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THE RISE
OF
PERSIAN INDEPENDENCE
820 - 1056 A.D.



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Introduction.

Persia one of the great known Empires.

Among the greater nations of the world, that have created Empires, effected vast conquests, left ineffaceable marks of their heroic deeds and made imperishable contributions to oriental literature, philosophy and knowledge, the Persians are about the earliest that attract our attention. The modern world is still cultivating the fruit of that seed which they once sowed and it is a matter of considerable regret that the mediaeval history of such a great nation has been almost entirely neglected, and that in India, which was once so much under Persian influence, it should be completely unknown. Inadequate research in the matter and lack of material have of course been responsible for this deficiency.

Discovery of Gupta period in Indian history :-

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give a general account of the mediaeval history of Persia and it is hoped that it may in some degree elucidate one of the obscure periods of Persian history as the Hindu phase of Indian history was enriched by the recent researches of Vincent Smith. This period had been practically unknown since no previous historian had made a scientific investigation of available documents.

Early Persian civilisation :-

To record the story of Persian civilisation involves

the discussion of the intellectual life, and the social and economic progress of one of the most talented and versatile peoples of the world. The whole record is full of tragedy, since no nation has suffered more severely from the hostility of neighbouring countries than Persia. Some idea of the advanced state of the civilisation of the ancient Persians may be derived from a study of the institutions the Sassanians left behind them, particularly from their admirable system of land assessment and the system of economy which served as a foundation of administrative structure for the Saracens and which was adopted by the Moors in Spain. In knowledge and science they anticipated many of the developments of modern times.

There was a common and a very great religion with admirable tenets which present day critics admire for its sublime

philosophy :- Perhaps the most vital element in the life of a nation is the religion of the people because it animates inspires and influences every form of national development. Accordingly we find in the sixth century B.C., when most of the nations of the globe were worshipping idols, the acute Persian intellect had already evolved a religion remarkable for its profound philosophy and also for its system of ethics. The founder of this religion Zoroaster, averred the existence in the universe of two mutually hostile principles, the good and evil. The general maxims taught in his great work, the Zend-Avesta, were moral and inculcated virtue and piety.

His religion established the worship of one God, and he taught men to worship fire as the symbol of the Deity. The philosophy of his noble system compares favourably indeed with those of the greatest religions of the world and no impartial critic can deny the sublimity of its teachings. This great religion tended to strengthen the monarchy of Persia by uniting the inhabitants of the country in the bond of religious zeal.

This civilisation carried over a tremendous change from one religion to another :-

After the Islamic conquest of Persia, Persian civilisation and culture underwent a transformation. Almost the whole of the country accepted Islam, which became the state religion. The democratic faith of Islam with its socialistic tendencies of equality and unity effected a stupendous revolution whose ramifications penetrated the whole structure of national life and pervaded the manners, customs, and literature of the country. One is amazed at the extraordinarily rapid progress of Islam.

No similar change in Europe where Christianity replaced weaker and unimportant religions without much philosophy in them:-

No similar change can be found throughout the history of the world. In the West, Christianity had made phenomenal progress but even here we find that it replaced weaker and unimportant religions without any profound philosophy in them, with perhaps the exception of the religion of Greece. In Persia Islam was substituted in place of an established religion which had possessed a uniformity of its own from times immemorial. The

living force of Zoroastrianism, banished from her original home, can be felt today in India, where no community can equal the Parsees economically, and politically in proportion to their numbers. The late Prof Lecky has described the religious ferment and the dissolution of outworn and effete creeds which prepared the way for the triumph of Christianity in Europe :-

① "Under circumstances more favourable to religious proselytism than the world had ever before known, with the path cleared by a long course of destructive criticism the religions and philosophies of mankind were struggling for the mastery." Such a description would have been entirely inapplicable to Persia at the time of the Muslim invasion.

Also no relapse to savagery and dark ages :-

We find that long before the Middle Ages the culture of Persia was so highly organised and had attained such a degree of perfection that there was no relapse to savagery comparable with the reversion to barbarism which characterised the Frankish kingdoms under the Merovingians in the West and Italy after the Lombard invasion. While barbarian hordes ravaged north Italy until large tracts of the land "Seemed to have sunk back into Primeval silence and solitude," while the last vestiges of Roman civilisation were effaced in Britain after the Saxon conquest, and while the history of Spain became obscured in the Visigothic twilight, Persian civilisation had reached its noontide.

① Vide Lecky's history of European morals Vol I.

Their dress :-

From all descriptions it appears that the Persians had advanced in their social life. The customs and dress of the mediaeval Persians bear striking resemblances to the customs and dress of the modern civilised world. The tall Zoroasterian hat corresponded with that of modern European hat. They had definite characteristics of their own which they asserted and tried to retain.

Ethnological character :-

The Persians were generally of Aryan origin and to know what they were may be seen from the Parsees of today who have retained their purity of blood and have preserved their racial characteristics. This was probably due to the fact that they recognised that their own culture was infinitely superior to that of their Hindu neighbours. One can still see their resemblance to the ancient rock carving at Persepolis and note how remarkably they differ from the modern Persians, who have a certain mixture of Arab and Turkoman blood in them, owing to the Arab conquest and Turkoman incursions from the north.

The genius of the Persians :-

The Arab conquest of Persia could not efface the Persian character but it survived the influx of Arabian influence. Islam was adopted by the Persians as means to their national end. The Persians began to dominate Islam and modify the Arab culture. In this work an endeavour has been made to show the inner life of the Persians, its economic and social

development, and the national movement that inspired the Persians to attain the goal of independence and shake off the authority of the Caliphs. Some of their great heroes who have perished in these attempts can only be dimly discerned through the mist of the time. The intuitive genius of the Persians is shown in all its lights and colours. It is shown at what price the homogeneous race of Persians retained its individuality.

The disintegration of the caliphate began in the 9th century A.D., from the reign of the Caliph Mu'tasim (833-42 A.D.) giving rise to the establishment of various independent and conflicting dynasties in the various provinces of the Empire. These were ever engaged in warfare and the respective rulers of which in imitation of the Caliphs of Bagdad, tried to impart brilliance to their principalities. It is shown how these petty dynasties (820 - 1056 A.D.) paved the way for the general idea of independence and formed one of the stages in the evolution of modern Persia. The chronicle ends with the entry of Tughril Beg the Seljukian monarch in Bagdad in 1056 A.D. from which period Persia dominated the Muslim empire in quite a different way.

In what light this work may be seen :-

The history of the Persian struggle to keep the faith Shia'ism as opposed to the Sunni'ism of the Caliphs of Bagdad was no less glorious than the story of her former religious zeal. Shia'ism which appealed to the temperamental Persians on account of its mysticism as compared with the Sunni austerity of

the desert Arabs, was to be kept at any cost. Many lives were lost and much bloodshed ensued. It is in fact a story of oppression on one side and heroic resistance on the other. The ceaseless contest waged by Persian dynasties for this object eventually formed its reward when in the Persian Buyid dynasty Shia'ism obtained supreme power in Bagdad. The policy of these Separatists prevailed, and since the establishment of the independent church of the Shi'ites national development progressed and its prosperity received a new impetus.

Lack of material :-

To relate the story of the maintenance of Persian individuality has not been an easy task. The student who undertakes this work is confronted with several difficulties, the chief of which are lack of material and previous research in the matter. From authorities such as Sir Denison Ross and Prof R.A. Nicholson was obtained the statements that no detailed accounts of these dynasties (820 - 1056 A.D.) existed and whatever information could be gathered must be from the original Persian works. These are very vague : the subject is treated unsystematically and the information is scattered. In all the histories of Persia in English this period (820 - 1056 A.D.) is covered in extraordinarily few words and the subject then dismissed abruptly. An endeavour has therefore been made to fill in this grave gap despite these insuperable difficulties. It is inevitable that the presentation of the facts should by later researches be proved inadequate, but at least it is hoped that it will be an advance on anything

available at present. of the most important events.

Characteristics of Persian historians :-

To Persian historians, "History is the chronicle of kings and conquest rather than of national growth." They are primarily eulogists and their whole attitude is coloured by subservience to the rulers under whom they lived. They occasionally record the dates but appear to think that anecdotes of slight interest are equally important. One finds no beginnings even of the science of political economy in their remarks and naturally they lack the trained mind of modern historian which enables him to distinguish between events which are merely incidental and those which are of paramount importance.

The authorities :-

The authorities available for the period are of two kinds, contemporary, and later works. Of the existing contemporary works that have come down to us the first and foremost is Abdul Hayy Dahhak bin Mohammad Gardizi's 'The adornment of narratives' (Zainu'l Akhbar) which was written about 1050 A.D. Gardizi does not mention his authorities but as Prof Barthold in his scholarly discussion has showed Gardizi's text resembles that of Ibnu'l Athir and certain passages are literally translated. His chief source appears to be Sallami. This work, like other monotonous Persian works is a mere statement of facts. In places the narration of Gardizi differs from the accounts given by other authors but a complete absence of criticism is one of the marked features of this book. Gardizi's style is very terse

with a lack of details of the most important events. He is very careful to give the dates of almost all the events he records. With all these deficiencies, he is still the chief authority on the history of Khurasan, including the Samanid period. The work ends with the year 1041 A.D. Of Gardizi's work two manuscripts exist, one in King's College Library, Cambridge, and the other in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The text of both is confused in many places and it is hard to reconcile them. Gardizi dedicated his work to Sultan Abu Mansur Abdur Rashid, son of Sultan Mahmud (1049 - 52 A.D.)

The next in importance is the work entitled "Tarikh'i Yamani" by Abu Nasr Mohammad bin Abdul Jabbar Utbi, in Arabic. It was written about 1021 A.D. and deals with the early Ghaznavid period (962 - 1186 A.D.). Utbi was a courtier of Sultan Mahmud, whom he wanted to extol. His two kinsmen and namesakes (Utbi) had been Viziers under the Samanids. Being closely intimate with the political affairs of the time, his writing is valuable. He deals briefly with the Samanids, and occasional references are also made to the Ziyarids and the Buyids. Utbi's work was translated into Persian in 1205 - 6 A.D. by Abu Sharaf Nasir bin Jaffar al-Jurbadhaqani. In 1858 Reynolds made an English translation of Jurbadhaqani's work, which however lacks accuracy. Utbi sacrificed historical precision to the beauty of language. His verbose style full of metaphors renders his text difficult of understanding. Though lacking in detail and accuracy Utbi's work is yet a main source for the student of History.

We next come across "Tarikh'i Bayhaqi", the work of Abul Fazal Mohammad bin Hussain Bayhaqi, written in thirty volumes about 1058 - 59 A.D. Out of this voluminous work, only a small portion has come down to us, the rest having perished. Bayhaqi was in the service of Sultan Masud and Sultan Abdur Rashid (1049 - 53 A.D.) who concentrated on the Ghaznavid period but we find occasional references made to Samanid and Buyid princes. He depicts the court life and dwells on the events of officialdom. Consequently we can have some detailed information about the Ghaznavids and Qara-Khanids, their external relations and their mutual rivalry.

Later authorities :-

Of the later authorities who have written on the period I have generally followed the Roustu's Safa (the garden of purity). This is an universal history written about 1494 - 95 A.D. during the reign of the Timur dynasty. Its author, Mohammad bin Amir Khwand Shah, surnamed Mirkhond, divided his work into seven books, of which the fourth one deals with the petty dynasties whose succession paved the way for later independence. He enlarged his work by the addition of geographical supplements which are not however found in most of the Eastern printed editions. Regarding his sources in the first book, the author mentions the work known to him, including Arabic and Persian manuscripts. It is certain that he had access to various authorities, the chief of which appears to be the works of Bayhaqi, Utbi, Ibnu'l Athir, Rashidu'd Din, Juwayani

and Sharafu'd Din.

Mirkhond's treatment of the Tahirids and Safarids is very brief. His treatise, which was formerly considered by many European authorities to be the primary source of the history of Persia and Central Asia, was translated into many languages by various persons. None of these seem to have been at all complete translations. Most of the fragmentary renderings are obscure and incorrect.

Although the Rous̄tu's Safa is much later than the other works quoted, yet it can safely be considered to be the most complete authority, because there is little information about the Samanids and other dynasties given in the other books.

A little later were written "Khulasat'u Tawarikh" and Habibu's Sayar by Ghiyasu'd Din bin Hamamu'd Din, surnamed Khwand-Amir, a nephew of Mirkhond. The author appears to have derived his knowledge from the same sources as those of Rous̄tu's Safa. The author of these abridged histories very seldom adds any details not given by his uncle, and in most places they are but reproductions of the Rous̄tu's Safa and Tarikh'i Guzida.

Of the local histories written on the period that of the History of Tabristan by Mohammad bin Al-Hasan bin Isfandiyar is a unique record of the time. This work was written about 1216 - 17 A.D. The importance of this work can be judged from the fact that its abridged translation by Prof E. Browne had been published in the E.J.W. Gibb memorial series. Though abounding in legend yet historical and geographical

information of great value can be obtained of the local customs and manners of the ad-Caspian provinces of Jurjan and Tabristan and much detailed information about these two provinces can be obtained from this record.

Of the life of Isfandiyar little is known but the work was undertaken in memory of his patron Rustum bin Ardashir, the ruler of Tabristan, who was murdered in April 1210 A.D. Isfandiyar's chief sources were "Bawand Nama" and the "Uqud" of Abul Hasan Mohammad al-Yazdadi which were lost. He had divided his work in four sections (1) Early History of Tabristan (2) The Ziyarids and Buyids (3) Conquest of Tabristan by the Ghaznavids and Seljuks and (4) Ascendancy of the house of Bawand to their fall. The history ends with the death of Rustum bin Ardashir in 1210 A.D.

The most complete chronicle ever written in Arabic on the Buyid period is the treatise of Abu Ali Ahmad bin Mohammad Miskawaih entitled "The experiences of the nations." This work has been translated into English by Prof. Margoliouth and has been published in facsimile for the Gibb memorial series, with the continuation of Abu Shuja's work which deal with the same period, under the title of "The Eclipse of the Caliphate" (Oxford 1920 - 21). Abu Shuja was the Vizier of the Caliph Mustazhir in 1094 A.D. and was thus well acquainted with the events of officialdom. His work which differs from that of others in all details was based on original lines and much valuable information can be gleaned from it. Unfortunately his

whole history covers a reign of but a few years of the Buyid mayoraylty in Bagdad so that we can know very little of the Ghaznavids and Samanids.

Last but not the least is the work of Hamad Ullah bin Abu Bekr Mustawfi Qazwani entitled "Tarikh'i Guzida" ("The Select History"). This work was written in 1334 - 35 A.D. and ends with the year 1330. In dealing with the petty dynasties of the year (820 - 1056 A.D.) this author has omitted the Tahirid period (820 - 72 A.D.) and has started with the Safarids. His treatment of the subject is somewhat inadequate and is characterised by marked brevity and vagueness. The accounts of the Samanids given by him differs from that of Utbi and resembles Gardizi.

Furthermore we note that Hamd Ullah Qazwani does not examine or comment on contradictory statements of the works of other authors but contentedly follows one version. Sometimes the dates quoted by him are hopelessly incorrect. Mustawfi is also the author of a geographical treatise, written in Persian in which he had given a description of Mongol kingdom of Mesopotamia and Persia. These notes are of great value to a student for the historical geography of these provinces.

Geographical Works :-

Coming to the geographical works, we have the treatises of three famous travellers of the 10th century A.D. Istakhari, Ibn Hawkal and Maqdasi. These authors describe fully the various provinces of the Caliphate, giving high roads

and other detailed information for each province. The work of Ibn Hawkal is the amended and enlarged edition of Istakhri's work, and Maqdasi, who is much to be credited wrote on entirely original lines of observation. Prof. G. Le Strange speaking of Maqdasi's work remarks, "His work is probably the greatest, it is certainly the most original, of all those which the Arab geographers composed, his descriptions of places, of manners and customs, of products and manufactures, and his careful summaries of the characteristics of each province in turn, are indeed some of the best written pages to be found in all the range of medieval Arab literature."

The author's ambition :-

From what has been said above, it will be realised that the sources at present available for compiling a history on the period are exceedingly inadequate. There may be manuscripts in Persia or elsewhere, records in writing, coins, epigraphs, etc., from which much additional data could be gleaned which would afford the material for a really adequate account of this most interesting period of Persian history and it is greatly to be hoped that this humble first attempt to write a full and connected chronicle will spur others to supplement it.

Chapter I. The Country and its people.

The boundaries and position of modern Persia.

The modern independent kingdom of Persia, called Iran by her people and Ajam by some others, is bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea, on the south by the Persian gulf, and the gulf of Oman, on the east by Russian Turkestan Afghanistan and Baluchistan and on the west by the valley of the Euphrates and the Tigris. It covers an area of 628,000 square miles, and is three times as large as France, extending 900 miles from East to West and 700 miles from North to South. Persia possesses clearly defined natural boundaries and her frontiers have remained intact from the earliest times. Probably this situation accounts for the preservation of her national characteristics.

Physical features :-

Persia consists of a tableland stretching across Asia Minor eastward to the border of India. In the north it is bounded by hills while in the north west it includes the mountains of Armenia from which diverge the ranges of mountains that enclose the plateau of Iran. This chain of mountains in the north is a continuation of the Hindu Kush range which extends across Afghanistan, and on the south shore of the Caspian there are the Elburz mountains, the highest peak of which Demavand is 20,000 ft. high. This mountain region covers the provinces of Azerbijan, Mazendran, Gilan and Kurdistan.

The second series of ranges from Azerbaijan runs southward in parallel ridges, rising from the Mesopotamian plain. Between these ridges there are some fertile valleys e.g. those of Isfahan and Kirman. Thirdly there is a desert region which continues from the southern base of the Elburz and spreads to Makran bordering the Persian Gulf and dividing the country in two great sections. It measures approximately 800 miles in length but varies in its extent from east to west. The interior of Persia, particularly the southern region is devoid of vegetation in contrast with the mountain area of the north which is covered with forests of oak, beech, elm, walnut, cypress and cedar. In the fertile plains wheat and barley are grown, while in the lowlands rice is also cultivated.

Rivers and lakes :-

Persia lacks rivers and those which she possesses are few and short, and are discharged into the desert or dry up in the summer. The largest river Karun is navigable and flows into the Shattu'l Arab (United Euphrates and Tigris). Of the streams which enter the Caspian the Kizil Uzen or Sufi Rud has a course of about 350 miles. There are a great number of small fresh water lakes and some salt lakes in the outlying provinces, the largest being Urumeih in the province of Azerbaijan. Helmund lake in Seistan, Dara'i Namak, lake Tasht or Nargis are also the important lakes of Persia.

Climate and rainfall :-

Persia is situated between the latitudes 40° and 25° N.

and has a climate similar to that of Spain, but drier. In winter the prevailing winds are N.E. while in July monsoons blow from the coast. In the interior a northerly wind blows in summer for about four months, and from May to September Seistan, which is called the "Land of the winds", is swept by high winds which at times reach a velocity of 70 miles an hour. The climate varies considerably in different provinces and the scorching heat of the central plateau is in striking contrast with the extreme cold of the north. The summer days are hot but the nights are cool and the winter warm, except in the north and N.W., where it snows.

Agriculture :-

Except in northerly districts the agriculture of the country depends on irrigation by underground canals called "Kanats" or aqueducts from mountain streams. These canals have fallen into a state of disrepair and depend on the winter rains which make the country suitable for the cultivation of such fruits as grapes, peaches, apricots, pomegranates, figs, almonds and nuts. Mulberry trees grow in the valleys and there is a flourishing silk industry. Dates are found near the desert lands.

Persia under the Sassanids 620 A.D. :-

Under the later Sassanians, the Persian empire included the lowland province of Mesopotamia lying between the two rivers the Euphrates and the Tigris, with its capital Ctesiphon. The Sassanian monarch Khusrau Parviz (590 - 628

A.D.) held Egypt, Jerusalem, Syria, Cyrene, the seaboard of Pontus, Rhodes, and Southern Arabia. The Sassanids divided their Persian empire into a number of small provinces each under a "Murzban" or 'Boundary Lord' who was responsible to the central government.

Extent of Persia under the Abbasides 820 A.D. :-

After the Muslim conquest the vast kingdom of Persia formed a single political province under the Caliphate and was governed by the Caliph's viceroy, who was called the "Viceroy of the East" with his headquarters at Khurasan. The kingdom of Persia in 820 A.D. included:- (1) Azerbaijan, (2) Gilan, and the north-west provinces, (3) Jibal or Persian Iraq, (4) Fars, (5) Kirman, (6) Makran, (7) Seistan, (8) Quhistan, (9) Kumis, Tabristan and Jurjan, (10) Khurasan, (11) Transoxania, (12) Khwarzam, (13) Sughd, and (14) the provinces of Jaxartes. It should be noted that the province of Khuzistan which forms part of modern Persia was attached to the Viceroyalty of Bagdad and Iraq. The Buyid rulers who subdued Khuzistan in the later half of the tenth century A.D. retained this province as mayors of Bagdad.

Mediaeval Persia :-

Before considering the political characteristics of each province, it is encouraging to note that during the middle ages Persia was more fertile and thickly populated than it is today. Probably the deforestation of the northern areas has been largely responsible for the drought in the interior. Lord Curzon, a

well-known authority, speaking of old Persia and its relics remarks "They show us that just as Mediaeval Persia was far removed from modern Persia in its pageantry and wealth, so ancient Persia - the Persia of Herodotus and Xenophon - was immeasurably superior to Mediaeval Persia in its attributes and is even now more respectable in its ruin."

As time advanced Persia became poorer. Similarly we should also note that the modern kingdom of Persia is but a fraction of Persia of the early middle ages. The Mediaeval Persia included Transoxania, Afghanistan, and part of Baluchistan. Many of the old provinces cannot be traced on the modern map of Persia and those provinces which were quite inconsiderable in the middle ages have become important. The modern Capital of Persia, Tehran, which has been built on the site of Ray, the ancient capital of Persian Iraq was until a few centuries ago a comparatively small town.

Divisions - The province of Azerbaijan :-

Mediaeval Persia was divided into a number of provinces. The hilly province of Azerbaijan was a minor province under the Caliphate. All its cities were small, Tabriz, the Capital, occupied a position near the famous lake Urumeih, which was eighty miles in length from north to south. The Sufi Rud flowed into the lake to the west of Maraghah. Sixty miles from the lake ^{lay the} city of Pasawa with its orchards. The city of Ushnuh was situated on the north and was a great centre for the trade in horses with Mesopotamia during the tenth century A.D. The town

of Urumeih had its site on the west of the lake. On the northern shore of the lake was T_asuj, the modern Turash Ardabil, the capital of Azerbaijan, in the tenth century A.D. Through this town flowed the river Ardabil which had its source in Mount Sablan. In 1220 A.D. the walled city of Ardabil which was two miles in length was sacked by the Mongols and reduced to ashes. The Sufi Rud or white river drained the southern part of Azerbaijan and formed the boundary line of the Jibal province. Miyanaj, Khalkhal, Fiurzabad, Kalur, and Shal were also unimportant towns in the early middle ages.

Gilan and the north western provinces :-

The province of Gilan or Jilan which included the provinces of Kumis, Tabristan and Jurjan in the tenth century A.D. was situated on the delta of the Sufi Rud which rising in the Elburz mountains flowed into the Caspian Sea. Later on these provinces became separate and Gilan which comprised the lowland delta of the Sufi Rud was divided into three districts:-

Daylam (the ancient Hyrcania), the house of the Buyids, lay to the south west of the mountain region bordering on Talikan and Tarum in the Jibal province. Daylam contained the Talish country on the south west of the Caspian. The chief town of the whole district was Rudhbar, the position of which cannot be traced on the modern map. After the Buyid period Daylam denoted the mountainous part while Jilan or Gilan was the coast district. Dulab, the chief town of Gilan has been identified as Kaskar. Two marches from the Sufi Rud stood the town of Khashm, the

residence of the Alid prince Da'i.

The second great district of Gilan was Mughan or Mukan, a plain which stretched from the foot of Mount Sablan towards the east coast of Caspian. The capital of Mughan was a city of the same name, which has been wiped out. The important towns of Mughan were Pilsuvar, Mahmudabad, and Hamshahrah.

The sub-province of Arran situated west of the junction of the two rivers Kur (Cyrus) and Aras (Araxes) had Bardha'ah as its capital. Lastly the sub-province of Shirvan lay beyond the Kur river at the head of the Caucasus range which was inhabited by Christians. The Capital of the Shirvan province was Ash Shamakhiyah, the modern ^Shamakha. These two sub-provinces also formed part of Gilan.

Jibal or Persian Iraq :-

The mountainous region called Al-Jibal by the Arab geographers was named Media by the Greek writers and under the Seljuks became known as Iraq'i Ajam or Persian Iraq. Jibal was divided into two parts, Kurdistan in the west and Persian Iraq in the east. The old Jibal province to the southwest of Tehran is still designated the Iraq province. This province was divided into four quarters Kirmanshah, Hamadan, Ray and Isfahan. In the tenth century A.D. the capital of the province was Ray, although Isfahan was the largest city. In the mountains of Jibal many rivers take their rise notably the Karun which the Arabs called Dujayl (little Tigris) flowing into the Persian gulf. In the 13th century A.D. Kirmanshah was invaded by the Mongols and

reduced to a small village. The district of Kirmanshah contained the important towns of Kanguvar, Dinvar, Shahrzur and Hulwan. The last named was sometimes included in the Arabian Iraq.

Hamadan (the ancient Ecbatana) was extended over an area of more than nine square miles in the tenth century A.D. and had twenty four "Rustaks" or sub-districts, most of which no longer exist. Darguzin, Kharrakan and Nehawand were the most important of these. South of Hamadan was situated Luristan which was divided into two parts, Great Luristan and Little Luristan separated by the river Karun. The chief towns of little Luristan were Burujird, Khurramabad, and Shahpur-Khwast. To the west of little Luristan lay Shirawan, and Saymarah, the two important cities on the frontier of Arabian Iraq.

South of Hamadan stood Isfahan, watered by the Zayindah stream. The wall of the city was three and a half leagues in circuit and there were fifty caravansarais. Isfahan had eight districts, Jay also called Sharistan, Marbin, Burkhwar, Kahab, Baraan with Farifan, Kararij, Khanlanjan and Firuzan.

Lastly Ray, the Capital of the province lay to the N.E. of Jibal which was 'The finest city of the whole East' covered an area of a league and a half square. In the tenth century A.D. the city of Ray was strongly fortified and had five gates. Of the districts of Ray the following were important (1) Rudhah, (2) Varamin, (3) Pashaviyah (the Fashaviyah of today), (4) Kusin, (5) Dizah each of them having a population of 10,000 men.

In 1220 A.D. Ray was burnt by the Mongols. Nearly a hundred miles north west of Ray stood Qazwin, having a strong fortress garrisoned

by Muslim troops. On the west of Qazwin were situated the two important cities of Abhar and Zanzan between which was placed Sultaniyah.

Fars :-

The rich province of Fars, the former centre of the Sassanian government was divided by the Arabs into five "Kurahs" or districts. (1) Ardashir, with Shiraz as its capital (2) Shahpur, (3) Arrajan, (4) Istakhar, and (5) Darabjird, each with a metropolis named after the province. In the early middle ages Fars also included Yezd and the district of Rudhan, near modern Bahramabad, which formed part of Istakhar. Shiraz the capital city was nearly three miles in length and had eight gates. Its markets were crowded. In the middle of the tenth century A.D. Adudu'd Dawla, the Buyid (949 - 82 A.D.) built a library, a hospital, and a palace in Shiraz. He also founded a small town called Kard Fana Khusrau about half a league south of Shiraz. The Buyids established their mint at Fana Khusrau.

To the N.W. of Shiraz flows the Sakkan river which has a course of 300 miles long and finally discharged itself into the Persian gulf. In the tenth century Fars was a great trading and manufacturing centre, its chief port being Siraf, on the gulf. Fars exported rose water and other perfumes to all parts of the world. The carpets and embroideries of this province were famous in Bagdad. The home industries of Fars produced a variety of cloths, brocades, woven tissues, raw silk, rugs, curtains, and prayer carpets.

@ Yezd is now a days incorporated into Kirman and forms a part of this province.

Kirman :-

The province of Kirman consisted of desert; nearly a quarter of the country was mountainous. It was divided into five districts (1) Bardasir including the district of Khabis to the north, (2) Sirjan, the first capital of the province situated on the frontier of Fars, (3) Barm, (4) Narmasir in the desert frontier, and (5) Jiruft in the south towards the sea coast of Hurmuz. In the ninth century A.D. the capital of Kirman was Sirjan which has now disappeared from the map of Persia. The present capital of the Kirman province is the city of Kirman. Sirjan lay some five miles east of the town of Saidabad.

The Buyid prince Adudu'd Dawla (949 - 82 A.D.) chose Bardasir as his capital which stood on the site of the modern city of Kirman. Maqdasi describes the city of Sirjan as being more populous than Shiraz, having eight gates, mosques, and gardens. Bardasir had strongly fortified "Qila" or fort standing high on a hill, surrounded by a ditch. In the 12th century A.D. the province of Kirman was overrun by Ghuzz Turkomans who sacked Bardasir. Jiruft in the tenth century A.D. was the largest city in the mountainous part of Kirman. It is said to have been two miles long. It exported indigo, sugar candy and fruits. To the east of Jiruft was the forest covered country called "Jabal Bariz" which was conquered by Yakub the founder of the Safarid house in the ninth century A.D.

Makran :-

The province of Makran which in its physical features

is a continuation of the great desert was an unimportant province in the middle ages of the Caliphate. From the description of the geographers who mention many towns in Makran which do not exist today, we can gather that the province was more densely populated and fertile at that time than it is now. The Capital was Fannazbur or Bannajbur, situated near the modern town of Panj-gur. In the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. most of the inhabitants of this province belonged to the Baluch tribe and were not staunch Muslims. They are noted for carrying on plundering raids. The port of Tiz which fell into ruins in the 12th century A.D. was close to the Indian border. On the N.E. of Makran lay the district of Turan with Kusdar as its capital and Budahah with Kandabil as its chief town.

Seistan :- ~~Kandahar~~ district lay just, the second largest city of

The province of Seistan, called "Num-Ruz" ("Half-Day", i.e. midday, referring to its heat) situated to the east of lake Zarah and including the delta of the river Helmund contained the sub-province of Zabulistan in the north which comprised Kandahar. It should be noted the Zarah lake was more extensive in the middle ages than now because three or four streams together with the Khwash river drained it. According to Ibn Hawkal it was 100 miles in length. The waters of this lake were fresh and clean and abounded in fish. The Capital of the province was Zaranj which was destroyed by Timur in the 14th century A.D. Zaranj in the ~~ninth~~ ^{ninth} century A.D. was four leagues in circumference, strongly fortified, having five gates. The ruins of Zaranj may be found

Zabulistan.

near the modern village of Zahidan along the bed of one of the canals of the river Helmund. The present capital of the province is Nastrabad, a few miles south of the ruins of Zaranj.

In the ninth and tenth centuries the Capital of Zaranj consisted of two towns, the outer and the inner. The inner town was surrounded by walls, while the outer included the suburbs. Yakub, the Safarid is said to have increased the importance of the latter by building a central mosque in it and making it a market centre. These markets produced an income of 1000 dirhems (some £40:0:0) a day by way of rent which was given to the mosque. The houses were provided by channels with running water.

To the north of Zaranj stood the populous city of Tak. At the junction of the Helmund river with the river Argandab, from the Kandahar district lay Bust, the second largest city of Seistan. It was a well fortified town possessing flourishing markets and picturesque mosques. Its inhabitants were in well-to-do circumstances who for the most part traded with India. The district of Zamindawar extended along the valley of the Helmund river from the mountains of Hindu Kush to Bust. It had as its chief town Dartal, which was well fortified. Between Bust and Dartal lay the city of Sarwan. Round the country of Kandahar bounded by the bank of Argandab lay the district of Rukhkhaj, celebrated for its fertility. The city of Kandahar which formed a district of the province of Seistan was a small town in the ninth century A.D. According to Maqdasi the region of Ghazna, Kandahar, and Kabul formed a sub-province of Seistan known as Kabulistan.

Quhistan :-

The province of Quhistan was a mountainous region and in contrast to Seistan in winter, it had an extremely cold climate. This province lay to the west of the Herat river extending as far as the edge of the great desert at Tabas Gilak. It stretched southward to Nishapur and to eastward to Seistan. The chief town of the province was Kayin. Some fifty miles west of Kayin was situated the city of Tun. In north there was the district of Busht of which the chief towns were Turshiz and Kunder. Near the town of Turshiz, lay the village of Kishmar, where Zoroaster is said to have planted a cypress to commemorate the conversion of King Gushtasp, where he first began to proselytise. East of Turshiz lay the Zavah district, whose chief town was Rukkah. While still further east on the Herat river spread the district of Zam or Jam of which the capital was Buzjan, having 180 villages under its jurisdiction.

To the south of the Jam district was situated the district of Bakharz or Guwakharz, whose chief town was Milan, whose site has been identified as that of the modern city of Shar'i No. To the south of Bakharz was the region of Khwaf, with a chief town of the same name, famous for its fruits and orchards. Besides these towns Ham^a_k Ullah, author of Tarikh'i Guzida, mentions a number of places which were populous in the early middle ages e.g. Zirukh (foothills) Kayin, Gunabad, Tabas, Bann, Khawst, Birjand and Tabas Masinan &c. Under the Samanids the province of Quhistan was the feudal territory of the Simjur family, the members of which

were appointed as governors of Khurasan.

Kumis, Tabristan and Jurian :-

The province of Kumis, which lay at the foot of Elburz mountains, touching the great desert on the south stretching from Ray on the west to Nishapur on the east has been effaced from the modern map of Persia. In the present map it is included in Khurasan, while its western corner has been incorporated into Tehran. The Capital of Kumis was Damghan surrounded by a wall 10,000 paces in circuit. Next in importance was the town of Bistam which was the most fertile city in the whole province. In 874 A.D. the famous Sufi Shiekh Abu Yezid Bayazid Bistami, whose shrine is still venerated, was buried in this city. Four leagues towards the N.E. from Bistam stood the town of Khurkan, also famous for the tomb of Abul Hasan Kharkani. On the eastern frontier of the Jibal province lay the town of Khuvar, a quarter of a mile in diameter, thickly inhabited, having the coldest climate in the whole province.

Tabristan or Mazendran :-

The extensive mountainous region stretching from the Elburz mountains along the south coast of the Caspian sea to the N.E. of Kumis was first called Tabristan and later on Mazendran. Many romantic legends have been handed down about this magnificent snow-clad range of mountains with its highest peak Mount Damavand, the home of Simurgh (the fabulous bird of Firdausi.) The Tahirid capital of Tabristan (820 - 72 A.D.) was Sariyah but under the Samanids (874 - 999 A.D.) however, Amul became the chief town, having a hospital and two mosques. The second great city of

Tabristan was its earlier capital Sariyah, the modern Sari, which was destroyed in the 13th century A.D. by the Mongols. The river of Amul ran through the town of Amul and rice was the chief product. Ibn Hawkal mentions many towns of Tabristan which no longer exist but he described three mountainous districts to the south of Sariyah stretching towards Gilan.

(1) Badusban with its capital Kariyat Mansur or Mansur's village. (2) Jabal Karin (mountain of Karin) and (3) Jabal Rubanj to the north of Ray. To the west of Amul was the important region of Salus or Shalus subsequently named Jalus. One march from Jalus stood the town of Kalar on the Daylam frontier. Ruyan was the next important town on the western border. Ruyan had been built about 16 leagues from Qazwin. The fortress of Tak, in the Ruyan district was the headquarters of the local rulers of Tabristan who were called Isphabads. At the head of Shah Rud lay the district of Rustamdir, consisting of 300 villages, watered by tributaries of the Sufi Rud. Not far from Sariyah stood the city of Mamtir i.e. Barafush. Tamis or Tamishah was situated three marches from Sariyah on the road to Astrabad.

Jurjan :-

Jurjan or Gurgan, consisting of plains and valleys was a fertile province watered by two rivers the Jurjan and the Attrak. The capital of the province was the city of the same name, which is called Min Gurgan at the present day. This town was bisected by the river Jurjan. The eastern quarter of the city was widely called "Shahristan" noted for its fine mosques,

markets and gardens. Later on Jurjan became a sacred city for Shia Pilgrims because it contained the shrine of their sixth Imam Jafara's Sadik. The second great town of this province was Astrabad, on the frontier of Tabristan, famous for its good climate. Abaskun, the Caspian port for Astrabad and Jurjan city was a great trading centre for Turks and Ghuzz. Some 150 miles north of Abaskun was the district of Dihistan which was an outpost on the Turkish frontier. Dihistan was sparsely populated and the coast people carried on fishing. The city of Faravah, identical with the modern Kizil Arvat, lay on the border of the desert, which became a settlement of Ghuzz Turkomans. In the 10th century A.D. Faravah had a fort for the protection of the people against the incursions of Turkomans. Its population in the 9th century A.D. consisted of nearly 1000 people. Its Rubat was built by Abdullah, the Tahirid (828 - 44 A.D.)

Khurasan :-

In the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. the province of Khurasan comprised the vast conquered region of Muslim provinces eastward of the great desert, touching the border of India. The Khurasan of those days included Transoxania in the north, Seistan and Quhistan on the south, and it extended as far as the Chinese desert and Pamir on the west. Khurasan, the seat of the Caliph's viceroy was divided into four quarters each called a "Rub" which were the capitals of the province, (1) Nishapur (2) Herat, (3) Merv, and (4) Balkh. In the 8th century A.D. Merv was the capital of Khurasan but the Tahirids in the 9th century A.D. made Nishapur

or Iran Shahr (the city of Iran) their metropolis.

Nishapur covered an area of two and a quarter square miles and had a strong fortress and suburbs. In the inner city there were government buildings, a prison, and a governor's palace. In the suburbs there were markets where every kind of merchandise was sold. Water was supplied by underground channels and according to Maqdasi Nishapur was the healthiest and most prosperous town of Khurasan, having some 42 villages as its dependencies. The river of Nishapur worked some 72 mills. Nishapur was destroyed by the Mongols in the 13th century A.D. but was rebuilt later on a different site. In the 10th century A.D. Nishapur had four districts (1) Ash Shamat, (2) Rivand, (3) Mazul, and (4) Bushtfarush, now known as Pusht Farush.

To the east of Nishapur lay Meshed, the present capital of Khurasan, a few miles to the north of which stood Tus, the ruins of which may still be seen. Meshed is ~~is~~ famous for the shrine of the great Shia Imams whose graves are still visited by pilgrims. To the west of Nishapur were the two cities Sabzivar or Bayhak, and Khusrujird. Bayhak comprised some 320 villages. The district of Juvayn or Guyan was stretched along the edge of the desert near the border of the province of Kumis, which had 200 villages as its dependencies. The town of Jajarm and the district of Isfarayin were also densely populated, the latter district having 51 villages as its dependencies. The district of Ustuva or Kuchan lay near the river Mesh^ad to the east of which lay the district of Nasa, now known as Darrah Gaz. To the east of Nasa

on the edge of the desert stood Abivard. The city of Sarakhs was built on the eastern bank of Meshed river now known as Tajand, consisting of pasture lands.

The Herat quarter of Khurasan lay in modern Afghanistan. This quarter was watered by the Herat river or the Hari Rud which had its source in the mountains of Ghur. In the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. many canals were constructed which carried water from this river to irrigate the Herat valley. In the 10th century the city of Herat had a citadel with four gates and was surrounded by a wall. Its wall was 9000 paces long and the city of Herat, including the 18 villages in its suburban area, was one of the most populous cities in Persia after Nishapur. On the upper Hari Rud lay Malin the southern district of this quarter, with 25 villages of which Murghab and Absakan were the most famous. North east of Herat was situated the town of Karukh and on the east stood Bashan and a number of other towns.

To the west of Herat the important city of Bushang or Fushanj occupied the site of modern Ghurian, famous for its wind-mills. On the south of Herat there was the district of Asfuzar with Kuwashan as its chief town. The district of Badghis stretched north of Fushanj on the east of the Murghab river, having some 12 towns as its dependencies, of which the most important was Baghshur about the same size as Fushank and Dihistan. East of Badghis extended the mountainous region called Gharj'as Shar or Gharjistan frequently designated Gharshistan which had two important cities, Abshin and Shurmin. Gharjistan was bounded on the south

east by the districts of Ghor or Ghoristan, the latter reaching the border of Kabul and Ghazna, the house of the Ghoird chiefs.

In the Merv quarter of Khurasan situated along the course of Merv or Murghab river, which flowed from the mountains of Ghor to the N.E. of Herat, were included places N.E. of Oxus where the crossing for Bukhara took place at Amul. The capital Merv was divided into two cities the upper, and the lower, intersected by four canals. The lower or greater Merv called Merv'i Shah'i Jahan consisted of a citadel and a wall with four gates and its chief suburbs Sinj, Kushmayhan, Jiranj, and Zirk. The city of Amul later on known by its name of Amuyah, lay on the left of the Oxus some 120 miles to the N.E. of Merv. To distinguish it from Amul the capital of Tabristan, it was called Amul'u Shatt (stream of the Euphrates) or Amul'i Jayhun (Amul of Oxus). The district of Zamm was situated on the bank of the Oxus four marches from Amul.

The city of Upper or Little Merv (Merv'i Rud) was the largest and most densely populated city of this quarter. It possessed a wall and had gardens and vineyards. At the distance of one day's march from Little Merv stood the castle of Ahnaf on the site of which the modern village of Maruchak has been built. There were five villages "Panj Dah" below Maruchak.

The fourth quarter of Khurasan, with Balkh as its capital was divided into western and eastern sections by the districts of Juzjan and Tukharistan. In the 9th century A.D. Balkh was the largest city of Khurasan. Its wall had 13 gates and

it occupied an area of three square miles. There were some 40 mosques in the city. The great suburb of Balkh called "No Bahar" (New spring) was famous for its Zoroastrian temple. Juzjan or Jizjanan, the western district of Balkh quarter was a flourishing city in the tenth century A.D. Three marches distant from little Merv towards Balkh lay the town of Talikan which was as large as little Merv. Two marches from Talikan there still stands the town of Maymanah, which was the capital of Juzjan district. One of the most important towns of Juzjan was Faryab, which has become obliterated from map. Shaburkan and Anbar were two other important towns of the Juzjan district. The district of Tukharistan stretching from the south of the Oxus as far as Badakhshan was divided into upper and lower Tukharistan, the upper to the east of Balkh and the lower on the frontier of Badakhshan. Many towns are mentioned of Tukharistan which do not exist today but Khulm, Siminj, Siminjan, Baghlan, Warwalij and Talikan were important of these.

Transoxania :-

The province of Transoxania, called Ma'war'n Nahr by the Muslim writers, and Touran by the early Persians, comprised five sub-provinces in the early middle ages. (1) Sughd or Sogdiana with Bukhara and Samarqand as its capitals, (2) Khwarzam which later on became known as Khiva, (3) Saghaniyan with Khuttal and Badakhshan as its chief towns (4) The two provinces of Jaxartes (a) Farghana and (b) Shash or modern Tashkand. This fertile province irrigated by two rivers Jayhun and Sayhun (Oxus and

Jaxartes) of which Oxus formed the boundary line between Persia and Turkish lands, became known in the 13th century A.D. as Amu Darya, while the Jaxartes was renamed the Syr Darya. It should be noted that the river Oxus had its source in a lake in Little Tibet and had changed its course more than once. In the 4th century B.C. at the time of the conquest of Alexander the Great, the Oxus was described as flowing into the Caspian instead of the Aral Sea. In the tenth century A.D. the Oxus flowed into the Aral but Arab geographers had observed its former course and had mentioned that it flowed down to a town called Balkhan (Abul Khan) near Nisa in Khurasan. From the 13th to the 16th centuries A.D. the Oxus resumed its older course and reached the Caspian along the old bed and since the 16th century A.D. to the present day it has discharged its waters into the Aral. One of the peculiar features of the Oxus mentioned by geographers was that it became frozen over in winter and that caravans could cross it.

Sughd :-

Ancient Sogdiana, called Sughd by eastern writers, broadly indicated the land between the Oxus and Jaxartes. This province was watered by two river systems; the river Sughd sometimes called Zarfashan (gold-spreading) on whose course Bukhara and Samarqand were situated, and the river Khuskah, occasionally designated the "Nahr'ul Kassarin", on which lay the cities of Nasaf or Nakhshab (the modern Karshi) and Kish, which was called Shahr'i Sabz (green city), the birth place of Timur. In the 10th century A.D. Sughd indicated the town of Samarqand and its suburbs,

while Bukhara, Kish and Nakhshab formed separate districts. Under the Samanid regime Bukhara became the capital from which Khurasan and other provinces were governed. Bukhara alternately named Numijkath, was a walled town measuring one square league in area with a citadel, a Shahrستان (the citadel city) and a Rabad. Inside the citadel was a castle, the residence of the Samanid Amirs. The Sughd river passed through the Bazaars of the city and irrigated the whole town, and the gardens in the plain round it.

The town had seven iron gates within the suburbs of Bukhara there were many beautiful palaces and gardens which covered an extensive area. On the plains of Bukhara there were five flourishing cities (1) Khujada (2) Maghakan, (3) Tumujkath, (4) Tawawis, and (5) Zandanah. Five leagues to the S.W. of Bukhara stood the city of Baykand or Paykand which still exists. The city of Samarqand some 150 miles east of Bukhara was fortified with a wall and a moat and had four gates. Samarqand with her magnificent gardens and palaces occupied an area of 750 acres and was an emporium of trade for Transoxania, her markets were overflowing with merchandise from all parts of the province. Samarqand comprised the following districts :-

(1) Banjikath or modern Penjakant, (2) Waraghsar, (3) Maymurgh with Rivdad as its chief town, (4) Dargham consisting of pasture land, (5) Abghar, (6) Buzmajan or Buzmajaz with Barkath as its chief town, (7) Burnamadh or Furnamadh, (8) Yarkath, (9) Ishtikhan, (10) Kushani, (11) Marzuban, and (12) Kabudhanjakath. In the tenth century A.D. situated between Bukhara and Samarqand there were three famous cities (1) Dabusiyah, (2) Karmin or

Karminyah, and (3) Rabinjan. A large number of other unimportant towns are mentioned by Maqdasi.

Khwarzam :-

Khorezmia, or Khwarzam, which was known as Khiva in the later middle ages, had two capitals in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. (1) Jurjaniyah or Urganj or Gurganj lay in Persian territory and was the chief centre of trade for caravans going to the Ghuzz country. Jurjaniyah destroyed by the Mongols was rebuilt in the 14th century A.D. some 12 miles from the old ruined town. It was called new Urganj or the city of Khwarzam and it was only in the 17th century A.D. that the town of Khiva, which had been scarcely more than a village in the 10th century, took the place of Jurjaniyah, and became the capital of the province. (2) The second capital Kath, on the Turkish frontier was the seat of government of the local rulers in the 10th century A.D. who bore the title of Khwarzam-Shahs. Kath with Shahrstan, in the 10th century A.D. was equal in size to Nishapur. This city was destroyed by the flood of the Oxus. Besides these capitals this province had the following towns :-

(1) Hazrasp near Khiva, (2) Tahiriya, (3) Darghan some sixty miles to the south of Hazrasp surrounded by some 500 orchards and vineyards, (4) and Sadwar. Lastly we note that a number of towns and villages lined the road from Khiva to Jurjaniyah e.g. Ruzvand, Ardakhushmithan, Nuzvar, Zamakhshar, and Wazir none of which appear in any map of the present day.

