the time in a later composition of his. The novelty of the enterprise may have been responsible for the survival of only one copy of the *Ḥudūd*, found in Bukhara. Even so, it has been more fortunate than the *dīvān* of the famous Rudaki which has come down to us only in quotations.

6. Strangely enough, Ibn Farīghūn forgot to mention Geography [1] in his 'ramifications' (*tashjīr*) of the Tree of useful knowledge, although it was impossible for him not to know that among the works of his teacher (who died in 322/934) there was the important *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm* which, about the middle of the fourth/tenth century, was so eagerly re-edited and completed by Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥauqal. The *Jawāmi'* was a presentation volume composed *ad hoc* for Ibn Muḥtāj, and as the tabulating of geography required a long preparation of the illustrative Map, it was perhaps advisable for a time to leave Geography out of the picture [2]; in later years the Map inherited from Balkhī may have stimulated the desire to write for the Farīghūnid of Gōzgān a book on a subject left out of the work dedicated to Ibn Muḥtāj.

4

Such are the comparisons and considerations in favour of the assumption that the author of the *Jawāmi al-'ulūm* and the author of the *Ḥudūd* may be identical, but the arguments quoted are certainly indirect. Our aim has been only to indicate the direction in which future research may work. A Russian proverb says: 'the game comes a-running towards an expert hunter', and, should there be any truth in our surmise, the hunters will be on the alert. If such an outstanding monument of the late twelfth century as the minaret of Jām, standing but a few miles off the main road following the Harī-rūd, was discovered only in 1957,[3] written sources throwing light on two interesting and isolated works may be lying somewhere close at hand. The task of discovering them should fall to the lot of the younger generation of scholars.

[1] Thus according to the list of contents of the *Jawāmi'*, as quoted by Ritter and Rosenthal, and as confirmed to me by Dr. Dunlop in a private letter of 23 February, 1961.

[2] The size of a treatise like the *Ḥudūd*, namely thirty-nine closely written folios, might have increased by a half the size of Ibn Farīghūn's encyclopedia (the two MSS described by Ritter contain respectively eighty-six and eighty folios).

[3] See A. Maricq (*sit ei terra levis !*), *Le minaret de Djam*, 1959.

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By
V. MINORSKY
Professor Emeritus in the University of London

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