Saghaniyan :-

The province of Saghaniyan or Chaghaniyan, which lay

between the Oxus and Khuskah rivers, consisted of the three sub-provinces which were Khuttal and Wakhsh on the east, Kubadhiyan and Saghaniyan on the west, Badakhshan and Wakhkhan on the frontier of Tukharistan. Maqdasi mentions that in the 10th century A.D. the city of Saghaniyan was the centre of administration for 16,000 villages. The capital of the province was the town of the same name which was situated four day's journey from Tirmidh and possessed a citadel and fine covered bazaars. The City of Saghaniyan (probably the modern town of Sar'i Asya) on the Saghaniyan river was famous for its trade in fowl and birds. Other important towns in the province were Basand, Darzanji, Sarmanjan, and Tirmidh. The last named on the Zamil river contained a strong fortress and was the principal trade centre of merchants from Khurasan who brought in their goods into Transoxania. The eastern part of Saghaniyan, called Kubadhiyah, was as large as Tirmidh. The district of Kubadhiyan included the towns of Aywaj, Washjird and Shuman. A few towns in Saghaniyan not mentioned previously were Nawidah, Hashimjird, Kalif, Akhsisak, and Firbar.

Khuttal and Wakhsh :-

The great mountainous tract of Khuttal situated between the river Wakhshab, now called Surkhab or red river, and Oxus, had Halbuk as its capital in the 10th century A.D. Hulbuk stood near the site of modern Khulab. Amongst the towns in Khuttal were Munk, Andijaragh, Farghar, and Lawakand, of which Munk was the largest. The province of Wakhsh was united with Khuttal whose chief town Halaward covered a greater area than Hulbuk. Wakhsh

also contained the important town of Tamliyat which occupied the site of modern Baljuwan.

Badakhshan and Wakhkhan :-

The province of Badakhshan watered by the Nahr Jaryab, now called the Panj river, the main stream of the Oxus lay to the east of Tukharistan. The capital of the province was the city of the same name, which was built on the spot where Fayzabad now stands. Badakhshan was famous for its mines of rubies and other precious stones, situated near the city of Yamkan and Jirm. To the east of Badakhshan on the road to Tibet lay Wakhkhan which exported musk. This town was also famous in the 10th century for its silver mines and noted for its slave trade.

The province of Jaxartes :-

The provinces of Jazartes, which comprised Farghana and Shash, were partitioned into smaller sub-provinces. The province of Ushrusanah with its capital of the same name extended between the Jaxartes and the Sughd rivers to the east of Samarqand. It had two large cities, Ushrusanah also called Bunjakath which occupied the position of the modern town Ura-Tepoh, had a population of 10,000 men in the tenth century A.D. The second great town of Zamin was scarcely less important than the capital. Other towns of this province were Dizak, Kharakanah, Khavas, Kharkatⁿ, Minak, Marasmandah, and Sabat.

Farghana :-

The province of Farghana, also called the Khanate of Khukand, lying to the south of the Jijghil river, an affluent of

of the Jaxartes, had Akhsikath as its capital in the early middle ages, which covered a square mile in area, was transacted by many canals. This city was destroyed in the 13th century A.D. when Andijan became the capital, which was comparatively a small village in the tenth century A.D. being under the jurisdiction of the city of Kuba. Besides these towns Farghana contained Ushtikan, Ush, and Uzkan or Uzgan in the east while its southern towns were Nasya, divided into upper and lower Nasya, Marghinan (Modern Marghilan) Rishtan, and Khukand; to the west it included Khujandah and Kand and to the north Wankath, Khaylam, Shikit, K~~a~~san, Ardalankath, and Najm.

The province of Shash :-

West of Farghana stretched the province of Shash with a capital of the same name. The city of Chach or Shash, on the site of which is the modern city of Tashkand, the capital of Russian Turkestan, was also known by the name of Binkath, which was one of the largest cities of Transoxania in the early middle ages. The ruins of Shash now known as old Tashkand, were once fertile land which was irrigated by various canals. The second great city of this province was Banakathor Fanakant, on the right bank of the Jaxartes. Maqdasi mentions some twenty small towns as dependencies of Shash from which it may be inferred that the province of Shash was densely populated in the 10th century A.D.

The sub-province of Ilek :-

The sub-province of Ilek extending to the S.E. of Shash

had Tunkath as its capital. No trace of this city has been found. The Ilek districts were in fact a continuation of the Shash province. The country between Shash and Ilek had more than a score of towns which were entirely destroyed in the 13th century A.D. by the Mongols. The most important of these was Khasht or Khas on the frontier of Farghana which was a mint city in the 10th century A.D. Khasht is said to have contained gold and silver mines.

The sub-province of Isfijab :-

The sub-province of Isfijab or Isbijab with a capital of the same name lay to the north of Shash and comprised some fifty towns in the tenth century A.D. most of which have passed into oblivion. The remains of the old city of Isfijab may be recognised in the modern village of Sayram situated some 10 miles to the east of Chimkant on the Badam river, a tributary of the Jaxartes. The next in importance was the city of Barab or Farab (known in the later middle ages as ^{Utrar}~~Utrar~~) about eighty miles to the N.W. of Isfijab. In the tenth century A.D. Barab, a strongly fortified city, contained a population of 70,000 inhabitants. The suburbs of Barab were known as the district of Kadar. Between Barab and Isfijab stood Subanikath a smaller town. The city of Sawran or Sabran some sixty miles north of Barab was the frontier fort of the Samanids against the Ghuzz Turks in the ninth century A.D. Taraz was approximately 80 miles north east of Isfijab and occupied the site on which stands the present town of Aulieh-Ata.

Persia in 1928 A.D. :-

From this brief survey, we can see that the whole map of

Persia has become altered in its essentials. In 1928 A.D. Persia was divided into 26 provinces (1) Astrabad, (2) Azerbaijan, (3) Burujird, (4) Damghan, (5) Fars, (6) Gilan, (7) Gulpaigan, (8) Hamadan, (9) Iraq, (10) Isfahan, (11) Kashan, (12) Kirman, (13) Kirmanshah, (14) Khurasan, (15) Khuzistan, (16) Kurdistan, (17) Malayir, (18) Mazendran, (19) Nehavend, (20) Qazwin, (21) Qum, (22) Semnan, (23) Shah Rud, (24) Tehran, (25) Yezd, and (26) Zinjan.

Population :-

No census of the population of Persia has ever been taken and it is impossible to ascertain the number of her inhabitants, either in the early middle ages or in the Persia of today. Curzon however remarks that in the 17th century A.D. it was probably from 100-200 millions and quotes the case of Pulva valley which Bernier the French traveller then noted as having 800 villages; now it has but three, although this is still for Persia a fairly populace part. From the tributes and Gifts recorded in the chronicle part of the history it is obvious that these could have only come from a very rich and populated country. It should be noted that Iraq at this period is also generally estimated to have a population of 100-200 millions, the legend being that one could walk on the roof of the houses from Basrah to Bagdad. The disappearance of many huge cities and large towns lead us to believe that the population in 9th and 10th centuries A.D. could not have been less than 70 - 80 millions and possibly a good deal more. The whole population of modern Persia has been estimated at between 11 to 12 millions

giving an average of 19 to the per square mile. Nearly a $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole population is found in cities engaged in commerce and the various professions, $\frac{1}{4}$ is nomad while the rest reside in villages. The nomads belong to different tribes, e.g. Bukhtaries, Lurs, Kashgais, Kurds, Baluchies, and Gypsies. The chief occupation of the people is agriculture and wheat, barley, tobacco, and opium are the chief products. Schemes for the plantation of tea in the north are also in progress.

Persian character :-

It is interesting to note some characteristics of the Persians which distinguish them markedly from Europeans. As regards their physique the Persians are well built and possess high foreheads dark eyes and hair and round chins. They are intellectual and have a keen sense of humour. A Persian is naturally prone to give exaggerated and highly coloured accounts of his own achievements, or those events which concern his nation. By nature the Persians are easy-going and are sometimes called the "French of the East". An average Persian is fond of poetry and will usually enliven his conversation with quotations from local poets. With all this, superstitious beliefs and the acceptance of myths are features which have permeated Persian life.

Chapter II. Ancient History.

Early history only a fabulous record :-

The early history of Persia may be divided into three parts (1) The legendary history from earliest times to 1000 B.C. (2) The partly historic account (1000 B.C. - 226 A.D.) and (3) The Authentic record (226 - 641 A.D.)

With regard to the first period we must not ignore it entirely because it is wrapped in the obscurity of myths. Only recently has value come to be attached to fictions, and we have begun to realise that legends are not merely the product of poetic imagination but are often based on fact. To ignore them is to deprive a nation of much of its glory. Persia abounds in legend as her literature shows and no nation of the world boasts of her legendary lore more ~~more~~ than the Persians. In this period fables and facts are so closely intermingled that it is impossible to disentangle them and to distinguish truth from falsehood. Early Persian history is purely mythical but as the narrative advances the story becomes clearer and we can safely say of the Sassanid account that it ^{is} historical.

Authorities for the Period :-

These legends have been gathered from Pagan writers, particularly Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo &c. It is possible that native writers were uninterested in historical work or their works may have been destroyed. Firdousi, the Persian Homer, derived his material from loose traditions and slender sources which

naturally lacked precision. It was through the imagination of a poet that these beautiful legends have been related in the form of verse in the "Shah Nama" (The book of Kings), which is our main source for the early history of Persia.

The dynasty of "Pashdadan" ('The Early Ones') from the earliest time to 1000 B.C. :-

According to Firdousi, the first king that ruled over Persia was Kaimmaurs of Gayumarth more usually known by his title of "Gilshah" or "The Lord of the Universe," who is connected with prophet Noah in his lineage. The dynasty which Kaimmaurs founded was given the name of "Peshdad" or "Early Ones" by later writers. Supernatural powers were attributed to him, and it is recorded that he waged wars against Deeves or Demons. He was the reclamer of the people from barbarism and founded a civilised nation. He sent an army consisting of lions to fight the Demons under the command of his son Siamuk, who was slain in the battle. Siamuk's son Hushang, the second of this dynasty subdued the Demons and avenged his father's death. Hushang is further famous for having invented the use of fire.

Hushang's successor Thamorus, who is said to have learnt the art of writing from the Demons, ruled thirty years. After his death the crown passed to Jamsheed, one of the most celebrated monarchs of Persia, who is said to have ruled for seven hundred years. He divided the people into four classes, priests, warriors, merchants and husbandmen. One is surprised at this curious and striking analogy with the castes of Hinduism which became fixed about 700 B.C.

Jamsheed is said to have discovered various medicines and the use of wine. Further he instituted the festival of "No-Ruz" or 'New Year' - a festival which is still celebrated in Persia with great pomp and show. His pride and arrogance brought about his downfall. Zohak, a prince of Syria invaded his territory and had him sawn to pieces. Zohak is depicted as a cruel tyrant with two serpents on his shoulders, which were fed with the brains of two human beings daily. Kawah, a blacksmith, gathered an army, marched against him, and killed him in battle. The leather apron which Kawah bore round his waist while at his trade, was used as a banner by the Persians who called it "Darufush'i Kawahiyani" (i.e. illustrious banner of Kawah). It was preserved as the royal standard for centuries until in the reign of ^{Tur} Caliph Omar (634 - 44 A.D.) it was taken and torn to pieces.

After his victory Kawah placed Faridun, a descendant of Kaimmaurs on the throne. The persian writers dwell with great enthusiasm on the just government of Faridun whom they call "Furroukh" or the 'Blessed'. Faridun divided his empire among his sons. To Tur was given the eastern portion of Asia from which the Touranians derive their name, while Persia was assigned to Erij. Owing to mutual jealousy Erij was slain in a battle when he was fighting against his brother. Erij's son Manuchir, avenged his father's death and slew his uncle Tur.

@ Zohak is considered by some of Arab descent connected with Shud'ad and by others with Nimrod of the testament. According to Firishta, Sam, the grandson of Zohak fled to the mountains of Ghur and founded a house there. In the 7th century A.D. they embraced Islam and Mohammad of Ghur, a descendant of this line was able to overthrow the Ghaznavids in the 12th century A.D.

It was about this time that the celebrated national hero Rostum made his appearance. Some historians identify Manuchihr with the Greek Mandaucus. Naudur, who succeeded Manuchihr, was a weak monarch in whose reign Afrasib, King of Turan, took possession of Persia for 12 years, until he was expelled by Zal, the father of Rostum. The last of this house was Kershasp, regarded by some as the Arbianes of Ctesias, who was set aside by Zal and thus ended the Peshdadan dynasty which according to Firdousi ruled some 2450 years. By many writers "The Peshdadans" are considered purely legendary, yet the story of the apron of Kawah, the blacksmith which fell in the hands of the Caliph Omar after the Muslim conquest is historical. Generally this dynasty is placed from early times to about 1000 B.C.

The Medes (1000 B.C. - 550 B.C.) :-

The earliest authentic record of any migration into Persia was that of Medes, a race of Indo-European origin who came from Turkestan in the eighth century B.C. These Aryans were related to the Aryans of India, in conjunction with whom they formed a single people, one branch going to India and the other to Persia. The Nomads who lived in Turkestan, called Touranians were the enemies of the Persian settlers. The Medes were united under their king Kei Kabad (Deioces of the Greek writers) who ruled from 709 - 656 B.C. He paid tribute to the Assyrians from whom the Medes learnt the art of writing. Deioces founded the city of Ekbatana, on the site of Modern Hamadan. In all probability the Deioces of Herodotus corresponds with Kei Kobad of Firdousi.

Phraortes, the son of Deioces ruled for 22 years after the death of his father.

Little is known of the early Medes but they established themselves in the country lying between Rhages and Ekbatana of which they made the latter as their capital, and soon carried their arms southwards. They called their country which was situated to the N.W., Media, while Parthia lay to the east and Persia to the south. The Medes used all these terms synonymously but Media was commonly used to indicate the Capital province.

According to Firdousi, Kei Kaoos (the Cyaxares of the Greek writers) was the successor of Deioces. He was taken captive by the army of Mazendran but was finally liberated by Rustum. It was during his reign that Afrasiab invaded the territory of the Medes, and Rustum, in command of Kei Kaoos's army, met Sohrab, the general of Afrasiab's army, and in the combat slew his opponent, whom he later identified as his own son. The famous passage from the "Shah Nama" which describes this incident has been translated into many languages, the English translation, by Arnold, is a gem of literature. The dynasty of the Medes is shown by the modern historians to correspond with that of the Kayanian of Firdousi.

The Achaemenids (558 - 330 B.C.) :-

About the beginning of the seventh century B.C. another group of Aryans from Turkestan, under their chief Hikhamanish (The Achaemenes of the Greeks) settled in the south of Media which they called Parsua, a name which was later on changed into that of

Fars. At the time of their first settlement, the Achaemenids recognised the Medes as their overlords to whom they paid tribute. Cyrus, a descendant of Achaemenes, an elected leader of his tribe, soon gained great power. In a battle which he fought in 550 B.C. with the Median king Astyages, Cyrus overthrew his monarchy, on the ruins of which he founded a Persian empire. Having gained a signal victory over Astyages, Cyrus entered on a career of conquest. In 546 B.C. Cyrus vanquished the forces of Croesus, the king of Lydia, whose dominion he incorporated into his kingdom.

Cyrus the Great, (Kei Khusrau of Firdousi) rapidly increased his possessions until his dominions extended from the Mediterranean to the Oxus and Indus. His empire included Babylon, Susa, Chaldea, and Pasargadae. The kingdom of Cyrus had four capitals Pasargadae, Babylon, Susa, and Ekbatana. The reign of Cyrus forms one of the most important epochs in the annals of the Persian nation. According to Heeren, the Persians previously were highlanders who led a nomadic life but by the genius of Cyrus they were formed into a nation, divided into ten tribes and ^{obtained} ~~got~~ a patriarchal government, the remnants of which can be seen throughout their whole history.

Cyrus the Great died in 529 B.C., and was buried in Pasargadae, where his tomb stands today. He was succeeded by

¶ Authors differ widely on the fate of Cyrus and very many conflicting accounts have come down to us. According to Herodotus and Justin he was taken prisoner and slain by Tomyris, queen of Massagetae. According to Xenophon he died in his bed and was buried at Pasargadae. Ctesias, on the other hand maintains that he was slain by the javelin of an Indian, while making war in that country. In order to reconcile the existence of his tomb in Pasargadae, the account of Xenophon is preferred and widely accepted.

his son Cambyses (528 - 21 B.C.) who added Egypt to his Persian empire in 525 B.C. to which were shortly added Cyprus and the Greek islands. He accidentally died by his own sword, which wounded him in the thigh while mounting his horse. The accession of Darius I, the son of Hydaspes, who succeeded Cambyses (521 - 485 B.C.) and in whose reign Thrace was subjugated, marks an important ^{epoch} ~~epoch~~. He organised the political machinery of the country by dividing it into twenty provinces, each paying a fixed tribute. His division of Satrapies subsequently assumed a geographical character. The duties of the Satrap appear to have been: (a) The advancement of agriculture (b) The collection of Imposts; (c) and the enforcement of the royal commands. They were simply civil governors, although they afterwards became military commanders. Periodical visits by a representative of the king were the only check upon these officers.

Darius also reorganised the army into newly constituted units under several commands, on the principle of decimal division - a system which was later adopted by the Romans and Greeks. The troops were garrisoned in the cities or in the open field and paid out of the provincial revenues. Darius invaded Europe, crossed the Danube, with an army of 70,000 men but eventually fell back on Macedon and Thrace, which he held during his reign. He also made incursions into India and conquered several of its provinces. The revolt of Egypt and the burning of Sardis in Asia Minor diminished the lustre of his arms somewhat in the west. He intended to retrieve these disasters but his death left this task to his son.

The greater part of his reign was occupied in endeavours to avert the menace of the Touranians and Scythians.

His successor Xerxes (485 - 65 B.C.) is a famous monarch. His expedition against Athens and the heroic defence of the pass of Thermopylae by the Greek soldiers in 480 B.C. have been immortalised in classical literature. The overwhelming disaster which decimated his Armada at Salamis in 480 B.C. was the culmination of a series of reverses and is regarded as one of the great decisive battles of the world. He was murdered by his Vizier Artabanus. Xerxes I was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes Longimanus (Ardashir Dirazdust, or the Long handed) who ruled from 465 - 25 B.C. He extended his dominions from India to Ethiopia, and is said to have displayed great wisdom in the internal administration of the Empire. His favourite residence was at Ekbatana, the modern Hamadan where he spent his time with the princess Esther, of whom we read in the Bible.

The later chronicle of the dynasty is very imperfect. The reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, son of Darius II or Nothus (404 - 359 B.C.) was chiefly spent in a struggle for the throne with his brother Cyrus. In his reign the signs of the decay of the dynasty were fully apparent and his reign was a series of revolts. His son Artaxerxes III (359 - 338 B.C.) was a cruel prince who was unable to enforce his authority. He was murdered by Bagoas in 338 B.C., who brought about the coronation of Arses, son of Artaxerxes III, (338- 336 B.C.) The new monarch tried to revive the empire which was now in a decaying condition. His successor

Darius Codomanus (The second Darab of the Persian writers) raised to the throne by Bago lost his kingdom to Alexander the Great.

Conquest by Alexander the Great 331 B.C. :-

With Alexander the Great, the son of Philip of Macedon, we enter upon one of the most important periods in early Persian history. It will be beyond the scope of this work to dwell upon the career of this hero, who is looked upon by some as the "Scourge of humanity" and by others as a "Wonder of the world." Philip's marriage with Cleopatra and his contemptuous treatment of Alexander's mother led to the estrangement of relations between father and son. The assassination of Philip appears to have taken place in 336 B.C. by Pausanias, Captain of the Guard. Philip's ambitious projects were to achieve the expansion of Macedon, the subjugation of the Balkan peninsula and the unification of the Greek states and were partly realised before his death.

After his father's death Alexander, as early as 334 B.C. crossed the Hellespont and embarked on a career of conquest. During the three years which followed, Alexander conquered Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylon. In the battle of Issus, where 100,000 Persians were killed, Alexander gained a complete victory over the army of Darius III, who fled. The decisive battle of Gaugamela commonly called the battle of Arbela was the death blow to the power of Darius III. After his second defeat by the Macedonian army Darius fled to Ekbatana. In October 331 B.C. the conquest of Persia by Alexander was complete. In the same year Darius III was stabbed by one of his own Satraps. Thus terminated

the Achaemenid dynasty which is said to have reigned for 206 years.

After the conquest of Persia, Alexander thought of subduing the whole world. His Indian campaign proved the futility of such a stupendous task and he returned. In 324 B.C. the Persian and Macedonian armies were united. After this event, 10,000 Macedonian soldiers were married to Persian girls and a great marriage feast took place. According to the Parsee tradition, Alexander, a follower of Aristotle, made unremitting efforts to impose Hellenistic philosophy on the Persians and to achieve this aim he went so far as to burn the "Avesta" the holy book of the Zoroastrians. Alexander died on 13th June 323 B.C. at the age of 33. A born general, he was perhaps the greatest military genius of all time.

In Alexander's struggle with Darius III, the curious thing to note is that the Persian historians sympathised with the former whom they have depicted as the son not of Philip but of Philip's daughter who was married to Darius III divorced by the latter and returned to her father. In order to prevent a scandal Philip spread a report that Alexander was one of his own sons. Consequently the historians asserted that when Persia was conquered by Alexander the Great, the throne reverted to its lawful heir.

The Seleucids (323 - 250 B.C.) :-

After the death of Alexander Persia fell into the hands of one of his generals, Seleucus called Nicator or "Victor". Seleucus married a Persian wife, Apama and made Babylon his

capital. He divided his Greco-Persian empire into seventy two provinces, choosing Babylon as his head-quarters, attaching importance to the Greek states in the west and neglected the affairs of Persia. Seleucus is said to have built the town of Seleucia on the Tigris which he made his capital. The empire of Seleucus included all the countries between the Euphrates, the Indus and the Oxus. Soon afterwards he entered India and penetrated as far as the Ganges, forming alliances with the local rulers and maintaining friendly relations by reciprocal embassies.

The northern part of Persia including a portion of Media became independent under Atropates, another of Alexander's generals, from whom the province of Azerbaijan has derived its name. The successor of Seleucus, Antiochus transferred the capital from Seleucia to Antioch, a city which he founded. The sway of the Seleucidae continued until 250 B.C., when a nomad tribe of the name of Parni, a branch of the Scythian family, migrated to Parthia. These nomads under their leader Arsaces (Arshk of the Persian writers) revolted against the Seleucid viceroys Agathocles. The Seleucid power, already shattered in the wars with Rome, could offer no resistance to these Nomads who made themselves masters of their eastern possessions. It should be noted that the Seleucid power continued in the west up to 140 B.C. when they were absorbed by the Romans.

The Parthians or the Arsacids (248 B.C. - 226 A.D.) :-

The next dynasty was that of the Parthians, generally known to Persians as the Arsac or Arsacids, whose power extended

from Parthia, which lay between Media on the west and Bactria on the east and is the modern Khurasan in the N.W. of Persia. They quickly ousted the Seleucids from northern Persia and later over all Persia and Iraq up to the Euphrates. Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian dynasty, having expelled the Seleucid governor Agathocles, next reduced the neighbouring province of Hyrcania, where Seleucus Callimachus commanded. After the victory, Arsaces died as the result of a wound incurred in the battle, bequeathing his crown to his brother Tiridates.

We cannot give a detailed account of all the kings of this dynasty. It will however be necessary to consider the more important ones. The most glorious king of the line was Mithridates I, who came to the throne in 171 B.C. and soon raised the Parthian kingdom to the position of a world power. Mithridates is said to have carried his arms further than Alexander himself by extending his sway from the Euphrates to the Indus, reducing Syria and Armenia. In 53 B.C. during the reign of Orodes, an army under the Consul Licinius Crassus experienced from a Parthian general one of the most signal defeats which the Roman legions had ever sustained. In 30 B.C. a prince of the Parthian house invaded India and founded the Indo-Scythian or Kushan Empire.

A series of treaties and wars with the Roman Empire marked the Parthian rule in the first century B.C. in which the hostilities terminated with renewed alliances and many ups and downs. The curious thing to note in these struggles is that Rome entirely disappeared for centuries as a great power, whereas Persia retained

its individuality. Persia certainly was merged in the Caliphate but even so it was a separate political unit whereas the unification of Italy did not take place until less than a century ago, with little of its old world grandeur.

Character of the Parthian Empire :-

This empire had been erected by the Nomadic tribes of Khurasan and in consequence its structure was instable and its military organisation was nomadic in character. Though in the beginning the Parthians remained a distinct people, as time advanced they became Persianised. As regards their religion they were followers of Zoroaster and wore beards and long hair. The Punjab formed a part of their territory until the year 20 A.D. It was one of the world's great empires, second only to Rome. Firdousi mentions the Parthians by the dignified title of "Pehlevan" (Wrestlers) which shows that they had parted with racial distinctions. By the first century A.D., they had adopted "Pehlevi" as their language in place of Greek which they previously used officially.

According to Mirkhond, the Arsacids (Ashkanians) were Mulook'i Tuaeif" (commonwealth of tribes). Baron Saint Martin in his memoir compares the feudal system in mediaeval Europe with the structure of the Parthian government and traces both forms of political organisation to the same source. According to this scholar the Parthian empire was a feudal monarchy consisting of four kingdoms, ruled by members of the royal family, who were subordinate to the reigning king. The monarch of

Armenia was next to the king, the prince of Bactria was third in importance, while the fourth was the ruler of Massagetix, whose dominions included the steppes of southern Persia. The Parthian capital was Ctesiphon on the Tigris, opposite the former Greek capital of Seleucia.

The Sassanians (226 - 641 A.D.) :-

With the advent of the Sassanians we enter upon the most brilliant epoch of Persian history. At the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. a Persian governor, Ardeshir Babagan, revolted against king Artabanus or Ardawan, the last of the Parthians. Ardeshir claimed descent from the Achaemenids, and appears to have eloped with his master's wife. In 226 A.D. Having defeated Artabanus in three battles which terminated the hopes of the Parthians, Ardeshir was hailed on the field as "Shahi'n Shah" (king of kings). Within a space of 14 years he formed a well-consolidated empire out of the scattered fragments of the Parthian monarchy.

The Sassanian dynasty of which Ardeshir was the founder lasted four centuries and among the kings of this line we find many great heroes of Persian history. Perhaps the greatest reform of Ardeshir was the revival of the Zoroastrian religion which had been ~~lately~~ ^{latterly} discountenanced by Parthian monarchs. His son and successor Shshpur I (Sapores of the western writers), who reigned from 241 - 72 A.D., took Valerian, the aged Roman Emperor prisoner, and held him captive for several years. He was a statesman and efficient administrator, and is said to have built various cities.

In the reign of Bahram I, or Varanes of the Greek writers, (273 - 76 A.D.) we first hear of Mani, the founder of the Manichaeen sect. He aimed at reconciling the doctrines of Zoroaster with the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis and the tenets of Christianity. He was executed by Bahram, and though his teachings soon disappeared from the land of his birth, yet they soon spread into the Roman Empire and Central Asia. It was after his death that tradition grew among the Persians that Mani possessed supernatural powers in proof of which they referred to his wonderful picture books which were painted by the prophet himself. The art of painting with which he was divinely gifted was interpreted as a witness to his divine mission, and even today the name of Mani to a Persian means a skilful painter.

The next event of consequence was the reign of Shahpur Zulactaf (Sapores II), 310 - 79 A.D., who gallantly repulsed the troops of Constantine. The reign of Shahpur was characterised by continuous warfare with the Roman Legions, the chief bone of contention being Armenia which was christianized by St. Gregory, the illuminator. Though these wars were the outcome of religious antipathies they were waged from other motives as well.

In the person of Bahram Gor (Varanes V) who ascended the throne in 420 A.D., we find a national hero of whom the Persians were exceedingly proud. He was a great hunter and is said thus to have earned the title of "Gor" (Wild Ass). His benevolence and attractive disposition have impressed historians

much. By the treaty of 422 A.D. with the Romans, Bahram Gor granted complete religious freedom to his Christian subjects. Regarding his form of government it was simple and patriarchal. The chief aim of the king was to promote the happiness of his subjects. Some authors describe the first metrical composition in Persian language to this king.

In 502 A.D. Qubad I repulsed the invasion of the Epthalites or White Huns, who had poured in from Chinese Turkestan. In this expedition Qubad had to seek the aid of the Romans, his former enemies, with whom he was obliged to form an inglorious alliance in order to repulse the nomads. It was during the reign of Qubad that Mazdak began to preach communism, aiming at the division of the wealth of the rich among the poor. Khusrau (Chosroes) son of Qubad, invited the followers of Mazdak together with Mazdak himself to a feast, and massacred them in cold blood.

Khusrau Nushirwan (Chosroes) who came to power in 531 A.D. was one of the ablest kings of this celebrated dynasty. In his reign the glory of the Sassanids reached its zenith. He is depicted as a paragon of wisdom and justice. To the name of Khusrau is always added the epithet of "El Adil" (The Just), a title which he well deserved. Nushirwan repaired caravansarais, built bridges, founded colleges and encouraged learning generally. In short he ushered in a golden age. In his reign Mohammad, the founder of Islam was born in Arabia. He is said to have been proud that he was born in the reign of a just and wise king. His

notable achievements were the reduction of Syria, the conquest of Antioch, and the subjugation of Southern Arabia, an exploit which brought the eastern boundary of the Persian empire to the shores of the Mediterranean. The empire extended southwards to the Red Sea and westwards to the Indus.

The famous book "Kalila wa Dmna" brought from India was translated into Persian. Khusrau's great minister Buzurjmihir enjoyed as great a reputation as his king. The latter died in 579 A.D. leaving his empire to his son Hurmuz III, an unworthy successor, who was murdered in 590 A.D. after a reign of eleven years.

Khusrau II (590 - 628 A.D.) the son of Hurmuz III, surnamed Parviz (the Conqueror), after his accession invaded Roman territory. Dara, Mardin, Edessa, Amida were pillaged and Jerusalem was taken and their magnificent churches destroyed. Egypt was similarly reduced. The Greek colony of Cyrene was extirpated. The sea coast of Pontus and the Isle of Rhodes were also added to the Persian empire. In the midst of these victories Khusrau, elevated with pride, revelled in the most extraordinary luxury. His magnificent throne, his 12,000 wives, his 50,000 horses, his 1200 elephants, his romantic love for Shireen are common themes with Persian poets. For thirty years he swept all enemies before him in a career of conquest parallel to that of Alexander the Great.

In 624 A.D. the Roman Emperor Heraclius, reorganising his military forces, marched on Persia, destroyed its fire temples,

plundered its treasures, scattered the Imperial army and overran the whole country. Khusrau fled but his flight resulted in a revolution. He was deposed by his subjects and finally slain by his son Kavadh II in 628 A.D.

After the death of Khusrau many pretenders arose until the Persian crown passed into the hands of Yezidgerd III (the Isdigertes III of the western writers), a grandson of Khusrau Parviz, a feeble monarch whose force of character was sapped by luxury. He remained a puppet in the hands of his ambitious nobles. It was during his reign that Islam gained ground in Arabia and he was unable to withstand the tide of Muslim conquest. Before finally closing this chapter, it will be convenient to give a brief sketch of the work and character of the Sassanids who had ruled Persia for 430 years.

The characteristics of the Sassanids :-

This dynasty represented the national genius of the Persians more than those which had preceded it, and a people who had always been proud of their Achaemenid tradition found in the Sassanians their lawful rulers. In their foreign policy the Sassanians followed the policy of "Expansion" on the eastern and western frontiers, and the suppression of the nomads. The kings of this line were autocratic rulers and their government represented the essence of monarchy. The king was the personification of all ^{wisdom} ~~wisdom~~ and piety. He could not err and was an object of worship.

Special privileges were given to the priestly class who exercised great influence. The supreme Mobad resided in Ray

and was regarded as the successor of Zoroaster. Their domination in each and every sphere could only be compared with that of the Brahmans in India. The religious tolerance of the Achaemenids and Parthians gave way to the religious fanaticism under the Sassanians. In dealing with the Sassanians, one notes that though the Persian empire remained in constant touch with Greece and Rome, it never assimilated hellenistic ideas. The Sassanians were patrons of agriculture, industry and art. It was this golden age about whose return Firdousi so ardently longed for in his famous epic.

In opposition to the degradation of the Persian society by the ardent followers of the new religion of Islam, which had come from Arabia, Islam had a novel idea and changed the outlook of the mental horizon of a large section of humanity.

Some earlier pages :-

Tempted by the booty to be obtained in foreign lands, the Arabs could not remain mere idle spectators of the events which were taking place in the neighbouring country of Persia. The hordes from the Arabian deserts, actuated by land hunger, set out with zeal for the propagation of the new faith, into Persia. They found that the Persian empire demoralized by Hellenic influences and ruled by corrupt and degenerate nobility could no longer defend itself against the Muslim power.

Some later pages :-

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Chapter III. Islamic Conquest.

State of Persia under the Sassanids :-

Under the later Sassanids the Persian empire had become utterly corrupt. Every kind of licentiousness prevailed and the nobles were utterly degenerate. The overweening pride of the priesthood, the deterioration of society in which no code of morality was observed, the exalted position of the kings, who were almost gods, above all the exhaustion resulting from the Roman wars, had reduced the national life of Persia to a state of collapse. In opposition to the degradation of the Persian society, the ardent followers of the new religion of Islam, which had sprung from Arabia imposed a moral code and changed the outlook and mental horizon of a large section of humanity.

Islam a martial power :-

Tempted by the booty to be obtained in foreign lands, the Arabs could not remain mere idle spectators of the events which were taking place in the neighbouring country of Persia. The hordes from the Arabian deserts, actuated by land hunger, or fired with zeal for the propagation of the new faith, soon invaded Persia. They found that the Persian empire demoralized by Harem influence and ruled by eunuchs and degenerate nobility could no longer defend itself against the Muslim power.

Battle of Nehawand 641 A.D. :-

It was during the reign of the Caliph Omar (634- 44 A.D.) that the Arab invasion took place. Yezidgerd III, the last of the

Sassanids, an effete and indolent monarch, could not withstand the Arabian tide of conquest. The memorable battle fought on the field of Nehawand, at the foot of the Elburz in 641 A.D. decided the fate of Persia. Noman, the Saracenic general, gained a signal success which was called by the Arabs "The Victory of Victories." The Persians who outnumbered the Arabs by six to one, were utterly defeated. Yezidgerd lost more than 100,000 men and was forced to fly. He was captured and put to death by a miller in whose house he had taken refuge. The Muslim forces overran the whole country from the Euphrates to the Oxus, and completely subjugated it.

Result of the Arabian conquest :-

With the conquest of Persia by the Muslims, the country ceased, to be a single unit and its history merges into Arabian history for a time. The Persian monarchy was incorporated with the Caliphate, and the country was governed from Medina, until the year 661 A.D., when on the rise of the new dynasty called Ommeyade, the capital was changed to Damascus, from where it was governed for about a century. The Arabs who actually occupied the country made the province of Khurasan the seat of a viceroy who from there ruled the Persian people. This brings us to an early analogy of the geographical division of Persia into eleven sub-provinces which under the Viceroy of Khurasan was called the 'Viceroyalty of the East' by the Arabs. These sub-provinces were (1) Azerbaijan (2) Gilan and N.W. provinces (3) The Jibal or Iraq'i Ajam (4) Fars

(5) Khuzistan (6) Kirman (7) Great desert and Makran (8) Seistan
(9) Kumis, Tabristan and Jurjan (10) Khurasan and (11) Transoxiana.

Of this geographical division much has been said in the first chapter but it should be noted that at first the province of Khuzistan and Fars were placed under the jurisdiction of a separate governor, appointed by the Caliph, but in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., the Safarids ^{and} the Buyids who overran these countries included them in Persia.

Introduction of Islam :-

With the Arabian conquest, Islam the religion of the Saracens, was introduced into Persia. The bulk of the people accepted the new faith voluntarily. To dwell on whether Islam was propagated by the dint of sword is out of the scope of this chapter, but Sir Denison Ross has admirably summed up the matter in his famous work "The Persians". He writes, "It is true all were invited to become Muslims and thereby to enjoy certain privileges, but force was seldom resorted to, and Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians were all at liberty to practice their own religions on payment of a prescribed poll-tax." This statement is further corroborated by the fact that the Arabs used the word "Zimmis" or the "Protected" for their non-Muslim subjects. In Persia, the Zimmis were expected to pay the poll-tax in lieu of the military service that was expected from every Muslim in the time of war.

This national concession sealed the fate of Zoroastrianism, and from this time the Persia of the Sassanian age disappeared. The Arabian conquest differed from previous conquests in so far as

the former were only impositions of new dynasties; the Saracenic conquest permeated Persian national life and marks a new era for the country which has remained Muslim ever since. With the advance of Islam the social and intellectual life of Persia was changed and an influx of new ideas poured in.

The migration of the Parsees in India :-

Disregarding the tolerance of Arabian rule, those who refused to give up Zoroastrianism, probably suffered a contemptuous treatment from their newly-converted fellow brothers, who used the scornful term of "Gabrs" (Fire worshippers) to them. It is a matter of common observance that the newly made disciples of a faith are more narrow minded and fanatical in their outlook than the old ones. Consequently those Zoroastrians, who were either dissatisfied with the new regime or were convinced that their old traditions would fade in obscurity, migrated to India, about the middle of the 7th century A.D., where they found a congenial home in the territory of a kindred Indo-Aryan race.

These immigrants date their era from the death of Yezidgerd III, the last of the Sassanians, who in their eyes was the lawful monarch. The term "Parsee" which means "Inhabitant of Fars" was used by the Indians to distinguish them from the local natives. The modern Parsees of Bombay are the descendants of those ancient Persians who so loyally preserved their ancestral traditions. In the streets of Bombay you can recognise them by their head-gear.

Persia socially and ethnologically changed :-

As was inevitable, Persia after the Arabian conquest changed greatly both socially and ethnologically. Intermarriages between the Arab settlers and the Persians became frequent. The democratic ideas of the Semitic Arabs soon led to the development of a religious brotherhood among the aristocratic society of the Persians, whose social structure was founded on the Aryan division of class into classes. The dualistic philosophy of Zoroaster was superceded by Monotheism, along with the place of the Chosroes being taken by that of the Caliphs.

Rise of the Ommeyade House and the persecution of the Persian interest :-

After the martyrdom of Hussain, the grandson of the Prophet Mohammad on the field of Kerbala in 680 A.D., Persia passed under the government of Yezid I (680 - 83 A.D.), a typical Ommeyade whose reign caused a thrill of horror throughout Persia. "The total duration of the Ommeyade rule from the assassination of the Caliph Ali to the death of Merwan II" remarks Ameer Ali, "was little less than ninety one years. But Masudi deducts from this, the period during which Hasan held the pontificate, and Abdullah bin Zubair was recognised as Caliph, and gives a thousand months, or eighty-three years and four months, as the term of their undisputed empire."

The whole of this period was characterised by sporadic rebellions of dissatisfied Persians until the reign of Merwan I (684 - 85 A.D.) when the Persians rebelled under their leader

Mukhtar whom they regarded as the "Mehdi" or "Redeemer" and tried to establish their independence at Kufa but the outbreak failed. Under Abdul Malik (685 - 705 A.D.) his General Hajjaj bin Yusuf persecuted several thousands of Persians. In the reign of Merwan II (744 - 50 A.D.) a more serious menace had to be faced in the person of Abu Muslim who opposed the Ommeyyades in Khurasan. A vast horde collected under his banner and prepared to throw off the yoke of the tyrant Ommeyyades. Abu Muslim started propaganda in favour of the descendants of Abbas, an uncle of the prophet Mohammad, the founder of Islam. A certain Mohammad great grandson of Abbas, after whom the house is called that of Abbasides, gave out that on the murder of Hussain at Kerbala, the Imamate (Spiritual headship in Islam) was transferred to Mohammad Hanifa, the son of the Caliph Ali by a lady of the Hanifa tribe, who passed this office to his son Abu Hashim, who in turn assigned it to Mohammad, the great grandson of Abbas. Abu Muslim carried on this propaganda in Khurasan until gradually it attained great power.

Scarcely could these causes alone prove sufficient to explain the strength of Abu Muslim's revolt which carried the Abbasides to the throne. The racial prejudices of the Ommeyyade Arab, who kept aloof from the subject races, and looked down upon them as inferior, had resulted in a loss of sympathy between the rulers and the people. "Political disabilities and invidious social distinctions" writes Ameer Ali "gave rise among the Persians to a strong and natural sense of justice." During such a period of discontent Abu Muslim found his support.

A multitude of people all dressed in black under the black standard, indicating mourning for their dead who had fallen or been murdered, gathered round Abu Muslim. In 744 A.D. the Ommeyade garrison was expelled from Herat and Merv was taken. Nasr, the Ommeyade governor of Khurasan fled to Ray where he died. This increased the resources of Abu Muslim, whose force was daily increasing in strength and number. Nehawand, where the battle of 641 A.D. had been fought and was now garrisoned, a force of Ommeyades was beseiged by Hasan bin Kahtaba, a Persian general of Abu Muslim, and capitulated in a short time. Kufa was similarly reduced. In the decisive battle of Zab, fought in 750 A.D., the Ommeyade house perished and the Abbaside rose to power.

Reaction - Seeds of independence :-

The Abbaside victory over the Caliphate was won by Persian swords, and proved that the native Persians could no longer endure thralldom. Under the Abbasides, the whole aspect of Persia changed. The capital was removed from Syria to Iraq, the Syrians who had the monopoly of influence with the Ommeyades lost it to the Persians. * "The reign of the first Abbasides" says a distinguished French scholar and historian, "was the era of the greatest splendour of the Eastern Saracens. The age of conquest had passed - that of civilization had commenced."

Even the court party was divided into two factions, that of the Persians and that of the Arabs. The Persians occupied positions of great honour. The Caliphate assumed an Iranian

* Quoted from Ameer Ali's short History of Saracens. Page 209, Chapter XV.

character in matters of policy and Persian dress was worn at the court. In short, under the Abbasides the Persians re-introduced in some measure the autocracy of the Chosroes.

Bagdad as the capital of the Caliphate :-

Under the Abbasides, Bagdad became the seat of government of the Caliphate, from where Persia began to be ruled. The new metropolis, situated on the west bank of the river Tigris, was not far from Persian territory. Bagdad, founded by Mansur (754 - 75 A.D.) in 763 A.D. and the former capital of the Sassanian monarch Nushirwan the Just, was a place much nearer to and more likely to be influenced by Persia than Damascus and Medina. It was in the heart of the Caliphate and was accessible from Syria, Arabia, and the East. The climate was then probably much better than it is now, as Iraq was more afforested and had a good system of irrigation. The city was surrounded by a wall having four gates, each gate one mile distant from the next. The royal palace and the central Mosque occupied the heart of the city.

The city as it grew, was given the name of "Medinatu'l Islam." Mansur is said to have spent 20,000,000 dirhems in building his new capital. Mansur's son and successor Mehdi (775 - 85 A.D.) enlarged and beautified the city, adding Rafica and other defences on the eastern bank of the Tigris by constructing a channel through the heart of the city. The streets were laid out symmetrically, and were forty cubits in width. The barracks for the troops were on the eastern bank and had three blocks, one for the Modharite soldiery, the other for Yemenite and the third for Khurasanites.

A considerable part of the Persian revenue was employed in the building of the beautiful city of Bagdad which replaced Ctesiphon, the capital of the Sassanids. The population of Bagdad, a considerable number of whom were Persians, in the reign of Mamun was nearly 1,000,000. The city possessed 30,000 Mosques, and 30 colleges. Some 10,000 public baths were provided for the citizens.

Whole hearted adoption of Islam by the Persians :-

Within a space of a century and a half, the whole of Persia was converted to Islam, a precedent which can hardly be met in the history of any other country. The insignificant minority of Persians who still adhered to the old Zoroastrian faith, were henceforth known as "Gabrs" (Fire-worshippers). In the beginning of the 9th century A.D., the inhabitants of Khurasan and Transoxania (which was then administered by the governor of Khurasan) were joining the forces of Islam and becoming members of the "Salar-i-Ghazian" ^{the} (Warriors of the Faith) and embarking on religious wars for the conversion of others, their efforts being crowned with success chiefly in Afghanistan and among the Turks and other Turanian tribes of Central Asia.

The impact of Islam in India did not start till the eleventh century and was not carried out with real force till the thirteenth. In Africa it pushed on and on, and even today the story is not complete - a story that has resulted in making Arabic the most widely spoken language in the world and Islam the third in numbers of the great religions of the world.

Chapter IV. Religion.

Zoroastrianism.

Life of the founder :-

The religion of Persia before the Muslim conquest, was Zoroastrianism for nearly a thousand years or possibly more - a religion which has been greatly admired by modern critics for its fine philosophy, setting a high standard of ethics and morality. Nothing definitely is known about Zarathustra or Zoroaster, the founder of the religion and all the stories about him seem to be fables and we cannot state with absolute certainty whether there was actually such a man at all or whether there were not two or more whose histories have been combined into one. His personality however is buried deeply in the tradition of Persia. Taking into consideration, however, that references to Zoroaster are made in Icelandic, Arabic, Chinese, Greek, Syriac, and Latin literature, we may assume Zoroaster to have been a living prophet in pre-historic days.

It is generally stated that Zoroaster was born in Ragahai, somewhere in the vicinity of Tehran in 660 B.C. Some place his birth as early as 2000 or even 6000 B.C. in the Vedic period, and Bactria as his birth place. As shown by Prof. A.V. Williams Jackson of Columbia university in the "Proceedings of the American Oriental Society" we can safely consider 660 B.C. as the more authentic account of his birth and Media as his native land.

Zoroaster drew his lineage from a Median tribe of the Magi race of Spitama, from a poor family. His father, Pourushaspa, is described as a man of very humble means. In his home Zoroaster is said to have had powers of Celestial vision and to have conversed with the angels of heaven. As is customary with all prophets, he met with opposition at the hands of his countrymen, and had to flee to Eastern Persia for shelter. Here he met with success, and was able to convert Vishtaspa, prince of Bactria, in whom he found a powerful patron and disciple. Frashaoshtra, the Vizier at the court of Vishtaspa, gave his daughter Hvovi in marriage to the prophet. Zoroaster is said to have been murdered at the age of 77 in 583 B.C. According to Prof. Bartholomae he had three wives and several sons and daughters.

The general characteristics of all Aryan religions :-

All early Aryan religions were in their essentials the same whether in India or Iran. Animal sacrifice was the chief feature of these cults. They were of polytheistic character bringing in the worship of the powers of nature, the Sun, Moon, Dawn, etc. As regards the concept of the supreme "God" it was generally expressed by the original Aryans as "Daiva" and less frequently by the word "Ahura." These two words differed slightly in their original signification but were not commonly distinguished. The word "Daiva" in Sanskrit means "bright" and there were Hindu gods designated by this nomenclature. Zoroaster on the other hand renounces these "Daiva" which in his religion are depicted as

devils, and he becomes the worshipper of Ahura Mazda. This was probably owing to the enmity between the early Aryan settlers in Persia and the later Aryans who went into India, each adopting the other's gods as their devil.

Zoroaster preaches the worship of one God :-

The fundamental work of Zoroaster was the substitution for the existing plurality of gods of one God, Mazda-Ahura. He is very often called Mazda "The Wise" or sometimes Ahura "God." All the other deities were then associated with Him, and were also designated by the name "Ahura", but they gradually disappeared in favour of Mazda. The names of those "Ahuras" are characteristic of Zoroaster's religious concepts. If we do not count Fire, these Gods were only personifications of abstract ideas :- Truth, Good, Reason, Authority, Religion, Prosperity. All of them are considered to be the creation of Mazda.

The relation of various gods to Mazda :-

The relation of the various gods to Mazda was suggestive of the retinue of an oriental court. They appear as Mazda's retinue and fulfil his commands. Hence we infer that Zoroaster's religion was in the beginning monotheistic. Regarding the concept of God, Zoroaster again introduced the half-forgotten name "Ahura", whereas he employed the current "Daiva" exclusively as the designation of that Deity who was invoked by the followers of the old religion against which he was fighting. Thus both these words deteriorated in meaning as the old religion gave place to the

new until the meaning of one namely "Ahura" became elastic enough to include the principle of evil.

The creation of good and evil :-

Zoroaster worked out the plurality of existing deities to a characteristic dualism by logical development. The perception of the existence of evil in this world led the prophet to replace his monotheistic philosophy by a dualism, or moral antithesis, between good and evil. In the later part of his religious development he thus separated the universe into distinct realms, a world of truth and a world of falsehood, or the world of Light and the world of Darkness. These worlds co-exist from 'The beginning of life' and both these spirits fight for domination. Thus the Daivas take the side of Evil spirits. The idea of time as preached is thus "Time without bounds" which is rather a metaphysical abstraction than a reality, yet, by subconscious generation on the part of this infinite "Time", the two active principles of the universe have been produced from all eternity, Ormazd and Ahirman (or Ahriman), intersecting in an eternal evolutionary process.

In this process the principle of good is always absorbed in light, that of evil buried in darkness. Harmony is kept by Ormazd who made men capable of virtue. The malice of Ahirman violates the harmony of Mazda's work. Thus through the system of nature the most minute particles contain the eternal intersection of good and evil. As in many other religions the ancient Persians seem to have considered that salvation was obtainable only by

reliance on and belief in Ormazd and that only through a faith in time could one enter the kingdom of heaven.

The conflict of good and evil :-

Whereas Ormazd created all good things, the ox, the dog, the horse, etc, Ahirman alone created noxious creatures such as serpents, flies, etc. The schisms in the world are accounted for by the universal and uninterrupted battle between these two and a decision would be pronounced at the end of the world, which was promised in the near future. It is described thus:-

The actions and good or evil thoughts of mankind are recorded in the register called "The Vestibules" of both the opponents, and the pronouncement of judgment is reserved till the end of the world, when there will be a settlement of accounts from a perusal of these registers. Then will it appear that good has prevailed over evil, for the final defeat of the spirit of wickedness in the great battle seems to have been decided beforehand.

The doctrine of the resurrection :-

A judgement after death is preached in Zoroastrianism and every individual must appear before a tribunal when he ends his worldly career. In it Mazda discharged the duties of the "Master of the Court" and Zoroaster that of the "Judge". In order to reach this court, one has to pass over a bridge, on one side of which lies a stream of "Molten Metals" which could only be crossed by those who have a surplus of good deeds over bad. Those who pass successfully reach the abode of Mazda and become partakers of the promised inheritance. The reward consists of eternal

happiness and an undistributed possession of all the material things which one loved best in this life below, such as camels, goats etc. Sinners who have a surplus of evil deeds on approaching the bridge, being tortured by heavy loads of sin, fall into the "Molten Metals" - a House of Darkness and Misery. In the case of those whose debits and credits come out exactly equal, a special third place, separated from Paradise and Hell is reserved, where one can sense some of the bliss of the perfect life and little of the torture of retribution. It was a place of indifference in which falsehood and righteousness are equally blended.

The economic element in the teaching of Zoroaster :-

In dwelling upon the economic side of life, Zoroaster showed a concern for public welfare, which is severely practical as compared with the rather fantastic conceptions of the religious side of his teaching. Fasting and celibacy he condemns as unnatural restraints. The Zoroastrian priest is expected to ^{beget} ~~have~~ children, to plant trees, to protect water, and to pursue agriculture for his salvation. The fostering of agriculture and cattle-raising became the duty of all his followers. Thus we find in the Zend-Avesta, "He, who sows the ground with care acquires greater merit than he could have by the repetition of 10,000 prayers!"

Religious worship :-

The ordinary means of salvation were through hymns and prayers and the supreme God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, was invoked in them. The elements of nature i.e. Fire, Light and

the Sun, designated as a whole by the name of Mithra, were considered as the symbols of Deity and were therefore the object of reverence. They were the mightiest agencies expressive of divine power and later on special powers were ascribed to Mithra as their Lord, who watches over the world, who hears all, who sees all, and who is the Lord of Truth and loyalty.

Zoroaster introduces the worship of fire :-

Zoroaster, by attaching great importance to the principle "That elements of nature viz, Air, Fire, Water etc." are pure and must not be defiled, gave birth to the worship of fire which was introduced in the reign of King Gushtasp, in the 6th century B.C. who built fire-temples throughout the kingdom. The priest in these temples covers his mouth when offering services at the Altar, so that he may not defile the purity of the air. It also led to the rules against defiling running water and the cult has preserved this custom and paid reverence to it to such an extent that no Zoroastrian will blow out a candle or extinguish a fire. Strict Zoroastrians even carry this so far as not to smoke since that entails the extinction of fire. It is the reason, of course, that Zoroastrians are commonly called "Fire-Worshippers."

Mithraism in Zoroastrianism :-

Later on we find that in Zoroastrianism a new teaching arose, probably on account of the original being too philosophical and abstract. Its doctrines were systematised, and organisation of worship and a codification of and change in the laws of the

Vendidad took place i.e. corporal punishment was abolished. Above all Mithra, an ancient Aryan Deity was closely associated with the supreme and benevolent God. Mithra represented Light in Heaven, and, as Lord of Light, he was the foe of Darkness. Probably these ideas were borrowed from the Egyptians and Babylonians with whom the Iranians in the early Achaemenian period (559 - 330 B.C.) came in contact, and so Mithra became united with Anahita, the spirit of water. In the first century B.C. when the Persian and Roman empires became conterminous in Cilicia, this tendency for a merging of the Mithra with the Anahita cult became still stronger and the spread of Mithraism received a new impetus in the Roman Empire. Mithraism exacted loyalty and fidelity and imposed a high ethical code. It also inculcated the idea of regeneration - the being born anew of the spirit.

Burial of the followers of Zoroaster :-

The corpses of Zoroastrians are exposed in cemeteries in order to avoid the pollution of the earth which would occur by burial, since it had to be kept pure at any cost, being an element of nature. Thus the flesh of the dead is consumed by vultures and other birds. After the flesh has been eaten the bones are thrown into a sepulchre.

The Power of the Magi :-

Zoroaster attached great importance to the office of priesthood. The Magi, the sacerdotal order, were numerous. The priestly class, with their religious functions of purifications

and sacrifices on the Altar, was expected to be an agency of imparting knowledge and instruction. To win the good will of the priest was a prime object with every Zoroastrian. "Though your good deeds" says the prophet, "exceed in number the leaves of the trees, the drops of the rain, the stars in heaven, or the sands on the sea-shore, they will be unprofitable to you unless they are accepted by the "Destur" or "Priest". To obtain this acceptance he levied tithes on the goods, lands and money of all. If the priest was satisfied, there was no danger of Hell.

Zend-Avesta, the Bible of Zoroaster :-

The Zend-Avesta, the Holy book of the Zoroastrians is considered as a revelation just as the Bible is to a Christian. It is a liturgical collection of fragments from older texts, more of a prayer book than a bible. It consists of three parts viz., (a) the Vendidad, or the laws and fragmentary tales about demons, (b) the Visperad of sacrificial litanies and prayers, and (c) the Yasna of Litanies and hymns, in an older dialect. Regarding the date of this work, it is generally presumed that its collection took place under the Sassanians, but according to some Pehlevi authorities the collection was begun with the Arsacids (248 B.C. - 226 A.D.) and completed under Shahpur II (309 - 80.).

The propagation of Zoroastrianism :-

Since the establishment of Zoroaster's relations with king Vishtaspa of Eastern Persia, we find the germ of the future state church of Iran. Zoroastrianism soon became the national religion and was further professed by Touranians, Armenians, and

Cappadocians. In a short time, it spread over the whole of the near East. The Achaemenid and the Arsacid dynasties of Persia were followers of it, and so were very many of the Indo-Scythian kings who invaded northern India in the period between Asoka and the Guptas.

The spirit of Persecution :-

Zoroaster preached the persecution of nomads who were at that time apparently at constant war with the settled agricultural population which had adopted his tenets. It is worthy of note that the terms Daivas and Ahuras respectively the good spirits of these nomads and of the Persians became respectively the evil spirits of the other. Later on, when the religion had spread, we see Artaxerxes, the famous Achaemenid monarch, passed an edict by which the practice of any religious observances except those of Zoroaster was strictly prohibited. The temples and statues of the former religions were destroyed and the flames of persecution soon reached Jews and Christians as well. The wars of the Sassanids with the Roman monarchs, especially in Christian Armenia, were the outcome of this bigotry.

Debasement of Zoroastrianism under the later Sassanids :-

Finally we observe that under the later Sassanians Zoroastrianism became debased, chiefly under the narrow-minded orthodox policy of the Sassanian priesthood. Dr. Irach J.S. Taraporewala, speaking of the decline of Zoroastrianism writes, "But unfortunately after the first century of Sassanian domination there arose no great leader who could have revived Zoroastrianism

or could have united all Iran under his leadership. Instead of reasserting the fundamental truths contained in the Gathas of Zoroaster, which would have constituted the best answers to the subversive doctrines of Mani, and Mazdak, the Zoroastrian priesthood began a fierce persecution not merely of the Christians, but also of all who venture to go in particular contrary to the law as they had laid down."

Added to this, were two other religious movements which had found followers in Iran, one from the east, namely Buddhism, which having been established as the state religion of India, under Asoka the Great, Emperor of Magadha, sent missionaries to Kabul, Bactria, and Eastern Iran. Through the agency of nomadic tribes, Buddhism crept into Persia where it introduced Monasticism, mortification of the flesh, etc. - ideas which were not in accord with Zoroastrianism. The other religious current came from the west namely that of Christian missionaries who, after the conversion of Armenia, aimed at the propagation of the faith in Iran. These missionaries also reasserted the life of seclusion in glowing terms. Coupled to these came the death blow from the doctrines of Mani and Mazdak.

Chapter V. Religion.

Islam.

Conditions in Arabia during 6th & 7th Century A.D.

In the case of Islam, which had become the religion of Persia about this time, we have the interesting phenomenon of the religion of a simple people being imposed on an older and more highly developed race. The founder of the new religion was Mohammad bin Abdullah, who was born on the 29th August, 570 A.D., a member of a respectable Koreish family of Mecca. Mohammad found the society in which he lived engrossed in the worst evils. Socially, the Arabs, whose civilisation was rather primitive, were divided into a number of factions which engaged in tribal feuds for the smallest affront. They had little religion and but slight ethical codes. They practised idolatry and it is said that more than 360 idols were worshipped in the temple of the Kaaba in Mecca. Morally they were in outer darkness, and murder and adultery were practiced openly in their religious ceremonies. Female infanticide was common amongst them for the usual reasons. Child murder had become actually a virtue in their eye.

Similar conditions indeed were prevalent in Europe, for these were the darkest of the middle ages, while in Persia Zoroastrianism had been debased by abuse and corruption. The Jews and Christians of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. in like

manner had little morality left in them, and in the words of Sir William Muir, "The Christianity of the seventh century was itself decrepit and corrupt." Heresies and schism had bereft these religions of all claim to sublimity; they had in fact reverted to paganism, their followers addressing the soul of the dead in their prayers. At that time, when such conditions prevailed on other continents, every sort of evil was rife among the Arabs, and Gibbon summarises the Arabia of those days in these words, "In this primitive and abject state, which ill deserves the name of the society, the human brute without arts and laws, almost without sense and language, is poorly distinguished from the rest of the animal creation."

Mohammad the founder of the new religion :-

At the time of Mohammed's birth, the government of Mecca was vested in a Decemvirate of which his grandfather was the chief. He died, however, when his grandson was but eight years old, and the child, deprived of any chance of education, spent his early life as a shepherd. From his boyhood up he was given to meditation spending hours of solitude in the desert. His upright conduct soon won him the title of "Amin" or the "Trusty", and at the age of 25 he married a wealthy widow, Khadija, and by her had a daughter Fatima who was married to Ali, his kinsman. At the age of 44, Mohammad is said to have beheld a celestial vision in a cavern in Mount Hira near Mecca, and by the year 614 A.D., we find him assuming the prophetic office and dedicating his whole life to the reformation of his people; to rescue them from idolatry was

his declared mission.

Opposition of the Arabs :-

Mohammad by his new teaching soon converted Khadija, his wife, Zayid his adopted son, and Ali his son-in-law, to whom were presently added Abu Bekr, Othman and Omar. The proud warriors of Arabia however, would not accept either Mohammad or his new religion in place of those practised by their ancestors. They opposed him and his followers in every possible way, in so much that very many of them were forced to flee to Abyssinia and place themselves under the protection of a Christian king, while others heroically remained behind to suffer persecution with their leader, who stayed on at Mecca in the hope of yet winning the people to his cause. After the death of Khadija, which occurred in 621 A.D., the Arabs of the Koreish family took up such an attitude of hostility that Mohammad began to despair of any success with them.

His flight to Medina 622 A.D., :-

Consequently he first fled to Tayef, where he was pelted with stones and forced to return to Mecca with a heavy heart. There he continued his missionary work and won to himself a few followers from Yathreb, a rival city to Mecca, who had come thither for pilgrimage. Eventually Mohammad, seeing a new field opened to him, fled to Yathreb arriving there on the 2nd July 622 A.D., This dates the Muslim era, and is called "The Hijrat" or 'The flight of Mohammad'. The name of Yathreb was changed to Medina tu'n Nabi or 'The city of the prophet' which, further shortened, became Medina only. The Yathrebites were called "Ansar"

or 'Helpers'. Mohammad soon organised the life at Medina and united the inhabitants so that they formed a sort of general brotherhood. A Mosque was built and there he began to preach. He issued a charter by virtue of which tribal feuds were to be abolished and equal rights were given to the Jews, who constituted a large part of the city's population. From the position of preacher he had risen to that of a legislator and commander of the city.

Mohammad takes to the sword :-

After the subjugation of Medina, Mohammad had to face the Meccans who looked upon him as a revolutionary. In the first encounter, at a place called Bedr, a few miles from Medina, the Meccans were defeated with heavy losses. In 624 A.D., however, the battle of Ohod proved a victory for the Meccans, but a victory won at a frightful sacrifice in which the victors were compelled to retreat. In 627 A.D., the Meccans, who took the field with 10,000 men against Mohammad's 3000, were repulsed with severe loss after which the prophet's cause made rapid progress, tribe after tribe confessing the new faith. In 630 A.D., Mohammad was able to march on Mecca at the head of 10,000 men and enter without opposition. Now the whole city was at his mercy and the time ripe for vengeance, but he took none. Instead he granted a general amnesty to the whole of the population. After this victory Mohammad still retained Medina as his capital.

Death of Mohammad 632 A.D. :-

On 8th June 632 A.D. Mohammad died. His followers at

that time numbered more than 1000,000. During the ten years which had elapsed since he had assumed the position of legislator, presiding over the commonwealth of Islam, he had succeeded in abolishing tribal disputes, ushering in an era of peace and tranquility, raising humanity to a new elevation and giving it a new code of conduct. The whole life of the Arabian peninsula had been altered within that space of time. Humility marked the character of Mohammad throughout his life. As a conqueror he had retained his old simplicity of life, sweeping his own floor, kindling his own fire, milking his own goats, and doing the meanest domestic duties for himself. At his death he did not transmit the kingdom to his family but ordered the formation of republic with a Caliph, or "Successor", at the head, to be appointed by universal suffrage.

Islam a return to the religion of Abraham :-

The religion which Mohammad preached was called "Islam", which means "Submission" to the will of God. Islam took its birth chiefly from the Hebrew system, for Mohammad insisted that his mission was but the revision and reformation of the faith of Abraham. The Jewish customs and rites, diet, and belief in the prophets and the Jewish sacred books, were accepted as lawful by the Muslims. The flesh of swine was condemned as food and even circumcision was made lawful for and incumbent on every Muslim. In short, Judaism as a basis, with large modifications, was accepted as the foundation of Islam.

The beliefs in Islam :-

The prophet divided the doctrines in Islam into those of faith and those of practice. The key-note of Islam was the doctrine of the Unity of God, which it proclaimed unremittingly with unsurpassed grandeur and majesty. As in all Semitic religions God was depicted as the All powerful, "The Lord of the Worlds", All knowing, All Just, the Creator of life and death, who knew every ant's weight of good by whomsoever done. The sole aim of Mohammad was to call upon the people of the world to worship one God, instead of many gods and to condemn idolatry. Next to the oneness of God, the Muslim had to believe in Mohammad as his divinely appointed apostle and prophet, after which a belief in Angels and Holy Scriptures, including both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible and their ancient Prophets was essential.

Day of Judgment :-

Mohammad laid down that every Muslim must believe in the day of Judgment, which will come to pass after the destruction of Heaven and Earth. This was preached as a reality. The judgment will commence when the souls of humanity shall have been gathered ^{and} in the universe enfolded by God. The idea of bodily punishment prevailed and the horrors of Hell hung like the sword of Damocles over the heads of the Muslims.

Future Life :-

Belief in a future life and the accounting for human actions in the world to come were a natural outcome of belief in the day of Judgment. Death opens the door to a higher life in

the future world, the act of physical death merely serving to free the soul from its earthly trammels. Rewards and punishments according to a man's deeds were to be dispensed by God on the day of Judgment. To attract the desert Arabs and to win them to the cause, material rewards were preached, because Mohammad deemed that he could best draw the attention of the people by crystallising before their eyes rewards of a kind that were known to them. To a thirsty Arab of the Desert, the idea of bounteous rivers of milk and honey was highly alluring, and that is why the Muslim Paradise has been made to appear so materialistic to the western conception of religion.

Heaven and Hell :-

In depicting Heaven and Hell, Mohammad used a picture of God, seated on a throne as a Judge, who weighed the deeds of each individual. God was presented as an accountant, whose justice was mixed with mercy to an unlimited extent. Retribution was to be accorded according as a life was lived for the service of humanity or detrimental to it. This idea that even a grain of a mustard seed will be weighed after the Resurrection gave the Muslims a sense of responsibility which turned to self-respect and eventually brought wisdom.

Quran :-

Mohammad also taught that God's messages delivered to men and collected under the name of the "Quran", constituted the revealed book of God, the gospel of Islam. Its textual accuracy and authenticity is established beyond a doubt. It contains

laws both civil and criminal and lays down the punishment for criminal offences. It is worthy of note that Muslims were taught that God is the Speaker in the Quran, addressing mankind, while in the scriptures of other religions it is the prophet or the founder of the sect who delivers the message.

Besides the Quran, the private conversations and personal talks of Mohammad were collected after his death and called "Sunna" or 'Tradition', and these are the secondary authorities for a believer. For a Muslim for all purposes of law, ritual, and dogma the authentic traditions are valued almost as much as the Quran itself. These Table Talks were of course collected much later than the Quran and their authenticity is sometimes open to doubt.

Simplicity in Islam :-

At the outset the doctrines of Islam were simple and could be understood by the simplest. They were rationalistic rather than sentimental. Islam had no priesthood and the salvation was to be gained by one's own actions rather than by ecclesiastical authority. In Islam there was no asceticism, but the Muslims were called upon to live in the world in such a way as to attain heavenly rewards. No celibacy or unnatural means of restraint for self-abasement or for purchasing the divine favour were taught, and a man who could earn an honest living in the world was a far more useful person than a monk living in seclusion. From the first the note of simplicity is obvious when we remember the fact that Mohammad taught that he himself

was a messenger of God, the "Last of the Prophets", "The seal of Prophe~~th~~ood" and would permit none to worship him, saying, "I am no more than a man". He insisted that the people must not take him to be super-man, as had happened in the case of Christ.

Furthermore we see that simple prayers, routines, rewards and punishments were not abstract, as in the religion of Zoroaster. No duality such as that of Ahuramazda and Ahirman and conflict between them was taught, but on the other hand his religious exercises were of a practical nature. It must be borne in mind that Islam was in no way concerned with Mysticism until the rise of the Sufis some two centuries later. Then formalism became intermingled with the original religion and it became more and more formal as the centuries succeeded.

Exalted position of women :-

To women, Mohammad gave an exalted position, for as one of his sayings goes, "The world and all things in it are precious but the most precious thing in the world is a virtuous woman," Woman was allowed to share in the patrimony of her parents, a privilege hitherto denied her, and marriage was ordained as a compulsory institution, polygamy was restricted, and monogamy recommended. As in the Jewish system, so in Islam divorce was permitted in cases of disagreement, and the divorced wife was provided with maintenance and similar laws were put in force protecting the interest of widows. The enslavement of women was forbidden and those employed in domestic service were to be treated in the same way as their mistresses. It is interesting

to note that the position of women in Islam as regards property is, in 1935, on a far higher level than it is in France or than it was in Europe generally in 1870 A.D.

Duties of the Muslim :-

On the practical side, Mohammad preached that every Muslim should pray five times a day, for the prophet maintained that "Faith without works is dead." The forms and ritual to be observed in the prayers, or "Salat" were to establish uniformity in practice. Physical cleanliness and ablution were essential before prayer, and the congregational Friday prayers with the "Khutba" were to be conducted in a Mosque. These prayers were impressive and picturesque, the congregation listening to the words from the pulpit and kneeling before the Almighty Creator. Von Kermer has remarked, "The Mosque was the drill ground for the war-like believers of early Islam". Next, every Muslim was enjoined to observe a one month's fast called "RAMAZAN". Throughout the day eating, drinking and smoking were strictly prohibited, the fast lasting from sunrise to sunset.

On every Muslim who has the means of accomplishing it, the pilgrimage to the shrine of the Kaaba in Mecca was enjoined. It was to maintain alive the spirit of brotherhood amongst the Muslims the world over. Similarly "Zakat", or almsgiving to the needy was preached. Charity was of two kinds, Obligatory and voluntary, the obligatory being $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the movable and immovable property of every individual. In addition to these laws of commission, Muslims were forbidden wine, and intoxicating liquors

as well as games of chance. The rules of morality were greatly emphasised. Truthfulness and filial devotion were placed in the first rank. Adultery and suicide were condemned, vanity despised and humility commanded.

Further progress of Islam :-

After Mohammad's death the constitution of Islam was a kind of a republic, with the Caliph, considered the Head of the State and the Church, elected by universal suffrage. The reign of the first four Caliphs or successors of Mohammad, namely Abu Bekr (632-34 A.D.), Omar (634-44 A.D.), Othman (644-56 A.D.), and Ali (656-61 A.D.) produced a nation of warriors. These four are called, "The Companions of the Prophet" and their caliphates are considered typical of the Muslim commonwealth in which the precepts of Islam were strictly adhered to, the Caliph living as humbly as his poorest subject. It was during the reign of Omar, the Simon Peter of Islam, that Persia was overrun and Islam introduced into that country. The socialistic principles of equality and brotherhood were similarly introduced.

With the accession of Othman (644-56 A.D.) and the favouritism shown by him to his Ommeyad kinsmen in conferring numerous posts of trust, etc., on them, the recurrence of the old clannish feelings became evident, and parties reappeared. In 656 A.D., at the assassination of Othman, one of these parties demanded the murderer from Ali, his successor. They were called Kharajites. The party to which the assassins belonged, of which Ali was considered the abettor, of whom we shall speak in the next

chapter, became known by the name of Shias. The third party, which held a middle course, neither favouring Ali in his shielding of the murderers of Othman, nor fanatics like the Kharajites, became afterwards known as "Sunni" or those who adhered to the traditions of the prophet.

Ommeyade dynasty turns Islam into an hereditary temporal power :-

After the assassination of Ali and the usurpation of power by Muawiyah had ended the commonwealth of Islam, it became thereafter an hereditary autocracy, with Damascus as the Capital. With the death of Muawiyah in 680 A.D. and the succession of his son Yezid and the cruel murder of Hussain, the grandson of the prophet, on the field of Kerbala, sectarian feelings between the various parties became more pronounced, resulting in much hatred against the Ommeyade house. This antagonism gained considerable ground in Persia, where it was remembered that Hussain had been married to the daughter of Yezidgerd III, the last of the Sassanian kings. The Ommeyade dynasty lasted but 90 years, a rising from Khurasan installing the Abbasides in their place. Under the Ommeyads considerations for the welfare of the state predominated over the religious attitude as maintained by the first four successors of Mohammad.

Organisation of Islam under Abbasides :-

With the accession to power of the Abbasides of 750 A.D. Islam was affected from quite another direction. Under the Abbasides the Saracen Empire reached its zenith or as one might say its Augustan age. Along with the Debauchery of the Caliphs,

religion became slack and Islam a prey to foreign ideas which became so mixed with it that to-day they appear quite inseparable. Numerous sects began to arise, Mohammad not having the craftiness and diplomacy of Mrs Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of the Church of Christian Science, in absolutely forbidding all criticism, sermons and other religious discussions on the faith she started. The fundamental difference between the various sects lay in dogma. The Sufis, of whom we shall speak in the following chapter, in introducing Greek philosophy attempted its reconciliation with the creed of Islam. The order of Dervishes, corresponding to the monastic orders of christianity, preached a life of seclusion with a preference for celibacy. In the Mutazilites we find the rationalistic attempts of Wasil, the founder of the sect, just as in the tenth century A.D. appeared the Brothers of Purity with their creed of eclecticism. In short, Islam became changed and it has continued changing as the centuries advanced.

The Faith of the Sunnis :-

Of the various sects that arose in Islam, the first and foremost were the Sunnis or the Orthodox Muslims. They derive their laws and doctrines first from the Quran and secondly from the "Sunna", or the traditions of the prophets. There being no priests in Islam, the settlement of the disputed questions was to be decided by an "Ijma", or a "Council", which consisted in the collection of the sayings of the prophet, in agreement with the Quran, paying due consideration to the trustworthiness of the traditionalists concerned. The science of this research was

called "Itjtahad" and the Doctor of Law who pronounced such opinions was called "Mujtahad", meaning one who is capable of coming to such decisions. These laws were elaborated into a system by the four great Imams or Doctors, namely, Hanfi, Shafi, Malki and Hanbali, who lived in the eighth century A.D. and their views are considered binding on Muslims. The followers of these doctrines were known as "Sunnis" or those who assent to the oral traditions, and consequently acknowledge the first four Caliphs, Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ali, who were the primary sources of these traditions. Thus the Sunnis believe that these four Caliphs were the Companions and the legitimate successors of the prophet. The four lawgivers who during their life-time were regarded as holy and after their death cannonised as saints, were the originators of the four schools designated as the four pillars of the Sunni faith. Despite the progress of schism among the Sunnis, their separate entities have never been challenged during all these centuries, though the Shias and other schismatics deny the purity and legality of the laws established by them.

The Kharajites or the Khwarij :-

The Kharajites, or "Seceders", or "Separatists", were the extreme democratic party, who maintained that any free Arab was eligible for the kingly office of the Caliph, and that the latter could be deposed by his subjects, a claim which was subsequently modified by the substitution of the broader term "Good Muslim" in place of "Arab". These Kharajites considered the Caliph as ruling for the people by the voice of the people

and through the consent of the people. They resembled somewhat the British Puritans who heroically fought against their rival sects and in their fanaticism refused to do homage to any one save God. By the 9th and 10th centuries their outrageous behaviour in murdering innocent travellers assumed political importance. In Seistan, which was their Persian home in the 9th century they insisted on giving military command to the most capable and efficient and their energies were directed towards creating a state based on Socialistic principles. Their fanaticism showed itself in constant rebellions, which met with equally ruthless repression, combined with desperate bravery against both Sunnis and Shias. Their efforts in Seistan as elsewhere resulted in sporadic rebellions for many centuries.

The sect of the Kadarites :-

Another sect which appeared subsequently was that of the Kadarites, who held that a man was a free agent. The Quran, which teaches determinism, declares ~~that~~^{the} fate of every one to have been fore-ordained by God, but the Kadarites maintained the free choice of the individual between good and evil, and retribution in the next world according to man's choice in this. To support these doctrines they quoted the Quran, extracting allegorical meanings from it to suit their purpose.

The Mutazilites :-

The Mutazilites, or "Dissenters", sprang up in the reign of Mamun (813-33 A.D.) at whose court they engaged in heated controversies as to whether the Quran was created or eternal.

They denied the attribute of personality in God, and contested the dogma of divine unity. They laid stress on the reasoning faculties of the human being and believed salvation to be inherent in the domain of reason. The corporeal conception of the Deity was denied and figurative interpretations of the Quran, in place of the literal were advocated, for they thought that the belief that God would be seen by mortal eyes on the day of Judgment was a dishonour to the Majesty of the Almighty. The Mutazilites further believed that their rationalism would advance the progress of civilisation, but their teachings did not last long as they soon lost ground, and were banned as infidels by Sunnis and Shias alike. This sect did not affect Persian thought to any appreciable extent.

of Muslim theology thinks himself dignified by calling
sufi or by being addressed by this title.

Origin of "Divine Virtue" (Ilahiyat-i-Fa'aliyah)

Shiism appealed to the Persian intellect because of its denial of the divine rights of Kings, which was both Aryan and had been prevalent in Persia since the times of the Sassanians (6th A.D.); in no other country has this theory been applied so consistently than in Persia. The Sassanians regarded themselves as emanations of divinity and they were thought to be the only legitimate successors of the Kay (pre-legendary dynasty) and associated with a virtue which justified their rule of the Persian empire. They held that any one who denied these facts was infidel.

The effect of this theory on the Persians

Although after the Muslim conquest the Persians accepted Islam as their national religion, they inevitably retained some of

Chapter VI. Religion.

Sufism and Shiaism.

Introductory :-

In a history of Persia we cannot pass on without noticing Shiaism, which has become the established national religion of the whole country and which has always had its home here, and also the principles of what is called Sufism, which has taken its deepest roots in this land. Practically every Persian who professes any knowledge of Muslim theology thinks himself dignified by calling himself a Sufi or by being addressed by this title.

The doctrine of "Divine right" theory in Persia :-

Shiaism appealed to the Persian intellect because of its theory of the divine rights of Kings, which was both Aryan and had been prevalent in Persia since the times of the Sassanians (212-641 A.D.): in no other country has this theory been applied more consistently than in Persia. The Sassanians regarded themselves as emanations of divinity and they were thought to be the only legitimate successors of the Kay pre-legendary dynasty and as imbued with a virtue which justified their claim of the Persian crown. They held that any one who denied these facts was disloyal.

The effect of this theory on the Persians :-

Although after the Muslim conquest the Persians accepted Islam as their national religion, they inevitably retained many of

their former characteristics. The idea of electing a Caliph or successor to the prophet was quite foreign to them, though it seemed reasonable to the democratic Arabs. The Persians, after the death of Phophet Mohammad thought that to deny the claims of Ali, who was the next-of-kin to Mohammad, was revolutionary, and naturally they had a great hatred for Omar the second of the Caliphs, who had conquered Persia and had incorporated it in the Muslim Empire. Ali's son Hussain by Fatma, the daughter of Mohammad was believed to have married Shahr Banu, the daughter of Yezidgerd III, the last of the Sassanians, and hence it was held that the descendants of Hussain and the Imams represented not only prophetic office but also the kingly virtue. The much disputed question elsewhere whether this marriage actually took place or not has never troubled the Persians, and the memory of Shahr Banu is still revered by them as the mother of the Imams, and they regard her as an intercessor on behalf of women for God's grace.

Shias attach divinity to Ali :-

Originally the Shias or Shi'ites were a political body safeguarding the interests of Ali and his partisans and supporting the temporal and spiritual authority of his house. In 661 A.D., when Ali was assassinated by a Kharajite, the Shias considered his eldest son Hasan to be his lawful successor. Hasan abdicated in favour of Muawiyah, the founder of the Ommeyyade house. On the death of Hasan, his brother Hussain aspired to the throne but his tragic fate in the battle of Kerbala in 680 A.D.

led the Shias to adhere more strongly to the cause of Ali's descendants, whom they depicted as excelling even the prophet of Islam in virtue. From then on the Shias became a religious body worshipping Ali, and his offspring.

The division in the Shi'ites :-

The Shia sect became divided later on into two main subjects, that of "The Sabiyya or Ismailies" or "The sect of Seven", and that of "Ithna Ashariyya" or "The sect of Twelve". Both believed that divine or supernatural power was vested in the house of Ali, and agree to the sixth Imam, Jafara's Sadiq, who died in 765 A.D. At his death Jafar nominated his brother Musa'l Kazimi, his successor to the Imamate. Those who favoured the claims of Jafar's eldest son Ismail fix the total number of Imams at seven and repudiate the claims of Musa'l Kazimi and his five successors.

The extreme Shi'ites :-

In the 10th or 11th centuries the "Ghulat" or the extreme Shi'ites began to consider the personalities of their Imams as quasi-divine, ascribing to them super-human virtues and often comparing them with God. Apparently this tendency of theirs was due to the influence of the "Hululiyya" sect who believed in the theory of incarnation. We also find that the extreme Shias began to hold the heretical doctrines of Anthropomorphism, the return of Redeemer in the shape of Imams, and Metempsychosis.

The rejection of the first three Caliphs by the Shias :-

The Shias do not recognise the first three successors of Mohammad namely Abu Bekr, Omar and Othman, all of whom they

regard as usurpers and hate them for supplanting Ali. Omar the conqueror of Persia was loathed to such an extent that one way of salvation for a Shia was to curse the memory of that Caliph. The enmity of the Sunnis and Shias which has existed from the time of the succession of Abu Bekr, the first successor of Mohammad, was chiefly caused by the curses of the Shias on the first three Caliphs in the mourning month of Muhurram (when they build "Taziyahs" to commemorate the memory of the assassination of Hussain, the younger son of Ali who fell on the field of Kerbala). Persia has always been the great cradle and centre of Shiaism, which nowhere else dominates an Islamic country.

Its origin :-

Sufism is of obscure origin. Some recent European scholars, more especially Prof E.G. Browne, have given four theories as to its origin:-

1. A continuation of esoteric teachings.
2. The revolt and reaction of the Aryan mind from a Semitic religion.
3. Neo-Platonist influences and,
4. An independent origin.

In any case it seems to have been of independent growth, for such mysticism appears where an indigenous people fail to find satisfaction ^{for their spiritual needs in the ordinary world} of their religion and consequently turn to esoteric creeds. Prof Nicholson has traced the origin of Sufism to the Quran and the Sunna, where God has spoken with two voices:

in the first as a great task master, inflicting penalties for the delinquencies of his servants, and in the other as a very Merciful Being. Sufis particularly emphasise the fact that God is a beloved Being and through intense contemplation and devotion the Divine assumes a mystical form and relationship to the Deity a transcendent aspect.

The cardinal points of Sufism :-

The fundamental principle of their belief was the doctrine of the infinite in the Finite. This was the new teaching that they introduced into Islam. The Sufis asserted that the Deity manifested himself in Humanity and Man is a partaker of the divine nature, since "ALL things being from God", the Sufis strive to reunite themselves with the divine essence and Formalities in worship and the outward ceremonial were disregarded. The various sects of the Sufis differ in their explanation of this cardinal doctrine. To a Sufi there is a voice of love in the elements of nature, mountains, rivers, seas, and desert, etc., This voice is that of God, who is all love. Similarly the Sufis maintain that the union with the Beloved (God) should be an essential aspiration for every disciple. Their chief poetical works e.g. "Musnavi" by Jalal Ud-Din Rumi and the writings of Jami are the yearnings of a burning heart for that union. Many think that much of Omar Khayyam's poetry are Sufi aspirations in metaphorical language, wine being used symbolically for divine love; beauty symbolically used for God, etc.,

The nature of the Sufi sect :-

Sufis are opposed to the idea of free will and "Separate individuality apart from the Beloved". The Quran is their authority which they often quote to corroborate. Generally they express themselves in a mystical, vague and metaphorical language. Soul is regarded as pre-natal by them. The power of perceiving beauty was an indication of participations in the beauty of the divine nature. Man's earthly nature led him to experience base desires, but his soul by "Ecstasy" could attain to union with the Deity. By "Ecstasy" the veil of duality disappears and man perceives the Unknown, which becomes one with the Known. Methods of repression were sought after the annihilation of self, which only can make a man capable of "Ecstasy".

The doctrine of the Sufis :-

In broad aspects Sufism is devotional. By coming into contact with the Hellenistic philosophy it became mystical. The Sufi ideals, like the Monastic ideals of the middle ages, were subjection of bodily wants for the development of the soul. Fantastic methods for the mortification of the flesh, insufficient sleep, fasting, coarse food, and many exercises of extreme and unnatural discomfort were followed by them. Poverty and obedience were advocated. The Sufis regard worship as an estatic contemplation of God. Annihilation of the self and world-renunciation were the means that carried them towards this end. They believed that God is omnipresent and everything. As opposed

to the Mutazilites, the Sufis laid great stress on the doctrine of pre-destination. Consequently the theory of the re-absorption of the soul into the divine essence is also maintained by them. Persian poets have derived a great deal of their inspiration from this philosophy. Persian poetry is very largely an analysis and a description of Sufism.

Its connection with Islam :-

The Sufis regard their philosophy as a natural sequence of the tenets of Islam. They consider the Prophet Mohammed to have been the first Sufi. The Persians deem Ali and his sons and the seven or twelve Imams as the great teachers of Sufism. They assert that Ali deputed his two sons and two other holy men to promulgate the mysticism of this faith and it is from the instructions of these Imams that the creed of Sufis has derived its individuality and self-assertion. The sacred mantle which was the symbol of their spiritual power has been preserved intact and they believe with it supernatural powers have been handed down from teacher to disciple.

Criticism on Sufism :-

The greatest objection to Sufism from an orthodox point of view is that in itself Sufism is not a religion, and that its propagation unsettles the established existing beliefs, without substitution for them any others of a definite character. Therefore Orthodox Muslims have often made violent war on this sect, without however achieving much success. After the establishment of Shiaism as the national religion, Shiaism and Sufism became

imperceptibly blended until they appeared inseparable. The philosophy of Sufism has so entered into the spirit of the nation that it would almost seem as if the faith of every sincere and educated Persian Muslim could find its adequate expression in Sufism alone. *Tahir bin Muhammad (820-72 A.D.)*

Division of Sufis :-

With the development of the Sufi dogmas, innumerable sects sprang up, as was inevitable for a system founded on mysticism. Some affirm that there are four principal sects, while the others say seven or more. In this connection it is worthy of note that many authors make the mistake of confusing the doctrines of these sects with those of the Shia Imams, to which they have not the slightest connection. *Yusuf bin Muhammad (820-72 A.D.)*

Terminology :-

Before we may finally close this chapter, we may note that the Sufis have a vocabulary of their own. They specify strict meanings to ordinary words of every day use. In their language which they address to God, they use words commonly addressed to beautiful women. If these words are interpreted literally the meaning seems sensuous. The ardent admirer of Persian poetry will feel a thrill at the interpretation of verses from a Sufi angle of vision. Most of the words e.g. "Tulip cheeks", "Cypress forms" etc., bear a mystical meaning, and the devotional interpreters attach Sufi symbolism even to the most Epicurean verses of the poets. "Tulip cheek" ordinarily a love expression is interpreted by the Sufis as God's beauty in nature, and so forth. *Yusuf bin Muhammad (820-72 A.D.)*

Chapter VII. Chronicle.

The Tahirids (820-72 A.D.)

Introductory :-

Gibbon, speaking of the break up of the Caliphate in the beginning of the 9th century A.D., remarks, "In the East, the first (Persian) dynasty was that of the Tahirids, the posterity of the valiant Tahir, who in the civil wars of the sons of Haroun, had served with too much zeal and success the cause of Al Mamun, the younger brother."

The founder of the dynasty was Tahir bin Hussain Dhul'i Yaminayn. He was the first to make Khurasan a semi-independent kingdom by freeing it from the jurisdiction of the Abbasides. Prof. E.G. Browne attributes to the Safarids the glory of establishing an independent principality, but even he acknowledges that the Tahirids were their precursors. We will find that the house of Tahir fostered that incipient nationalism which resulted in the formation of later independent dynasties.

Lineage of the Tahirids :-

Tahir Dhul'i Yaminayn bin Hussain was descended from a long line of governors of the town of Bushang in the province of Herat, of whom Musab bin Razaq (grandfather of Tahir) was the governor of that town. Musab's father Razaq, was a follower of Abu Mohammed Talha bin Abdullah Al Khuzai, viceroy of Seistan under Salm bin Zayd (681-83 A.D.) In 747 A.D., at the time of the

Abbaside rising, Musab was secretary to an adherent of Abu Muslim. After the death of Musab the government of Bushang passed to his son, Hussain (814-15 A.D.), who was succeeded by his son Tahir (afterwards famous by his title Dhul'i Yaminavn, the founder of the dynasty.

Tahir Dhul'i Yaminavn's early life :-

Tahir, then, was the great grandson of a Persian slave who belonged to an Arab chief of the Khuzistan clan. The date of his birth is unknown, and his early life is veiled in obscurity. Before 809 A.D., however, Tahir had taken part in the war against Rafi bin Lais, whose rebellion in Samarqand had caused great alarm to the Caliph Haroun. After Haroun's death in 809 A.D., Tahir entered the army of Mamun, which was stationed at Merv in the province of Khurasan. The Caliph Haroun divided his empire between his two sons, Mamun and Amin, the latter having been nominated to the chief part of his possessions. Mamun, the son of a Persian slave girl, was given the government of the East, including Khurasan. Amin resented this division of the empire, and the breach between the brothers becoming acute, civil war ensued. In 811 A.D., when Mamun assumed the title of the "Caliph of the East", Tahir was emerging from obscurity into the limelight.

Tahir as Commander-in-chief of Mamun :-

Mamun was very popular in Persia, on account of his Persian mother, his marked Persian proclivities and his sympathetic attitude towards the Shia religion. All Persian historians repeat in some form or other the common saying of the time, that 'he was the son of our sister, he is one of ourselves and an Abbaside to boot

Under his patronage Tahir began his military career and rose with phenomenal rapidity. He ^{became} ~~came~~ "Sipasalar" or "Commander-in-chief" by 810 A.D., and in this capacity he achieved great fame.

Tahir's operations against Ali bin Isa near Ray 810 A.D.

When Amin saw that his authority was not recognised in Khurasan, he sent Ali bin Isa bin Mahan to fight Mamun. Tahir at the head of a small army was despatched to guard the frontier. In the battle that ensued in 810 A.D., near Ray, Amin's army suffered a crushing defeat and was dispersed. According to Tabri, Ali bin Isa met Tahir in a hand to hand fight, and Tahir wielded his sword with both hands, killed Ali in the encounter. Here Tahir received the appellation of Dhul'i Yaminayn or 'Ambidexter'. The message of Tahir, announcing the victory, ^{describes Amer al-} was almost as laconic as the one sent by Julius Ceasar to the Roman Senate. "The head of Ali bin Sina", Tahir wrote simply, "is before me, his ring on me (i.e. On his finger as a sign of victory) and his troops before me."

Tahir marches on Hulwan :-

On Tahir's further march to Hulwan, some 125 miles to the north of Bagdad, the successive forces sent against him by Amin met with similar fates to the first. Tahir taking Qazwin, reached the outskirts of Hulwan. Harthama, another of Mamun's generals, who had been sent from Merv with heavy reinforcements to assist Tahir, was left by the latter in command at Hulwan, which he reduced shortly, while Tahir advanced upon Ahwaz and Sus. Masudi mentions that when Amin heard of Tahir's series of brilliant

victories which threatened to extinguish his power, he wrote to Tahir, reminding him of the ingratitude of the Abbasides to their benefactors which had become proverbial. "In the name of God," Amin wrote, "Surely you can see that ever since the establishment of our house, whosoever has most loyally served us has been rewarded by the sword. Now choose your fate." The letter indicates how deeply Amin was impressed by his military genius.

Tahir advances on Bagdad 812 A.D. :-

Tahir, heedless of Amin's message continued to advance steadily. Force after force was sent by Amin but they could not stem the tide. When Ahwaz had been reduced, the whole of Wasit was compelled to swear allegiance to Mamun. Abbas bin Hadi, Amin's governor of Kufa, submitted to Tahir's forces, and his example was followed by Mansur bin Mehdi, governor of Basra. Next Tahir turned towards Madain, whose conquest brought him to the vicinity of Bagdad. Amin made a futile effort to bribe the enemy's army to desert their leader. Before the close of the year Tahir prepared to attack Bagdad - the only city which still resisted. Tahir stationed himself before the Anbar gate, while Harthama, approaching from the East, waited on the other side of the river ^{*}

Siege of Bagdad 812-13 A.D. :-

The siege lasted for several months. Bagdad was strongly fortified and the attack was made difficult by the numerous canals. The sufferings of the city were terrible, because of the

* At this time the main city was on the right bank where Kadhimam now is.

continual street-fighting, and the wide-spread conflagrations which broke out as a result of Tahir's cutting off the garrison from its communication with the Tigris. In the orgy of destruction many magnificent palaces of inestimable value were razed to the ground or burned by incendiaries, and the once beautiful city became a wilderness of ruins. Amin's generals deserted him and after a siege of 12 months Tahir, by making a final vigorous attack, captured the city in September 813 A.D.

Eventually, the unfortunate Amin, after finding a temporary refuge in a citidal, where he was defended by a few faithful friends, was obliged to surrender. He tried to save himself by stipulating that he would only give himself up to Harthama, the old general of his father rather than to Tahir whom he dreaded as a Persian. Tahir objected to this suggestion on the ground that it would imply that Harthama was the conqueror of Bagdad. Finally it was arranged that while Amin's person should be given into the hands of Harthama, his regalia of office should be given to Tahir. This arrangement, however, failed to assure the safety of the fallen monarch. Amin came forth from the citidal towards the river bank where Harthama waited for him and took him off in a boat. Some of Tahir's soldiers began to attack the boat with arrows and stones, one of which hit the vessel and it sank. Harthama was saved by the boatman, who caught him by the hair of his head while Amin swam ashore. Shivering with cold he was carried to a neighbouring house, where the following night he was slain by a party of Tahir's soldiers. Tahir after exposing

his head to the populace of Bagdad to show that he was dead, sent it on to Mamun.

The effect on the Persians of Tahir's campaign :-

The successful campaign of Tahir and his army gave them the ascendancy over the Arabs, although in its inception it was a war between two brothers, each of which claimed supremacy. It was also the culmination of the racial and cultural rivalries and antipathies between two nations. The victory of Mamun was a momentous event for Persia. The preponderance of the Persian element involved a rapid decline of Arabian influence. Henceforth, while the Arabs possessed the semblance of power, the real authority was exercised by the Persians. The Caliphate remained Arabian as regards its language, its religion and the nationality of its sovereigns. It was the Persians, however, who moulded the destiny of the Empire by organising its government, administering its offices and providing it with viziers, governors, scribes, and chamberlains.

The effect on the Caliphate of Tahir's successful campaign :-

Tahir's conquest of Bagdad raised Mamun to the throne but it led to the weakening of the structure of the Empire and hastened its final collapse. Mamun and his successors were largely dependent on the alien Persians, and in reward for their services granted them feudatory lordships. The court of the Abbasides became the regular resort of foreigners who conducted the machinery of administration. The Caliphate was torn by revolts and internecine struggles. The first step towards the dissolution

of the Empire was taken when Mamun invested Tahir with the permanent governorship of Khurasan for himself and his heirs. The hereditary power of the Tahirids differentiates them from previous governors and pro-consuls because it gave them a local authority and position which former governors, appointed only for a term of years and removable at the Caliph's pleasure, had never enjoyed.

Effect of Tahir's campaign on his career :-

Tahir's signal services in the field naturally made him invaluable to Mamun, who after his accession in 813 A.D. appointed him governor of Jazira (Mesopotamia), military commander of Bagdad, and financial administrator of Sawad (Iraq). The government of these provinces, called in those days the Viceroyalty of the West, was the greatest honour which the Caliph could bestow and was usually given to a member of the royal house. It should be noted that Mamun did not come to Bagdad till 817 A.D. and for a period of four years (i.e. 813-17 A.D.), Bagdad was entrusted to Tahir, who was considered fully competent to secure the submission of its inhabitants. When Mamun came to Bagdad, Tahir was appointed to the office of "Sahib Shurta" - an office equal to the rank of a governor in the eyes of the Bagdad government. Finally he obtained the government of Khurasan. His prestige was so great that later, when he began to show signs of insubordination, the Caliph did not dare to institute proceedings openly against him.

Tahir's fall from favour :-

In 819 A.D., Mamun made an attempt to get rid of Tahir, Khwand Amir and Hamd Ullah are unanimous in assigning the cause of Mamun's dislike and aversion to Tahir to the fact that his

presence reminded the Caliph of the tragic death of his brother Amin. Probably Mamun experienced remorseful misgivings mingled with the growing fear of a potential rival. The following story is related in this connection :-

One day while Mamun was taking wine, Tahir appeared on the scene. At the instance of the Caliph Hussain, the cup-bearer offered him a drink. Instantly Mamun was seized with a paroxysm of grief and began to cry. Tahir perplexed by this display of emotion, bribed the Cup-bearer to ascertain the cause, and when he questioned Mamun, received this answer, "The very presence of Tahir reminds me of Amin and his murder."

The astute Tahir noted the trend of the Caliph's feelings and determined to make his position secure. He therefore prevailed upon one of Mamun's ministers, Ahmad bin Khalid, to propose that he should be given the government of Khurasan, where disciplinary measures appeared to be required. Ahmad bin Abu Khalid, who was a bosom friend of Tahir, by strenuously taking the part of Ghassan bin Abbad, the then governor of Khurasan, readily aroused the suspicion of Mamun against him, and obtained the government of Khurasan for Tahir. The apparently inexplicable conduct of Mamun in consenting to the appointment is understood on a closer investigation of his further actions. It is certain that he conceived a treacherous plan by which he could anticipate and frustrate any treasonable design on the part of Tahir.

Tahir as the Viceroy of the East 820 A.D. :-

It was in 820 A.D. that Mamun entrusted the government of Khutasan to Tahir, with his headquarters at Nishapur. No sooner had Tahir established himself in the province than the Caliph's presentiments were realised. Tahir adopted an independent attitude: he omitted the Caliph's name from the "Khutba" and substituted for it a "Petition for guidance" which read as follows :-

"O! God, Bless the (temporal) estate of the followers of the prophet Mohammad, even as thou hast blessed thy chosen apostle and prophets whom thou hast made thy friends. Also guard the Muslims from the mischief of those who prosper in their wickedness, restrain them from their tyranny and murder, and create love and unity amongst them."

The master of the posts, Kulsum bin Hamdam, at once notified the Caliph of this innovation. Two days later the death of Tahir was announced.

Tahir poisoned :-

Tahir died suddenly in November or December, 821 A.D. after dropping Mamun's name from the Khutba. The circumstances of his death justify the suspicion of foul play. Mirkhond suggests by innuendo that Tahir's death was fully expected and connived at by Mamun. Masudi states explicitly that Mamun presented Tahir with a slave whom he had previously instructed to poison Tahir if he displayed any dangerous ambitions, and that the slave carried out the injunctions of the Commander of the Faithful. After Mamun had sent an army under Ahmad bin Abu Khalid to take

the field against Tahir the news of the latter's death reached the Caliph. He thereupon, conferred the viceroyalty on Talha, the younger son of Tahir. The reasons for passing over Abdullah, the eldest son of Tahir will be gone into later in Chapter VIII.

Tahir's character :-

Tahir has been described as a well-built man of imposing appearance, although, it seems, he had lost an eye in a battle. He received the sobriquet of "Dhul'i Yaminayn" or the 'Ambidexterous' because he could wield a weapon in either hand with equal skill. His prowess in the field was proverbial and his name inspired terror in the rank and file of the enemy. His sagacity, judgment, majesty and liberality were his most distinguishing features. He is not only famous as a great ruler and administrator but also as a patron of art and literature. The letter which he addressed to his son on his appointment in Mesopotamia containing a discourse on the duties of public life is regarded as a model of perfect style.

Tahir reigned for a year and a half in Khurasan, his name had become so illustrious that, despite the imputation of disloyalty, the vice-royalty of the East was continued in his line. Tahir though nominally Viceroy, was practically supreme. His acknowledgement of vassalage to the Caliph was only formal.. Although Tahir was not the greatest man of his dynasty, because his son Abdullah, of whom we will speak in the next chapter, eclipsed the glory of his father, he was yet the second greatest who like Philip of Macedon built the structure of the house, and it is with the capture of power by Tahir that the Tahirid house was established.

Talha bin Tahir 822-26 A.D.

Succession of Talha 822 A.D. :-

At the time of Tahir's death his eldest son Abdullah was in Rakkah, a town in Upper Mesopotamia on the Syrian frontier, where he was occupied in quelling a rebellion headed by Nasr bin shabas, a Kharajite. It is curious to note that Abdullah did not succeed his father. Various theories have been put forward to account for this disregard of the principle of primogeniture. Mirkhond affirms that as Abdullah was absent on an important military expedition the governorship of Khurasan passed to Talha as the deputy of Abdullah. The sequence of events proves this supposition to be incorrect, since Abdullah did not apparently resume or try to resume the governorship on his return. It has been asserted that bribery played an important part in the transaction, and it is certain that Talha squandered money on the Vizier and his Secretary by presenting the latter with 500,000 dirhams. It is also possible that Mamun bestowed the governorship on Talha in order to create jealousy between the brothers. The most plausible theory is that Abdullah came to an understanding with his younger brother in the matter, for after all a viceroyalty under the Caliph was not then altogether a sinecure.

The Subjugation of Transoxania 822 A.D. :-

In 822 A.D. the Caliph Mamun sent an expedition to Transoxania under the command of his Vizier, Ahmad bin Abu Khalid.

Its chief aim was the subjugation of Ushrusana - the province which lay in those days to the east of Samarkand, occupying some districts along the Sughd river and some on the left bank of the Jaxartes. The Capital of the province was the city of Ushrusana, the site of which is identical with the modern town of Ura-teph. Ushrusana was ruled by Prince Kawus, who had agreed to pay tribute to Mamun, while he was at Merv. Kawus, on Mamun's return to Bagdad, withheld the tribute. Hydar, the son of Kawus, after killing a noble and partisan of his brother, fled to Bagdad, upon which Ahmad bin Abu Khalid was sent to subdue the province, under the guidance of Hydar. Kawus was taken unawares and surrendered and was sent to Bagdad, where he embraced Islam and was restored to his province on his promise to pay the tribute. Hydar, who later on became famous under his name of Afshin (the title of the prince of Ushrusana), became the first noble in the Caliph's court.

According to Mirkhond, this Vizier Ahmad who was such a friend of Tahir's proved also a great benefactor to Talha. After arranging the settlement of the province of Ushrusana, he had it put under the charge of Talha as a dependency of the province of Khurasan.

Rebellion of Humza in Seistan 827 A.D. :-

Little is recorded of Talha, and he appears to have been a man of colourless disposition whose personality did not impress his contemporaries. Mirkhond mentions that the only important event of his reign was the rebellion of Humza in Seistan. This province, which lies to the south east of Khurasan, occupies an

important position historically. Here Humza took up his position, and finding many Kharajite supporters made himself master of a considerable extent of territory. Seistan was a dependency of Khurasan and accordingly Talha collected his forces and marched against Humza, whom he defeated. On his return to Khurasan he fell sick and died in 828 A.D. leaving the government to ~~his~~^{his} son Ali. We have very little information regarding the third prince of this dynasty, Ali bin Talha. He appears to have reigned but a few months, as he had to face a combination of hostile forces, and he perished in a battle near Nishapur. After his decease the war continued with more intense fury.

of Seistan in the province of Azerbaijan, when the death of Ali bin Talha occurred in 828 A.D. and he took over the charge of Khurasan. Before his appointment to the governorship of Khurasan he had been entrusted with various offices of responsibility by Harun, which he had discharged with notable ability, and the Caliph considered him a pillar of the Empire.

Abdullah as Viceroy of Syria and Egypt 829 A.D.

In 829 A.D. Abdullah had been appointed Viceroy of Syria and Egypt and to him had been committed the task of reducing Haar Okale, who was in revolt on the Western frontier. Abdullah attacked the rebel vigorously and drove him into an impregnable fortress on the border of Asia Minor, which was only captured five years later and razed to the ground, Haar Okali being taken prisoner at the same time. It would seem that Abdullah directed the operations in general but was not engaged in them all the time.

Chapter VIII. Chronicle.

Abdullah bin Tahir 828-44 A.D.

Abdullah the greatest prince of the Tahirid house :-

Abdullah, the most distinguished and heroic prince of the Tahirid house, really greater than his father, a born organizer whom we had seen disinherited after Tahir's death in 822 A.D., was in the neighbourhood of Dunoyur in the province of Azerbaijan, when the death of his nephew Ali, occurred in 828 A.D. and he took over the charge of Khurasan. Before his appointment to the governorship of Khurasan he had been entrusted with various offices of responsibility by Mamun, which he had discharged with notable ability, and the Caliph considered him a pillar of the Empire.

Abdullah as Viceroy of Syria and Egypt 820 A.D. :-

In 820 A.D. Abdullah had been appointed Viceroy of Syria and Egypt and to him had been committed the task of reducing Nasr Okale, who was in revolt on the Western frontier. Abdullah attacked the rebel vigorously and drove him into an impregnable fortress on the border of Asia Minor, which was only captured five years later and razed to the ground, Nasr Okali being taken prisoner at the same time. It would seem that Abdullah directed the operations in general but was not engaged in them all the time.

The rebellion of the Spanish refugees in Egypt in 827 A.D.
and Abdullah's unsuccessful campaign against Babek in
828 A.D.

While Abdullah was engaged in the north with Nasr, Egypt revolted and the crisis was aggravated by an influx of refugees from Spain, who had been expelled by the Ommeyade sovereign of that country. Abdullah, however was equal to the situation and overwhelmed them in a single battle in 827 A.D. Afterwards, he compelled them to leave Alexandria, which owing to their disorderly conduct had become a scene of chronic revolt. The insurgents begged for permission to go to Crete - a request which was immediately granted. The motley horde at once sailed for Crete, conquered the inhabitants and obtained possession of the island.

Rebellion of Babek 828 A.D. :-

After the pacification of Egypt, the energies of Abdullah were directed against the brigand Babek, called "The Nihilist", who had terrorised the northern provinces of Mazendran for a quarter of a century. He belonged to the Magian sect and preached doctrines subversive to all morality, as incestuous marriage, and heterodox such as metempsychosis, etc., Making his headquarters in a strong fortress of Mazendran near Azerbaijan, he routed the Imperial army and carried away many women captives. He even sought the help of the Greeks, and entering into relations with Theophilus, the son of Michael the Stammerer, who held the Byzantine throne, raided the Muslim dominions. Abdullah was about to proceed against him when he was called upon by the Caliph Mamun

to assume the government of Khurasan on the death of his nephew Ali.

Abdullah's governorship of Khurasan

828-44 A.D.

Terrible state of Khurasan 828 A.D. :-

Gardizi mentions that the death of Talha was followed by an interlude of chaotic warfare in which numerous disorderly elements fought with intense fury. The whole of the province of Khurasan was in a state of indescribable confusion in consequence of wide-spread revolts. The atmosphere was tense with plots and rebellions of the Kharajites. Abdullah sent Aziz bin Nuh with 10,000 men to restore order, and according to the same authority, this general appears to have achieved this object, though we are not told how long he took.

Famine in Khurasan (probably from 828-31 A.D.) :-

During Abdullah's administration of Khurasan a universal famine occurred as the result of a prolonged drought which lasted almost three years, and in consequence of which the country was depopulated to some extent. Grain supplies were usually imported into Khurasan from Transoxiana, but owing to this drought the crops failed and caused a famine in Khurasan.

The so-called massacre of the Magians :-

Mirkhond mentions that the Zoroastrians owned a temple in Herat situated opposite to a Mosque, and that they used to pay the "Jaziya" (a poll-tax levied on non-Muslims). One day a certain Muslim preacher, while discoursing in the pulpit, declared

in a fiery speech that Islam was not revered in the neighbourhood since a Zoroastrian temple had been erected in the same district and the sight of a heathen temple and a sacred Mosque in close proximity had not stirred up any righteous indignation among the Muslims. He incited the true believers to destroy the temple. The fanaticism of the Muslim inhabitants was aroused at this speech and a number of them proceeded to raze the temple to the ground and to build a new Mosque in its place from the ruins of the former structure.

When the Zoroastrians heard of the demolition of their temple they proceeded to Nishapur to present their grievances to Abdullah, who demanded an explanation from the district magistrate of Herat. Upon investigation 4000 old men of Herat, including builders, gave evidence that no temple had ever been built in the vicinity. Their statement was accepted as conclusive and the case of the Magians was dismissed.

This instance is one which has been misunderstood by some Western writers, who had interpreted it as a general massacre of the Magians in the reign of Abdullah. The usual version is that Mirkhond, who is probably a most accurate and reliable historian, merely states the above event and we do not find anywhere the colouring that has been given to it. Possibly Mirkhond has mentioned this occurrence to lay stress on the orthodox policy of Abdullah, and to show that Providence wrought a fresh miracle to prove the surpassing excellence of Islam in the person of this Tahirid Viceroy, who gave fresh impetus to his religion.

to pay tribute. It so happened that Afshin, the Turkish general at Bagdad, had a personal - 124 - with Abdullah and was prepared

Accession of the Caliph Mottasim and the strained relations between him and Abdullah :-

On the death of the Caliph Mamun his brother Mottasim ascended the throne in 833 A.D. According to Gardizi, his relations with Abdullah were not cordial because of an act of insolence displayed by Abdullah during the days when he was the "Hajib" (house minister) of Mamun. One day Mottasim accompanied by a number of slaves, came to the Royal Palace at a late hour and begged to have audience with the Caliph. Abdullah replied that the moment was inopportune and that it would be a breach of etiquette for him to interview the Caliph with so many attendants. This led to an altercation. When Mamun heard of the incident he attempted to effect a reconciliation. The insult, however, rankled in the mind of Mottasim.

When Mottasim became the Caliph, he openly confirmed Abdullah in his Viceroyalty of Khurasan, but he secretly tried to destroy him. He presented Abdullah with a slave girl to whom he had entrusted "A deadly Souvenir" which was to be given to Abdullah. The girl however, fell in love with Abdullah and revealed the secret, and in consequence Abdullah began to safeguard himself.

Rebellion of Maziar in Tabristan and his capture, 839 :-

In 839 A.D. Maziar, the native ruler of Tabristan, which lay on the Caspian coast, revolted against Abdullah, and refused to pay tribute. It so happened that Afshin, the Turkish general at Bagdad, had a personal quarrel with Abdullah and was prepared

to aid Maziar in his rebellious designs. Maziar's misgovernment was notorious. His partiality to the Magians was undisguised and he permitted the destruction of Muslim Mosques. Finally he passed laws infringing the rights of Muslims, and the inhabitants of Tabristan petitioned the Caliph to redress their wrongs, and suggested that Maziar should be suspended from office. Meanwhile, Abdullah sent an urgent appeal to the Caliph, by his uncle Hasan bin Hussain, for the immediate despatch of an army against Maziar. In response to his request a strong detachment was sent from Iraq under Mohammad bin Ibrahim, and with the assistance of this force Abdullah captured Maziar, who had been deserted by his own subjects.

The wretched Maziar, confined in a box which had only two apertures for the admission of air, was brought on a mule to Iraq. Ibn Isfandiyar, the author of Tarikh'i Tabristan, relates that one day Maziar was released from the case and brought before Abdullah, who had been moved to compassion by his request for some fruit. Abdullah himself offered him the fruit and stated that the Caliph might grant him a pardon. Then Maziar said, "Please God, thy excuses will be accepted". Abdullah proceeded to ply him with wine, until he became intoxicated. Abdullah then sought an explanation of Maziar's enigmatic answer. "In a few days, you will know" was the non-committal reply. Abdullah persuaded Maziar to admit him into the conspiracy, after he had solemnly pledged himself not to betray Maziar, nor his associates.

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Maziar then revealed the fact that he with Afshin, Haydar, and Babek, had concerted a plot to wrest the empire from the Arabs and restore it to Persia, and that Afshin had undertaken to assassinate the Caliph Mottasim and his two sons, Wathiq and Mutawakil.

When the intrigue had been disclosed Maziar was re-confined in his box and Abdullah sent a written message by Carrier-pigeons to the Caliph to acquaint him with the details of the conspiracy. The message reached the Caliph before he went to dine with Afshin on the day on which the assassination was to have taken place. The Caliph thereupon arrested Afshin but his trial did not take place until Maziar had arrived. Both met with a terrible fate, Afshin being burnt and Maziar scourged to death.

In what light this plot may be interpreted :-

This account serves as an illustration of the deep-rooted hatred with which the Persians regarded the Arabs. The unswerving loyalty of Abdullah shows that the suzerainty of the Caliph was still acknowledged and that his name was still revered. He was still regarded as the embodiment of both the divine and the earthly government, and he was surrounded by all the pomp and prestige

* Babek, the Nihilist, whose rebellion had been mentioned in 828 A.D. was still unsubdued. Haydar, the son of Kawus, the local ruler of Ushrusana, referred to above had become a courtier of Caliph Mottasim who carried on war against Babek successfully. Babek was arrested, and sent to Bagdad, where he was executed. It is recorded that Afshin had written a letter to Maziar, urging him to return to the old Magian faith. Strange to say that Afshin was tried on the charge of heresy, as a Magian and enemy to Islam, instead of for the embezzlement of Babek's treasure, which he had misappropriated, when he had taken him prisoner.

which accrued to him from his temporal sovereignty combined with his sacerdotal office. His supreme and somewhat mysterious prerogatives were recognised and his commands obeyed.

Tabristan as a subsidiary province under the Tahirids :-

After the death of Maziar Tabristan became a subsidiary province under the Tahirids. Abdullah appointed Hasan bin Hussain, his paternal uncle, as governor of Tabristan and he ruled the province justly and wisely for three years. After his death in 843 A.D. Abdullah appointed his son Tahir (who afterwards became governor of Khurasan as Tahir II) as Viceroy and he governed the country for a year and three months until his father's death. When this took place he went to Khurasan leaving his brother Mohammad as his deputy in Tabristan.

Earthquake in Farghana 838-39 A.D. and the compilation of the book of "Qina" :-

Between 838 and 839 A.D. there was an earthquake in Farghana, which caused considerable destruction. The inhabitants of Nishapur approached Abdullah and pointed out that the "Qanats" or subterranean canals which had been made for purposes of irrigation were considerably damaged. Neither in the Muslim civil war nor in Mohammadan code was there any definite statement with regard to their upkeep. After holding consultation with the leading theologians of Persia, and Arabia, Abdullah compiled a book entitled "Qina" which dealt with subterranean aqueducts. This work, which codified the laws about irrigation is still extant and many of its provisions are still enforced.

Death of Abdullah 844 A.D. :-

In 842 A.D. the Caliph Mottasim died and was succeeded by his son Wasik, who confirmed Abdullah in the government of Khurasan by a royal patent. But Abdullah did not survive long. He died according to the usual accounts on 26th November, 844 A.D. at the age of 48. Some historians have stated that he died in 842, but the former assertion appears to be more accurate.

Character of Abdullah :-

Abdullah possessed many eminent qualities. He tried to arouse the governors of the provinces under him from their habitual lethargy and obscurantism to activity and enlightenment. He was noted for his philanthropy and he strenuously opposed the exploitation of the lower classes on both ethical and religious grounds. Abdullah believed that knowledge should be imparted to all and not be merely accessible to a privileged minority. In his private life, he was an accomplished scholar, and is said to have written many verses in Arabic. He was, however, a bigoted Muslim and was ill-disposed towards the pagan literature of the time.

Dawlatshan, in his "Tuzkrah" or "Narration", while discussing Classical Persian literature, relates that on one occasion a man came to the court at Nishapur and offered Abdullah an ancient Persian book. To his enquiry as to its nature, the man replied, "It is the romance of old Wamiq and Adhera, a pleasant tale, which wise men compiled and dedicated to King Nushirwan, the Just (531-79 A.D.). Abdullah ordered its destruction, saying

that the Quran and traditions of the prophet ought to suffice as literature for good Muslims, and issued instructions that all the Persian books of Magian authorship discovered in his territories were to be destroyed.

The conduct of Abdullah in perjuring himself and betraying Maziar was typical of the methods employed by mediaeval governors, who allowed no scruple to impede them on the road to advancement. He was prepared to sacrifice his honour in order to please the Caliph, from whom alone he could obtain promotion.

Mirkhond mentions that the court of Abdullah abounded with poets. During his time Khurasan attained great prosperity, and Abdullah continued to develop the resources of the country by his wisdom and knowledge of economics. As a Viceroy Abdullah was to all intents and purposes, far more independent than his father Tahir, who, Ya'qubi said, had governed Khurasan as none had ruled it before.

Not only was Abdullah noted for his military genius and his statesman-like talents but also for his luxurious tastes. His reputation as a gourmet is suggested by the fact that an excellent sort of Egyptian melon is called after his name "Abdullawi". While in Nishapur, at his head-quarters of Khurasan, he lived in a gorgeous palace and when residing in Bagdad he lived in the magnificent house built by his father on the bank of the river Tigris.

Tahir II 844-62 A.D.

Ascends the throne 844 A.D. :-

As we have seen Hassan bin Hussain, who was the deputy of Abdullah in Tabristan died in 842 A.D., and was succeeded by Tahir bin Abdullah. Tahir governed Tabristan for a year and three months until the death of his father necessitated his return to Khurasan, to be confirmed in the Viceroyalty of the East by the Caliph Wasik, in virtue of the services of his father and grandfather. On attaining royalty, Tahir appointed his brother, Mohammad bin Abdullah to Tabristan in his place. After a reign of two years the Caliph Wasik died in 847 A.D., and was succeeded by his brother Mutawakil, who confirmed Tahir II in his office. Tahir now sent his brother Mohammad to the Caliph's court at Bagdad where Mohammad was appointed governor of the metropolis of the Caliphate - an office he filled from 851-867 A.D. The Caliph granted a piece of territory adjoining Tabristan and Daylam, which was his private property, to Mohammad.

The rebellion of Salih of Bust in Seistan 852 A.D. :-

We are very imperfectly acquainted with the details of the rebellion of Salih, an inhabitant of Bust, a flourishing city of Seistan. In 852 A.D., Salih of Bust made himself master of Seistan or a considerable part of it. In the employ of this adventurer was Yakub bin Lais, who was the founder of the Safarid dynasty. Tahir II sent a force to oust Salih, who fled from the territory, though we are not told whether he gave battle or not. Consequently the Tahirid general re-occupied Seistan.

The rise of Yakub bin Lais, the coppersmith. 861 A.D. :-

In 861 A.D. Yakub bin Lais mentioned above, had risen to great power and after expelling the Tahirid governor, Ibrahim bin Hussain, from Seistan, made himself the sole ruler of that province. Ibn Khallikan dates this event as the 22nd March, 861 A.D.

Death of Tahir II in 862 A.D. and his character :-

After a reign of 18 years Tahir II died in 862 A.D. His reign was uneventful and he is said to have lived a simple and quiet life. He held his court at Nishapur, the capital of his ancestors. His administration was just and wise. Little is known of him but he appears to have been a religious man of good reputation. He was so highly esteemed that four successive Caliphs confirmed him in his office. He made no endeavours to extend his territory but remained satisfied with his heritage. Gradizi gives an illustration to show his piety and simplicity. He relates that one day Tahir received a letter with the phrase, "If your benevolent opinion may consider it befitting." On reading these words he paused and reflected. "I do not wish any one to designate me as 'Benevolent' for it is only suitable to call those benevolent whom God has made worthy of this title." His tastes were simple and he hated ostentation. Nearly all historians agree that Tahir II was an able ruler, a worthy successor of his father, and they esteem him as highly as Abdullah.

Chapter IX. Chronicle.

Mohammad bin Tahir, the last of the Tahirids 862-73 A.D.

Mohammad ascends the throne 862 A.D. :-

After the death of Tahir in 862 A.D., his son Mohammad, who is described as "Khurd Sal" or of tender years, ascended the throne, and was confirmed in office by the Caliph Muntassir. The opinion of some authors that he was a youngster at the time of his accession, is not in accord with subsequent events, because Mohammad seems to have acted on his own initiative from the time he came to the throne. Before discussing his reign it is necessary to consider the interlude of anarchy which occurred at this time in Bagdad and throughout the Caliphate, for which reason this period of 861-70 A.D., is called the time of Terror.

After the murder of the Caliph Mutawakil in December 861 A.D., the bonds of order were relaxed and rebellions occurred everywhere. One Ahmad bin Tulun, Viceroy in Egypt, founded the independent Tulunid dynasty in that country. A mutiny for arrears of pay, made things worse and empty treasuries could not meet the demands made on them. Furious with disappointment the mutineers deposed the Caliph Mutazz and put him to death. Sulayman bin Abdullah, the head of the Tahirid house in Bagdad, and governor of that Metropolis had, in 867 A.D. succeeded his brother Mohammad bin Abdullah, referred to above, now had to face the

mutiny of the Turkish soldiers at Bagdad. The Tahirid governors of Bagdad were not paid from the Royal treasury of Bagdad but drew their pay from the treasury of Merv under the Tahirids. Sulayman, on taking over the governorship, found the Merv exchequer was exhausted. Having no alternative, he was compelled to pay his troops from the Bagdad treasury. This angered the citizens, who openly rebelled against him. Taking advantage of these rebellions it would seem that hordes of Turks, Persians and others invaded Bagdad to benefit by the ensuing anarchy, and innumerable adventurers sprang up on every side and Yakub bin Lais, sought to seize the sceptre of authority from the loosened grasp of the house of Tahir.

The Alid rising in Tabristan in 864 A.D. :-

We have seen how Mohammad bin Abdullah (uncle of the Tahirid Mohammad) the governor of Bagdad had certain lands in Tabristan and Daylam given to him for revenue. He sent his Christian Vizier Jabir bin Haroun as his representative in these parts, apparently to collect his dues. Jabir on his arrival took possession of the "Dead Lands" adjoining Mohammad bin Tahir's section. These pasture lands were used by the local inhabitants for grazing their flocks, and they, regarded this as a violation of their rights, rebelled, the revolt being headed by an Alid of the name of Hasan bin Zayd. In 864 A.D., by raising an army from amongst the local farmers, Hasan made himself ruler of that province.

Sulayman bin Abdullah another uncle of Mohammad bin Tahir and governor of Tabristan, was unable to face the situation and fled to Astrabad, the second great city of Jurjan, on the frontier of

Mazendran, after sending a courier to Mohammad bin Tahir to ask for reinforcements. In response to his appeal Mohammad sent a considerable army for his assistance. The arrival of these forces, along with the reinforcement of the Isphabad Qarin bin Shahryar, restored the confidence of Sulayman who advanced against Hasan bin Zayd. The Alid Hasan was feebly supported at Sari, since a detachment of his army had been left in the highlands while the Isphabad's men had retired to Daylam. Perceiving the increased strength of Sulayman's army, he fell back on Jalus which was two days' march, or ten leagues, to the west of Amul, the then capital of Tabristan. A few days later, however, the circumstances were reversed when 4000 Daylamites joined Hasan bin Zayd and inspired him with sufficient courage to assume the offensive. In the attack that followed, Sulayman suffered great losses and was forced to abandon all hope of re-conquering Tabristan, which was consequently lost to the Tahirids. According to Mirkhond, Hasan bin Zayd was a witty and capable man of letters and a born intriguer who, by his adroit policy and prompt action, gained possession of Daylam and Tabristan from the Tahirids. Hasan then governed Tabristan until 883 A.D. (though his rule was occasionally interrupted) and even struck his own coins. The dynasty that Hasan bin Zayd founded was called that of the Alids or Zaydite Imams, and lasted until 900 A.D. when it was overcome by the Samanids

Decline of the Tahirid power :-

After the loss of Tabristan, the power of Mohammad bin Thir declined. Hasan bin Zayd constantly invaded Mohammad's territory, while other portions of Khurasan became the prey of various petty chiefs. A more formidable foe appeared in the person of Yakub bin Lais, who had captured Seistan as already mentioned, and who now aimed at the conquest of the whole of Persia. The necessary pretext for entering upon hostilities was supplied by Mohammad bin Tahir himself. One Abdullah, who had rebelled against Yakub in Seistan and had afterwards taken refuge in Khurasan, was now encouraged by Mohammad to annex certain districts which belonged to Yakub.

Meanwhile Yakub, who had been conspiring with some dissatisfied Chiefs of Khurasan, set out in 867 A.D. from Seistan in the direction of Nishapur. On his way he took the important fortress of Herat which was Mohammad's, after some hard fighting. The governor of Herat after his defeat, hastened to Nishapur for help. From Herat, Yakub proceeded to Pushang, some five leagues distant from Herat, which he easily reduced. Thinking that the Tahirid house was still too strong for him, Yakub retired back to Seistan. Ahmad bin Fazal and several other refugees from Seistan, who had fled from the tyranny of Yakub and had found protection with Mohammad bin Tahir, now begged for aid. Yakub requested Mohammad to surrender these persons, but Mohammad refused, which resulted in mutual animosity growing more intense every day.

Hasan bin Zayd captures Jurjan 871 A.D. :-

Hasan bin Zayd, the Lord of Tabristan, invaded Jurjan in

871 A.D. Ahmad bin Mohammad Us'Skani, Mohammad's representative in Jurjan, asked for reinforcements from Nishapur which he received in time, but in the battle that followed he lost Jurjan after a crushing defeat.

Yakub marches on Khurasan 873 A.D. :-

In 873 A.D. Yakub began his march on Nishapur from Seistan by way of Herat, which he already possessed. When the news of this advance reached Ahmad bin Fazal, the refugee chief from Seistan, who has been mentioned above, hurried to the Royal Palace to tell Mohammad the news. On his arrival the Aide-de-Camp informed him that the Viceroy could not give him audience because he was asleep, to which he replied that he would very soon be aroused from his slumber. When Mohammad realised the gravity of the situation he sent Ahmad towards Ray and sent a convoy to meet Yakub to demand an explanation of this approach in force. Yakub drew his sword from the scabbard and told him that that was the authority which empowered him to approach.

Prof. Noldeke has given a vivid sketch of the entry of Yakub into Nishapur, as follows:-

"On Sunday, 2nd August 873 A.D. Yakub entered the great flourishing city of Tahirids, without a blow being struck. Mohammad either could not or would not make his escape. He is reported to have thought that he could make a personal impression on the victor, and to have received him with loud reproaches, but Yakub simply put him into prison with all his kinsfolk, one hundred and sixty males."

* Vide Habibu's Sayar, where Khwandamir mentions Mohammad's relatives numbering 550 males.

End of Mohammad, the last of the Tahirids :-

Mohammad taken captive by Yakub, was carried about in chains, wherever he moved his camp. In 867 A.D., when Yakub was defeated by the Caliph's forces, Mohammad appears to have been taken over by the Caliph's soldiers. According to some accounts he managed to escape from the prison to which he had been consigned and made his way to Bagdad where he was cordially received by the Caliph Mowaffak. Mohammad was then appointed commander of the troops in Bagdad for the time being. Regarding his Viceroyalty of Khurasan, he was only given promises of re-instatement. Operations were carried on in the name of Mohammad by his brother Hussain, who at one time even recovered Merv. This success was however but for the moment. As soon as the followers of Yakub turned towards Hussain, he fled and left Khurasan to the Safarids, who furnish, as we shall see, the next dynasty in Persia.

Character of Mohammad :-

The character of Mohammad has been painted by the Persian historians in most lurid colours. He was a mere travesty of royalty and possessed none of the nobler attributes of Kingship. He was entirely given over to the pursuit of ease and the aesthetic delights of the eye and taste, a weak voluptuary and sensualist. His court presented a brilliant scene of pomp and pageantry against a back-ground of drunkenness and debauchery. He tried to delegate his power to his uncle because the duties of state interrupted his pleasures. His government was as incompetent as his life was unedifying. His habitual apathy and procrastination, ever apparent

in his direction of government affairs, led to the loss of Tabristan. With such a weakling at the head of the state the whole administration became paralysed and it was his own cousins who invited Yakub to Khurasan.

With this estimate of his character, we have however to make allowances for Mohammad by keeping in mind that he lived when the whole fabric of Caliphate was on the verge of collapse. Being in his early teens at the time of his accession, the reign of chaos in the metropolis of Bagdad had encouraged adventurers to come to the front. Mohammad made efforts, though unsuccessful, to subdue the Alid rebels in Tabristan and Yakub in Seistan. After his escape from Yakub's prison, and his arrival in Bagdad, the fact that he was made military commander of the Caliph's troops shows that he must have been a man of some ability. We have no data as to how long he lived and his subsequent career after the bestowal of these honours from the Caliph. He was the last of the Tahirid house, who enjoyed power. The present Amir of Kain, some 160 miles south of Meshed (including the districts of Neh and Baudan) claims descent from Mohammad.

Retrospective.

General character of the work of the Tahirid Governors :-

Before dealing with the house of Safar, we may review the work of the Tahirid Viceroy who reigned in Khurasan for more than half a century. All the viceroys of the Tahirid family were just and wise by the standards of the time, with the exception of Mohammad. Their court, according to Mirkhond, abounded with wise counsellors and their age was one of great prosperity. Splendid in their surroundings and princely in their liberality, they managed to amass considerable wealth. "Khurasan" in the words of our annalist "became a green garden". Their courts at Nishapur were just and their administration commendable. It appears that they worked ~~assiduo~~ assiduously to promote the progress of the country and to improve the condition of the masses whom they protected from exploitation by the strong.

In the time of Abdullah, whom the historians call "The Organiser", great improvement seem to have taken place in the provinces. The irrigation of the land was reformed and the compilation of the book of "Qina" simplified litigation with regard to aqueducts. Education was encouraged and a new era was ushered in, for the Safarids carried on the culture thus started.

Advancement of Science in Abdullah's time :-

Abdullah's zeal to further education among the people of all classes in his dominion led him to establish a general system of education which, though unscientific according to modern standards,

was adapted to the needs of his time. For Abdullah maintained, "Knowledge must be accessible to the capable and incapable. Knowledge will look after itself and will not remain with the unworthy." Abdullah's enthusiasm for the promotion of learning and scholarship proved contagious and even the children of the poorest parents were sent to school. This period, which was characterised by an insatiable thirst for knowledge, was also an age of rationalism, in which the efforts of the Mutazalites were chiefly concerned with the reconciliation of the Islamic theology with that of the domain of reason. Khurasan, Transoxiana, and Bukhara were the main centres for the study of Islamic theology, and many students began to turn their attention also to literature and philosophy. Abdullah's nephew, Mansur bin Talha, wrote a philosophical treatise which was called "The wisdom of the Tahirids."

Effects of the work of the Tahirids on the Caliphate in Bagdad and how it furthered Persian independence :-

The untiring energy and the versatility of the Tahirids, evident in their many activities and in the comprehensive policy with which they governed Khurasan, affected the Caliphate spiritually, economically and socially. Magians flocked to Bagdad and brought Magian philosophy with them. The intellectual ferment which prevailed in Khurasan influenced the entire Caliphate, where the study of literature, medicine, and science progressed rapidly. The Persians were chiefly indebted to the Tahirids for their position of pre-eminence and with the development of this wonderful renaissance Persian culture attained the ascendancy, and the Arabic element in the Caliphate steadily declined. Even at

the court of Bagdad Persian dress began to be assumed and the tall hat worn by Zoroastrians became fashionable.

Effects of the work of the Tahirids on Persia :-

This renaissance further prepared the way for the gradual rise of nationalism. Although modern nationalism, as such, did not exist in Persia till many centuries later, the fact that Persia constituted a separate unit became obvious and the cleavage between Persian and Arab was even more marked. One of the deciding factors in this development was the hereditary nature of the power of the Tahirids. It reminded the Persians of their glorious past. It stirred up the memory of their former greatness and dim aspirations for the future. The first step was taken when they began to create rulers for themselves, especially in Tabristan, and the rule of the Zaydite Imams was one such that appealed particularly to them. The process was an exceedingly slow one, the power which the Arabs exercised in the person of the Commander of the Faithful being by no means negligible. The Pontiff, however weak he might be, still retained the title of the "Caliph" which inspired reverence because of its religious signification and association.

The instability of the times :-

Lastly in dealing with this period, we must bear in mind the general instability of the time. Rulers of the different provinces considered themselves safe only within the jurisdiction of their own territories. The following incident, which we quote from Gardizi, gives a general idea of the disorder which prevailed outside Khurasan. Once when Abdullah informed his Secretary that he longed to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, that faithful servant replied, "O! Amir Thou art

too sensible for such a senseless task." Abdullah who was testing the fidelity of the subordinate, entirely agreed with his views and remarked that he wanted to try him.

When, the Caliphate was in such a state of weakness and unrest and rebels constantly appeared as opportunities occurred, it would be too much to expect that the Tahirids would accomplish the stupendous task of establishing an independent kingdom of Persia. The result of their endeavours, however, is clearly seen in the time of later dynasties. Without the vision of the Tahirids the progress of Persian civilization might have been greatly delayed.

no more than the usual procedure to enhance the dignity of an upstart house. Hamad Ullah, author of Tarikh'l Guzida, mentions that Yakub's ancestors were robbers but gives no further details concerning them. The founder of the dynasty was Yakub bin Lais bin Mu'addal, a native of Seistan. Lais lived in the town of Garnin situated near Bust, the industrial flourishing city of the province, and had four sons Yakub, Asar, Tahir and Ali. To the eldest son is given the dignity of founding the house, which was called after the profession of their father or of Yakub himself.

Hebrew records of Yakub's father :-

Ehwand Asir states that Lais (Yakub's father) was a robber for whom a brigand's life had an irresistible attraction, and that accordingly he took up that profession. In it he acquired much fame and was considered a benevolent hero by his

Chapter X. Chronicle.

The Safarids 867 - 903 A.D.

The founder of the dynasty and his lineage :-

The origin of the Lais family, which became known to history by their professional title of "Safar" or 'Coppersmith' is obscure and of the early history of the dynasty little is known. According to Ibn Mu'in, Lais was in the service of Ibrahim bin Hussain, the Tahirid governor of Seistan under Tahir (844 - 62 A.D.) Regarding the early history of the Safarids there are as many conflicting accounts as there are authors. Attempts were made to connect the Safarids with the Sassanian kings but are no more than the usual procedure to enhance the dignity of an upstart house. Hamad Ullah, author of Tarikh'i Guzida, mentions that Yakub's ancestors were robbers but gives no further details concerning them. The founder of the dynasty was Yakub bin Lais bin Mu'addal, a native of Seistan. Lais lived in the town of Qarnin situated near Bust, the industrial flourishing city of the province, and had four sons Yakub, Amr, Tahir and Ali. To the eldest son is given the dignity of founding the house, which was called after the profession of their father or of Yakub himself.

Meagre records of Yakub's father :-

Khwand Amir states that Lais (Yakub's father) was a robber for whom a brigand's life had an irresistible attraction, and that accordingly he took up that profession. In it he acquired much fame and was considered a benevolent hero by his

followers because he always refrained from bloodshed. One day, having successfully robbed the treasury of Dirhem bin Nasr, who was ruling in Seistan at that time, he was emerging laden with gold and precious stones when he stumbled against a solid substance which he took to be a priceless gem. To make sure, he tasted it, and discovered that it was a lump of salt. The salt being the emblem of hospitality among the Orientals, the chivalrous robber then and there decided to return home without his plunder, and he departed, leaving behind all the gold and silver which he had collected. Early next day the treasurer informed Dirhem bin Nasr of the matter and he straightaway proclaimed the culprit's pardon and offered to take him into his service. Lais accepted the offer and entered Dirhem's army, where he gradually rose. He soon became the commander of Dirhem's troops, in which rank he was succeeded by his son Yakub after his death.

Another account says that Yakub in his youth had hired himself as an assistant to a coppersmith, in the industrial town of Zarenj, where he received fifteen dirhems a month. In the lonely and isolated province of Seistan, where the populace preserved a sturdy independent spirit, and largely belonged to the Kharajite sect, Yakub distinguished himself by his Kharajite proclivities. It should be noted that since the rule of the Tahirids had proved powerless to subdue the Kharajites, the term "Kharajite" had become practically synonymous with "Brigand." As the power of the Tahirid waned, that of Kharajites waxed and the

and the former had to enrol volunteer bands called "Salar'i Ghazian" (the warriors of faith) for purposes of defence. Yakub started his career as a Kharajite and while working at his trade of coppersmith, was wont to squander money on his fellow apprentices, and by this and the force of his character gained a large number of adherents. Together with his brother Amr and his uncle Kathir bin Raqqar, he then formed a robber band. Yakub's lavishness to his adherents soon however reduced him to penury, and he decided to abandon the Kharajite sect.

Yakub at the head of a robber gang in the army of Dirhem 860 A.D. :-

The Kharajites in Seistan maintained that to carry on war with the Tahirids was one of their duties. Accordingly they invaded the Tahirid territory and carried on guerilla warfare there. They attained considerable power and Ibrahim bin Hussain, the Tahirid governor of Seistan, was forced to fly and abandon the country to Dirhem, who became the ruler of the province. About 859 of 60 A.D., Yakub joined Dirhem bin Nasr who was engaged in crushing the Kharajites.

Yakub's ability and audacity soon raised him to a prominent position in Dirhem's army. In one of his brawls he slew in single combat the famous Kharajite Captain Amman - an act which led to his advancement as governor of Bust under Dirhem. Some

* Vide Heart of Central Asia by Sir Dennison Ross, where the usurper is called Salieh bin Nasr. Gardizi calls him Nasr and Ibnu'l Athir Dirhem bin Hussain. In Habibu's Sayyar Dirhem is made the grandson of Rafi bin Lais. The most probable reading is Dirhem bin Nasr.

time later Dirhem decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca and afterwards settled at Bagdad, leaving Yakub in supreme command. According to other accounts Yakub availed himself of his increasing influence and power to make Dirhem a prisoner, and in that capacity despatched him to Bagdad in the confident expectation that the Caliph would reward him for this act with the province of Seistan.

Others again have it that the governor of Khurasan had inveigled Dirhem into his power and sent him a prisoner to Bagdad, so that it can be seen that the information regarding the early career of our hero is vague and abounds with contradictory statements. It is however, certain that Yakub did by some means or other succeed in removing Dirhem from his path and in supplanting him in Seistan. Such a rise to the position of a ruler through the progressive stages of a robber and soldier was by no means unprecedented in these times.

Yakub as the governor of Seistan 861 A.D. :-

It was about 861 A.D. or within two years of first joining Dirhem, that Yakub assumed the title of Amir in virtue of his princely possession of Seistan. The Seistanees seem to have been loyal to their countryman, both because of racial sentiment and perhaps in a greater degree on account of his genius for leadership. At this time Yakub recognised the Tahirid Mohammad as his overlord and offered prayers in the name of the Caliph. A nominal vassalage of this sort, involving no check on the growth of his power, did not of course impair his prestige while at the same time it gave legal sanction to his rulership, and consolidation

of power.

Encroachment on the territory of the Tahirids 867 A.D. :-

In ^{*}867 A.D. Yakub took Herat and Bushang from the Tahirid governor, Tahir bin Hussain bin Tahir, as has already been mentioned in the reign of Mohammad, the last of the Tahirid Viceroy (862 - 73 A.D.).

Yakub's bid for the governorship of Kirman 869 A.D. :-

Yakub's next act was to request the Caliph Mutazz (866 - 9 A.D.) to whom he had sent presents out of the plunder of his various expeditions, that the province of Kirman should also be given to him. Kirman was an appanage of Fars and a similar application had already been made by Ali bin Hussain, ruler of Fars. At the persuasion of the Tahirid Mohammad, who was the governor of Bagdad, the Caliph acceded to both applications in order, if possible, to stir up a war between them and thus get rid of one or the other. Thereupon Ali's general Tauk seized the town of Kirman, while Yakub was making preparations for the expedition. On hearing of the taking of Kirman by Tauk, Yakub proceeded towards Kirman and for a month or two encamped himself before the town, with a view to securing good and reliable information concerning the position of his foe.

One night Yakub suddenly attacked the city and took it and made Tauk prisoner. Rich booty with chests containing necklaces and jewellery of all kinds fell into his hands. When

* Gardizi places this conquest in 871 A.D. Tabri dates this event in 862 A.D. Prof. Noldeke assigns this event to the year 867 A.D., in support of which he cites well-nigh conclusive evidence.

Tauk was brought as a prisoner before Yakub, he is said to have made it the occasion for a lecture to the effect that Tauk ought to have considered the great disparity of strength between himself, enervated with luxury, and the war-worn hard-bitten Yakub before engaging in such an unequal contest. He went on to say that two months had elapsed since he had last slept in a bed, that the whole of that time he had never taken off his shoes and had lived solely on the coarse bread baked in the camp.

Yakub's march on Fars 869 - 70 A.D. :-

Having reduced Kirman, Yakub next turned towards Fars. Ali and other grandees of Shiraz wrote to him in vain, protesting that though his struggles with heretics might be reckoned praiseworthy enough, he was sure to incur the grave displeasure of the Caliph if he marched on Shiraz, the capital of Fars. Ali eventually had to give battle on the banks of the river Kur (Kyros) not far from Shiraz, at a point accessible by a narrow gorge between the rock and the river, through which but a single rider could pass at a time. Here Yakub could hear the contemptuous shouts of the enemy, "We'll send you back to your tinker's trade." But Yakub little heeding their taunts, looked about him and presently having discovered a place by which he could pass his army caused his cavalry to cross the stream, surprised the enemy and in the battle Ali was himself taken prisoner. The following day Shiraz also came into Yakub's possession. Quite contrary to the expectations of its inhabitants, he abstained from pillage and bloodshed. After confiscating the

the treasury of Ali and Tauk, whom Yakub considered his personal enemies, and subjecting them to cruel treatment, Yakub returned to Seistan. Yakub sent the Caliph many rich presents out of his plunder, including 100 maunds of Musk together with reiterated assurances of his loyalty.

Nature of the campaigns of Yakub in Fars and Kirman :-

So far these campaigns appear to have been simply the successful raids of a bandit chief, for Yakub never thought of taking permanent possession of either Fars or Kirman. The expedition against Fars was undertaken to satisfy his desire for vengeance against the ruler and his general of the province because of their refusal to recognise his power.

Yakub's conquest of Kabul and his march on Afghanistan 870 A.D. :-

Spurred on by the brilliant reputation he had acquired by his conquest of Fars, and eager to live up to it in every way, Yakub neglected no opportunity to extend his dominions eastward, whither expansion seemed most natural. Unfortunately we have no detailed account of these invasions, one of which however resulted in the conversion to Islam of the country now known as Afghanistan. We know very little as to when he conquered Kabul except that he sent an embassy to the Caliph Mu'tamid (872 - 92 A.D.) which carried idols which he had taken at the fall of that city. Yakub had now come to figure as a martial hero of the Faith, and the main aim of his envoy on this occasion was to ascertain which lands the Caliph would assign to him as provinces. The astute Mowaffak, who directed the affairs of the Caliphate at the time, was anxious on

one hand to encourage Yakub in his design of conquest against the heathen, while on the other he wanted to keep him at a safe distance from his own neighbourhood. In 871 A.D., in recognition of his services, Yakub was granted by letters patent from the Caliph Mu'tamid, the viceroyalty of Balkh (Bactria), and Tukharistan lying east of Balkh, his frontier stretching as far as Badakshan, in addition to Kirman, and Seistan which he already possessed. Whether it was the Caliph's intention to make Yakub pay tribute for these fiefs is not clear, for the leading authorities are silent on the matter, but it is probable that some sort of tribute was expected.

Yakub's possession of Balkh and its administration 871 A.D. :-

No sooner had the Royal patent arrived than Yakub took possession of his new Viceroyalty of Balkh, and did not err on the side of leniency in his treatment of his new subjects. Oppressive taxes were levied and the people groaned under the burden of his exactions. In the collection of tribute extortionate methods were employed and people seems to have been of small account. The fact that more than a century later the name of the Seistanees had an unenviable notoriety shows that Yakub had pressed hard on his new subjects.

Yakub marches on Khurasan and his extinction of the house of the Tahirids 873 A.D. :-

Having subjugated the Eastern provinces Yakub now bethought himself of completing the conquest of Khurasan, some cities of which, Herat and Bushang, had come under him as early as

867 A.D. In 873 A.D., therefore he marched on Nishapur and made the Tahirid Mohammad prisoner. In Chapter IX, Yakub's pretext has been mentioned for this war of aggression as the refusal of Mohammad to extradite one Abdullah who had taken refuge with him. Yakub's excuses for this attack however, were brushed aside by the Caliph who could no longer afford to overlook his actions, and by so doing, incur the odium of the Tahirids.

Yakub marches on Tabristan 874 A.D. :-

Yakub, however, was not to be so easily discouraged. Since Abdullah, had, after the capture of Mohammad, taken refuge with Hasan bin Zayd, the Alid ruler of Tabristan, who refused to surrender him, Yakub resolved to invade that country also. Speedily arriving in the neighbourhood of Sari, the Capital of Tabristan, he met Hasan bin Zayd in the summer of 874 A.D. In the battle that followed Hasan was defeated and fled towards the mountains of Daylm. After the conquest Yakub occupied Sari and Amul, the best cities of Tabristan, the inhabitants of which were compelled to pay a full year's taxes, since he realised that he could not hold these districts permanently. Collecting money by every means he could, Yakub next set out in pursuit of Hasan bin Zayd, but he encountered many dangers in dense woods, and the peril was increased by torrential rains which continued for 40 days and nights, and wrought havoc with his army, so that some 40,000 soldiers perished in the venture. The moist climate of these high lands forced Yakub to desist from further pursuit, with the loss of a great part of his baggage and animals.

Retracing his steps, Yakub now set off towards Ray, near modern Tehran, where Abdullah had been harboured by the governor of that province. The latter handed over the fugitive to Yakub who had him killed. It was at this time that Hasan bin Zayd returned to Tabristan and severely punished all those who had sided with Yakub.

Yakub incurs the displeasure of the Caliph 874 A.D. :-

After the conquest of Tabristan, Yakub sent a report of the defeat of Alid Hasan bin Zayd, whom he termed as a heretic, and mentioned that he had now imprisoned some sixty members of the house of Ali. The hope that his successes would create a favourable impression on the Caliph and would appease his wrath, proved delusory, for in November 874 A.D., the Caliph, through Ubaydallah, an uncle of the Tahirid Mohammad, caused the pilgrims at Mecca to be called together to hear the reading of a document in which Yakub was declared an usurper and rebel.

Yakub marches on Fars a second time 875 A.D. :-

Annoyed by the Caliph's hostile attitude Yakub entrusting Khurasan to his brother Amr, marched on Fars, the rich lands of which were very tempting. In the middle of ^{the} summer of 875 A.D., Yakub entered Fars, whose governor, Mohammad bin Wasil, hastened from Susiana to face him. Yakub contrived to make a surprise attack on Mohammad bin Wasil, who, exhausted by his march, could not stand his onslaught. Mohammad's forces were put to flight and a considerable amount of treasure fell into the hands of Yakub.

After this victory Yakub took vengeance on a tribe of Kurds who had given their support to Mohammad bin Wasil. From here Yakub proceeded to Susiania and by October he arrived near the Tigris. His arrival in Susiania caused great alarm to the Caliph, who was occupied in operations against a body of Negro slaves, who had made themselves masters of a great part of the lower Tigris basin in Wasit. This formidable rising of negroes, called "Zenj" as they were inhabitants of Zangibar, in the coast of Africa, was headed by Ali bin Mohammad who claimed his alleged descent from Ali, the son-in-law of Prophet Mohammad: in some accounts, he is spoken of as "Sayyid'i Buraqi" or "the Veiled Sayyid". The Caliph was reduced to great straits by his long campaign against the Zenjs and feared that their alliance with Yakub would endanger the Empire.

The Caliph makes concessions to Yakub :-

Yakub's very evident strength therefore obliged the Caliph to grant him considerable concessions. An embassy was sent to him with a new patent^{by} which he was granted the Viceroyalty of Khurasan, Tabristan, Jurjan, Ray, Fars, and was also made military Commander of Bagdad.

The Caliph's letter with this announcement was carried by Dirhem, the old superior officer of Yakub who was specially deputed by the Commander of the Faithful to get Yakub to agree to the wishes of the Caliph through his personal influence. Yakub, however, realised the true significance of his mission "Inform

your master" he told the ambassador, " That I am already grateful to my sword for all my conquests and the countries which he so graciously offers me. This investiture may be reserved for some one who dares to question my title, and desires to live humbly under obligation."

This insolent message was an ultimatum, revealing the ambitious designs of the man who sent it, as well as a studied insult both ^{to} the person of the Caliph himself and to the torpid court, who with all his weakness, still maintained the nominal authority. As a matter of fact the personality of the Commander of the Faithful was still dear to all the orthodox, and Muslims could never bear to see insults offered either to the person or the office of the Caliph.

Yakub marches on Bagdad 876 A.D. :-

Emboldened by success, Yakub set about realising his dream of usurping the Imperial throne. He occupied Wasit and then marched on Bagdad. Prof. Noldeke says "Mu'tamid, now fell back upon his last resource; he assumed the mantle of the prophet, and with the Prophet's staff in his hand, ~~he~~ took command of the holy war against the godless rebel. He set out with a great army from Samarra but himself kept somewhat to the rear as the two armies approached one another, some fifty miles below Bagdad. Mowaffak (i.e. the brother of the Caliph Mu'tamid) took the command in chief. Yakub's army was much the smaller and an artificial inundation hampered his horsemen in their movements. The battle was keenly

contested. An attack upon his camp was made from the Tigris, and the arrival towards evening of powerful reinforcements for the Imperial army, at last compelled Yakub, who had fought bravely and received three arrow wounds, to yield (Palm Sunday 8th April, 876 A.D.)

Considerable booty fell into the hands of the Caliph's army and they also recaptured the Tahirid Mohammad, whom Yakub had kept in chains and carried with him. The Caliph appointed him governor of Bagdad.

Yakub retires to Gundishabur 876 A.D. :-

After this campaign, Yakub retired to Gundishabur, near Shuster in the province of Khuzistan. Though he had lost the battle, he was still master of Seistan. Regarding Khurasan Yakub had great difficulties to face, being harassed by the Imperial Army and attacked by local chiefs. The Caliph, after the victory, had granted the province of Fars to Mohammad bin Wasil, who was later defeated and captured in 876 A.D. by a general of Yakub's. Yakub now decided to consolidate his power in Khuzistan, part of which were occupied by him, while others were in the possession of Zenjs, and others again in that of the Caliph's troops.

Yakub's attitude towards the Zenjs :-

While Yakub was in Khuzistan, trying to win over the local chiefs of those parts which were not under his sway to his side, the Negro leader of the Zenjs attempted to effect a formal alliance with Yakub against the common foe, the Caliph, but this offer was finally rejected by ^{*}Yakub, who thought that an alliance

* Yakub is said to have replied to the Zenj leader in the words of the Quran, "I worship not that which ye worship; neither do ye worship that which I worship."

with heretics was inadvisable. Had such an alliance been formed it would most probably have destroyed the Caliphate. The Zenjs and the soldiers of Yakub respected each other's territory and refrained from mutual aggression.

Yakub prepares another army to attack Bagdad 878 A.D. :-

In 878 A.D. Mowallad, a prominent general of the Caliph deserted to Yakub, and was received cordially. The persevering Yakub, undaunted by his reverses, strove tirelessly to retrieve lost ground. The Caliph, unwilling to continue hostilities, especially as the Zenjs were still uncrushed wanted to arrange a treaty. Dreading a further war, which might result in the loss of his power, the Caliph sent another mission to Yakub. When it reached him, he lay dangerously ill with colic; this did not, however, hinder from calling the envoy into his presence, and ordering his sword, with some pieces of bread and dried onions to be brought to him. "Tell your Lord", said he to the envoy, "that I am sick of colic unto death. If I die thou art quit of all dangers from me. If I live that sword shall decide between us and if I conquer I shall do as it pleases me. If thou art victorious that bread and onion which thou seest is my doom, and none can envy a man who is accustomed to such a diet." Hardly had the envoy returned to the Caliph, when the news of the death of Yakub was announced at Gundishabur. He died on Tuesday June 9th

* This is according to Ibn Khallikan. Prof. Noldeke dates it Wednesday June 5th, 879 A.D.

879 A.D., in the tent where his final talk with the Caliph's envoy took place.

Yakub's character :-

Yakub's true personality has been rendered very indistinct by the extravagant praises lavished on him by his biographies and admirers, who were all Shi'ites and regarded him as the champion of their cause because of his courageous attack on the Sunni Caliph. In their panegyrics he resembles a mythological hero surrounded by a halo of romance and legend. According to Hamad Ullah, he was the first to be recognised by the Caliph as a "Sultan", which is incorrect, as the title of Sultan does not appear ever to have been given to him or his successors.

Three of the characteristics of Yakub emerge with startling distinctness; his superb military genius; his inflexibility of purpose; and his austerity. Scrutiny reveals he was certainly one of the greatest generals of his time. In the words of Prof. Noldeke "Yakub was a warrior of iron strength and certainly of iron hardness. His enemy Hasa (with allusion, we suppose, to his former trade) called him the "Anvil."

In his private life, Yakub always kept his simple tastes. He used to wear cotton garments and he sat on the bare ground. In his tent he slept with his shield, the dishes that were prepared for him were similar to those on the table of a poor craftsman. Yakub relied upon his own judgment and ^{seldom} ~~seld~~ sought for advice, even as regards the promotion of his soldiers. The playmates of his infancy were entrusted with the highest offices

in his government and appear to have merited the confidence reposed in them. Yakub's unyielding pride is exemplified in his haughty speech to the Caliph's envoy and his scornful rejection of the proffered assistance of the Zenj rebels after his defeat near Bagdad, when he declared that he would accomplish his object by means of his own sword.

No magnanimous acts are recorded of Yakub. The brutal warfare of those days was invariably accompanied by rapine, but tradition has it that Yakub perpetrated fewer outrages than many of his contemporaries. The subterfuges he used, sometimes amounting to sheer treachery, were not unexpected by the people of his time and in extenuation of his crimes it may be pleaded that he lived in an age when the standard of morality was much lower than now, and force and chicanery were the universal means employed for personal aggrandisement. Yakub based his rights on the sword alone, and that is why he never succeeded in establishing an enduring empire. Indeed, he seems to have been actuated by no other motive than a love of conquest, for he never attempted to effect any systematic organisation of the various countries which he subdued.

At state functions however, notably at the reception of the ambassadors, Yakub appeared surrounded by guards. His guards were divided into two sections of 1000 men each. The soldiers of the first battalion were decorated in gold while the second were armed with silver maces. During his reign of eleven years he

Chapter XI. Chronicle.

Amr I 879 - 900 A.D.

Amr succeeds Yakub and makes overtures to the Caliph 879 A.D. :-

After Yakub's death, his brother Amr succeeded him in 879 A.D. Amr is said to have been either a mule driver or a carpenter. The date of his birth is unknown, and the record of his early life has not been preserved. Amr was a Yakub's right hand man from the time of his capture of Seistan and his attacks on Khurasan. In order to secure his position, Amr reversed the policy of Yakub and endeavoured to achieve his objects by diplomacy, rather than by warfare. He made overtures to the Caliph and declared himself the obedient servant of the Commander of the Faithful. Mowaffak, who at the time was much worried over the revolt of the Zenjs, accepted the apology which he tendered for the insolent conduct of his deceased brother. The Caliph invested him with the Viceroyalties of Khurasan, Fars, Isfahan, Kirman, and Sindh, as well as that of Seistan. As a consequence of this regular investiture the priesthood and the volunteers ("Ghazis" who declared that their aim was solely to fight for the sake of religion in the name of God) were able to accept him as the lawful ruler of these provinces.

To gain the good will of the Caliph, Amr went a step further in nominating Ubaydallah bin Abdullah (the uncle of the Tahirid Mohammad) as his representative in the office of the

military commander of Bagdad which had been conferred on him by the Caliph. A golden sceptre along with other presents were sent to Ubaydallah in token of his appointment.

Rebellion in Khurasan and the defeat of Amr 880 A.D. :-

Almost at once Amr had to deal with a rebellion in Khurasan of one Ahmad Khujastani (i.e. of Khujastan near Herat) who had first enjoyed Yakub's confidence and had afterwards driven out Ali, Yakub's youngest brother. Khujastani under the pretence of gaining Khurasan for the Tahirids, was able to win people to his side by having the "Khutba" read in the name of the deposed Tahirid Mohammad. Hussain, the brother of Mohammad bin Tahir, lent him his countenance in secret. Amr went to crush the rebel but was repulsed near Nishapur (July 880 A.D.) After his victory Ahmad Khujastani slew most of the Safarid adherents and Amr had perforce to postpone the idea of conquering Khurasan to a more suitable time. Khujastani remained master of Khurasan till he was assassinated by one of his own servants in 882 A.D., when the province was again seized by Amr.

Amr complains to the Caliph of Mohammad's treachery :-

After his defeat Amr complained of Khujastani to the Caliph's government, and stated that Mohammad bin Tahir had incited the revolt, laying stress on the previous abortive attempts of Hussain bin Tahir in Khurasan to recover the territory. Mowaffak, who was much occupied with the internal affairs of the Caliphate, especially the Zenjs, was forced to imprison ^{Mohammad} in order to pacify Amr.

Revolt in Fars 881 - 82 A.D. :-

In 881 - 82 A.D. Amr's deputy in Fars, Mohammad bin Lais, revolted. Amr hastened to the spot, defeated the insurgent and took Istakhar, which was ruthlessly plundered. Mohammad bin Lais fled but was taken prisoner. Amr remained in Shiraz, the capital of Fars, for a considerable time and consolidated his hold over Fars more than his brother Yakub had ever done. This settled, he next turned his attention towards the confiscation of the property of powerful local chiefs who had been a source of considerable trouble. The chief of Isfahan was cruelly treated and large sums of money were extracted from him. If Mirkhond is to be believed, Amr sent to the Caliph out of the spoils 300,000 dinars or £ 15,000 (the gold dinar of this time was equal to the value of half a guinea) 50 ^{*} maunds of Musk, 50 maunds of amber, 22 maunds of perfumed wood, 3,000 dresses of rare and novel prints, and 3,000 golden and silver utensils.

Amr's fall from favour :-

By 883 A.D. Mowaffak, who had crushed the Zenj rebels, began to fear the growing power of Amr, and in order to restore the authority of the central government, reversed his policy towards him. It may be assumed that Mowaffak negotiated with Amr about the restoration of the Caliph's authority in Fars but that the latter

* I have been unable to find what was the weight of a maund in the 9th - 11th centuries A.D. At present it varies greatly e.g. Shiraz 7 lbs, Tabriz about $7\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ lbs, Isfahan 13, and Bagdad about 52 lbs.

refused to make any concessions. At any rate in April, 885 A.D., Mu'tamid issued a proclamation in the usual manner in which Amr was deposed and excommunicated, and publicly cursed. Mohammad bin Tahir was nominated Viceroy of Khurasan. The deposition extended to all Amr's dominions, but it was practically impossible to enforce these decrees on account of the weakness of the Caliphate. Some historians mention that the inhabitants of Khurasan appealed to the Caliph for deliverance from the oppressive government of Amr, and this may have been the ostensible reason for dispossessing him.

Mowaffak marches against Amr 885 A.D. :-

To give effect to this resolution an imperial army under the command of Sa'd bin Mukhlid was sent in 885 A.D. from Wasit to take the province of Fars from Amr. In connection with this expedition only an isolated event has been recorded, namely that the local chief of Isfahan, who had been cruelly treated by Amr in 882 A.D. defeated Amr and plundered his camp in the spring of 886 A.D. In 887 A.D. Mowaffak in person took the field against Amr and set out for Fars, where, overwhelming Amr's army, he forced the Safarid to evacuate the province. Amr first fled to Kirman pursued by Mowaffak. From Kirman Amr went on to Seistan, and Mowaffak realising the futility of following him into such a wild country, seems to have retired from the scene.

Amr wins back the Caliph's favour 889 A.D. :-

For some obscure reasons a reconciliation was now

effected between the Caliph and Amr. In 889 A.D., we see the Caliph reinstating Amr in the Viceroyalty of Khurasan, Balkh, Seistan, and Transoxiana. As a token of confirmation in office, the name of Amr was inscribed on the standards, spears, and shields, which were usually sent as an accompaniment to a patent of viceroyalty.

After these fresh honours, Amr once more appointed Ubaydallah as his representative in the military commandership of Bagdad. That Amr was retained in the government of Fars is evident by the inscriptions of coins minted during the period 888-98 A.D. For some reason or other Amr was again deprived of his office in 890 A.D. but by the following year he was again restored. Why the Caliph reinstated him after an interval of a year is unknown. It is with the accession of the Caliph Mutazad (16th October 892 A.D.) that Amr was finally given the government of the provinces referred above.

Rebellion in Khurasan 893 A.D. :-

An usurper named Rafi bin Harthma, who had been a former lieutenant of Yakub, had conquered Nishapur as early as 882 A.D. After the conquest of Nishapur Rafi had made himself master of a part of Khurasan. Not contented with these districts Rafi invaded Ray in 890 A.D., and extended his sway as far as the border of Tabristan. The growing power of the rebel alarmed Amr, and the position became more aggravated when Amr's brother Ali and his two sons, whom Amr had kept prisoners as suspects made good their

escape and joined Rafi. It should be noted that Rafi was looked upon as a rebel by the Caliph as well as by Amr and it was the Caliph who incited the inhabitants of Isfahan to offer armed resistance to Rafi. In the meantime Amr's brother Ali had died, but his sons still remained with Rafi. While Rafi was engaged with the people of Isfahan, Amr marched on Nishapur and took it in 893 A.D. Rafi who had formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Mohammad bin Zayd, the Alid ruler of Tabristan (883 - 900) A.D. who had succeeded his brother Hasan bin Zayd in that province, had to take shelter with him. Amr had scarcely left Khurasan when Rafi again entered it and took Nishapur, where he offered Khutba in the name of Mohammad bin Zayd and proclaimed himself a Shi'ite, the faith of his ally. This enraged the Caliph all the more, to see a descendant of the house of Ali acknowledged as the suzerain.

In May, 896 A.D., Amr commenced the siege of the citadel of Nishapur in which Rafi had shut himself. Rafi, unable to resist attempted to fly, but was defeated near Tus and a little later was captured and killed, and Rafi's head was sent to the Caliph who publicly exposed it in Bagdad. Amr's victory also brought him the submission of his own two nephews and made him sole master of Khurasan. In view of these singular services the Caliph added the governments of Ray, Kirman, and Fars to his previous provinces, and directed his name to be read in public prayers

* According to Hamad Ullah, Rafi after the battle of Tus fled to Khwarizm, where he sought the protection of the local ruler. Later on Rafi was slain by this chief, and his head sent to Amr.

after his own. Amr's empire had now reached its zenith, and his dominions surpassed in extent those of Yakub's.

Amr marches against Afghanistan, and tries to please the Caliph 897 A.D. :-

In 897 A.D., Amr set out for the conquest of the country on the borders of India, as is attested by the fact that he built a bridge in the city of Ghazna, in Afghanistan. In order to win favours in the eye of the Caliph, he sent him many valuable presents from the plunder of these raids. Amr's conduct at this juncture shows that the Bagdad government, though weak, had not yet sunk into decrepitude, and still exerted great influence in public opinion. Among the presents sent to the Caliph was a famous and fantastic Hindu idol having four hands and decorated with jewelled earrings. It was placed on a cow said to have been as big as a camel. Along with the idol Amr sent 4,000,000 dirhems (some £75,000) and a number of camels and other animals. These were publicly exhibited in Bagdad for three days.

Amr's fall :-

According to Persian historians, Amr was not satisfied with his acquisitions and it was this ambition which probably led to his fall. The Caliph on the other hand was obsessed with the desire to frustrate such schemes on the part of Amr. Time had not dispelled the terror inspired by Yakub and the Caliph Mutazad was still haunted by fear of the Safarids. Zealous of restoring his Empire to its pristine glory, the Caliph endeavoured to convert his dream to a reality. The most feasible method seemed to be to

foster mutual hostilities between rival principalities under him.

Amr began to ask that the land of Transoxiana should be given to him, as Transoxiana had been a dependency of the Viceroyalty of Khurasan in the times of the Tahirids. Transoxania was ruled by Ismail bin Ahmad, the Samanid who had done much to increase the prosperity and fertility of that land. The crafty Mutazad granted Amr the investiture he asked for in February 998 A.D., but he simultaneously bestowed these lands on Ismail, the Samanid, stating that he had deposed Amr and had appointed him (Ismail) in his place as governor of Khurasan. By these means the Caliph sought to create a feud between Amr and Ismail which might contribute to Amr's downfall.

Account of Amr's battle with Ismail, the Samanid and his defeat 900 A.D. :-

Seeing that his sovereignty in Transoxiana was being disputed, Amr sent his general, Mohammad bin Bashar, in the autumn of 899 A.D. to tackle Ismail, the Samanid. Mohammad was however defeated and slain in a battle. Amr now thought of taking the field in person and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, in the spring of 900 A.D. crossed the Oxus with a force of 70,000 men. When Amr reach Balkh, Ismail sent messengers to meet him to try to effect a truce. Ismail pointed out that he did not desire Amr's territory and only wished to retain possession of Tranxania. Amr, however, paid no heed to it and proceeded onward to meet Ismail, who had gathered an army of 20,000 men to face him. But in Ismail's forces, composed of the owners of the soil of

Transoxania, there was patriotism to defend their land from the violence of an invader. When the army of Ismail surrounded Amr near Balkh the latter in vain sued for peace, but the former rejected every proposal. Amr lost the ensuing battle, was taken prisoner and sent in chains to Samargand. Thus Khurasan fell in to the hands of our next dynasty, the Samanids.

Conflicting accounts of Ismail's victory over Amr :-

Conflicting accounts of the causes of Ismail's victory, which was largely, though not entirely, the result of circumstances, has reached us. According to one account Amr's horse became uncontrollable and, taking the bit in his mouth, ran off with his rider into the enemy's camp. Some, including Mirkhond say that the Caliph sent a force of 10,000 men to augment Ismail's army and that Amr's horse sank in the mud and was captured by the enemy. Others ascribe Ismail's success to the desertion of Amr's soldiers while the battle was in progress, and the magnanimity of the former in comparison to the niggardliness of latter towards their troops.

Amr as a prisoner :-

It has been stated that Amr was given the choice between being detained as Ismail's prisoner in Samargand or of being sent to the Caliph in Bagdad and Amr selected the latter course. The story is told that when Amr reached Ismail's camp after his defeat, he ordered his servant to cook some food for him. As it was being prepared in one of the brass utensils usually used

for ablutions, a dog came, and put his head in the pot, but unable to withdraw it, he ran away with the pot and the meat. The captive prince began to laugh. On being asked the cause of his mirth in such adverse circumstances, he replied, "This morning my cook was complaining to me that 300 camels were not enough to carry the load of my kitchen and now, see how it has been taken away by that dog, who has robbed me ~~of~~ of my ^{one} cooking utensil, dinner and all."

Such was the immense change of fortune effected in a day. Amr, who was commanding a huge army in the morning, was left practically without a follower in the evening.

Amr's desire for luxury contrasts strangely with the simple tastes of his brother Yakub, who lived on onions and dates whilst he won victories.

Mirkhond and other historians say that Ismail after the victory showed Amr great respect, gave him a robe of honour, and promised on oath to protect him from dangers and to ensure his safety. But this is probably untrue and is merely an effort to stand well with the ruling dynasty., when these accounts were written. In May, 900 A.D., when the news of Amr's capture reached the Caliph, he praised the victor as a loyal subject and censured the defeated Amr as a rebel, and orders were sent to have Amr conveyed to Bagdad. We find this rather deplorable trait in all the later Caliphs, to bestow lavish praises on the victors and blame on the vanquished.

Final fate of Amr :-

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On his arrival at Bagdad as a state prisoner, Amr was treated in the manner which was then meted out to heretics. Seated on a camel, he was paraded in the streets and exposed to the insults and jibes of the mob. It is said that Amr prayed to the Almighty Lord that he might be spared further ignominy and that he might become a coppersmith once more. The Caliph ordered the prisoner to be brought into his presence and said to him "Verily this is the end of thy insolence." He was then sent to a prison where he lived till the beginning of 902 A.D., when he was murdered on the Caliph Mutazad's death.

Regarding the end of Amr, there are conflicting accounts. Some say that his execution was the last act of the Caliph Mutazad, some minutes before his death. Others deny it altogether, and assert that he was released at the death of the Caliph. Others again assert that after the death of the Caliph Mutazad, when Muktafi ascended the throne, he asked about Amr and was told that he was alive. He was pleased to know of his welfare for he had received many favours from him and wanted to repay him for all his kindness. Qasim, the Caliph's minister, however, was a particular enemy of Amr, and possibly fearing his rise to power again, sent executioners to put him to death and then reported to Muktafi that he had been under the impression that Amr was alive, but discovered, on making enquiries that he was dead. Others again

* While Amr was conveyed to Bagdad, the Samanid Amir Ismail appears to have sent one of his escorts along with the Caliph's detachment which was taking him to the Capital with instructions to behead Amr, should any movement rise in his favour or ~~he~~ should ^{Amr} try to free himself.

say that he was starved to death in solitary confinement. But the first story that he was murdered by Mutazad before he died appears to be the most credible.

Amr's character :-

Amr enjoyed power for 23 years and is said to have ruled his empire and army with a strong hand. Historians differ as to the estimate of his character and conflicting accounts have come down to us. Ibn Khallikan's statement, "There had not been such a good ruler as Amr in Khurasan from a long time" is quite contradictory to that of Mirkhond and others, who depict Amr as a tyrannical, greedy, and miserly ruler ever covetous of the wealth of his subjects, and relate that Amr had accused one of his generals Mohammad bin Bashar, of misappropriation and embezzlement. When charge after charge was brought against him, Mohammad bin Bashar, realising the intention of his sovereign, agreed to surrender fifty purses of gold to the treasury of Amr immediately, stating that they were ready to be handed over to the treasurer. Amr thereon withdrew his accusations, saying "Undoubtedly, you are the most sagacious man of this age." Amr is said to have accumulated vast sums of money from his officers by the confiscation of their property.

Of Amr's panegyrists may be mentioned Ibn Mu'in, who depicts him as a great organiser and financier. According to this author Amr was the first to put his own name in the Khutba which were formerly read in the name of the Caliph alone. Even if we doubt the accuracy of this statement it is indisputable that he was

independent to a greater degree than the Tahirids or his brother Yakub.

Amr is said to have had a cheerful disposition which sustained him even in adverse circumstances. Many witty stories are recorded of him. As a general, unlike his brother Yakub, he was lacking in tact though not wanting in valour and courage. In the "Fihrist" Amr is included in the list of Shia kings. Persian historians depict him as a staunch Shia, zealous in the propagation of his faith. We are told that when the generals of his army, with a thousand horses, bearing golden and silver maces in their hands came to pay him homage, he sighed and exclaimed "O that God had permitted me to lead such an army on the field of Kerbala." (i.e. the battle that was fought in 680 A.D. between Hussain, the son of Ali and Yezid, in which the former was slain). In his warfare with his co-religionist Mohammad bin Zayd, the Alid ruler of Tabristan, and the capture of some members of the house of Ali, Amr's report to the Caliph mentioned as heretics the members of the house of Ali, a very usual example of time-serving among governors in those days.

Of the edifices which testify to his memory there are mosques in Ray, and Shiraz the ruins of which can still be seen.

Amr's administration and policy :-

As regards Amr's civil administration, Gardizi mentions that he had an elaborate system of spies everywhere. He used to purchase slaves both male and female, educate them, and present

them to his officers in civil or military service, and from these detectives he used to draw information of all that passed. These spies were so intimately acquainted with the most minute details regarding his officer's affairs that many officials, unfamiliar with this organisation used to assign Amr's information about them to supernatural powers. The slaves performed their duties undeterred by any fear of their master because under Amr no one dared to beat a slave without his permission.

Amr's army :-

Being a military despot, and having attained his supremacy by the force of arms, Amr devoted special attention to his army. His men used to receive their pay every three months with a solemn ceremonial. Gardizi mentions that the pay was distributed by a special officer called the "Arid" who used to stand on an elevated place to impart dignity to his rank. When the bugles were sounded, the whole army used to fall in. Before the Arid lay sacks of money, and the names of the soldiers, commissioned and non-commissioned, who were on the army list were then read out. Amr was the first to be called. The Arid inspected Amr's horse, kit, and uniform, and after his approval gave him 300 dirhems. Amr after getting the money, used to exclaim "Glory be to God that he has enabled me to serve the cause of the Commander of the Faithful and had made me worthy of his favours" After this Amr retired and took his stand on a platform from which he watched his soldiers presenting themselves for their pay undergoing inspection and receiving their pay.

Treasuries of Amr :-

Gardizi mentions that Amr had the finance of the state divided into three treasuries or accounts. In the first treasury were the revenues of the land, the army being paid from this head. In the second, were the revenues from the private property of the Amir, the expenditure from this head being spent on the maintenance of Court and Palace. The third treasury, which included arbitrary and miscellaneous taxes (e.g. the confiscation of the property of officers, &c) was utilised for rewards and gifts to persons who had done special service, or to envoys of the Caliph.

Tahir stating that the governorship of Sistan would be bestowed on him if he gave up the project he appeared to have in mind. Tahir accepted these terms and returned to Sistan. Some historians say that it was Tahir who sent presents to Ismail with the suggestion that the province of Sistan might be bestowed on him as a hereditary right. Ismail forwarded this request to the Caliph and recommended the latter to accede to the proposal, and accordingly Tahir was confirmed in that office.

Rebellion of Sanjray 902 A.D. :-

Three years later one Sanjray, a former slave of Amr's, invaded Tahir's territory. According to Minhaj the ostensible cause of Sanjray's rebellion was the execution of one Abu Jabus, one of Tahir's vassals, who disapproved at the conduct of his sovereign, went to Bagdad accompanied by a large following. On his arrival at Bagdad, he was received with open arms by the Caliph.

Tahir 901 - 7 A.D.

Tahir proclaimed as the Amir :-

After the death of Amr, his nobles raised his grandson Tahir bin Mohammad bin Amr, to the throne: in fact he had been so proclaimed at the time when Amr was taken captive. Tahir marched on Fars in 901 A.D. and having defeated the governor there, proceeded to Ahwaz. The Caliph sent Abdullah bin Fateh with presents to Ismail, the Samanid in Bukhara to induce him to send an army against Tahir, who had secured himself in the province of Khuzistan, after the fall of Ahwaz. Ismail, at once sent a letter to Tahir stating that the governorship of Seistan would be bestowed on him if he gave up the project he appeared to have in mind. Tahir accepted these terms and returned to Seistan. Some historians say that it was Tahir who sent presents to Ismail with the suggestion that the province of Seistan might be bestowed on him as a hereditary right. Ismail forwarded this request to the Caliph and recommended the latter to accede to the proposal, and accordingly Tahir was confirmed in that office.

Rebellion of Sankray 904 A.D. :-

Three years later one Sankray, a former slave of Amr's, invaded Tahir's territory. According to Mirkhond the ostensible cause of Sankray's rebellion was the aversion of one Abu Qabus, one of Tahir's vassals, who disgusted at the conduct of his suzerain, went to Bagdad accompanied by a large following. Qabus on his arrival at Bagdad, was received with open arms by the Caliph

and a robe of honour was given to him. Tahir in the meanwhile wrote a letter to the Caliph stating that Abu Qabus had misappropriated the state treasure and had stolen some of the state funds, and he requested that the peculator should be sent back to him. The Caliph however ignored the letter and this attitude of the Bagdad government encouraged Sankray to get into relations with Abu Qabus and to take the bold step of invading Seistan. No account of the battle has been recorded, and we only know that Sankray won a complete victory over Tahir, who was taken prisoner with his brother Yakub, and sent to Bagdad.

*

Tahir appears to have reigned for six years under diverse circumstances. After his death the fortune of the house sank, as he was the last to exercise any real power after the death of Amr. Several sons of Ali, the brother of Amr came forward and vainly attempted to establish their authority, but were overpowered. In 913 A.D. a great grandson of Amr also named Amr, who was elected by the inhabitants of Seistan, as their Amir, was subdued by Ismail the Samanid whose reign will be discussed in Chapter XIII.

* According to Hamad Ullah, Tahir reigned a little more than a year. The same author maintains that he was overcome by Ismail, the Samanid. Apparently this is wrong, as Tahir's rule in Fars, where he defeated the local governor, extended more than a year. Taking into view that Tahir was sent captive to Bagdad in 908-9 A.D., we can safely infer that the rule of Tahir covered a period of six years approximately.

Chapter XII. Chronicle.

The Samanids 874-999 A.D.

Introductory :-

With the defeat of Amr bin Lais in 900 A.D. at Balkh ended the Safarid house, on the ruins of which arose the house of Saman, founded by Ismail bin Ahmad, who having attained great power, left a line of princes, which was destined to play a far more conspicuous part on the stage of Persian history than any of its predecessors. This dynasty, which flourished for a century and a quarter, is well remembered in Persia both because it was Persian by origin and also for ushering in an era of Persian nationalism by detaching its history from that of the Abbaside metropolis.

Lineage of the Samanids :-

Ismail bin Ahmad drew his lineage from one Saman-Khudat, commonly known as Saman, who lived in the province of Balkh in Transoxania about the end of the 8th century A.D. Saman is said to have founded a village called Saman, near Samarqand, in the province of Balkh, and also, later, the Samanid dynasty. Saman has been variously described as a camel driver, a leader of caravans, and a bandit. Khwand-Amir mentions that after amassing great wealth, he conquered the city of Shash in Transoxania. He was greatly helped by one Asad bin Abdullah, governor of Khurasan (735 - 38 A.D.) and because of the patronage shown by this governor.

Saman is said to have renounced Zoroastrianism and embraced Islam. In further recognition of Asad Saman named his son Asad after his benefactor. Gardizi says that Saman was converted to Islam by the Caliph Mamun but this is apparently incorrect, because Mamun reigned from 803 - 33 A.D. Saman traced his descent from Bahram Chubin, the Sassanian monarch, who in turn was connected with the early legendary dynasty which flourished in the dawn of Persian history. All historians agree as to the noble descent of Saman and affirm his connection with the long line of the kings of the early Kay dynasty.

Mamun patronises the family of Saman, 819 A.D. :-

Saman left a son Asad, above referred to, about whose life little is known. Asad had four sons, Nuh, Ahmad, Yahya and Ilyas. During the reign of the Caliph Haroun, Asad's four sons took a leading part in the suppression of the revolt of Rafi bin Lais, who had rebelled in Samarqand in 806 A.D. In 809 - 10 A.D. when Mamun was at Merv, preparing to attack his brother Amin, Asad appears to have been loyal to Mamun, and by his support was able to secure the good will and favour of that monarch. In 819 A.D., when Mamun gained the Caliphate after the murder of his brother Amin, he directed Ghassan bin Abbad, the then governor of Khurasan to promote the descendants of the family of Asad, and accordingly the latter appointed Nuh governor of Samarqand, Ahmad governor of Farghana, Yahya governor of Shash, and Ilyas governor of Herat. Nuh also appears to have exercised jurisdiction over Farghana and

and some Turkish towns in 826 - 27 A.D. after the death of his brother Ahmad. After Ghassan bin Abbad, Tahir Dhul'i Yaminayn, the founder of the Tahirid house, who became governor of Khurasan in 820 A.D., maintained this tradition by entrusting the members of the Saman family with posts of responsibility. Hence we find that the sons of Asad occupying positions as governors in various towns of Transoxania as subordinates of the governor of Khurasan. The Samanids probably made peace with Yakub bin Lais and retained their possessions in Transoxania, the details of which arrangements have not come down to us.

The early Samanids :-

When Talha (822 - 28 A.D.) became the governor of Khurasan he appointed Ahmad as the governor of Samarqand after the death of his brother Nuh. By the year 842 A.D., the Samanids had made themselves the hereditary rulers of Transoxania and Ahmad was able to transmit his power to his sons. Ahmad remained in Farghana but sent his son Nasr to Samarqand. On the death of Yahya in 855 A.D. Shash also passed under Ahmad. Ilyas, who died issueless in 856 A.D. left Herat to Ahmad, but from the accounts which have reached us, we infer that the Samanids could not hold their own in Herat, as the town passed under Yakub, the Saffarid, as early as 867 A.D., the latter wresting this town from the representative of Mohammad the Tahirid. Thus we see that Ahmad became the ruler of the whole of Transoxania.

* According to Mirkhond Ahmad had seven sons, Nasr, Yakub, Yahya, Asad, Ismail, Ishaq, and Hamid.

Early history of Transoxania :-

Very little is known of the early history of Transoxania under the early Samanids. The Muslim conquest of Transoxiana occurred between the beginning and the middle of the ninth century A.D. During the reign of Mamun occasional risings against the Arab rule occurred, but the Tahirids were able to suppress the revolts. On the whole the country was kept quiet, and by the time of the Caliph Mu'tasim (833 - 47 A.D.) the Transoxⁱanians had become good Muslims, and took an active part in waging war against their neighbours, the heathen Turks. Abdullah the Tahirid (828 - 44 A.D.) appears to have gone as far as the Ghuzz country where in that region the spread of Islam rapidly followed his conquests. At the death of Nuh bin Asad in 842 A.D. the province of Isfijab or Asbijab, lying on the right bank of the Jaxartes, with its capital of the same name, appears to have been conquered by the Samanids. Nuh bin Asad, who was a wise ruler, left the local Turkish rulers of Isfijab their freedom on payment of a nominal tribute of four Daniqs (less than sixpence.) According to another account, the local rulers of Isfijab were even exempt from the payment of tribute and rendered but lip vassalage. Unfortunately we do not know the details of the relationships of these Turks with the Samanids.

Nasr bin Ahmad or Nasr I. the first ruler of the dynasty 874-92 A.D.

Ahmad bin Asad, referred to above, who had ruled Farghana, Shash, Isfijab and Samarqand, died in 864 A.D., leaving

practically the whole of Transoxania to his eldest son Nasr. Nothing is recorded of events in Transoxania between 864 - 74 A.D. Historians consider Nasr bin Ahmad to have been the first ruler of this dynasty. Nasr made Samarqand his head quarters and sent his younger brother Ismail to conquer Bukhara.

Conquest of Bukhara by Ismail 874 A.D. :-

After the reign of Terror of Yakub bin Lais, in Khurasan and Fars, we read that Bukhara was in a poor condition and had no systematic or established administration. In the beginning of 874 A.D. it appears to have been in the hands of one Hussain bin Tahir At'tai. Probably he came from Khorezima, in Turkestan. The people of Bukhara resisted Hussain at first, but after a siege of a few days the city had been carried at the point of the sword and the Khorezmian troops committed excesses to such an extent that the citizens were driven to exasperation and so seriously threatened the safety of Hussain and his army, that he was compelled to grant them considerable concessions. The Bukharans took him at his word, but he broke his promise and in consequence a fresh revolt occurred which forced Hussain to escape by night, and he was unable to take with him the plunder he had amassed. Though Ismail was now in complete command of the town,

No sooner was Bukhara left without a ruler than the riots were renewed and the law-abiding portion of the population consulted Abu Abdullah bin Abu Hafus, the famous Qazi, who had advised them to appeal to Nasr for help. He sent Ismail to their

aid and on his arrival he realised that the Qazi exercised a very powerful influence in the town, and its environment. Ismail showed singular diplomacy in utilising the friendship of the Qazi, in contrast to Hussain bin Tahir, who foolishly lost the confidence of the populace. With the co-operation of the Qazi, Ismail began to consolidate his power. Ismail also lost no time in making peace with a Kharajite Chief, Hussain bin Mohammad, who had risen in Bukhara after the flight of Hussain bin Tahir At'tai. With the agreement of the army it was decided that Ismail should be crowned as "Amir" while Hussain bin Mohammad should act as his deputy. On the 25th June 874 A.D. the khutba was read in the name of Nasr instead of Yakub bin Lais.

Ismail makes himself master of Bukhara 875 A.D. :-

This arrangement did not last long as Ismail felt somewhat insecure as long as Hussain bin Mohammad had the upper hand in the affairs of the town. Distrusting the Hussain's oath of fealty, Ismail, after a few days, ordered the imprisonment of Hussain and made himself sole ruler of Bukhara. A report to Nasr was sent of this event.

Difficulties of Ismail :-

Though Ismail was now in complete command of the town, his path was thorny and beset with very many difficulties. He had to guard himself against a turbulent populace and to protect himself from the conspiracies of partisans of Hussain. Further, he had to watch the chiefs and nobles of Bukhara who always seemed

ready to revolt. Above all he had to overcome the distrust of his brother Nasr, whose mind was poisoned against him. As to the struggle with bandits, who numbered a couple of thousand and were gathering in the near by districts of Barkard and Ramiton, Ismail procured the assistance of the local "Dihqans" or 'Village Headmen', who interest it naturally was to secure a stable government. When he had reduced the country to order, he removed all the men who were likely to cause him trouble and sent them to Samarqand as a delegation to his brother, plotting beforehand with Nasr to have them imprisoned. During their absence he consolidated his power, and then begged Nasr to release them, and on their return he honoured them with gifts and presents.

Nasr is confirmed by the Caliph in the government of

Transoxania 875 A.D. :-

Nasr bin Ahmad, who occupied practically the whole of Transoxania, was sent an investiture by the Caliph Mu'tamid in 875 A.D. by virtue of which his possessions were legalised. This action of the Caliph was to counterbalance the power of Yakub bin Lais, who had destroyed the dynasty of Tahir and threatened the whole fabric of the Caliphate.

Meagre records of the reign of Nasr :-

Of the reign of Nasr and the events from 875 - 888 A.D. we know very little. With the conquest of Bukhara by Ismail, and despatch of the delegation to Nasr, the relations between the brothers became strained. Apparently Nasr interpreted Ismail's action in sending this delegation to him was to stir up the

aristocrats of Bukhara against him and thus forward his own cause.

Straitened relations results in civil war between the brothers :-

In 875 A.D. after the conquest of Bukhara by Ismail, the latter represented himself as the deputy of his elder brother Nasr. Ismail further formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Rafi, a former general of Yakub bin Lais who had attained considerable power in Khurasan, and whose rebellion was mentioned in Chapter X. Gardizi states that both the brothers were on friendly terms with each other until certain mischief makers created enmity between them. Nasr thought that this friendship between Rafi and Ismail was the prelude to an attack on Samargand and Mirkhond mentions it as an indication of insubordination and disloyalty to Nasr. When Nasr meditated marching on Bukhara to reduce Ismail the latter called on his friend Rafi to assist him. Rafi joined Ismail and succeeded in patching up a truce between the brothers.

This truce did not last long. Soon differences arose and Nasr's suspicion regarding his brother's designs became certainty. In 888 A.D. Nasr marched on Bukhara and fought a battle in the vicinity of that city. The populace generally was on the side of Nasr, who was accorded a brilliant welcome in Paykand and other districts on his march to Bukhara, while the armies of Ismail were refused provisions on the ground that in the opinion of the masses he was a rebel against his lawful elder brother Nasr. In the battle however, Nasr was completely defeated

*According to Mirkhond Rafi had even given Khwarzam to Ismail as a friendly act.

and taken prisoner. When he was brought before Ismail the latter arose from his throne to show respect and kissing Nasr's hands asked for forgiveness. It is even related that Ismail refused to take a seat in the presence of his brother. Ismail told Nasr that he had been deluded by wrong advice. The loyalty and fidelity shown by Ismail in representing himself as a vassal of his brother contributed much to his reputation. Nasr returned to Samarqand and remained the nominal head of the family, his brother recognising him as his overlord.

Death of Nasr 892 A.D. :-

Nasr died on the 21st August, 892 A.D., leaving Ismail as his successor. Probably Nasr nominated Ismail to the throne because of his long cherished love for him, for ever since his defeat he regarded his brother with the deepest affection. Nasr is depicted as a ruler of mild disposition, whose administration was marked by unaffected piety, unswerving uprightness, moderation and simplicity of life. He made Samarqand a flourishing city, by his generosity and his encouragement of men of letters.

Ami-i-Qazi (The just prince) Ismail bin Ahmad, 892 - 907 A.D.

Accession of Ismail bin Ahmad 892 A.D. :-

Ismail who succeeded his brother Nasr in 892 A.D. can fitly be called the real founder of the Samanid house, on account of the fact that his predecessors were only rulers of small principalities. The addition of Khurasan in 900 A.D. along with his hereditary possession of Transox^āan^ā made him a semi-

independent ruler. Historians also regard his reign as the commencement of the Persian renaissance, due in large measure to Ismail's patronage of men of letters. It further ushered in an era of peace and ended the chaos of tyranny of the Safarid despots.

Early life of Ismail :-

Ismail was born in Farghana either in April or May 849 A.D. and his career can conveniently be divided into distinct periods. Previous to coming to the throne, Ismail had been deputy of his brother Nasr (874-92 A.D.) as previously mentioned. During the second period (892 - 907 A.D.) he was the independent governor of Khurasan and Transoxania though nominally a vassal of the Caliph. Ismail had become a sovereign to all intents and purposes during the life-time of his brother Nasr, after the decisive engagement which he fought with the latter which made him master of Bukhara.

Ismail is confirmed by the Caliph in the office of Governorship 893 A.D. :-

In 893 A.D., Ismail received an investiture from the Caliph Mutazad confirming him in the province of Transoxania. Ismail is said to have received the messenger of the Caliph with singular deference and to have prostrated himself twice before he put on the robes of honour. He showed his gratitude by presenting 700,000 dirhems to the envoy (£17,500 calculating the dirhem @ 6d.) According to another account Ismail gave him 700,000 golden dinars, equal to £350,000, calculating the golden

dinar at ten shillings, but it is unlikely that the Samanids had so vast a treasure at this time, and we can safely rely on the first statement of 700,000 dirhems as true.

Invasion of Turkestan 893 A.D. :-

No sooner had Ismail become the recipient of these honours than he embarked upon a career of conquest. A born leader, and possessed of indomitable courage, he endeavoured by every conceivable method to consolidate his territory. He adopted a policy of aggression with regard to the surrounding provinces, and in 893 A.D. he crossed arms with one Tunkus, a chief of Tartary who styled himself the "King of Turkestan" and who had established himself beyond the Jaxartes. Ismail defeated this ruler and having made him and his queen, whom Masudi mentions as "Khatun", prisoners, sent them to Samarqand. Further, Taraz, the chief commercial town of the province of Jaxartes, the ruins of which lie to the south of the modern town of Aulieh-ata, was reduced, and its chief temple was converted into a mosque. It is calculated that 15,000 Turks (who belonged to the tribe of Qarluqs according to Mas'udi) were also sent as slaves to Samarqand, while 10,000 were slain in the battle. So much plunder fell into the hands of the conqueror that every soldier got 1000 Dirhems (£25) as his share of the booty. In addition to this, countless sheep, camels and other animals were also captured in the battle.

* Vide History of Persia by Brigadier-general Sir Percy Sykes where this campaign is mentioned as a holy war against the Christian settlement of Taraz. It is very doubtful if these Turks had accepted Christianity in the 9th Century A.D. The very name of queen "Khatun" shows that they were heathens like the other Turks.

Deposition of Ismail 898 A.D. :-

In February 898 A.D. Ismail was deposed from the governorship of Transoxāna, and Amr bin Lais was appointed in his stead. This decree was the result of the weakness of the Caliph, who had to appoint Amr because the latter had made himself master of Persia, and the Commander of the Faithful had no alternative but to accede to his request. Some historians have interpreted the deposition of Ismail as a move to stir him against Amr. It appears that the suspension of Ismail remained in force until 900 A.D. when after the victory of Balkh, the Caliph expressed his approval of Ismail's action.

Battle of Balkh 900 A.D. :-

On the decisive battle of Balkh, fought in 900 A.D., which was fully narrated in the last chapter, Ath Tha'alibi remarks that this was one of the most extraordinary battles in military history. In it an army of fifteen thousand escaped after having been utterly defeated and only the leader (i.e. Amr) was taken captive. The chief result of this battle was that it extinguished the rule of the Safarids and gave Ismail, by a patent issued by the Caliph, the possession of Khurasan, Seistan, Mazendran, Ray and Isfahan.

Conquest of Tabristan 901 A.D. :-

Not content with his sovereignty of Khurasan and Transoxāna, Ismail continued his aggressive policy by invading the Caspian provinces which were ruled by the Zaydite Imamas. A pretext, if pretext were needed, was supplied by the Sayyid

Ismail, who had taken
Mohammad bin Zayd surnamed "Da'iu'l Haq" (The propagandist of Truth) the ruler of Tabristan, who had succeeded his brother Hasan in 883 A.D. in that province. Sayyid Mohammad bin Zayd contested the claim of the Safarids to Khurasan and the dispute led to the opening of hostilities. In 900-1 A.D. Ismail sent one of his generals, Mohammad bin Haroun, to subdue Mohammad bin Zayd. The Samanid general marched at the head of 3000 while his antagonist had 20,000. In the encounter Mohammad bin Zayd was utterly defeated and slain. Abul Hussain, son of Mohammad bin Zayd, was taken prisoner, but later on was set free by Ismail and settled at Bukhara. As a result of the battle, the whole of Tabristan was incorporated into the Samanid Kingdom. Mohammad bin Haroun subsequently conquered Jurjan and in reward for his conspicuous success was given the governorship of Tabristan.

Rebellion of Mohammad bin Haroun in Tabristan in 902 A.D. :-

Soon Mohammad bin Haroun began to aspire to independence and adopting white as the symbol of his party, he invaded Ray, where the Caliph's governor was slaughtered in cold blood. The Caliph Muktaffi (902 - 7 A.D.) asked Ismail, who was responsible for the preservation of order in Ray, to subdue Mohammad bin Haroun. Ismail accordingly took the offensive against the rebel. When he reached Ray, Mohammad bin Haroun left it for Qazwin, and finally retired to the remoter regions of Tabristan, from where he seems to have fled to Iraq. As a result of his flight Tabristan and Jurjan passed under Ismail in 902 A.D.

Ismail, who had taken the field in person against Mohammad bin Haroun, after the restoration of peace stayed in Tabristan, where he reduced taxes, restored confiscated property and administered justice in a manner which had long been unknown in those provinces.

Ismail after restoring peace came back to Khurasan.

No sooner had he retreated, however, than another Alid claimant, Abu Mohammad al-Hasan bin Ali, called Sayyid Nasir'i Kabir revolted in Daylam, declaring himself as the avenger of Sayyid Mohammad bin Zayd. Ismail sent his son Ahmad, his heir apparent, to oppose the rebel. The two armies met at a place called Falas, the exact locality of which cannot be traced on the modern map, and the Sayyid's forces were defeated and two thousand men were slain, amongst them being the father of Makan bin kaki and Hasan bin Firuzan, who later on attained sovereign power in Tabristan. After the war, Ismail entrusted the government of Tabristan to his cousin, Abul Abbas Abdullah bin Mohammad bin Nuh bin Asad.

Ibn Isfandiyar mentions that on the appointment of this new governor, Mohammad bin Haroun, who had fled to Iraq, joined the defeated forces of Sayyid Nasir. With the help of Isphabad Shahryar and his nephew Parwiz, ruler of Larijan (in the mountainous part of the Caspian sea, where the local rulers had maintained their independence) Abul Abbas was able to overcome their efforts. Mohammad bin Haroun, who had fled after this encounter, again vainly attempted to regain Tabristan but was treacherously beguiled by the Samanid governor Faris (who had been appointed to the governorship of Jurjan) on the promise of a pardon, and was taken

prisoner. He ^{was} then sent to Bukhara, and starved to death.

Abul Abbas now ruled over Tabristan, Jurjan, Gilan, Ray and Qazwin in the name of Ismail. Ismail's nephew, Abu Salieh Mansur bin Ishaq, was given the governorship of Ray under Abul Abbas. It was during the reign of Abu Salieh as governor of Ray that Abu Bekr Ar-Riza, the eminent physician whose work became known in Europe under the title of "Rhazes", completed his famous book "Mansuri" which he called after the name of his patron.

Search for Amr's treasures :-

Hamad Ullah, the author of Tarikh'i Guzida, mentions that after the capture of Amr, Ismail assured him that his person would be quite safe. The too sanguine Safarid, pleased with his promise, sent a parchment containing an account of the treasures of Amr and his brother Yakub as a token of gratitude. The chamberlain further declared before Ismail that Amr wished that these treasures should be divided amongst his subjects and that Ismail should refrain from bloodshed and should send him (Amr) to the Caliph. Ismail chided the Hajib and said "Return this parchment to Amr, and make him understand how he and his brother obtained these treasures and say everyone knows that he was a mere labourer. You reigned for a day or two and in your arrogance tyrannised over the people. The treasures you collected were accumulated by the oppression of the poor. Now you try to bribe me and win my friendship with this scrap of paper. I am not one of those who will be deluded by your sweet words. Do not soil my hands with this wealth." With these words he dismissed the Hajib.

According to another account when Ismail defeated Amr in 900 A.D. he began to search for Amr's treasure. It is quite possible that after he had so scornfully rejected Amr's offer he decided to find the hoarded wealth. After an extensive search, Ismail obtained some information regarding it from a member of the Safarid house. It was rumoured that one of Amr's relatives named Saman was in charge of it, and had taken it to Herat, where he sought shelter. Ismail marched on Herat and the inhabitants asked for an amnesty, which he readily granted. Here his army began to suffer extreme distress for want of money. Ismail had promised the people that he would not levy any contribution on the city but his soldiers began to clamour that he should reconsider the hasty pledge he had given the inhabitants because of the dire need of his army. They proposed that in Herat and its neighbourhood which had a population of 10,000 people they should levy one dinar on each man and the 10,000 dinars thus obtained would considerably lessen the difficulties of the soldiers. Ismail however refused to entertain the idea and as the army was becoming discontented and disorderly, he ordered his soldiers to march, lest the temptation to plunder might prove too strong for his troops and might result in the breach of a promise he held sacred.

While about to march away from Herat, Ismail ordered that Amr's horse should be let loose in his presence, because he thought it might guide them to the spot where Amr had concealed his treasure. While this scheme was being considered, a ruby necklace belonging to one of the slave girls of Ismail was carried

off by a kite which had mistaken the red object for a piece of meat. Several men set off in pursuit of the kite. By chance the bird dropped the necklace into a well. When a man was ordered to go down to retrieve it, he discovered that the well was connected with another well by an underground passage and contained boxes which were identified as the safes which held Amr's treasures. Ismail was overjoyed at this piece of fortune, and made this the occasion of a lecture to the soldiers, pointing out that God will not forsake the man who avoided temptation.

Ismail is dreaded by the Caliph :-

Ismail, who had conquered Khurasan, Tabristan, Jurjan, Ray, Qazwin, Isfahan, Turkestan, Seistan and Mazendran, besides his hereditary province of Transoxania had practically raised his small principality to a mighty kingdom which in its extent from the great desert to the Persian gulf and from the borders of India to near Bagdad, was an empire itself. Miskawaiki has described the revival of the national life of Persia as typified in the person of Ismail who gave a tremendous impetus to its distinctive cultural development. He has recorded that at the time of the fatal illness of the Caliph Muktaffi (902 - 7 A.D.), when his vizier Abbas bin Hasan was considering whom he should appoint Caliph, the choice fell on Muqtadir whose candidature Abbas the Vezier wished to oppose. Ismail's position had by now grown so strong that before expressing a further opinion Abbas waited for the arrival of Barris, the Chamberlain, one of Ismail's retainers, from whom a despatch had arrived, because he imagined

that he should have the assistance of the Chamberlain, and also Ismail. Whether Ismail actually helped one party or the other is very doubtful but the whole incident affords some indication of the strength of Ismail's position.

Death and character of Ismail :-

Ismail died on the 25th November, 907 A.D., after a prosperous reign of seven years. All historians agree as to the surpassing genius of Ismail. Persian historians attribute to him some of the supernatural attributes of God, with which they believe he was endowed. He was a just, mild and generous ruler, whose administration was firm and vigorous. In the reign of Ismail offenders seldom passed unpunished, and disorders were severely repressed. His fortitude, his strong sense of duty and his conscientious adherence to his principles were marked. He often toured his dominions, mixed with his people and acquainted himself with their grievances. His scrupulous observance of his promise to the inhabitants of Herat was not an isolated incident. His magnanimity can be judged from the deference he showed his defeated brother Nasr where he addressed him not as a conqueror but as a younger brother should an elder. Mirkhond narrates that Ismail was informed that in Ray the rate of taxes owing to wrong ^{*} weights was heavier than in other districts. Ismail sent a messenger to Ray who was directed to seal samples of local weights and send them to Bukhara. When they ~~were~~

* Taxes were paid by weight in grain.

were weighed it was discovered that they were heavier than other stones. Ismail immediately suspended the officers of Ray and ordered that the surplus amount which the inhabitants of Ray had paid by way of revenue should be deducted from the taxes in future years.

Similarly it is narrated that after Nasr's death, when Ismail became the ruler, the latter continued to address the petty governors and his deputies whom he had subdued, in the same polite and humble terms with which they were addressed when they were independent. His counsellors told him since he had become ruler, he should discontinue this practice, to which Ismail replied, "In my grandeur and majesty, I prefer not to degrade my friends from their high ranks but I am in duty bound to exalt them in their rank. This is the best way of showing one's feelings towards the others. We should always endeavour to promote the betterment of our friends."

As a general, Ismail ranks with the greatest. His ability, combined with his indefatigable energy and foresight, enabled him to conquer a great dominion. In industry and administrative ability he excelled all his predecessors. Throughout his administration, he acted on the noble principle of overcoming his enemies by magnanimity and generosity.

In his private life, Ismail is described as a learned and accomplished scholar, devoted to the patronage of men of letters. He made Bukhara his capital and embellished it with magnificent buildings from which it derived the title of "Sharif

or "Sublime". The forts of Bukhara date back to the time of this Samanid overlord, ~~which~~ ^{and} during his reign it became the favourite resort of poets and men of learning. De Meynard, dwelling on the splendour of Bukhara, remarks "Bukhara was, under the Samanid rule, the focus of splendour, the shrine of Empire, the meeting-place of the most unique intellects of the age, the horizon of the literary stars of the world and the fair of the greatest scholars of the period."

Chapter XIII. Chronicle.

Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Ismail 907 - 14 A.D.

Succession of Ahmad 907 A.D. :-

On the death of the great Ismail, his son Ahmad was proclaimed Amir. The Caliph sent him an investiture confirming him in all the territories of his father. Gardizi notes that Ahmad having restored peace in Bukhara, determined to go to Ray to pacify that part of the country. From this rather vague statement it may be inferred that at the time of Ismail's death some unrest prevailed in Bukhara and its neighbourhood. Ahmad, who had not a very strong character, evidently found his position one of extreme difficulty.

Revolt of Ishaq bin Ahmad in Samargand 907 A.D. :-

In this same year Ahmad's uncle, Ishaq bin Ahmad, taking advantage of his weakness, rebelled in Samargand. Gardizi says that Ahmad was preparing to restore peace in Ray when he heard of Ishaq's activities, and took the field against him. According to Mirkhond, Ahmad sent his general Ibrahim bin Zaydwiaha to crush Ishaq. Whether Ahmad himself led his troops or his general Ibrahim, the result of the expedition was that Ishaq was made a prisoner and brought to Bukhara.

Baris goes to Bagdad 907 A.D. :-

Taking advantage of the weak position of Ahmad, Baris who had held the post of a deputy governor in Jurjan as the representative of the Samanids during the life of Ismail, having

embezzled a considerable sum of money from the revenue of Ray, Tabristan and Jurjan, ran away to Bagdad. Baris is said to have ^{*} possessed treasures amounting to 18,000 gold and silver coins, and to have stolen an enormous amount of other things.

In the later part of Ismail's rule, Baris had packed up his treasure in order to hand it over to Ismail. While he was on the way to Bukhara, however, having received the news of Ismail's death he returned homeward. Baris now decided to convert this accumulated wealth to his own use. Ahmad received an inkling of his plans and his cupidity was aroused. Baris either thinking that he would be unable to retain it all himself, or dreading that he would inevitably lose it in an unequal contest with Ahmad, sent a message to the Caliph requesting an audience, which the Caliph granted. Baris went to Bagdad with 4000 people bringing his treasure with him. He was honourably received by the Caliph and given employment in his administration.

Rebellion in Seistan 908 A.D. :-

In 908 A.D. when Ahmad was returning to Herat after he had restored order in Ray, he was informed that Madal bin Lais had organised a general revolt. Ahmad sent Hussain bin Ali al-Murwazi to Seistan which made Madal shut himself up in a fort.

* Vide Miskaweihi, who refers to Baris as the Chamberlain of the Samanids, and mentions the occurrence of this event in the reign of Ismail instead of Ahmad. When Ismail expressed his keen resentment at the Caliph's readiness to protect the peculator, a letter of apology was sent from the Bagdad government, which appeased the Amir. If Baris had been a chamberlain, he would have had very few chances of evading his pursuers with such a large army of retainers amounting to 4000. Mirkhond's statement that Baris was the deputy governor of Caspian provinces appears to be correct.

Madal sent his brother Abu Ali to gather reinforcements for his army. Abu Ali collected a certain number and returned to Seistan. Ahmad acquainted with these movements, left Herat and, attacking Abu Ali, crushed him decisively, took him prisoner and sent him to Bagdad. Meanwhile Hussain bin Ali al-Murwazi continued his siege of Madal. When Madal heard of the fate of his brother, he sued for peace, and was granted terms. Ahmad appointed Mansur bin Ishaq governor of Seistan.

Revolt in Tabristan 910 A.D. :-

During the reign of Ahmad, the Alid Hasan bin Ali, called Sayyid Nasir'i Kabir al-Utrawush ("The Deaf") planned an invasion of Tabristan, a project which had engaged his attention for a long time. In 910 A.D. Ahmad deposed Abul Abbas Abdullah, and sent a Turk named Salam to be governor of Tabristan. Utrawush taking advantage of the fact that the deposition of Abdullah would cause general dissatisfaction and also of the fact that the new governor's position would be insecure, sent an army against Salam. The Buyids gave Utrawush active encouragement in the enterprise. In the battle that followed Salam proved victorious and the combined armies of Utrawush and the Buyids were defeated. Salam remained governor of Tabristan until he became thoroughly tired of his difficult task and resigned. On the resignation of Salam, Ahmad reappointed Abul Abbas Abdullah and he is said to have restored peace and prosperity to the country but unfortunately died in October 910 A.D. At his death Ahmad appointed Mohammad bin Sal'uk in his place, who appears to have been a man of indolent

and easy going temperament and Utrawush found opportunity to rebel a second time.

According to Iby Isfandiyar, Salam ruled Tabristan for nine months (February 909 - December 910 A.D.) This author mentions that Abul Abbas Abdullah after his deposition went to Bukhara and with a force of 30,000 men marched to Iraq and that no battle issued between Abul Abbas Abdullah and Salam. Further, he adds, that the government of Salam was oppressive, imposing heavy taxes on the people. The inhabitants of Tabristan revolted against his reign and drove him out of the capital of that province. Salam's resignation as noted by Mirkhond is ^{here} clearly controverted. Ahmad appointed Mohammad bin Sal'uk to be governor of Tabristan in December 910 or January 911 A.D. The same authority further narrates that a Russian fleet of 16 ships came to Abasgun in 910 A.D. and slew many Muslims. In 911 A.D. they invaded Tabristan a second time, when the local chiefs of Gilan and Shirwanshah made common cause against the Russians, destroyed their crews and treated them so cruelly that the Russians henceforth dared not enter Tabristan.

Rebellion of Amr II, the Safarid in Seistan 913 A.D. :-

In 913 A.D., the Seistanese rebelled against Ahmad. The revolt, according to Gardizi, was the result of the personal grudge of one Mohammad bin Hurmuz, a Kharajite, generally known by a nickname of "Moulesayd" who had been in the service of the Samanid army. One day Mohammad bin Hurmuz quarreled with Abul

Hussain bin Ali ^{bin} Mohammad, the provincial Arid (Paymaster) on the subject of his pension. The Arid told him that in his old age he ought to go to some caravansarai, as the services which he had rendered had been inconsiderable. Mohammad bin Hurmuz returned to Seistan where he managed to start a rebellion by giving out that the government of Seistan was the hereditary right of the Safarids and that only a member of that house should reign there. The Kharajites flocked to him and raised Amr II, the great grandson of Amr I, to the governorship of Seistan. Amr II, having thus been proclaimed, marched on Mansur bin Ishaq, the Samanid deputy in Seistan, whom he captured and imprisoned in a castle. The Khutba was read in the name of the Safarid Amr II. Ahmad sent Hussain bin Ali to Seistan for a second time where he besieged the capital for nine months.

In the ninth month of the seige the old man who had been insulted by the paymaster is said to have stood up on a wall of the fort and exclaimed, "O! Abul Hussain, Paymaster, I have obeyed your orders and have taken up my abode in a caravansarai. What do you want next." The inmates of the fort were now hard pressed and Mohammad bin Abbas, commonly called the "Son of Huffar" another ring leader of the revolt, lost heart. Just then Mohammad bin Hurmuz died, and Amr II, who was weak and vacillating by nature, being left without any advisers sued for peace, which the Samanid general granted. Mansur bin Ishaq was liberated and Amr II and Mohammad bin Abbas were both sent to Bukhara. After the victory Hussain bin Ali expected that he would be granted the governorship

of Seistan in recognition of his good services. Ahmad, however, appointed Simjur Douwatee as Viceroy of the province. Hussain accordingly rebelled as will be mentioned later.

Rebellion of Sayyid Nasir'i Kabir 913 - 14 A.D. :-

In 913 - 14 A.D. Sayyid Nasir'i Kabir Utrawush, was successful in winning over the people of Gilan and Daylam to his side. He carried on a successful propaganda for the house of Ali, and won adherents in Jurjan and Tabristan. Having sent his son Abul Hussain to Ruyan, the mountain districts on the western border of Tabristan, where he succeeded in expelling the Samanid governor Muhim, while Utrawush himself went to Kalar, the adjoining mountain district of Badusban in Tabristan. In January 914 A.D., being fully prepared Nasir gave battle to Mohammad bin Sal'uk, the Samanid governor of Tabristan. Mohammad bin Sal'uk was defeated and many of his followers were slain. Mohammad bin Sal'uk was able to flee to Ray through Amul. A few days later Sayyid Nasir came to Amul and placed himself on the throne of Hasan bin Zayd, the Zaydite Imam. Ahmad, the Samanid now sent Mohammad bin Abdul Aziz with an army to Tabristan but he also was defeated with heavy loss by the Sayyids.

Sayyid Nasir's power now became paramount in Jurjan and Tabristan and he remained the master of these provinces until the year 916 A.D.

Assassination of Ahmad bin Ismail 914 A.D. :-

Ahmad bin Ismail went out hunting one day in January 914 A.D. During the course of the hunt he rode towards Qurd,

the locality of which cannot be traced on the modern map. Before he went out hunting he ordered that his previous encampment at Farabar, on the bank of the river Balkh, where he had halted, should be burnt. While he was engaged in the chase he received a message from Mohammad bin Sal'uk, the governor of Tabristan, informing him that Tabristan had been invaded by Utrawush. Ahmad was distracted at the news and is said to have prayed to God to grant him death rather than the disorder of his kingdom. In despair the unfortunate prince returned to Farabr, and the dreary aspect of the place filled him with strange misgivings because it seemed to portend evil. That night, while he was resting, his slaves assassinated him. It is stated by all Persian historians that two lions used to be let loose in the night time to keep vigil over Ahmad's camp, so that no unauthorised person could have access to it. Either by chance or by a plan of the murderers, the lions were not let loose as usual on the night of murder. The slaves who hated Ahmad entered the camp and cut off his head. His corpse was taken to Bukhara where he was buried. Samani dates his death as the 23rd January 914 A.D.

Character of Ahmad :-

Ahmad lacked the outstanding ability of his father, and consequently his popularity. He appears to have been born under an unlucky star, for during the whole of his reign he was occupied in suppressing riots and plots. His inglorious reign contrasts strongly with that of his father who ruled firmly yet gently.

Despite the inauspicious beginning of his reign and the numerous disasters which in the end everwhelmed him, the unhappy Ahmad made persistent, if fruitless, efforts to vanquish the forces of disorder and his fortitude must excite our admiration.

Hamad Ullah mentions that Arabic was substituted for Persian as the official language in this reign. Ahmad's love of Arabic disgusted his guards and it was the principal reason why he was killed by these "Ghulams." When he reversed the policy pursued by his predecessors, Persian men of letters lost their vogue, and so became his enemies. On account of the purity and piety of his private life Ahmad was styled "Amir'i Shahid" or "The martyr Prince" and this is the title under which he is generally known and discussed by Persian historians.

liberating, he made provision of his reign in 910 A.D. decided to take advantage of it to further the law. The Samargandians sided with Isahak, but the people of Bukhara, who owed their prosperity to Ahmad (Isahak's father,) supported the claims of Nasr II when they regarded as the lawful ruler.

State in provinces :-

Before entering into the details of Isahak's rebellion in Samargand, it would be well to consider the state of the provinces. Gardizi says that after the murder of Ahmad the whole country was seething with unrest and that there were several rebellions, but as they appear to have been unproductive of any important result, he has not discussed them. At first the people had little confidence in Is - 205 -

The disorderly state of the provinces :-

After the death of Ahmad, the nobles raised his eight year old son Abul Hasan Nasr to the throne. Ahmad bin Mohammad, the military commander of Bukhara carried Nasr on his shoulders that he might receive the oath of allegiance from the military party, on which the young Amir remarked "You intend to put me to the sword in the same way that you have done with my father." These words show that the military party rather than the slaves were considered to have been the assassins of Ahmad. Public opinion at this time seemed very variable when Nasr was proclaimed Amir. Consequently Ishaq, the uncle of Ahmad, whom Ahmad, after liberating, had made governor of Samarqand in 910 A.D., decided to take advantage of it to further his own cause. The Samarqandians sided with Ishaq, but the people of Bukhara, who owed their prosperity to Ahmad (Nasr's father,) supported the claims of Nasr II whom they regarded as the lawful ruler.

Chaos in provinces :-

Before entering into the details of Ishaq's rebellion in Samarqand, it would be well to consider the state of the provinces. Gardizi says that after the murder of Ahmad the whole country was seething with unrest and that there were several Kharajite revolts, but as they appear to have been unproductive of any important result he has not discussed them. Also at first the people had little confidence in Nasr II on account of his youth. Fortunately

an able Vizier, named Abu Abdullah Mohammad bin Ahmad Jayhani, came to the front, and with the approval of the army, assumed control of the government. The regency of this minister marks an important epoch in the Samanid history.

Rebellion of Ishaq in Samarqand 914 A.D. :-

In 914 A.D., on the proclamation of Nasr as Amir, Ishaq revolted in Samarqand. Nasr's vizier Jayhani sent his general Hamuya bin Ali against the rebel, while Ishaq, having entrusted Samarqand to his son, marched on Bukhara. In the battle that followed, the details of which are not handed down to us, Ishaq was defeated and Hamuya returned to Bukhara. Ishaq gathering his scattered forces was able to raise another army from Samarqand and again appeared before the walls of the Samanid metropolis. Hamuya again opposed him and after winning a second victory, pursued him to his headquarters. Samarqand easily fell into his hands and Ishaq was made prisoner. He sued for pardon and Hamuya spared his life but sent him to Bukhara where he died in captivity.

The ministry of Jayhani I-

In 914 A.D., Abu Abdullah Mohammad bin Jayhani, on taking over the government, sent forces against the Kharajites who were planning an insurrection. After crushing them, he put to the sword all the abettors and murderers of Ahmad, along with Abul Hasan Nasr bin Ishaq, the court "Katib" (official) who was considered to be the real instigator of the crime. Jayhani was able to ~~restore~~^{restore} peace in the country within a short time.

Besides being a great statesman, Jayhani is depicted as well versed in all branches of learning, and as the author of various works, his geographical treatise entitled "The books of the road and the kingdom" being the best known of them. As a statesman his reforms in various branches of the government stand to his renown. When he came to power he wrote letters to governors in the provinces asking for information about the customs of the "Dargha" or the "Palace". After gathering the necessary material from all sources he reformed the laws and regulating the Palace and the chancery. These laws, which he codified later on, prevailed in the Palace of the Amir. In short, as Gardizi puts it "He was successful in every project that he undertook." We do not know when and why he was removed from office.

Revolt of Mansur bin Ishaq 916 A.D. :-

On the imprisonment of Ishaq, his son Mansur, who was the governor of Nishapur, took up arms against Nasr's government. His revolt was the outcome of his alliance with Hussain bin Ali Murwazi, who during the reign of the martyr prince Ahmad, after successfully subduing the Safarid pretender Amr II in Seistan, had deemed that his services were poorly recompensed. Nasr's preoccupation with the internal dissensions in his state afforded Hussain bin Ali an unique opportunity to consolidate his power. Hussain rebelled as early as 914 A.D. in Herat and from this town he proceeded to Nishapur. In Herat Hussain bin Ali read the Khutba in the name of Mansur whom he acknowledged as his overlord.

It appears that Hussain relied to some extent upon the national sentiment of the people as he is represented by the author of "Fihrist" as the leader of the Shia movement, and apparently he got a good deal of support on religious grounds.

Nasr detailed Hamuya to quell the rebellion, and when he marched to Nishapur he found that Mansur bin Ishaq had just died there. Receiving news of Hussain bin Ali's movements in the vicinity of Herat, Hamuya attacked the latter city. At this juncture Mohammad^{*} bin Juneed, the military commander of Bukhara, who had quarrelled with Nasr, joined Hussain bin Ali Murwazi. The rebellion, owing to this defection, now took a serious turn. Hussain leaving the administration of Herat to the brother of the deceased Mansur, fell on Nishapur.

Hamuya, having failed to stop Hussain bin Ali, was recalled by Nasr, and he sent Ahmd bin Sahl, a local aristocratic "Dihqan" to march on Nishapur. In the summer of 918 A.D. Ahmad bin Sahl inflicted a crushing defeat on Hussain bin Ali Murwazi and Mohammad bin Juneed, sending both to Bukhara as prisoners. Nasr sent Mohammad bin Juneed to Khwarzam where he died.

Career of Ahmad bin Sahl :-

Before telling of the rebellion of Ahmad bin Sahl, who after conquering Nishapur and sending Hussain bin Ali as a prisoner to Bukhara, threw off his allegiance to Nasr II, it is worth ~~while~~ considering his career. Ahmad bin Sahl was a Persian, and was the maternal great great great grandson of Yezidgerd III,

* According to Gardizi, Mohammad bin Ujhud.

the last of the Sassanian monarch (628 - 41 A.D.). He had extensive demesnes in Merv, where his ancestors were called "Kangaries" and in Merv there is a flower named after them. These Kangaries were in the service of the Tahirids, occupying posts of trust. Sahl bin Hashim, the father of Ahmad, was a great astronomer. When Ahmad grew up, he became a courtier of the Safarid Amr at Seistan.

Later on Ahmad's services were utilised by Abu Jaffar Sal'uk, who was Amr's deputy in Merv. Having won the confidence of Abu Jaffar, Ahmad bin Sahl collected an army and attacked him. By this means he formed a friendship with Ismail, the founder of the Samanid house, and settled at Bukhara. The Samanid Ismail patronised him and conferred honours on him, of which he proved himself worthy by his constant fidelity to the house. Ahmad, the Martry prince who succeeded Ismail also held him in the greatest esteem. In the reign of Nasr II, he distinguished himself in suppressing the rebellion of Hussain bin Ali as narrated.

Rebellion of Ahmad bin Sahl 919 A.D. :-

It appears that after the victory against Hussain bin Ali Murwazi, Nasr failed to fulfil certain promises which he had made to him. Ahmad, thinking that his services were not sufficiently recognised, thereupon revolted. He omitted the name of Nasr from the Khutba, the usual method of indicating a rebellious attitude, and sent an envoy to the Caliph Muktadar (907 - 32 A.D.) asking him for the governorship of Khurasan, which

he already held after his victory over Hussain bin Ali. The Caliph, who feared the growing power of the Samanids, was glad to raise a formidable rival to that dynasty, and formally acceded to the request. Ahmad, thus encouraged, and his position in Nishapur being impregnable, left for Jurjan, where he expelled Qaratagin, the Samanid representative in that province, after a sanguinary affray. He next turned to Merv.

Nasr now appointed his general Hamuya to the governorship of Khurasan, where it was necessary for him first of all to get rid of Ahmad. Hamuya, who was at Merv, began negotiating with Ahmad bin Sahl in a vain endeavour to come to some understanding, but Ahmad, confident of success, haughtily rejected all overtures of peace. On the banks of the neighbouring river a battle took place in which Ahmad was defeated, though single-handed, he fought with reckless courage. When his horse fell he continued the contest on foot. At last he was captured and sent to Bukhara where he died in 919 - 20 A.D.

Rebellion of Laili bin Numan 920 A.D. :-

Sayyid Nasr'i Kabir, who had become the ruler of Tabristan in 914 A.D., died in 917 A.D., leaving the government of Jurjan and Tabristan to his cousin and son-in-law Hasan bin Qasam, called Da'i wa ul Haq (the summoner to truth). Lail bin Numan, one of Hasan bin Qasam's subordinates and at the latter's instigation, marched on Damghan, which he easily reduced, turning out the Samanid representative. Later on Lail marched on Nishapur

where he read the Khutba in the name of Hasan bin Qasam. Nasr sent Hamuya to quell this rising, and the opposing forces met at Nouqan, near Tus, where the army of Bukhara was defeated for the first time. But Hamuya, Mohammad bin Abdullah Bal'ami and Simjur gathered their scattered forces and again fought with desperate bravery and eventually proved victorious. Laili was pursued and slain.

Rebellion of Ilyas bin Ishaq in Farghana 922 A.D. :-

In 922 A.D. Ilyas bin Ishaq seized an opportunity to revolt in Farghana. Abu Amr bin Asad was despatched with some 2500 men to oppose him. He laid an ambush for the army of Ilyas, and succeeded in dispersing it, though Ilyas is stated to have had a force of 30,000 men. As a result of this defeat, the chief adherent of Ilyas, Mohammad bin Hussain bin Mut, fled to Taraz, where he was put to death by the local chief, who was probably instructed by Nasr to this effect. Ilyas, though defeated, was able to renew his rebellion with the assistance of Abul Fazal bin Abu Yusuf, the governor of Shash. But, seeing later that he was too weak, fled to Kashgar and sought protection under Tugh-Tagin. After an unsuccessful invasion of Farghana Ilyas came to terms with Nasr who pardoned him and called him to Bukhara.

A strange anecdote concerning Hamuya and Hussain bin Ali :-

Hussain bin Ali, who, we saw, was involved in the rebellion of Mansur bin Ishaq in 916 A.D., was in prison at

* Ibn Isfandiyar contradicts this. He points out that Laili fled and escaped alive after the battle. When Laili reached Jurjan, he conspired with the Daylamite chiefs to behead Hasan bin Qasam, the Alid ruler of Tabristan. The plot however became known and Hasan bin Qasam marched upon Jurjan and executed all the conspirators. Laili however escaped and carried on plundering raids.

Bukhara for a long time. He was then released on the recommendation of a courtier and was given an appointment in the Palace. One day Nasr asked for some water to drink, and it was brought in a rude earthenware vessel. At this Hussain bin Ali remarked to Ali bin Hamuya, who was Superintendant of such affairs in the royal palace, "Your father is the Governor of Nishapur which is famous for pottery. Why does he not send some presents to the Royal Palace." Ali bin Hamuya replied, "He sent presents to the Palace such as you, Ahmad bin Sahl and Laili bin Numan." It is recorded that Hussain bin Ali was greatly shamed by this retort.

Nasr's expedition in Ray 925 A.D. :-

In 925 A.D., the slave of one Yusuf bin Ubes' Saj named Fanak rebelled against the Caliph Mukhtadar (907 - 32 A.D.) and seized Ray. The Caliph wrote to Nasr that as Ray was under his jurisdiction he should deal with the rebel. Accordingly Nasr advanced against him and at his approach Fanak fled. The Amir remained at Ray for two months and then entrusted the government of Ray to one Simjur, while he himself returned to Bukhara. Soon afterwards Nasr recalled Simjur and appointed Mohammad bin Sal'uk in his place, and he ruled there until 928 A.D. when his health failed. He gave over the government of Ray to Hasan bin Qasam Da'i and shortly after died at Damghan.

Occupation of Ray by Asfar bin Shiruya 929 A.D. :-

Differing from this account, Ibn Isfandiyar says that the Samanid governor, Mohammad bin Sal'uk, was attacked and consequently

expelled from Ray by Hasan bin Qasam and Makan bin Kaki, the famous general of this Alid ruler who had played an important part here. Another adventurer, Asfar bin Shiruya, hearing of the absence of Da'i, occupied Tabristan and Jurjan and finally annexed Ray. He read the Khutba in the name of the Samanid, Nasr II, to make his conquest valid. The reign of Asfar, which will be discussed in the Ziyarid dynasty was however disastrous. The Caliph, suspecting him of treachery, and exasperated by this, Asfar openly set at naught the Samanid authority. Nasr's envoy sent to warn him was treated with contempt. In 929 A.D. Nasr left Bukhara and came to Nishapur on his way to Tabristan, and for administrative reasons ~~he~~ remained at Nishapur for a short time. Asfar began to make warlike preparations, but his minister, Matruff bin Mohammad Jurjani, advised him to compromise and an envoy was sent to effect a truce. Nasr, also disinclined for war, made peace, and entrusted the province of Tabristan and Jurjan, including Ray, to Asfar on condition that he paid tribute. Nasr then returned to Bukhara.

Rebellion in Bukhara 930 A.D. :-

Nasr had imprisoned his three brothers Yahya, Mansur and Ibrahim, in Bukhara, owing to his suspicions because of their ambitious schemes. During Nasr's absence in Nishapur, with the assistance of a baker, Abu Bekr bin Ummee'ul Akhbar, they concocted a plot against Nasr. Intriguing with the malcontents of Bukhara, they induced the garrison of the citadel to liberate them, and

and on their release they proclaimed Yahya as Amir, and he placed one Abu Bekr in command of his forces. According to Ibnu'l Athir, the muninous element in Nasr's army consisted of the Daylamite soldiers and Shi'ites. In order to avenge the defeat and death of Hussain bin Ali Murwazi, whose rebellion has been narrated above, his son joined Abu Bekr. Yahya now sent Abu Bekr at the head of an army to guard the river Oxus and to watch Nasr's forces which were reported to be on the march back from Nishapur to Bukhara to quell the rebellion.

At this time Nasr's Vizier Bal'ami was carrying on secret negotiations with the son of Hussain bin Ali Murwazi, with the result that he handed over Abu Bekr to Nasr's army. When Nasr reached Bukhara Abu Bekr was flogged to death but the influence that he had exerted on the popular imagination is shown by a legend that his body had been thrown into a red hot oven and had escaped destruction. Yahya fled to Samarqand, from thence to Balkhand finally to Bagdad where he died. Later, when order was restored in the country, the governorship of Khurasan was given to the Amir of Saghaniya, Abu Bekr Mohammad bin Muzzaffar.

Era of peace 930 - 38 A.D. :-

After these events followed an era of peace in which some minor revolts occurred, but on the whole was the golden age of the dynasty. Probably when Prof. E. Browne remarked "In 913 A.D., Nasr succeeded to the Samanid throne and in his long reign the power and the splendour of that illustrious house reached their zenith and Rudki, the first great Persian poet was at the height of

his renown and popularity" he was referring to this period. The interest of the period centres around the Vizier Jayhani and Bal'ami, who effected various reforms and in other ways helped to usher in an era of glory and popularity.

The administration of Abul Fazal al Bal'ami :-

It was about this time that Abul Fazal Mohammad bin Ubaydallah Bal'ami was raised to the dignity of the viziership. The origin of the name of Bal'ami appears to have been derived from the village of Ballama near Merv. The family is said to have been of Arab extraction and to have belonged to the tribe of Bani Tawim. The two Bal'amis should be carefully distinguished from each other. The ^{*}father Abul Fazal Bal'ami is wrongly described by various authors as the vizier of the Samanid Ismail. In reality he was the Vizier of Nasr II, and the successor of his first minister, Jayhani. We do not know in what year he entered office. The release of the rebel Hussain bin Ali, who had been defeated and taken prisoner in 918 A.D., is attributed to Jayhani by Ibnu'l Athir. On the other hand a poem by Hussain is given by Tha'alibi in which the poet thanks the Vizier Bal'ami for his release. His administration is remarkable for ushering in the era of peace and prosperity. He is considered to have been one of the most famous ministers of the Samanids. According to Samani, Abul Fazal Bal'ami was deprived of his office in 937-38 A.D. and died on the 14th November 940 A.D.

* Abul Fazal's son Abu Ali Mohammad Bal'ami was a minister of the Samanid Amir Abdul Malik (954-61 A.D.) and Mansur (961-976 A.D.).

The ministry of Abu Ali Jayhani 939 A.D. :-

Abul Fazal Bal'ami was succeeded by Abu Ali Jayhani in the office of Vizier, Abu Ali was the son of Abu Abdullah Mohammad bin Ahmad Jayhani, the first minister who acted as regent during Nasr's minority. According to Gardizi, the transfer of authority from Bal'ami to Abu Ali Jayhani was connected with a disturbance in the normal course of public life. Jayhani died in 941 - 42 A.D., and the author of the "Fihrist" accuses him of leanings towards Shiaism.

The Shi'ite propaganda 940 A.D. :-

After the establishment of the Fatamid Caliphate at the beginning of the tenth century A.D., Fatamid missionaries came to Khurasan and Transoxania, where they succeeded in making a large number of converts. Very many leading people, including the local Dihqans, the Chief Hajib Aytash, the private Secretary (Dahir'i Khas) Abu Bekr bin Abu Ash'ath, the paymaster (Arid) Abu Mansur Chaghani, the Rais of Bukhara, and the Chairman of the Finance department (Sahib'i Kharaj) and the ruler of Ilaq Hussain Malik, whose state was a continuation of Shash in the Jaxartes provinces, together with other grandees and aristocrats were converted. Hussain bin Ali Murwazi was a Shia and his successor, Mohammad bin Ahmad, was also a staunch support of Shiaism. Many were carried away by the rising tide of heresy which swept the land.

Through the influence of these nobles the Amir (i.e. Nasr)

became a Shia. According to the "Fihrist" Nasr paid the sum of 119,000 dinars (£ 59,500) as the fine for the death of Hussain bin Ali Murwazi to the Fatamid Caliph Qaim (934 - 46 A.D.) The Orthodox Muslims, disgusted with Nasr's Shia proclivities, turned to their allies, the Turkish guard and demanded the removal of their grievances. The Turks offered the throne to the "Sipahsalar" (Chief Commandant), the plan of the conspiracy being that the Sipahsalar should set out ostensibly on an expedition to Balasaghun, near modern Kashgar, the Capital of the Khans of Turkestan, in the Jaxartes province. Then he was to summon all the military leaders to a feast, win them over to his side, and persuade them to take the oath of allegiance to an official whose name is not recorded. It is difficult to determine which of the officers is meant here, probably it was either the governor of Khurasan or Aytash, who was the Commander of the guards.

The plot was discovered by Nasr's son Nuh. The Amir cunningly called the ringleader of the conspiracy into his presence and executed him. Nasr, accompanied by his son appeared at the day of the feast and declared that he knew about the plot and throwing the head of the executed man before the conspirators abdicated in favour of Nuh, who professed the orthodox faith. The Turks were compelled to submit.

* According to Nizam^u'l Mulk, Nuh ordered his father to be put in chains and taken to the citadel. This statement seems to be unfounded.

The revolution of 942 A.D. :-

Regarding this revolution of 942 A.D. we do not know who presided over the bureau of administration at the time of revolution, nor is it clear what part the Vizier played in these events. It is certain however that Shiaism was congenial to the minds of the Khurasanians and afforded them an opportunity of showing their love of the house of Ali.

The end of Nasr :-

Persian historians do not mention that Nasr was a heretic. They either tacitly ignore this fact or designedly conceal it as impairing the prestige of the Samanids, the great national dynasty of Persia. Similarly we find strange contradictions about Nasr's death. According to Mirkhond, Gardizi, Hamad Ullah, and Khwandami Nasr was smitten with palsy (tuberculosis of the lungs) and while he was suffering from this disease he constructed a cell which he called the "House of Prayer" before the entrance of his palace. Here the great Amir used to pass his time in acts of devotion to his Maker. Though these authors do not explicitly say that Nasr abdicated, there is evidence that his powers were transferred to his son.

Some sources however state that Nasr was assassinated by Mamalukes. Probably those authorities who assert that he died a violent death have confused his fate with that of his father, *

According to Utbi, Nasr died on the 6th April 943 A.D.

* Vide Hamad Ullah, who places Nasr's death on 31st May 942 A.D. which probably may be the date of his abdication rather than of his death.

The character of Nasr :-

In spite of Nasr's extreme youth at the time of his accession, he tried to preserve peace in the country and laboured to promote the welfare of his subjects. According to some historians Nasr had an irritable temper, and knowing it, gave orders that his commands relating to severe punishments should only be executed after an expiry of three days from the date on which he had pronounced sentence. Also three selected persons were allowed to intercede in those cases in which Amir's wrath had prejudiced his judgement.

Nasr's rule appears to have been very just despite the irritability of his temper and occasional acts of severity. Mirkhond records anecdotes of the mildness of Nasr at the time of the rebellion of his brothers against him. It was reported to the Amir that they had converted huge sums of money to their own use from the state treasury and that it could be recovered if they were arrested. Nasr replied that whether they had obtained the money by fair means or foul it was in their possession and it would be useless to criticise them now. According to the same author, piety, liberality, beneficence and justice were the noteworthy features of this ruler.

Hamad Ullah relates another anecdote concerning the exceptional kindness of Nasr. He says that Nasr while inspecting the army saw a well built youth in the ranks, and asked him his name, on which he replied ^{Ahmad and related} that he was connected with the Safarids.

On the daring reply the Amir honoured him by entrusting him with the government of a small principality and gave him one of his relations in marriage.

Viewed from one aspect Nasr's reign, which lasted for nearly thirty years, was the golden age of the Samanids. His court abounded with literary stars, whom he treated with exceptional generosity. Rudaki, who flourished in his reign, is reckoned to be the first great Persian poet. He is so much extolled by literary critics that he is described as "Peerless among the Arabs and Persians". Nasr patronised him so lavishly that Rudaki is said to have possessed 300 slaves, while 100 camels were required to transport his baggage. Prof. E. Browne dwelling on the development of modern Persian literature has remarked, "All that can be safely asserted is that modern Persian literature, especially poetry, had begun to flourish considerably in Khurasan, during the first half of the tenth century, especially during the reign of Nasr II, and thus covers a period of nearly a thousand years during which time the language has changed considerably."

Either by the splendour of his reign or by ushering in an era of Persian renaissance, Nasr is called "Amir'i Sa'id" (The Benign Amir) by the historians.

Chapter XIV. Chronicle.

Nuh bin Nasr II or Nuh I (943-54 A.D.)

Accession of Nuh and presecution of the Shi'ites 943 A.D. :-

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Nuh, who had practically been in power since the revolution of 942 A.D., formally ascended the throne in 943 A.D. after the customary three days mourning of his father. No sooner had he seated himself than he began a crusade against the infidel Shias at home. Their property was confiscated and given over to the orthodox. A sort of massacre of the heretics took place in Transoxania and Khurasan beginning with the aristocratic converts. Ibnu' Athir mentions that Mohammad bin Ahmad Nakhshabi, the successor of Hussain bin Murwazi, who was the chief Shi'ite missionary in Transoxania, was executed.

The ministry of the Vizier Abu Fazal Mohammad bin Ahmad Sulami :-

In 943 A.D., Abu Fazal Mohammad bin Ahmad As'Sulami, a leading Qazi was raised to the dignity of the Viziership. He was extremely pious and spent most of his time in devotions and prayers, fasting on Mondays and Thursdays, and in writing theological books, and neglected the affairs of the state. As a result of this neglect he failed to restore order and obtain respect for the crown and the usual chaos which occurred at Nasr's death continued.

* According to Mirkhond Nasr II during his life-time had nominated his eldest son Ismail as heir apparent but he predeceased his father. In 943 A.D., after the death of Nasr, the nobles of the state elected Nuh to the throne, as being both the eldest and as already exercising the chief power.

Flight of Ahmad bin Hamuya 943 A.D. :-

At the beginning of Nuh's reign Abul Fazal Ahmad bin Hamuya fled. Probably this man was the son of famous general Hamuya bin Ali, who had loyally served the cause of Nasr II in the various expeditions entrusted to him. Ahmad bin Hamuya had been a supporter of Ismail, the eldest son of Nasr, and Nuh had therefore distrusted him. It is said that Nasr II warned Hamuya against Nuh. According to Gardizi, Hamuya hid himself by Amu Darya, on the other side of the Oxus, and later, when Nuh came to Merv, his soldiers caught him. He was brought to the royal presence and pardoned. Mirkhond states that Hamuya was then given the government of Samarqand.

Earthquake in Nasa 943 A.D. :-

According to Gardizi, during the reign of Nuh I, there was an earthquake at Nasa, in a broad valley of Khurasan now known as Darrah Gaz. Several of the houses were destroyed and it is calculated that more than five thousand people perished in the disaster.

Rebellion of Ruknu'd Dawla, the Buyid, in Ray 944 A.D. :-

In 944 A.D., Nuh sent Abu Ali bin Muhtaj, the governor of Khurasan, to Ray, to oppose the designs of Ruknu'd Dawla, the Buyid, who had taken possession of that part of the country. Abu Ali marched on Ray and at the same time Washamgir bin Ziyar, who had succeeded his brother Mardawij as governor of Jurjan, being expelled from that country by Hasan bin Firuzan, the father-in-law of Ruknu'd Dawla, came to Nuh I and begged for assistance,

Washamgir met with a cordial reception and Nuh entrusted the task of the subjugation of Jurjan also to abu Ali. Abu Ali attacked Ruknu'd Dawla with a large army but he was defeated and had to return to Nishapur for reinforcements.

Abu Ali was there joined by Washamgir and fresh forces sent by Nuh, and with this new army suddenly descended on Tabristan, drove out Hasan bin Firuzan, and placed Washamgir again on the throne at Jurjan. Abu Ali now attacked Ray a second time and inflicted a crushing defeat on Ruknu'd Dawla, who fled. Abu Ali then occupied Ray and its neighbourhood.

Fall of Abu Ali from favour 945 A.D. :-

In 945 A.D., after the restoration of peace in Ray, Abu Ali was deposed from the governorship of Khurasan. According to Mirkhond the cause of his deposition was due to the inhabitants of Khurasan complaining to Nuh of his misgovernment. Miskawaihi assigns the deposition of Abu Ali to the following incident :-

After Abu Ali was defeated by Ruknu'd Dawla in his first expedition and had received fresh reinforcements from Nuh, Ruknu'd Dawla hearing of his increased power, asked his brother Imadu'd Dawla who had become the master of Fars, for help. Imadu'd Dawla advised him to let the imperial army of Nuh pass unmolested through Ray. When Abu Ali's army entered Ray, Imadu'd Dawla suggested to Nuh that Ray was an insignificant principality and that all causes of dispute between the Buyids and Samanids would be removed if Nuh would give them the right to farm the revenues of Ray and its dependency for ten years for the sums agreed between Imadu'd Dawla

and Abu Ali, with an additional 100,000 dinars for each year, one year to be paid in advance.

On receiving this communication Nuh, who was dissatisfied with the generalship of Abu Ali, thought it wise to agree to the terms that were offered, and accordingly he sent one of his courtiers, Ali bin Musa, known as "Zarrar", to Imadu'd Dawla for the signing of the proposed contract. But Imadu'd Dawla on Zarrar's arrival, though he received him with honour, refused to pay any heed to the message. Nuh, having sent Zarrar and counting on an alliance with the Buyids, arrested Abu Ali's brothers and killed some of them. This highly offended Abu Ali, and disgusted with Nuh's government, sought an alliance with Imadu'd Dawla. The latter, pleased at having fomented discord assured Abu Ali of his friendship. Meanwhile Abu Ali set out to place Ibrahim, Nuh's uncle on the throne.

Revolt of Abu Ali 945 A.D. :-

Differing from this account, Mirkhond ascribes the rebellion of Abu Ali as due to the appointment of an Arid (Paymaster) who was a bitter enemy of Abu Ali and who, on taking charge of his office, dismissed the partisans of Abu Ali and withheld their pay. Khwandamir has ascribed it to the confiscation of Abu Ali's property in Ray and the appointment of an official (whose name is not mentioned) to execute this order. It appears that the appointment of Ibrahim bin Simjur, the leader of the *irritated Abu ali who was not willing to give up Khurasan* Turkish guard, to the governorship of Khurasan without a struggle. At any rate in 945 A.D. Abu Ali rebelled and sought as an ally

Ibrahim bin Ahmad, Nuh's uncle. He found him in the service of the Hamdanite prince, Nasru'd Dawla, at Mosul. Ibrahim accepted his invitation and joined him with 90 followers, near Hamadan. Abu Ali wished to place Ibrahim on the throne of Bukhara and gave him his allegiance. Nuh was unable to raise an army to oppose them, for the pay of his soldiers was in arrears and pecuniary difficulties had necessitated increased taxes, which, according to one account, were levied in advance as a loan which was never repaid. People were openly murmuring against Nuh's mismanagement of public affairs and to add to Nuh's difficulties, his Vizier was hated by the army who demanded his being handed over to them as they regarded him as responsible for the withholding of their pay. They succeeded in convincing Nuh of his complicity in Abu Ali's plot and Nuh, in despair, acceded to their request and the unfortunate Vizier was murdered by the soldiers, and thus gained the title of "Hakimu'sh Shahid" or the "Martyr Minister". On the same grounds of cherishing treasonable designs Nuh's/soldiers beat Ahmad bin Hamuya to death in 946 A.D.

Nuh's flight to Samargand 947 A.D. :-

Nuh wanted to proceed to Khurasan, where Abu Ali was in revolt, but a large part of Nuh's army deserted to the latter. In the meantime Abu Ali had entered into relations with dissatisfied nobles of the court and was successful in winning a

* According to Sam'ani, a detachment of soldiers was sent by Nuh to protect the Vizier, but they could not withstand an onslaught of mutinous troops, who murdered the Vizier.

considerable number of them to his side. Nuh, with an army which followed him half heartedly, marched towards Merv to give battle to Abu Ali, but realising the futility of this, avoided an engagement, and returned to ^{*}Bukhara. Ibrahim and Abu Ali pursued him and took Bukhara without meeting with any resistance while Nuh fled to Samarqand.

Ibrahim bin Ahmad is raised to the sovereignty, 947 A.D. :-

Entering Bukhara, Abu Ali raised Ibrahim, Nuh's uncle, to the throne and proclaimed him Amir and had the Khutba read in his name. Hostilities soon arose between Ibrahim and Abu Ali, however, and it was rumoured that the former attempted the life of the latter, a fact which has been noted by historians without entering into any details. It appears, however, that Abu Ali thought it wise to leave the country because of the undisguised hostility of the people. Under pretext of marching on Samarqand he made his way towards Turkestan. The rule of Ibrahim had lasted two months (January - March, 947 A.D.). Miskawaihi attributes the departure of Abu Ali to the following incident :-

Certain men who were jealous of Abu Ali, suggested that he was merely using Ibrahim as an instrument to get control of Khurasan and that he would later treat him in the same way as he had treated Nuh. On this Ibrahim liberated Qaratagin and Simjur

* Miskawaihi, differing from this account, speaks of Nuh's march on Nishapur at the head of a large army, where he met the forces of Abu Ali and gave battle to the latter. In this battle Nuh's army was routed, and Ibrahim bin Simjur, who had been appointed to the governorship of Khurasan, was taken prisoner with Nuh's general Qaratagin. Having suffered a ^{complete} defeat, Nuh retired to Samarqand. Abu Ali occupied Bukhara where he placed Ibrahim on the throne and proclaimed him Amir.

both of them, who, as we saw on last page had been taken prisoners and loaded ^{both of them} with honours. Abu Ali knowing that he was disliked by the nobles of Bukhara, took a hint from this and deserted Ibrahim.

Nuh is called back to Bukhara, 947 A.D. :-

Ibrahim, realising the weakness of his position, and being afraid of the hostility of the inhabitants of Bukhara, who regarded him as an usurper, was forced to submit to the demands of the nobles, who wished to recall Nuh. Accordingt an ^{*} invitation was sent to Nuh to come to Bukhara and on his arrival it was agreed that the sovereignty should return to Nuh, while the command of the army should be entrusted to Ibrahim, and that both should unite against Abu Ali. Accordingly they set out to defeat him.

Abu Ali's entry in Bukhara, a second time 947 A.D. :-

The combined efforts of Nuh and Ibrahim however proved unsuccessful, and they were not only repulsed but driven back to Bukhara which Abu Ali took and would have liked to burn, but was prevented by the intervention of the nobles. Abu Ali now raised Abu Jaffar Mohammad, a brother of Nuh, to the throne. The rule of Abu Jaffar lasted but a few weeks as the nobles of Bukhara and some of the army leaders made overtures to Nuh, who had fled after hid defeat, promising him their support.

Abu Ali, realising Nuh's influence in his capital,

* Miskawaihi differs in his account and notes that Ibrahim and Abu Ali encamped in the vicinity of Bukhara in a place called "Registan" and gave battle to Nuh on his advance towards the Capital. The army of Nuh enter-ed the enemy's camp in disguise at night. The Daylamites who were with Ibrahim deserted to Nuh. Abu Ali was routed and Ibrahim captured.

thought, it wise to retire and accordingly went back to his native country, Chaganiyan. Nuh returned to Bukhara, where he was proclaimed Amir again, Abu Jaffar coming out to meet him and apologising. This time Nuh used drastic measures to restore order. He had his uncle Ibrahim blinded and a similar fate befell his brother and one of the Hajibs, who was suspected of treachery, was executed.

Gardizi's account of the rebellion of Abu Ali :-

Gardizi corroborates the first victory of Abu Ali and Ibrahim in January, 947 A.D., but not the second conquest of Bukhara as narrated by Mirkhond and Ibnu'l Athir. Gardizi's account is very confused, while Mirkhond's version appears more exact and is corroborated by Khwandamir.

The appointment of Mansur bin Qaratagin to the governorship of Khurasan January, 948 A.D. :-

In January or February, 948 A.D., Nuh appointed Mansur bin Qaratagin, the head of the house of Isfijab (the province of Isfijab lay to the north of Shash, stretching from the east of Jaxartes) governor of Khurasan in recognition of his loyalty in the recent troubles. It is probable that Ibrahim bin Simjur, who had been appointed governor of Khurasan in 945 A.D., had died and Nuh could find no better man than Qaratagin.

Qaratagin undertakes a campaign in Jurjan 948 A.D. :-

In 948 A.D. Washamgir bin Ziyar, ruler of Tabristan, who recognised Nuh as his overlord, was driven out of Jurjan by Hasan bin Firuzan and came to Nishapur to ask for help from Qaratagin. Qaratagin with an army of 30,000 horsemen marched on

Tabristan and Hasan bin Firuzan fled to Larijan and then took refuge in the castle of Kachin in the district of Astrabad. Later on he escaped to Daylam and Qaratagin was able to re-establish Washangir in Tabristan, and then returned to Khurasan after his victory.

Nuh undertakes an expedition against Abu Ali 948 A.D. :-

Abu Ali was still unsubdued and in concealment in Balkh, so Nuh prepared an army to attack him. Abu Ali had formed alliances with the local chiefs of Khurasan and Transoxania (e.g. the Amir of Siminjan and Khuttal). At the end of 948 A.D. the Bukharian army marched to Chaghaniyan, Abu Ali's headquarters, and it easily fell into their hands. The Imperial army committed many excesses in Chaghaniyan, destroying houses and setting fire to part of the city. Abu Ali retaliated by obstructing the retirement of the Samanid army to Bukhara to such an extent that Nuh agreed to make peace with him. Abu Ali sent his son Abul Muzaffar Abdullah as a hostage to Bukhara where he was honourably received, the city being decorated for his reception.

The appearance of "Mehdi" 950 A.D. :-

Gardizi records that in the neighbourhood of Chaghaniyan a man had arisen some time after 923 A.D. who preached heretical doctrines and proclaimed himself the "Mehdi" or 'Saviour' and obtained a number of followers. Several attempts were made to seize him but for a long time he eluded capture. This imposter sought to establish his authority by force of arms. Through his miracles he attained very considerable fame. After Nuh's reconciliation with Abu Ali, he wrote asking Abu Ali to suppress

this anti-Muslim movement. Abu Ali sent his captain Talha Jaffar bin Murdanshah to deal with the Mehdi who was caught in a mountain cave, executed, and his head was sent to Bukhara.

Mansur bin Qaratagin's campaign against Ruknu'd Dawla 950 A.D. :-

In 949 A.D. Ruknu'd Dawla the Buyid, having assembled an army in Fars, joined his father-in-law Hasan bin Firuzan, and the joint forces invaded Jurjan where they defeated Washamgir, who again fled to Khurasan to procure assistance. After the victory Ruknu'd Dawla returned to Shiraz, the capital of Fars, which had fallen under the sway of the Buyids. Mansur bin Qaratagin, governor of Khurasan, invaded Ray, the capital of Jibal province, where Ruknu'd Dawla had established himself in 950 A.D. Ali bin Kama, the governor of Ruknu'd Dawla in Ray, was so terrified at the approach of the Samanid army that he fled to Isfahan and Qaratagin completed the conquest of Ray. Ruknu'd Dawla's brother Muizu'd Dawla, who was mayor of Bagdad at this time, was preparing an army to send against Qaratagin when suddenly Qaratagin died in Ray at the beginning of 951 A.D.

Abu Ali is appointed to the governorship of Khurasan 951 A.D. :-

After the death of Mansur bin Qaratagin, Nuh appointed Abu Ali to the government of Khurasan. He took charge at the end of 951 A.D., leaving the government of Tirmidh and Chaganiyan to his son Abu Mansur Nasr. Abu Ali is said to have restored order in the province, where chaos had ensued on Qaratagin's death as was usual in these times.

Abu Ali undertakes a war against the Buyids 952 A.D. :-

In 952 A.D. Nuh ordered Abu Ali to go on with Qaratagin's expedition for the recovery of Jurjan for Washamgir which Abu Ali, joined by Washamgir, attacked Ray and Ruknu'd Dawla shut himself up in the fortress of Tabarik near Ray, which Abu Ali beseiged until winter set in. Both armies were war weary and reduced in numbers owing to the inclement weather. * Abdur Rahman, the treasurer, who was a scholar and the author of a prolific mathematical treatises, acted as intermediary and peace was made between the opponents on the condition that Raknu'd Dawla should pay 200,000 dinars annually to the central government of Bukhara. Abu Ali abandoned the seige and returned to Khurasan. This naturally highly offended Washamgir, who sent a letter to Nuh telling him of the cordial relations between Abu Ali and Ruknu'd Dawla and pointed out to the Amir that Abu Ali had given up the siege on the eve of victory.

Abu Ali incurs Nuh's displeasure :-

When Nuh heard this, his wrath knew no bounds. He immediately deposed Abu Ali from the governorship of Khurasan and appointed Abu Sa'id Bakr bin Malik Farghani in his place. Abu Ali wrote to Nuh asserting his innocence but Nuh paid no heed to it. Seeing no other course, Abu Ali entered into negotiations with Ruknu'd Dawla and when he visited Ray he was given a brilliant reception by that Buyid chief. The latter admitted hin into his army, and, at Abu Ali's request, wrote to his brother Muizu'd Dawla, who held the office of "Amiru'l Umra" (Premier noble) in Bagdad,

* According to Miskawaihi, Abu Jaffar the treasurer acted as an intermediary for truce.

to approach the Caliph, and, if possible, to persuade him to reappoint Abu Ali to Khurasan. While these events were happening Nuh died.

Character of Nuh :-

With the ascension of Nuh the decline of the Samanid dynasty became evident: the whole of his reign was spent in a prolonged struggle to maintain his position. He was a weak and incompetent ruler. Poets complained that his tax-officials demanded exorbitant taxes at a time when ordinary taxes could not be met, and that the people were groaning under the oppressive measures of the government. The evacuation of Bukhara by Nuh and his surrender to Abu Ali clearly show his cowardly disposition, and the continual murmur of the army was one indication of his deplorable misgovernment. There seem to have been no extenuating circumstances in his favour. Nuh received the title of Amir'i Hamid (The Laudable Prince) but proved quite unworthy of it. He died in August 954 A.D.

The death of Abu Ali and Nuh's Death 954 A.D. :-

After bin Malik's appointment as governor of Khurasan, it was clear that Abu Ali could neither return to his native country, Ghazni, nor yet march on Khurasan. Even with the assistance of the David Salim's Dala, by whose authority Abu Ali had been invested with the government of Khurasan by the Caliph, he was

* In some sources Nuh is said to have had five sons, the addition of Mansur as fifth being made.

Abdul Malik I bin Nuh (954-61 A.D.)

Accession of Abdul Malik 954 A.D. :-

Nuh, according to Gardizi left ^{*} four sons Abdul Malik, Ahmad, Nasr and Abdul Aziz, all of whom were nominated as heirs successively to the throne, in imitation of the Caliphs of Bagdad. After the death of Nuh, Bekr bin Malik, whom Nuh had appointed to the governorship of Khurasan and who was still at Bukhara seated Abdul Malik, the eldest son on the throne. Abdul Malik taking the title of "Abul Fawaris" or 'The Chivalrous', ascended the throne in 954 A.D.

The deposition of Abu Ali bin Muhtaj confirmed :-

Abdul Malik confirmed Bekr in the governorship of Khurasan and put into force his father's order for the deposition of Abu Ali bin Muhtaj. As soon as the new Amir was safely in the saddle, Bekr went to Khurasan and took charge of that province in 954 A.D., the year in which pestilence broke out in Khurasan and Quhistan.

War with Abu Ali and Ruknu'd Dawla 955 A.D. :-

Bekr bin Malik's appointment as governor of Khurasan meant that Abu Ali could neither return to his native country Chaghaniyan, nor yet march on Khurasan. Even with the assistance of the Buyid Muizu'd Dawla, by whose authority Abu Ali had been invested with the government of Khurasan by the Caliph, he was

* In some sources Nuh is said to have had five sons, the addition of Mansur as fifth being made.

unable to overcome the hostile forces of the Samadids. In 955 A.D. Bekr marched from Khurasan with a large army towards Ray, the headquarters of Ruknu'd Dawla, with whom Abu Ali had an offensive and defensive alliance. Ruknu'd Dawla asked his brother Muizu'd Dawla for help and received a force from Bagdad under his Hajib, Sabukatgin. Bekr now thought of marching on Isfahan, which had been conquered by the Buyids, and was ruled by Abu Mansur, a son of Ruknu'd Dawla. At the approach of Mohammad bin Makan, one of Bekr's captains Abu Mansur left Isfahan and fled to Ray to join his father, taking with him his father's treasures. Mohammad bin Makan pursued the Buyid prince and though Abu Mansur was joined by Ibnu'l Amid, Ruknu'd Dawla's vizier, the joint forces were defeated by the Samanid army, and Mohammad bin Makan captured the treasures. While the Khurasanians were engaged in plundering after the victory Ibnu'l Amid made a fresh attack and succeeded in turning the tables on them. Makan was taken prisoner and Isfahan was reoccupied by the Buyids.

Emboldened by this victory, Ruknu'd Dawla turned to Jurjan, but Bekr anticipated his design and with the help of reinforcements from Abdul Malik proved too strong to be attacked. Consequently Abu Ali and Ruknu'd Dawla fled to Tabristan, and sued for peace, which was effected on condition that Ruknu'd Dawla should pay 200,000 dinars in tribute to the Samanid ruler for Ray and the mountainous regions. One of the clauses in the treaty stipulated that the Buyids would not interfere with Washangir, the feudatory of the Samanids in Jurjan. Abu Ali never liked

this shameful peace. He was still considering his future action when he died of plague in Ray. His corpse was sent to Chaganiyan in either November or December, 955 A.D.

Murder of Bekr bin Malik 956 A.D. :-

Gardizi says that Bekr did not hold, the reins of government for long. His assassination according to his account was due to his contemptuous treatment of the guards, who had become very powerful in Abdul Malik's time. Bekr bin Malik was killed at the gates of the Amir's palace as he was going there for an audience. He is said to have been stabbed by Alaptagin, the Captain of the guards in December 956 A.D. and there is reason to believe that the Amir was an accomplice in this murder.

The deposition of the Vizier. :-

Bekr's murder was followed by the deposition of the Vizier, Abu Mansur Mohammad bin Uzayr, and Abu Jaffar Utbi was appointed in his place. In place of the assassinated governor of Khurasan, Abul Hasan Mohammad bin Ibrahim Simjur was appointed.

The domination of the "Mamelukes" :-

During the reign of Abdul Malik, the Turkish guards became very powerful. Their influence is evidenced by the fact that the captain of the guards was always attached to the person of the ruling prince as a close companion. It is said that Abdul Malik endeavoured unsuccessfully to free himself of their dominance. Ibnu'l Athir notes that Abdul Malik assassinated one of the leaders of the guards of high rank whose name is not mentioned in order to emancipate himself from their growing influence, but the only result of his action was an insurrection

of the people.

The administration of Abul Hasan bin Ibrahim Simjur in

Khurasan :-

The newly appointed governor of Khurasan, Abul Hasan bin Ibrahim Simjur, and the Vizier Utbi, proved incapable, and their oppressive measures incurred the displeasure of both the public and the Amir. Consequently they were deprived of their offices in 959 A.D. Gardizi states that Utbi, the Vizier, embezzled a great deal of money from the treasury and became wealthy and arrogant. In 959 A.D. Abu Mansur Yusuf bin Ishaq was appointed Vizier in Utbi's place, ^{while} / Abu Mansur Mohammad bin Abdur Razzaq was appointed governor of Khurasan. Gardizi speaks of Abdur Razzaq in the most glowing words as the most capable and just governor of Khurasan.

Appointment of Alaptagin as governor of Khurasan 961 A.D. :-

The just rule of Abdur Razzaq lasted nearly a year and a half, for in February 961 A.D. Khurasan was given to Alaptagin, the Commander-in-Chief of the ^guards. Alaptagin, who became the founder of the great Ghaznavid house later on, had great influence at Bukhara and his daily increasing power alarmed Abdul Malik, who thought to get rid of him by sending him to Khurasan, which he coveted. At Nishapur Alaptagin amassed great wealth and enlisted a great number of retainers, becoming stronger than his master. When he had consolidated his power, he persuaded the Amir to depose his Vizier, and appoint in his place Abu Ali Mohammad bin Mohammad Bal'ami. This Bal'ami was a tool of the military party and had formed a secret understanding with Alaptagin, to undermine the

Samanid power.

Death and character of Abdul Malik :-

In the midst of these events, Abdul Malik, engrossed in pleasures, died in November 961 A.D., by a fall from his horse while playing the Persian game of Gui Chougan (Polo). To Abdul Malik the Persian historians gave the title of "Moweed" or 'Confirmed' while he was alive and after his death they bestowed the title of "Mowafak" or 'Prosperous' on him. Mirkhond's opinion that Abdul Malik was one of the greatest of the Samanid dynasty, is hardly in accord with the facts. The signs of the approaching fall of the dynasty were already apparent from the rapid succession of officials, and the misgovernment of the land. The power of the Turkish slaves overshadowed that of the Amir.

Abdul Malik appears to have been an indolent ruler and to have preferred tortuous diplomacy to the use of more direct methods. The appointment of Alaptagin to Khurasan was one of his most foolish acts, the dire results of which became increasingly evident in the time of his descendants.

Chapter XV. Chronicle.

Abu Salieh Mansur I bin Nuh (961-76 A.D.)

Ascends the throne 961 A.D. :-

In 961 A.D., after the death of Abdul Malik, his brother Abu Salieh Mansur was raised to the throne by the nobles and the military party of Bukhara. Before Mansur's accession the minister Bal'ami wrote to Alaptagin about the appointment of Abdul Malik's successor. According to Gardizi, Alaptagin told Bal'ami to place Abdul Malik's son Nasr on the throne. He reigned only for a day, but Mirkhond and Hamad Ullah assert that Alaptagin's choice fell on Mansur's uncle and that he considered Mansur too young. Before Alaptagin's wishes were known, however, the nobles had elected Mansur.

The proclamation of Mansur as Amir greatly annoyed Alaptagin and it appeared to him that Bal'ami, the Vizier, with whom he was in alliance, had betrayed his confidence, since he supported the new government and the accession of Mansur.

Rebellion of Alaptagin, 961 A.D. :-

Offended at the action of the new government Alaptagin rebelled. Abu Mansur bin Abdur Razzaq, whom Alaptagin had made governor of Tus, was bought over by a promise from the Amir that in the event of Alaptagin's defeat he would be granted the governorship of Khurasan and was instructed by the Samanid government to capture Alaptagin before he crossed the Oxus as he had set out from

Nishapur. Abu Mansur bin Abdur Razzaq, whose army was mounted on camels, moved from Tus with intent to besiege Alaptagin. Letters had been sent from Bukhara to the officers of Alaptagin's army inciting them to desert. Alaptagin told his followers that behind them were death and imprisonment and the only course open to them was to cross and fight. Alaptagin now set fire to the camp and himself made his way to Balkh.

When Abu Mansur heard of Alaptagin's escape he sent another force to pursue him. According to Gardizi, though Alaptagin had but ^{*}700 men while the army of Bukhara consisted of 12,000, in the battle that ensued the Amir's army was defeated. After the victory Alaptagin went to Ghazna, in the heart of the mountains of Afghanistan, which he took and occupied, deposing the local ruler and founded a house known as the Ghaznavids, which will be discussed in its proper place.

Rebellion of Abu Mansur bin Abdur Razzaq 962 A.D. :-

According to Gardizi, Abu Mansur bin Abdur Razzaq on his return from his unsuccessful campaign against Alaptagin realised how insecure was the position of a civil governor under the Samanids, and decided that banditry would be more lucrative. He returned towards Merv with the idea of plundering it but failed to make an entry. Further, at the death of Amir of Nasa, who was a feudatory of the Samanids in the broad valley now known as Darrah Gaz, which lay under the jurisdiction of the governor of

* According to Mirkhond Alaptagin withdrew to Ghazna accompanied by three thousand of his own disciplined Turkish slaves, whom he had bought and trained to arms.

Khurasan in those days, Abu Mansur appropriated his inheritance and to shield himself from the Samanids he made overtures to Ruknu'd Dawla.

In 962 A.D. Abul Hasan Simjur was again appointed governor of Khurasan and was ordered by Bukhara government to proceed against Abu Mansur, which he did, reinforced though he was by Ruknu'd Dawla and managed to attack him from the rear. Abu Mansur had been poisoned by his ^{*}physician and could not stand, and his force was badly defeated. Deserted by his troops he was captured and beheaded.

The administration of Abul Hasan Simjur in Khurasan 962 A.D. :-

Gardizi notes that the administration of Abul Hasan Simjur was just and popular and that Khurasan prospered under his rule. He was a patron of men of letters and lavishly rewarded them. It appears that though he ruled Khurasan so oppressively in 957 A.D. entirely reversed his policy and his later conduct contrasts strikingly with his activities during the time of Abdul Malik. "In short, uprooting all the evil practices" says Gardizi, "he planted good customs and ways in the province". Gardizi does not mention explicitly what reforms he effected no doubt these included the suppression of the high handed ways of the tax collectors, and bribery.

Military operations in Ray and the war with the Buyids 967 A.D. :-

In 967 A.D., Abu Ali bin Ilyas, the ex-ruler of Kirman,

* Some authorities assert that Washamgir, the Ziyarid prince of Jurjan, who ruled under the vassalage of the Samanids, offered 1000 dinars of gold to John, the physician to poison Abu Mansur. The physician carried out this injunction on the day of the battle just before the commencement of hostilities.

came to Bukhara and begged Mansur I to help him against the Buyids, who had conquered Fars, and intended to bring Kirman under their sway, whence he had fled in terror. Already Washamgir had written letters from Jurjan to the central government of Bukhara pointing out that the lands of the Buyids might be annexed if the Amir would act with energy and promptitude. Mansur I sent some forces to Ray and directed Washamgir to get ready to join the Bukharan army, the command of which was entrusted to Abul Hasan Simjur.

While these preparations were being made in 968 A.D., Washamgir was killed by a bear during a hunt. This naturally delayed the expedition. Bihustan, the son and heir of Washamgir seems to have favoured the Buyids rather than the Samanid cause, for on a pretext of raising money for the army, he went to Tabristan. Here he entered into relations with Ruknu'd Dawla, and received robes of honour from that Buyid prince, together with the grant of Tabristan, Jurjan and Salus. The Buyid prince also conferred the title of "Zahiru'd Dawla" or 'The helper of the state' on Bihustan. Thus through Simjur's inaction, the Caspian provinces were lost to the Samanids for a time.

Gardizi further says that Mansur sent his generals Ushash bin Mohammad and Nasr bin Malik to Jurjan with an army by way of additional help. Abul Hasan Simjur on the arrival of these troops returned to Bukhara to attempt to dissipate the atmosphere of general distrust created by his somewhat futile efforts up to date. Here there is a break in Gardizi's narrative, but Mirkhond states that when Ruknu'd Dawla saw that Abul Hasan had marched on Ray he went to Isfahan and sent his son Adudu'd Dola to Khurasan which

had been left unprotected after Simjur's departure. It seems that nothing resulted from these wars and peace followed in due course.

Peace between Mansur and Ruknu'd Dawla 968 A.D. :-

About the ^{*}end of 968 A.D. peace was concluded between Ruknu'd Dawla and Mansur. The terms of the treaty were :-

(1) that the Buyids should pay 150,000 golden dinars annually to the Samanids for the province of Jibal (Media) with Ray as its capital along with the mountainous parts adjoining to Ray; (2) that the Buyids recognised the Samanids as their overlords; (3) that the hostilities between them should cease; (4) that the treaty should be cemented by the marriage of Adudu'd Dawla's daughter (i.e. the grand-daughter of Ruknu'd Dawla) to Mansur.

To give effect to the treaty Adudu'd Dawla sent Abid bin Ali with selected Sheiks and Grandees to Khurasan for the signing of the agreement. The Amir Mansur spent a vast sum of money on the entertainment of the deputation and sent valuable presents to Adudu'd Dawla and the marriage resulted in a reconciliation between him and her father.

Revolt in Herat: probably 969 A.D. :-

About 969 A.D. one Abu Ali bin Towaulki raised the standard of revolt in Herat. Unfortunately few details are extant. It is noted that Abu Ali had fortified himself in a fortress with a number of followers. Abul Hasan Simjur directed Abu Jaffar Zubari to besiege Abu Ali and the latter was soon obliged to capitulate and was brought as a captive to Nishapur.

* Miskawaihi attributes the treaty to 972 A.D.

Khalaf bin Ahmed seeks refuge with Mansur :-

The Samanid Amir Nasr (913-42 A.D.) had appointed Ahmad, a descendant of Yakub, the Safarid, as governor of Seistan and he was allowed to leave his post to his son Khalaf on his death. Khalaf bin Ahmad was connected with the Safarids through his mother Banu, who was the daughter of Amr bin Lais. In 965 A.D. Khalaf went on pilgrimage to Mecca and appointed Tahir bin Hussain Tamimi, one of his nearest relatives, as his deputy in Seistan. On Khalaf's return, Tahir declined to give up his post and forcibly prevented his admission to his capital. Khalaf thereupon went to Bukhara to implore the aid of Mansur.

Mansur gave such a large force to Khalaf that Tahir saw he could not face such odds. He therefore left the country and Khalaf was reinstated. But when Khalaf had returned the Samanid troops to Bukhara Tahir again returned and attacked Khalaf, who was defeated and had to flee. Khalaf went to Mansur for a second time to ask for help. Mansur gave him another army, but before this could reach Seistan, Tahir died and his son Hussain took his place who took refuge in a fortress of Seistan. During the siege that followed heavy losses took place. At last Hussain, weary of war sent, a messenger to Bukhara for an amnesty and offering his submission. Mansur thereupon ordered that none of Hussain's

* Gardizi says that Abu Jaffar Zubari, after the suppression of Abu Ali Mohammad Towaulki's rebellion in Herat, being disgusted with the Bukharan government, joined Hussain who was fighting against Khalaf. Very little credence can be placed on this narrative which abounds with inaccuracies especially in this passage, where a quite impossible date is given. Gardizi does not describe the effect of this battle. Mirkhond on the other hand notes that Khalaf aided by the Samanids, was able to suppress the rebellion. Further this victory revived the Safarid house in Seistan, which had been almost forgotten.

relatives should be permitted to interfere with his safety and that he should be sent direct to Bukhara. When Hussain reached Bukhara he was received kindly and taken into the Amir's service.

Mansur sends an army against Khalaf bin Ahmad :-

Towards the end of Mansur's reign, when Khalaf had securely established himself in Seistan, there was a delay in the payment of the yearly tribute to Bukhara. According to Utbi, these delays were deliberate and seditious. Mansur, annoyed at this occurrence, sent Hussain bin Tahir to march against Khalaf who shut himself in the fortress of Ark. The siege lasted for several years and Khalaf's submission was only given to Mansur's successor.

The succession of Viziers :-

According to Gardizi the office of the Viziership was held successively by Abul Hasan Simjur, Abu Jaffar Utbi, and Abu Ali Bal'ami, until Bal'ami's death in 974 A.D. Bal'ami was one of the ablest of the state officials and his literary career was remarkable; he translated Tabri's famous history into Persian. After his death the duties of the Vizier were discharged by Yusuf bin Ishaq, who survived his predecessor by only five months. When the latter died towards the end of Mansur's reign the vacancy was filled by Abu Abdullah Ahmad bin Mohammad Jayhani, son of Abu Ali Mohammad and grandson of Abu Abdullah Mohammad bin Ahmad.

Death and character of Mansur :-

According to Mirkhond, Mansur died in ^{*} March 976 A.D. after a reign

* Gardizi and Utbi give June.

of 15 years. He is described as an able ruler who endeavoured to restore the Samanid house to its former glory. The matrimonial alliances made with the Buyids further enhanced the statesmanship of this wise Amir whom Persian historians depict as a very popular ruler and every inch a Samanid.

By his wise policy Mansur was able to assert his authority over Ghazna. In 964 A.D. when Ishaq bin Ibrahim the successor of Alaptagin, was turned out of Ghazna by the local chief, he fled to Bukhara for help and it was only with Mansur's assistance that he was able to regain the throne of Ghazna. Ishaq recognised Mansur as his overlord and the coins that were minted in Ghazna bore the title of the Samanids on them. During his life Mansur was called "Moweed" or 'Confirmed' and after his death he was called "Sa'adid" or 'The prince whose abode is paradise!

Sinjur a noble and an heir of the State, he expected fidelity and loyalty from him: (2) that Sinjur would visit the capital at stated times; (3) and that a title was conferred on him to enhance his dignity. These honours show that Abul Hasan must have acquired great fame and strength when his obligations to his overlord were couched in such modest terms. Abul Hasan Sinjur was naturally pleased and treated the envoy very kindly. Abul Hasan Sinjur was appointed the title of the Viceroy 977 A.D.

Towards the end of 977 A.D. Abul Hasan Sinjur was appointed Viceroy called "A mirror of justice and equity" was appointed Viceroy. Ghaznavi says that there was no one who equalled him in wisdom.

Nuh (II) bin Mansur 976-997 A.D.

Nuh is proclaimed Amir 976 A.D. :-

After the death of his father Abul Qasim Nuh bin Mansur succeeded the throne at the age of thirteen. During his minority the administration was conducted by Abul Hasan Simjur, Abul Haris Mohammad bin Ahmad bin Furyagon, Tash "The Hajib", and Faiq "The Khasa" or 'Noble'. His mother sent Abu Abdullah bin Hufuz, the Commander of the Ghazis ("Warriors of the faith") as an envoy to Abul Hasan Simjur at Nishapur, to announce that the title of "Nasru'd Dawla" or 'The Defender of the State' had been conferred on Simjur and brought him robes of honour and at the same time confirmed him in the Governorship of Khurasan. In the message sent to Simjur, three things were noted (1) that as Nuh had made Abul Hasan Simjur a noble and an Amir of the State, he expected fidelity and loyalty from him: (2) that Simjur would visit the capital at stated times : (3) and that a title was conferred on him to enhance his dignity. These honours show that Abul Hasan must have acquired great fame and strength when his obligations to his overlord were couched in such modest terms. Abul Hasan Simjur was naturally pleased and treated the envoy very kindly.

Appointment of Abul Hasan Abdullah bin Ahmad Utbi in the office of the Vizier 977 A.D. :-

Towards the end of 977 A.D. Abul Hasan Abdullah bin Ahmad Utbi called "A mirror of justice and equity" was appointed Vizier. Khwandamir says that there was no one who equalled him in sagacity

and judgment. He was able to restore the power of the bureaucracy for a time and was successful in deposing Abul Hasan Simjur from the governorship of Khurasan. The Vizier appointed Abul Abbas Tash a slave of his father's in his place.

Deposition of Abul Hasan Simjur 981 A.D. :-

According to Hamad Ullah, the author of Tarikh'i Guzida, the deposition of Simjur was the result of a personal quarrel of this governor with Utbi. Before the nomination of Utbi to the Viziership, Nuh II consulted Abul Hasan Simjur on the appointment of Utbi in the office of Vizier, and he appears to have said that "Utbi was too young for the office" and advised Nuh II to appoint Jayhani instead. Utbi resented this advice of his and began to make notes of Simjur's misdeeds. At Utbi's instance, at the end of 981 A.D. a messenger was sent to Abul Hasan Simjur announcing his deposition. In the letter of dismissal, charges of repeated embezzlement and misappropriation of state funds were made, to which the latter replied, "You must consider me a curtain spread over the doorway of a forsaken and fallen building and it would be better if it were left hanging, for if it be lifted a spoilt and ugly face will appear".

Abul Hasan Simjur then assembled his troops and began to prepare for war. Utbi on receiving the news of Simjur's revolt regretted his action, but fortunately Simjur after some reflection, thought it advisable to accept the deposition and postpone his activities for a more suitable time. He then retired to Quhistan, the feudal territory of his family.

The Administration of Tash 982 A.D. :-

On the dismissal of Simjur, Tash, referred to above, came to Nishapur in 982 A.D. and remained there for a year. Tash was given the title of "Husamu'd Dawla" or 'Sword of the State'. According to Utbi, Tash on his arrival spread the carpet of justice and kindness for rich and poor alike. He introduced great reforms into the army, treasury and customs.

Unsuccessful expedition to Jurjan 982 A.D. :-

In 976 A.D. at the death of Ruknu'd Dawla, his two sons Adudu'd Dawla and Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla were in Fars, while his third son, Fakhru'd Dawla, was in Hamadan. Adudu'd Dawla, who had become the ruler of Media, Ahwaz and Khuzistan by 977 A.D. left his brother Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla the government of Fars. Both these brothers attacked Fakkru'd Dawla, who held Hamadan. Fakkru'd Dawla fled for refuge to Qabus bin Washamgir, the ruler of Jurjan who refused to surrender him and a war ensued in which Qabus was defeated at Astrabad. Qabus and Fakkru'd Dawla then went to Nishapur and placed themselves under the protection of the Samanid governor Tash, who was ordered by Utbi to help them to recover their provinces.

Accordingly Tash, having collected an army, marched on Jurjan and beseiged Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla for two months. Gardizi says that Adudu'd Dawla sent 7000 soldiers from Bagdad to the assistance of Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, 4000 of whom were to march one way while the remaining 3000 were to join them by another route. Ibn Isfandiyar narrates that the news of the death of Adudu'd Dawla reached Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla at this juncture, and the latter

bribed Faiq, the commander of the Samanid guard, to desert during the battle which was fought on the 21st March, 982 A.D.

According to Mirkhond, when the Khurasanian army was campaigning in Jurjan a great famine occurred and such a scarcity of rations arose that the army kneaded their corn with clay. Faiq who was ordered by Tash to march by the Kamus road towards Ray, to intercept the reinforcements coming to Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, having been bribed, delayed and eventually fled. Tash and Fakhru'd Dawla resisted for a time until the greater part of their army was broken and night approached. Then they retreated to Khurasan, philosophically chanting the verse of Quran, "He who hath saved his head surely he had gained."

Gardizi remarks that the Buyid army would have pursued the Khurasanians to their headquarters if the death of Adudu'd Dwala had not left them demoralized. The Persian authors describe this event as half mythical and ascribe the death of Adudu'd Dwala as a punishment for his rebellion against the Samanids.

The tidings of the defeat of Tash received in Bukhara :-

When Tash, Fakhru'd Dawla and Qabus returned to Nishapur they sent news of their defeat to Nuh II who promised to send them another army and the Vizier Utbi was appointed to conduct the operations in person. Utbi collected troops from Khurasan and Transoxāna, concentrating them at Merv, where he intended to join them. While he was thus preparing, however, he was assassinated. His murder made the Samanids give up the idea of taking vengeance on the Buyids. According to the historian Utbi,

his namesake and kinsman, the Vizier was the last in office worthy of fame, and with his death the office of Vizierate received its last seal. In the kingdom of Khurasan never had such an enlightened person seated himself on the cushion of justice.

Assassination of Utbi :-

Abul Hasan Simjur, who hated Utbi, plotted to depose him, and had taken Faiq into his confidence. Mirkhond says that when Nuh II became acquainted with the details of this plot he appointed a special guard to protect Utbi but some of the Turkish slaves treacherously murdered him. Gardizi on the other hand is of opinion that Nuh himself was an accomplice to this plot. Abul Hasan bin Mohammad Muzani was appointed in his place but proved quite incapable. Tash was called to Bukhara to which he probably came with the object of avenging his patron's assassination. On his arrival, however, he became reconciled with the ^{*}hostile party in order to maintain his own position. Abu Ali Simjur, son of Abul Hasan Simjur was appointed governor of Herat and Faiq governor of Balkh. The appointment of Abu Ali Simjur reconciled Nuh II to the father of the former.

Nuh II entrusts Abul Hasan Simjur with an army to subdue

Khalaf bin Ahmad in Seistan, 983 A.D. :-

Khalaf, the governor of Seistan, who aspired to independence, was still besieged by the Samanid army, referred to above (Page 243 of this chapter). Nuh decided to utilise the

* According to Mirkhond, Tash on his arrival in Bukhara severely punished the murderers of Utbi.

services of ^{*}Abul Hasan simjur to conduct the siege of the fortress Ark, in which Khalaf had shut himself up. Now Abul Hasan Simjur and Khalaf were great friends, so though ostensibly Abul Hasan besieged the fortress, secretly he sent Khalaf a message and prevailed upon him to retire and reserve his troops for a more favourable occasion, as it would be very difficult for him to stand a siege, saying that after the fortress fell, his return to Bukhara would give him a chance to reconsolidate his position. Accordingly Khalaf evacuated ^{Ark} and occupied the strong fortress of Taq instead. Thus Simjur was able to bring about the conquest of Ark, where he had the Khutba read in the name of Nuh II. Internal disputes prevented the Samanids from undertaking further action against Khalaf and it is possible that Khalaf apologised and came to terms with Nuh II.

Abul Hasan Simjur allies himself with Faiq :-

In 983 A.D. after the operations against Khalaf, which did not meet with the entire approval of Nuh II, Abul Hasan Simjur making a feint on Khurasan without permission from Nuh II, joined Faiq in Balkh, where they hastily collected an army and marched into Khurasan, taking advantage of Tash's absence at Bukhara.

The episodes in this rebellion have been variously described. Some authorities say that after Tash had left for

* Some authors have attributed the conquest of Ark to Abu Ali Simjur (son of Abul Hasan Simjur). According to Utbi, when the siege became hopeless Nuh, thinking Abul Hasan Simjur inefficient, called him back and appointed Tash in his place. According to Mirkhond the siege lasted seven years (976-83) A.D.

*

Bukhara Abu Ali Simjur wrote to Faiq, and, seeing Nishapur without a governor, occupied it and took prisoner Tash's officials and punished them severely. Others say after an alliance between Abul Hasan Simjur and Faiq had been made, in which each swore fidelity to the other, Abul Hasan Simjur rebelled, and proceeded to Merv: Tash marched from Bukhara with a huge army to oppose him but through the intervention of Muzani, the Vizier, peace was made, and the province of Khurasan was divided. Tash was to retain the title of "Sipahsalar" (Viceroy) of Khurasan with his headquarters at Nishapur while Balkh was to revert to Faiq and Herat and Quihistan to Abu Ali Simjur.

Deposition of Tash 986 A.D. :-

It appears that on Tash's return to Nishapur in 983 A.D. Nuh II ⁺ deprived Muzani, his Vizier of his office and appointed Abdur Rahaman bin Ahmad Ul Farsi in his stead. In 986 A.D. Ul Farsi was replaced by Abdullah bin Uzayr (in some chronicles Abdullah bin Aziz) who was not on good terms with Tash and belonged to the party hostile to him, having been the rival of Utbi, Tash's patron. The first act of this minister was to poison the mind of Nuh II against Tash by detailing his acts of government. In consequence of these complaints Tash was removed from his position and abul Hasan Simjur was appointed to the governorship of the whole of Khurasan. According to Gardizi the town of Nasa was given to Tash as a sop.

* Probably the substitution of the name of Abu Ali for Abul Hasan is erroneous. Gardizi, Utbi, Mirkhond and Khwandamir assert that Abul Hasan Simjur was the rebel in Khurasan.

+ According to Gardizi, Muzani died and it was after his death that Ul Farsi was nominated as his successor.

Rebellion of Tash and his operations against Abul Hasan

Simjur 987 A.D. :-

Tash, realising the weakness of the Samanid state, entered into correspondence with the Būyid Fakhru'd Dawla, who had succeeded his brother Adudu'd Dawla in the government of Ray, Isfahan, Hamadan and Jurjan. As a result Tash was given 2000 soldiers, under Fakhru'd Dawla's captain Abu Sa'id Shibi, to assist him against Abul Hasan Simjur. Abdullah bin Abdur Razzaq, a captain of the Samanid army; also joined Tash. With this force Tash marched on Nishapur and occupied that city. On the arrival of 2000 more reinforcements from Fakhru'd Dawla, Abul Hasan Simjur fled to Quhistan. Tash now wrote to Nuh II and asked for pardon and permission to apologise and explain but Abdullah bin Uzayr managed to assure Nuh II of Tash's deceit. Meanwhile Abul Hasan Simjur begged the help of Abul Fawaris Sharafu'd Dawla (son of Adudu'd Dawla) ruler of Fars (982-89 A.D.). According to Mirkhond, Abul Fawaris sent a force of 10,000 men but Utbi and Gardizi have estimated this number as 2000 Arabs of Mejd. Faiq also joined Abul Hasan Simjur.

The joint forces now marched on Nishapur in December 987 A.D. Tash took the offensive but in the first encounter the greater part of his army took to flight and Tash himself fled after a severe defeat. The victorious allies occupied Nishapur and captured many Daylamities who were sent to Bukhara. They were confined in prisons and cruelly treated, undergoing varying terms of imprisonment. Among these captives was the famous Mansur bin Mohammad bin Abdur Razzaq.

Tash is shielded by Fakhru'd Dawla :-

After this reverse, Tash fled to Jurjan where he was cordially received by Fakhru'd Dawla. Mirkhond relates that a magnificent banquet was held in his honour, and an imposing retinue of fifty horse soldiers were appointed to attend him. It is stated that such a brilliant reception was accorded to Tash that the nobles of Fakhru'd Dawla advised him to be frugal, to which Fakhru'd Dawla replied that he could never repay his obligations to Tash. According to Utbi, Tash was given the revenues of Jurjan, and Dihistan, the hilly country adjoining its borders, while Fakhru'd Dawla himself retired to Ray. According to Gardizi a great pestilence broke out in Jurjan during the next year (i.e. 988 A.D.) in which Tash and many of his soldiers perished.

Death of Abul Hasan Simjur and the appointment of his son

Abu Ali to the government of Khurasan 989 A.D. :-

Abul Hasan Simjur died in 989 A.D. while amusing himself with one of his slave girls. Abul Hasan left two sons, Abu Ali and Abul Qasim, the former being in Herat and the latter in Nishapur at the time of his death. At first differences arose between the brothers but they soon came to an understanding. Nuh appointed Abu Ali as the governor of Nishapur, conferring on him the title of "Imadu'd Dawla" (pillar of the state) while Faiq was made governor of Herat. The conferring of this honour on Faiq excited Abu Ali's jealousy, and marshalling his forces he met Faiq near Herat. In the battle that followed Faiq was defeated

and fled to Merv'i Rud, the modern Murghab, where he reorganised his army.

Faiq now thought it advisable to go to Bukhara and complain of Abu Ali, who had sent an envoy to that capital offering an apology for his action, and receiving confirmation from Nuh II in his office. Nuh becoming suspicious of Faiq's intentions directed Ayach, or Aynamaj, and Buktazun, the Hajibs, to stop his entry into the metropolis. In the skirmishes that followed in June 990 A.D. Faiq was defeated and turned his steps towards Balkh and thence to Tirmidh.

Faiq's rebellion and his alliances against the Samanids 990 A.D. :-

After the capture of Balkh, Faiq meditated the conquest of Chaghniyan, which was then ruled by Tahir bin Fazal. At the instance of Nuh II, the Amir of Guzgan, Abul Haris Mohammad bin Ahmad Farighuni, gave battle to Faiq but was defeated by Arslan, Faiq's general. After this victory Faiq formed an alliance with the defeated Amir and both of them marched against Tahir. According to Utbi, the bone of contention was Balkh, which was coveted by Tahir, and apparently he realised Faiq's weakness. In the battle that ensued Tahir was defeated and slain. Chaghaniyan was incorporated into the territory of the Amir of Guzgan and it was held by him until Bughra Khan from Turkestan defeated them at Kharajang, near Karminya. After this repulse Faiq managed to gain the favour of ~~the~~ Bughra Khan and obtained the government of Balkh and Tirmidh.

State of the Samanid Empire by 990 A.D. :-

Abu Ali Simjur, whom Abu Shuja calls "A man trained by experience and taught by events", was more ambitious than his father and had become the almost absolute ruler of Khurasan. He determined to take advantage of the weakness of the Bukharan government for the furtherance of his own designs. He reserved for himself all the state revenues and further demanded from the Amir the title of "Amiru'l Moweed" or 'Divinely aided noble of nobles'. On Nuh's request that certain portions of his territory should be set apart for the tribute due to him, Abu Ali insolently asserted that the whole of the revenues of the province should be spent on matters of public interest.

Faiq was still in rebellion in Balkh. Other districts were in the hands of local rulers and the revenues of the government having fallen considerably, the decrees of the Amir carried but little weight. In short the Samanid kingdom was on the verge of collapse,

Abu Ali's alliance with Bughra Khan 991 A.D. :-

Not content with his position as a governor Abu Ali Simjur formed an alliance with Bughra Khan^{Sun} of Ilak, the ruler of Turkestan, against the Samanids. Abu Ali now proposed that he and Bughra Khan should make a joint attack upon Transoxania, and in the event of victory the whole province with Bukhara and Samarqand should be retained by the Khan while Khurasan should be assigned to Abu Ali.

Bughra Khan marched on Bukhara 992 A.D. :-

When Nuh II heard of Abu Ali and Bughra Khan's alliance he sent Ayach the Hajib with an army to oppose them. According to Mirkhond, Ayach was made ^{*} an Amir by the Khan and sent to Turkestan. Nuh, in despair, applied for help to Faiq at Tirmidh and appointed him to the governorship of Samarqand in order that he might protect that country from the Turks, but Faiq, on reaching Samarqand made no attempt to oppose the advance of Bughra Khan. Nuh now asked Abu Ali for assistance. Utbi quotes a paragraph from the letter of Nuh which he wrote to Abu Ali, imploring his help, in which Nuh reminded Abu Ali of the various obligations which the Simjur family owed to his dynasty and looking on him as the only saviour from Bughra Khan. Abu Ali's ambition to call himself the "Wali" or 'Deputy of the Commander of the Faithful', a title which was the exclusive right of the Samanids, prevented affording this help.

As a last resort the Samanids appealed to the people from the pulpits to support them and endeavoured to raise an army. They related their good deeds and enumerated the benefits which the government had conferred on them and also fully elaborated the menace of Bughra Khan and demanded help in the name of God. In those days nearly all the inhabitants of Bukhara and Transoxania were armed. The masses consulted Qazis and Jurists who dissuaded them from action, for, they maintained "If the Khan's followers were of a different religion, war would be necessary, but as the was is for temporal purposes, Islam forbids the slaughter of

* According to Utbi & Khwandamir, Ayach was defeated and taken prisoner by the Khan. It is highly probable, that Ayach deserted.

human beings on the pretext of worldly gains."

The Samanids were further embarrassed with financial difficulties. The treasury had been practically empty since the time of Nuh I (942-54 A.D.). Rebellious chiefs and dissatisfied "Dihqans" in the provinces now invited Bughra Khan to come to Bukhara.

Bughra Khan occupies Bukhara 992 A.D. :-

Bughra Khan first of all marched on Samarqand, which, as already noted, was occupied by Faiq. On the Khan's approach Faiq drew up his troops as if to give a battle but on reflection withdrew to Bukhara. Bughra Khan occupied Samarqand and then proceeded to Bukhara which he occupied in May, 992 A.D. without meeting with any opposition. Nuh II crossed the Oxus and fled to Amul on the banks of that river. Faiq received Bughra Khan with enthusiasm and was given the government of Balkh. The Khutba was now read in the name of the Khan.

Hilal's account of Bughra Khan's invitation to Bukhara :-

Hilal, in his Eclipse of the Abbaside Caliphate, says that Bughra Khan was incited to go to Bukhara by Abu Mohammad Abdullah bin Osman¹ Wathiq, probably a descendant of the Caliph Wathiq. The members of the royal house of the Caliphs used to draw their pensions from the Samanid state and Wathiq, being unable to procure his pension from the empty treasury of Nuh II, transferred his patronage to the Turks, who held Wathiq in great respect. According to some sources, Wathiq accompanied Bughra Khan in his campaign in Transoxāna, and after its conquest was amply rewarded both with

money and a retinue of couple of hundred slaves.

Retreat of Bughra Khan 992 A.D. :-

The occupation of Bukhara by Bughra Khan lasted but a few months. The climate did not suit him and having fallen sick of Hemorrhoids he decided on returning to his native country. He appointed, Abdul Aziz bin Nuh, the son of Nuh I, to be the ruler of Transoxānīa and Khurasan as he considered him the lawful heir to the throne, while the Khan himself retired to Samarqand on his way to Turkestan taking with him the Samanid Vizier Abu Ali Mohammad bin Isa Damgani. According to Ibnu'l Athir Nuh II, who had collected an army at Amul, incited the Turkomans to attack Bughra Khan whose baggage they pillaged while he was retiring. Bughra Khan died on his retreat at a place called Quchar-Bashi.

Nuh assumes the royalty again 992 A.D. :-

In August 992 A.D. Nuh II on the news of Bughra Khan's retreat, came back to Bukhara where he was welcomed by the populace although they had passively accepted the previous change of dynasty when the Khan had entered Bukhara. Nuh now summoned *Abdullah bin Uzayr from Khorezmia and offered him the post of Vizier. Abdul Aziz, whom the Khan had appointed as Amir, was blinded by the order of Nuh II.

* According to Utbi, Abdullah bin Uzayr was dismissed from Vizirate in 987 A.D. and banished to Khorezmia, and Abu Ali Mohammad bin Isa Damgani was appointed in his place. According to the same author, Damgani was also removed from office and Abu Nasr Zayd was appointed instead. He was shortly dismissed and Damgani was once more called ~~to~~ to office. Damgani went with Bughra Khan and Abu Ali Bal'Ami was ^{then} appointed in his place.

Alliance of Faiq and Abu Ali against Nuh II :-

On Nuh's restoration, Faiq made a futile attempt to sieze Bukhara. Having collected an army, he marched on the capital. Nuh sent his private guards against him and a number of skirmishes followed in which there was much slaughter. In the end Faiq was routed and fled to Merv, where he joined Abu Ali Simjur his former enemy. Abu Ali had been advised by his courtiers to apologise to Nuh II and effect a reconciliation, and was almost about to do so when the arguments of Faiq dissuaded him from his design and the rich presents which Abu Ali had collected to send to Nuh II were now presented to Faiq.

In March, 991 A.D. Khalaf sent his son Amr to subdue Kirman. As soon as Amr reached that province, Samanid's Daula's representative, Timurtash, fled. Samanid's Daula thereupon directed Abu Jaffar to bring Timurtash back as he suspected him of treachery, and to give battle to Amr. Abu Jaffar was able to capture Timurtash and send him to Samanid. Afterwards he attacked Amr, but was defeated at Darlic between Atarik and Sam. When the report of this reverse reached Samanid's Daula, he sent Abbas bin Ahmad to oppose Amr, who was rapidly approaching Kirman. Abbas inflicted a crushing defeat on Amr, and several of his chiefs were killed, including Khalaf's commander Alaytagin, and his brother-in-law (March 992 A.D.)

Amr had to retreat hurriedly to Seistan. On his return his father Khalaf rebuked him sternly for his incompetence and cowardice and in a rage he put him in prison. A few days later Amr was killed by his own father. -260-

Khalaf bin Ahmad consolidated his power in Seistan :-

Before closing this chapter, it is well to trace out the **Career** of Khalaf bin Ahmad, the Safarid, who ruled Seistan under the vassalage of the Samanids. Taking advantage of the weak position of the Samanid empire, Khalaf made unremitting efforts to consolidate his power. He soon prepared an army to conquer Kirman. According to Abu Shuja, the author of the Eclipse of the Caliphate, Khalaf's cupidity was aroused in 990 A.D. by the civil wars of Samsamu'd Dawla, the ruler of Fars and Kirman, with his brother Bahau'd Dawla, the ruler of Bagdad, and he wanted to capitalise such an opportunity.

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Amr had to retreat hurriedly to Seistan. On his return his father Khalaf rebuked him sternly for his incompetence and defeat and in a rage he put him in prison. A few days later Amr was killed by his own father who undertook the task of washing

and burying the corpse.

Khalaf sends his son Tahir to conquer Kirman 894 A.D. :-

Shortly after this Samsamu'd Dawla, deposed Abbas from the governorship of Kirman and appointed a trusted noble, Ustad Hurmuz, in his place. According to Mirkhond, Khalaf thought that this appointment was dangerous to his security. but according to another account, after the murder of Amr, Khalaf circulated the report that Amr's death was due to the treachery of the governor of Fars, who had contrived the assassination. Abu Shuja narrates that Khalaf demanded the province of Kirman from the Buyids on the strength of the investiture of the Caliph Mu'tadid, who had assigned it to Amr bin Lais, his grandfather. Be as it may, Khalaf was preparing to invade Kirman on some such pretext.

Khalaf raised an army for the expedition, proclaiming himself as the avenger of his murdered son. When he saw that the Seistanese would not support him and regarded him as the perpetrator of the crime, he adopted a fresh ruse. He sent Sufi Halabi as a messenger with Abu Yusuf Bazzaz, the Qazi, to go on a peaceful mission to Ustad Hurmuz, to settle all differences by amicable negotiations. Abu Yusuf, the Jurist was highly esteemed for his piety and probity and thus inspired general confidence as a negotiator. The messenger who attended the Jurist received secret instructions from Khalaf to poison the holy man, as soon as he reached Kirman after he had interviewed Ustad Hurmuz. This messenger carefully carried out the instructions of his master.

Khalaf was now able to announce that Ustad Hurmuz had

treacherously made away with Abu Yusuf by poison and that it probably was the prelude ^{to} ~~as~~ an invasion of the Buyids. After spreading this tale, Khalaf assembled his chief judges and nobles and urged them to avenge the murder: he is even said to have feigned an outburst of tears at the martyrdom of the beloved priest. A number of Seistanese now volunteered for the war.

Tahir, surnamed "Shir'i Babak", the second son of Khalaf, was entrusted with the command of the army of 9000 soldiers. Narmasir lying on the south east of Bam on the border of the desert, was reduced, the Daylamities flying to a neighbouring mountain and thence to Jirifut, on the border of Khurasan and Seistan. Tahir, gaining victory after victory, now reached Bardashir (identical with the modern city of Kirman) which he besieged. The Commander of the town, Abu Bekr Mohammad bin Hasan, asked for reinforcements from Ustad Hurmuz, who was at Bam. The siege lasted for three months, till in February 994 A.D. on Ustad Hurmuz's advice the Seistanese retreated homewards.

Tahir bin Khalaf invades Kirman a third time 1000 A.D. :-

Soon differences arose between father and son, and as a result Tahir invaded Kirman again in 1000 A.D. He had become aware of the crimes committed by his father and wished to avoid him as far as possible: he thought that the acquisition of Kirman would make him independent of his father. Accordingly having collected an army Tahir turned towards Khuzistan, where he enlisted more men and became strong enough for an invasion on Kirman. Abu Musa, the governor of Kirman with a large army came out to oppose him

but the Buyid forces were defeated and Tahir took Kirman.

Tahir invades Seistan :-

Tahir now began to plan an invasion of Seistan. When the news of the defeat of Abu Musa reached Bahau'd Dawla (989-1012 A.D) he deputed Ustad Hurmuz to check Tahir's progress, who had now turned towards Seistan, which he regarded an easy prey. He told both Abu Musa and Khwajah bin Siyahjang, the leader of the Buyid army, whom he was taking with him as prisoners, that he would set them free after the conquest of Seistan. In the battle which followed they fought bravely on Tahir's side. Khalaf was severely defeated but found his protection in a neighbouring fortress called "Qalatu'l Jabal" (the mountain fortress) whence he sent a number of nobles to effect a reconciliation between himself and his son. As this failed he had recourse to one of his usual treacherous stratagems. He wrote, "I am sick and dying and I am afraid that my treasures may fall into the hands of strangers. Therefore it will be to your interest to come along so that I may reveal to you what I possess. Come and receive my last blessing." Tahir, completely taken in by this message, went to the fortress where Khalaf embraced him and began to simulate a violent access of grief. Some of Khalaf's servants then came in and put Tahir in chains. Khalaf shortly after murdered and buried him with his own hands.

According to Utbi, Khalaf feigning sickness, summoned his son and bestowed his throne on him and pretended that he him-

self would return into seclusion to lead the life of a hermit. After a short time, however, Khalaf thinking that the moment opportune for his re-assumption of power, declared himself to be dying and expressed a wish to bestow his blessing on Tahir. When Tahir approached the sick-bed Khalaf's men made him prisoner and he was later on murdered by Khalaf. After the assassination, Khalaf is said to have spread rumours that Tahir had committed suicide, being overcome with grief at his father's illness. The nobles and chiefs, especially Tahir bin Yezid, the Commander of Khalaf's forces, who had witnessed the crime, regarded Khalaf with detestation.

So Sabuktigin came to Transoxiana, and an interview took place between him and his sovereign near Kish, where Sabuktigin took the oath of allegiance to Mub, promising his support and services and showed him every mark of respect. Mub gave valuable presents to Sabuktigin to confirm the friendship and Sabuktigin then asked permission to return to Ghazna to prepare for the war, to which Mub readily consented. When Faiz and Abu Ali heard of this alliance they entered into further relations with Fakhru's Dastak who undertook to protect them if they were defeated.

He created a fresh enemy for Abu Ali :-

Mub assigned Nasa to the duty of Gurganj and Abulward to Khwarizm-Shah, by way of recompense for their services rendered during Mub's sojourn at Amul. Both these towns were in Khwarizm under Abu Ali Simjur, and by this diplomacy Mub hoped to stir up fresh enemies against him and Faiz. Abu Ali voluntarily gave up

Chapter XVI. Chronicle.

Nuh II - Continued.

Nuh implores the aid of Sabuktagin :-

Nuh, who felt helpless in the face of Faiq and Abu Ali's alliance, asked help of Sabuktagin, who had succeeded his master Alaptagin in Ghazna. The victories of the latter in India and Afghanistan had consolidated his power and at this period Sabuktagin was more powerful than the Samanids, his nominal overlords.

So Sabuktagin came to Transoxiana, and an interview took place between him and his suzerain near Kish, where Sabuktagin took the oath of allegiance to Nuh, promising his support and services and showed him every mark of respect. Nuh gave valuable presents to Sabuktagin to confirm the friendship and Sabuktagin then asked permission to return to Ghazna to prepare for the war, to which Nuh readily consented. When Faiq and Abu Ali heard of this alliance they entered into further relations with Fakhru'd Dawla who undertook to protect them if they were defeated.

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Nasa, but refused to hand over Abiward to Khwarzam-Shah. The province of Gharjistan, which lay to the east of Badghis, at the head-waters of Murghab river, was at this time ruled by Abu Nasr Mohammad bin Asad, who acknowledged Nuh II as his overlord. He was known by the title of "Ash'Shar" or 'The Lord of the mountains'. Abu Ali, who coveted this province, sent an envoy in 994 A.D. to ask the Shar to submit to him. Having received an answer in the negative Abu Ali sent Qazi Abul Qasim to conquer the country. On the arrival of the Khurassanian army the Shar took refuge in a castle but its siege was not pressed owing to the internal affairs of Khurasan, and this brought the ruler of Gharjistan into closer alliance with Nuh against Abu Ali.

Battle of Herat, 994 A.D. :-

Sabuktagin and his son Mahmud marched from Ghazna with 200 elephants and a huge army to Herat where they joined Nuh's forces which came from Bukhara. The Amirs of Guzgan and Gharjistan also joined Nuh. Faiq, Abu Ali, and Dara bin Qabus (his father, who was the ruler of Jurjan) and 2000 Daylamite soldiers sent by Fakhru'd Dawla, also concentrated on Herat. Some nobles tried to intervene in the interest of peace but Abu Ali, assured of victory, scoffed at the attempt. In the ensuing battle the Samanids won a complete victory over Faiq and Abu Ali. Some sources say that on the eve of the battle, Faiq and Abu Ali, discouraged at the desertion of Dara bin Qabus, lost heart and fled. In other words it is narrated that the shouting, the roaring of the elephants, (the first introduction of this method of warfare)

and the sound of the trumpets, bells and drums, terrified Abu Ali and Faiq, who were already discouraged at the desertion of Dara bin Qabus, so that they fled. Mahmud bin Sabuktagin pursued them and put large numbers to the sword. A considerable booty fell into the hands of the victor.

Nuh honours Sabuktagin :-

After the battle Nuh gave the title of "Nasru'd Dawla and Nasru'd Din" (Defender of the State and Religion) to Sabuktagin. The title of "Safu'd Dawla" (Sword of the State) was conferred on Mahmud, together with the government of Khurasan. The victors remained in Herat for a few weeks to divide the plunder. Mahmud, soon afterwards, went to Nishapur to assume control of his new province and on his arrival Abu Ali, who had fled to Nishapur after the defeat, went to Jurjan. Nuh returned to Bukhara.

Abu Ali and Faiq harboured by the Buyids 994 A.D. :-

In Jurjan Abu Ali was harboured by Fakhru'd Dawla who accorded him a friendly reception, and is said to have presented him with valuable gifts and money. Here they began to consider the question of re-opening negotiations with Nuh and Abu Ali wrote letters of apology to Nuh, but these were rejected. In despair they thought of collecting another army and invading Khurasan. They remained in Jurjan and towards the close of the year hastened their preparations because of the inclement weather which began to tell upon their health.

Abu Ali and Faiq invade Khurasan a second time 995 A.D. :-

In April 995 A.D. Abu Ali and Faiq invaded Khurasan. They were successful in driving out Mahmud who fled to his father Sabuktagin in Ghazna, and capturing Tus and Nishapur together with other towns. Abu Ali and Faiq were advised to march on Bukhara before the armies of Mahmud and Sabuktagin could meet, but they delayed and this led to their fall. Even at this eleventh hour Abu Ali made overtures to Nuh and represented Faiq as the instigator of the attack, but without any result.

Battle of Tus 995 A.D. :-

Meanwhile Sabuktagin having obtained assistance from Abul Haris Farghani, the Amir of Guzgan and Khalaf bin Ahmad, the Safarid governor of Seistan, who sent his son Tahir, to join Sabuktagin, had collected an overwhelming force. Abu Ali marched from Nishapur towards Tus to join Faiq, leaving his brother Abul Qasim Simjur in Nishapur, who according to Utbi, remained inactive ^{wring} to the differences that had arisen between them. One notes that Nuh II was not present on this occasion. The decisive battle that took place in the vicinity of Tus in 995 A.D. resulted in a complete victory for Sabuktagin, and his allies. Abu Ali's camp was pillaged, and according to Utbi, he shut himself up in the fortress of Kalat near Tus. Faiq fled to Sarkhas, and thence to Amul.

Final fate of Abu Ali :-

Gardizi differs from other historians in the account he gives of subsequent events regarding the fate of Abu Ali. He says that after the defeat Abu Ali fled to Ray, where he received

a pension of 15,000 dirhems per month from Fakhru'd Dawla. Later on Abu Ali returned to Nishapur on account of a love affair. Here he was seized by Mahmud but he managed to escape to Khorezmia. Here he had to fight with Abu Abdullah Khwarzam-Shah who took him prisoner again in Hazarasp. Fortunately for Abu Ali, the Amir of Gurganj and Khwarzam-Shah had become bitter enemies. Mamun, the Amir of Gurganj, sent an army against Khwarzam-Shah and in the battle that followed Abu Abdullah Khwarzam-Shah was killed or taken prisoner and the territory and titles of Abu Abdullah were transferred to Mamun who was able to mediate for Abu Ali to Nuh but with little result.

In other sources it is mentioned that Abu Ali, after his defeat fled to Sarkhas and thence to Amul. From Amul both Faiq and Abu Ali opened communications with the Bukharan government. Abu Ali sent Abul Hasan Qasim and Faiq sent Abdur Rahman as envoys to secure pardon for them. In the words of Utbi, Abu Ali wrote :-

"The old dependants and hereditary servants are like tamed pigeons, who although they may hover in distant atmospheres and go round the world, yet their flight ends in their final abode and asylum."

Nuh pardoned Abu Ali but rejected Faiq's petition. At the same time, according to Mirkhond, Abu Ali was directed to go to the Amir of Gurganj and remain there with Abul Abbas bin Mohammad, until called to Bukhara. Nuh's primary aim was to alienate two powerful enemies. Faiq insisted that they (Abu Ali

and Faiq) should go to Ilak Khan, the ruler of Tartary, and urged that to expect any sympathy from Nuh would be to hammer Cold iron, in view of his previous treacheries. Abu Ali decided that the only safe course for him was to obtain Nuh's pardon, and putting aside Faiq's proposals, set out for Khorezmia along the bank of Amu Darya in obedience to Nuh's command. At Hazarasp Abu Ali was taken prisoner in September 996 A.D. by the soldiers of Khwarzám-Shah, as narrated above and set free by Mamun. Through the influence of Mamun Abu Ali was pardoned by Nuh and on his arrival at Bukhara he was cordially treated at first but soon after Nuh, breaking his word, made Abu Ali prisoner with eighteen of his kinsmen and his Hajib Ilmangu. Faiq, unmolested, went to Transoxiana where a force under the command of Hajib Buktozun was sent against him, but he was able to make good his escape to Turkestan, where he was cordially received by the Qara-Khanids.

The invasion of Ilak Khan and alliance of Faiq, 996 A.D. :-

In 996 A.D. Faiq, who had taken shelter with Ilak Khan, persuaded the Khan to invade Transoxiana, and Nuh, who was ruler of part of the province, unable to oppose the Turks, applied for aid to Sabuktigin. The latter was in Balkh at that time and hastened with a large army to Transoxiana, joined en route by the Amirs of Khuttal, Guzgan, and Chaghaniyan. Sabuktigin lay encamped near Nasaf, where he met his son Mahmud who also came with a considerable force from Nishapur. In vain Sabuktigin waited for the arrival of Nuh to join the attack, for, at the suggestion of the Vizier Abdullah bin Uzayr, he declined to fight in person.

The Vizier advised Nuh that it was beneath the dignity of the Samanid Amir to join the large force of Sabuktagin's with but a handful of men, and thus to avoid humiliation in the eyes of his vassals. Nuh on this advice, sent a letter of apology to Sabuktagin for forwarded his forces to him. According to some sources Sabuktagin was offended and sent a force of 20,000 men to Bukhara under the command of his son Mahmud and his brother Bughrajuk to win over the co-operation of Nuh. This forced Nuh to accede to a humiliating treaty. The Vizier who was considered responsible for these events was dismissed and replaced by Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Abu Zayd. The Vizier Abdullah bin Uzayr was sent by Mahmud to his father, who detained him in the castle of Gardiz. The extradition of Abu Ali Simjur, who was imprisoned in the citadel of Bukhara, appears to have taken place at this juncture. Sabuktagin also imprisoned him with his Hajib Ilmangu in the fortress of Gardiz, where he eventually perished.

Disillusioned and disgusted at the course of events and particularly at Nuh's behaviour, Sabuktagin concluded an ignominious treaty with the Qara-Khanids by which it was decided that the whole basin of the Syr Darya on the river Oxus should be ceded to the Khanids. Faiq, through the intervention of Ilak Khan, was allotted the government of Samarqand. From the accounts of Mirkhond it seems that Sabuktagin did not take any strong measures against Nuh, and that the account of the march of 20,000 men to Bukhara is an exaggeration.

State of the Samanid Empire before Nuh's death :-

As a result of this treaty, the Samanid kingdom, which had already been shattered by internal disunion, was rapidly approaching to its fall. In Khurasan, the Ghaznavid power was supreme and the Samanid had ceased to matter. Sabuktagin, was complete master of the provinces south of the river Oxus. In Transoxiana, the whole basin of the Jaxartes passed under the Qara-Khanids, and included the provinces of Farghana, Shash, etc., To all intents and purposes Tabristan and Jurjan which were ruled by the Ziyarid prince Qabus, had become independent.

Appointment of Barghashi the Vizier 996 A.D. :-

The Vizier Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Mohammad bin Abu Zayd endeavoured to restore order in Transoxiana by harsh measures but within a space of five months he was killed by the "Ghulams" Nuh afraid of Sabuktagin, the patron of the Vizier, lest the imputation of the crime should fall on him, killed the assassins, and begged the Ghaznavid Chief to nominate a successor to the Vizierate. Sabuktagin left the choice with Nuh, and he appointed Abul Muzaffar Mohammad bin Ibrahim Barghashi, who remained in power for the few months that passed till the death of Nuh occurred.

Death and character of Nuh II. :-

Nuh II died in July 997 A.D. He was a weak ruler, whose vassals greatly overshadowed him. At his death he left the whole of his hereditary provinces in such confusion that the dynasty was doomed and his nobles partitioned up the whole of his territory. By a curious misnomer in their encomiums the Persian

historians gave him the title of "Amir Razi" or 'The prince whose abode was paradise' - a title which he justified neither by his life nor by his actions. Nuh was nearly the last representative of his dynasty with any shadow of power and this fact may account for the attitude of his eulogists.

Literature under Nuh II :-

Nuh is represented as a great patron of men of letters and as one in whose reign literature flourished. The poet Abu Mansur bin Mohammad bin Ahmad Daiqiqi, who began the versification of the Shahnama or 'The book of the Kings' was a dependant of Nuh. Whether he was a Zoroastrian or a Muslim is till an open question. After he had written 1000 lines of the book, he was stabbed by a Turkish slave, but his work was continued by Fardousi, who incorporated his verses. Daiqiqi's famous Qasida addressed to Nuh II runs :-

"The circling Heaven lends an eager ear
That what the King commands it swift may hear
For fear of him Saturn most sorely tried
Scarce dares survey the Sky's expanses wide"
(Translated by Prof E. Browne)

Besides Daiqiqi, the celebrated poet, Abul Hasan Ali bin Mohammodu'l Ghazzali flourished during Nuh's reign and he wrote many Qasidas in praise of Nuh II and his Vizier Utbi. Lastly Avicenna (Ibn Sina) whose amazing versatility is shown in the fact that he was not only a distinguished statesman but also a physician and philosopher, was one of the literati who was patronised by Nuh II. His philosophy was a blend of the Aristotelian theory and Persian mysticism. He wrote several

famous works including the "Shifa" or 'Remedy' on physics and metaphysics and compiled a medical encyclopaedia called the "Qanun" or 'Law'. The fact that such an eminent scholar had recourse to Nuh's library and discovered books with which he was totally unacquainted is sufficient evidence of Nuh's generous patronage of men of letters and to the love of learning of the dynasty.

Mansur II bin Nuh II 997-999 A.D.

Mansur's accession 997 A.D. :-

Abul Haris Mansur bin Nuh II, a minor succeeded his father. Samani notes that the oath of allegiance to Mansur was not taken until November 997 A.D. If this account is to be believed, we do not know who was at the head of affairs during the chaos which followed Nuh's death. Abul Muzaffar Mohammad bin Ibrahim Barghashi, the Vizier, and Faiq, the ruler of Samarqand would seem to have enjoyed the real power.

Revolt in Transoxiana 997 A.D. :-

Abdullah bin Uzayr, who was a prisoner in the citadel of Gardiz, either escaped or was liberated by the Ghaznavid government, arrived in Transoxiana. Here he raised the standard of revolt and instigated Abu Mansur Mohammad bin Hussain, a member of the family of the rulers of Isfajib, to seek the help of Ilak Khan for the conquest of Khurasan. Ilak Khan after promising to help, proceeded to Samarqand, where he met both Abdullah bin Uzayr and the ruler of Isfajib. After making both of them prisoners, Ilak invited Faiq to his camp, received him cordially

and gave him instructions to march on Bukhara. Faiq declaring himself the obedient servant of the Khan, received a force of 3000 men from the latter. Mansur, leaving his capital, fled to Amul. After the occupation of Bukhara, Faiq invited Mansur to the capital, assuring him of his loyalty and reproaching him for leaving the city. Mansur thereupon despatched a letter full of praises to Faiq and returned to Bukhara.

On his return, Mansur appointed his Hajib Bektouzun to the governorship of Khurasan. Bektouzun was given the title of "Sinanu'd Dawla" or 'The bridle rein of the Empire'. He was reconciled with Faiq, between whom there existed a grudge. Both agreed to offer allegiance to Mansur and loyalty to each other. Mahmud, when Sabuktigin died in 997 A.D. had been obliged to leave Khurasan for Ghazna as his brother Ismail had usurped the throne. Mahmud succeeded in completely defeating his brother and when he received the news of the occupation of Khurasan by Bektouzun he was filled with resentment.

Rebellion of Abul Qasim Simjur 998 A.D. :-

Abul Qasim Simjur, after the tragic fate of his brother Abu Ali, had sought shelter under Fakhru'd Dawla in Jurjan, of which province he was allotted the revenues. In 997 A.D. after the death of Fakhru'd Dawla, his son Abu Talib Rustum Majdu'd Dawla continued to harbour Abul Qasim. At this juncture Faiq wrote to Abul Qasim suggesting that he should secure his hereditary province of Khurasan and march against Bektouzun. This encouraged, Abul Qasim marched on Nishapur and at its gates fought a battle

in March, 998 A.D., in which Bektouzun obtained the victory.

Abul Qasim fled to Quhistan but through the intervention of nobles peace was made and Quhistan was assigned to Abul Qasim, whose son Abu Sahl Simjur was kept as a hostage by Bektouzun.

Bektouzun and Abul Qasim Simjur return to Bukhara, 998 A.D. :-

In July 998. A.D., Bektouzun accompanied by Abul Qasim Simjur marched on Bukhara to take vengeance on Faiq, for having instigated Simjur's rebellion. Meanwhile a quarrel had broken out between the Vizier Barghashi and Faiq, the former having taken refuge with Mansur. Faiq demanded the surrender of Barghashi, but Mansur managed to make peace, dismissed the Vizier and exiled him to Guzgan. From another account it seems that the prudent Vizier, observing the decay of the dynasty, and, feigning, sickness, tendered his resignation and voluntarily retired to Guzgan where he held property. Having sold this he settled at Nishapur and led a life of luxury.

Rapid succession of Viziers :-

On Barghashi's retirement or removal, Abul Qasim Abbas bin Mohammad Barmaki was appointed in that office. According to Utbi, he was very avaricious and in order to enrich himself he cut down the pay of the soldiers, which resulted in a general discontent. As a result he was murdered by the guards. His successor, Abul Hasan Hamuli, was shortly followed by the last Vizier Abul Fazal Mohammad bin Ahmad Jayhani. The rapid succession of Viziers clearly show that these officials had but little power.

Strained relations between Mansur and Mahmud bin Sabuktigin :-

In 998 A.D., Mahmud had subdued his brother Ismail in Ghazna and now demanded of Mansur the return to him of the Viceroyalty of Khurasna. Mansur tried in vain to pacify the powerful chief by bestowing on him the government of Balkh, Tirmidh, Herat and Bust but Mahmud was unwilling to relinquish his claims to the whole of the province. If Mirkhond is to be believed, Mahmud despatched Abul Hasan Hamuli with presents to Mansur a second time asking him to reconsider his claims. Mansur made the messenger of Mahmud, his Vizier, but paid no heed to the request of the Sultan. Mahmud therefore began to prepare for war.

Mahmud marches on Khurasan 999 A.D. :-

In January, 999 A.D., Mahmud marched on Nishapur and on his arrival Bektouzun fled. Mansur and Faiq came out from Bukhara to meet Mahmud and at Sarkhas the Samanid army was joined by Bektouzun. A delay in giving battle made Baktouzun and Faiq suspicious of a secret understanding between Mansur and Mahmud. According to Utbi, Mahmud desisted from giving battle because of the infamy he might incur through his disloyalty to his overlord, and so came to Merv'i Rud. Faiq and Bektouzun fearing that their fate might be similar to that of Abu Ali Simjur, decided to forestall Mansur. On the 1st February, 999 A.D., Bektouzun invited Mansur to a feast in his house and had him blinded. After deposing him, they raised his brother Abdul Malik Amir.

Character of Mansur :-

According to some Mansur possessed many eminent qualities. He endeavoured to restore order in the country by drastic measures but it was too late to save the dynasty. By Persian historians he is called "Haris" or 'The fearless lion' an inappropriate title of which he proved himself unworthy. Weak, narrow, irresolute, the misfortunes amidst which he sank, show up his character. According to Bayhaqi, he had a kindly nature, which might have made him a favourite of the people in less troublous times.

Abdul Mailk II bin Nuh II 999 A.D.

Mahmud bin Sabuktagin marches on Merv 999 A.D. :-

When Faiq and Baktouzun placed Abul Fawaris Abdul Malik bin Nuh II, on the throne, Mahmud marched to Merv to avenge the deposed Amir. According to Gardizi Mahmud came to an understanding with his adversaries, relinquishing Nishapur in favour of Baktouzun, and retaining Balkh and Herat for himself. It is not known why Mahmud accepted these terms but we can surmise that he was overawed by the strength of his enemies, joined now by Abul Qasim Simjur, had a very considerable army. Mahmud was so pleased at the terms of the treaty that he is said to have distributed 2,000 dinars in alms to the poor.

Mahmud puts his fortune to the decision of the sword :-

However, these pacific measures did not last long. While negotiations were still in progress, the rearguard of Mahmud was treacherously attacked, probably at the instigation of Dara

bin Qabua, who did not acquiesce in the terms of the treaty. Mahmud highly offended at this treachery marshalled his forces near Merv and appointing his brother Nasr to charge of the right wing with 10,000 cavalry and 30 elephants, he took his position in the centre with 10,000 cavalry and 70 elephants, while on the left were 12,000 cavalry under trusted leaders. Taking the offensive, he attacked the united forces of Faiq Bektouzun, and Abul Qasim Simjur. The battle terminated in a complete victory for Mahmud (16th May, 999 A.D.). Abul Malik II and Faiq fled towards Bukhara, where they were joined by Buktouzun. As a result of this victory the whole of Khurasan was incorporated in the Ghaznavid territory, over which Mahmud appointed his brother, Nasr, while he himself retired to Balkh.

Some authors say that the violence of Faiq and Bektouzun offered Mahmud an opportunity to realise his ambitious designs under cover of a punitive expedition. Mahmud first acquiesced in proposals of peace but offended by some indications of disrespect decided to leave the issue to the sword.

Ilak Khan marches on Bukhara, October, 999 A.D. :-

Ilak Khan, perceiving the disruption of the Samanid kingdom, marched from Kashgar to Bukhara, ostensibly proclaiming that he was undertaking the journey to Bukhara for the relief of Abdul Malik. Abdul suspicious of Ilak's designs endeavoured to offer some resistance to him, and having enrolled an army made a last effort to save the dynasty. The endeavours of the priests to rally the supporters of Abul Malik proved useless, as under

the later Samanids the masses had been converted to the Shia faith and listened to their Faqihs rather than to the Sunni Imams. Bektouzun and Yanaltagin, Abdul Malik's leader of the army were arrested, and the Samanid force suffered a complete defeat. On the 21st October, 999 A.D. Ilak entered Bukhara, arrested all the nobles of Abdul Malik and made himself master of the whole province. Abdul Malik with other members of the royal house were sent to Uzgand as prisoners, where they perished. Ilak, after appointing a governor in Bukhara, returned home. Thus fell the Samanid house, and its place taken by the Ghaznavids in Khurasan and by the Qara-Khanids in Transoxāniya.

Vain attempts of the Samanids to regain power :-

After the dethronement of Abdul Malik the province of Transoxāniya passed under the Qara-Khanids. Most of the Samanids who were captured by the Khanids perished in prison. The last scion of the dynasty, a brother of Abdul Malik II named Abu Ibrahim Ismail, commonly known as "Muntasir" or the 'Victorious', escaped from the prison of Uzgand disguised as a woman and endeavoured for a time to recover his hereditary province. First he went to Bukhara and afterwards to Khorezmia, where Abul Hasan bin Mamun, the Khwarzám-Shah helped him. Muntasir with his Hajib Arslan Yalu marched on Bukhara and succeeded in establishing his rule in that capital and took Jaffartagin, the Khanid governor, prisoner with seventeen other trusted officers of the Khan.

On this Tughin Khan, the Khanid governor of Samarqand, collected an army, and being joined by the remnants of the

defeated army of Jaffartagin attacked Muntasir but was defeated near Zarfashan bridge, on the Sugh river, and this was joyfully greeted by the populace of Bukhara. But when Ilak again marched on Bukhara, Muntasir fled through Amul to Khurasan.

Mahmud's invasion of Seistan 998 A.D. :-

In ^{*} 998-999 A.D., Mahmud invaded Seistan because during his absence in Transoxānā, Tahir bin Khalaf had raided Khurasan on the instigation of his father and had conquered Quhistan and Bushang, which formed the estate of Bughrajuq, Mahmud's uncle, whom the latter had made governor of Herat. Bughrajuq had at first defeated Tahir. According to some authorities, Bughrajuq elated by this success, and under the influence of drink was engaged in massacring Tahir's men, when suddenly Tahir in person fell upon him. Tahir wheeléd round the horse of Bughrajuq and throwing him from his saddle, slew him. Tahir then rode back on Bughrajuq's horse to Quhistan.

In 999 A.D. Sultan Mahmud therefore marched on Seistan. Khalaf as usual shut himself up in a fortress, which was besieged by the Sultan. When Khalaf recognised that he was beaten, he sent 100,000 golden dinars (£50,000/-/-) with other presents to Mahmud, asking for an amnesty. This offer was accepted and a free pardon was granted. From here the Sultan left to invade India.

* According to Khwandamir, the author of Habibu's Sayyar, this event took place in 1000 A.D. which seems incorrect. Utbi, the author of Kitabu'l Yamani puts the retreat of the Sultan as 1000 A.D., the date of his second invasion on India.

Muntasir marches on Nishapur February 1001 A.D. :-

On his flight from Bukhara, Muntasir seized the town of Abiward ~~on~~ ^{from} which he now advanced on Nishapur. On Muntasir's arrival Nasr, the brother of Mahmud, governor of Khurasan fled to Herat. Mahmud, on these tidings, hurried to Nishapur with a formidable army but Muntasir fled to Jurjan and took refuge with the Ziyarid prince Qabus, who cordially received him and allotted him the revenues of Jurjan. Muntasir was advised by Qabus to march on Ray and the latter sent his two sons Dara and Manchihr with him for the expedition. On reaching Ray and taking the advice of Abul Qasim Simjur and Hajib Arslan Yalu, Muntasir, contrary to Qabu's advice, decided to march on Khurasan. On this Dara and Manuchihr returned to Jurjan.

Muntasir re-appears in Khurasan September 1001 A.D. :-

In September, 1001 A.D., Muntasir re-appeared in Khurasan and occupied Nishapur for the second time, Nasr bin Sabuktigin having fled as before. Mahmud sent Abu Sa'id Altunatash, the governor of Herat at the head of an army as a reinforcement to Nasr. This aided Nasr gave battle to Muntasir and the latter was completely routed, and fled back to Jurjan. Qabus refused any further help and prevented his entry with 2000 soldiers. Muntasir attributing his failure to Hajib Arslan Yalu ordered him to be killed: this caused great discontent amongst his followers.

Muntasir takes shelter with Pir'i Faqih, 1002 A.D. :-

On this defeat Muntasir fled to Sarkhas, and sought shelter with the Chief of that town, called Pir'i Faqih (the Old

Jurist) who helped him with money and men. Nasr, hearing this, marched on Sarkhas, and attacked Muntasir and again defeated him. In this fight Abul Qasim Simjur and the son of Tash were taken prisoner and sent to Ghazna. Having lost his chief adherents, Muntasir now crossed Transoxiana, and came to Merv, from where he was driven to the edge of the Ghuzz desert by the governor of that town. The Ghuzz Turkomans rallied round him and gave him an army to invade Turkestan, the territory of Ilak Khan. With this help Muntasir was able to invade Ilak's territory and at Samarqand, where he made a night attack, he was successful in taking some eighteen leaders of the Khan's army prisoners. On Muntasir's demand to have these prisoners delivered to him, the Turkomans hesitated, and Muntasir, becoming suspicious of their treachery, left the Guzz territory with some 700 soldiers for Amul. From here he wrote to Sultan Muhmud, for an amnesty and his restoration to power. Before waiting for an answer Muntasir proceeded to Merv from fear of the Turkomans with whom his relations were strained.

Muntasir invades Transoxiana a third time 1004 A.D. :-

In 1004 A.D., Muntasir endeavoured to subdue the cities of Nasa and Abiward but was defeated by the army of Khwarzam-Shah. Muntasir now thought of invading Transoxiana for the third time. An expedition to take Bukhara however resulted in failure and he now fortified himself in the fortress of Nur, on the Sughd river, between Bukhara and Samarqand from which he attacked the Khan's army. In this he was victorious and caused a movement amongst

the people in his favour. The Commander of the "Warriors of the Faith" ("Salar'i Ghazian") Abul Haris, known as "Alamdar" (Standard-bearer) now joined Muntasir's army with 3,000 soldiers and the "Khwajas", or the grandees of Samarqand, sent him a reinforcement of several thousand men. The Ghuzz were also reconciled to Muntasir and joined his standard.

Ilak Khan's army is defeated by Muntasir, 1004 A.D. :-

By these reinforcements Muntasir succeeded in defeating Ilak Khan's army in Burnamdah, on the frontier of Samarqand, in June, 1004 A.D. Alarmed at this, Ilak took the field in person while the Turkomans retired to their nomad camps with their loot, paying little heed to Muntasir's request for further assistance.

Battle of Dizak, 1004 A.D. :-

Ilak Khan marched on Dizak and Khawas, on the road to Samarqand, in the province of Jaxartes. In the middle of the battle one of Muntasir's captains, Hasan bin Tak, deserted to the Khan with some 5000 soldiers, which resulted in Muntasir's defeat and flight to Khurasan.

Muntasir invades Transoxiana a fourth time, 1004 A.D. :-

Shortly after this Muntasir again appeared in Transoxiana and came to Bukhara, beguiled by the treacherous promises of his kinsman, Ibn Sarkhus, who had made a secret treaty with Ilak Khan. The major portion of Muntasir's army, weary of long marches and disheartened by his unlucky encounters, deserted to Ilak Khan, and his brothers and chief adherents also fell into Ilak's hands, and it was with great difficulty that

Muntasir made good his escape with but eight followers.

Assassination of Muntasir, December, 1004 A.D. :-

Muntasir attempted to seek protection under the Ziyarid prince Qabus, but was repulsed by him. He finally came to the Ghuzz desert and sought protection with Ibn Buhaij, a chief of an Arab tribe, who had encamped near Merv. Ibn Buhaij treacherously murdered him in December, 1004 A.D. or early next year. Mahmud, on the news of Muntasir's assassination, ordered the execution of Abdullah, the governor of that region as an accomplice to the plot, and that of Ibn Buhaij. The Arab camp was plundered and destroyed as a punishment. Thus ended the last of the Samanids.

Character of Muntasir :-

Muntasir was perhaps the greatest and most chivalrous prince of his house, but could not save or revive it and his heroism availed him little in the end. We have no details of why he was so constantly deserted by his troops, betrayed by his own relations, and left in the lurch by fortune, but we do see great pertinacity and courage. With his death disappeared a splendid and enlightened dynasty, whose activity had brought back Persia to life by giving a great impetus to civilization, culture, industry and economic life.

Character of Khalaf :-

The character of Khalaf appears to have been a mixture of opposites. He is depicted as a man of learning, of generous disposition and a patron of men of letters. According to Will,

End of Khalaf, the last of the Safarids 1002 A.D. :-

In 1002 A.D. Mahmud, received an invitation from the nobles of Seistan to liberate them from the yoke of Khalaf, whom they hated as a tyrant, and Tahir bin Yezid, the commander of Khalaf's army, read the Khutba in the name of Mahmud. According to Gardizi, the Sultan marched in November, 1002 A.D. against Khalaf, who was at that time in the fortress of Tak. It is said to have had seven lines of fortifications and a deep ditch. The fortress was besieged, and its gate was destroyed by an elephant. At this moment Khalaf asked for mercy, and in craving pardon, Khalaf addressed Mahmud by the high title of "Sultan and Yaminu'd Dawla" and by this adroit flattery pleased Mahmud. Khalaf also placed a great number of precious stones on Mahmud's head as a sign of homage and bowed his white and wicked head to the ground.

Khalaf was told that his person and property were quite safe and that he could take up his abode wherever he pleased, and was sent to Juzjanan, the western district of Balkh on the road from Merv'i Rud to the city of Balkh, where he survived four years. According to another account, when Khalaf was staying at Juzjanan, his treasonable correspondence with Ilak Khan was discovered and he was sent to the fortress of Qula where he died in 1009 A.D. Thus perished the last of the Safarids.

Character of Khalaf :-

The character of Khalaf appears to have been a mixture of opposites. He is depicted as a man of learning, of generous disposition and a patron of men of letters. According to Utbi,

Khalaf was one of the greatest rulers of his time, famous for the glory and brilliancy of his court, which was adorned by literati. Various poets have written "Qasidas" in his praise. One Abul Fattedh Basani relates that he had written lines eulogising Khalaf which he never intended to show him, but eventually they reached his ears, on which Khalaf sent him 300 golden dinars. Out of the literary works that have come to us, the commentary of the Quran, in 100 volumes, is a unique work of his times and on which, if Utbi is to be believed, some twenty thousand golden dinars were spent.

But his treacherous conduct revealed his true character despite an outward veneer of culture, and his hypocritical assumption of virtues and piety was merely intended to win popularity. The wilful murder of his two sons with his own hands is a sufficient proof of his utter unscrupulousness and fiendish cruelty. By his ostentatious patronage of scholars he hoped to achieve fame. In those days the Samanids and Buyids patronised poets and many of the petty governors endeavoured to emulate them. This we see Khalaf applauded by poets in their encomiums as a great and virtuous hero.

Chapter XVII. Chronicle.

The Ghaznavids 962 - 1186 A.D.

Alaptagin 962 - 63 A.D.

The founder of the dynasty :-

Alaptagin, the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, was a Turkish slave of the Samanid Amir Ahmad bin Ismail (907 - 14 A.D.) and was born in 880 - 81 A.D. Having bought Alaptagin, Ismail employed him as one of his immediate retinue. Under Nuh bin Nasr (942-54 A.D.) we find Alaptagin rising to the position of a chief Hajib. At the time of Nuh's death he was supreme in power and had become the commander of the guards. At the zenith of his power, as we have seen in Chapter XV, he killed Bekr bin Malik, the governor of Khurasan in 956 A.D.

According to Nizamu'l Mulk, Alaptagin possessed 500 villages in Transoxiana and Khurasan, and in the chief towns he had a palace, a garden and a caravansari. Probably these villages formed the private property of Alaptagin, bestowed on him by the Samanid Amir. In 957 A.D., when Abul Hasan Simjur was appointed governor of Khurasan, the royal proclamation and the insignia of office was brought to him by Alaptagin's son - a fact which shows his supreme position. The Vizier Bal'ami was but a puppet in Alaptagin's hands.

Alaptagin is granted the governorship of Khurasan 961 A.D. :-

Amir Abdul Malik (954 - 61 A.D.) who wanted to get rid of Alaptagin, for his domination in state affairs had alarmed him,

was forced to grant the governorship of Khurasan to the latter in February 961 A.D. It has been narrated how on Mansur's accession in 961 A.D., Alaptagin being offended with the Samanid government marched on Bukhara but was driven back by Abu Mansur Mohammad bin Abdur Razzaq and returned to Balkh. There Alaptagin defeated a Samanid force with a handful of men and then left Balkh.

Alaptagin marches on Ghazna, where he lays the foundation of the Ghaznavid house 962 A.D. :-

As narrated in Chapter XV, Alaptagin, disgusted with the Samanids, marched on Ghazna in 962 A.D. in Afghanistan. He intended to seize this territory and there to spend the rest of his days. He succeeded in his objective, defeated the local ruler Abu Bekr Lewik, and captured the fortress of Ghazna after a siege of four months. He then proclaimed himself king.

The Amir Mansur (961 - 76 A.D.) sent an army of 20,000 men against him under Abu Jaffar, but Alaptagin had by now consolidated his power and was able to defeat the Samanid general who retired with heavy losses. Mansur had now no alternative but to give legal sanction to the authority of Alaptagin in those regions. Before his death, which occurred in September 963 A.D., Alaptagin had conquered Bust and part of the kingdom of Kabul.

Character of Alaptagin :-

Little is known of Alaptagin, who reigned for a year and some months in Ghazna, but in his attempt to defy the authority of the Samanids he laid the foundation of a future dynasty which was

destined to play an important part in the history of the East. Without doubt Alaptagin was a great organiser and a born general, and his courage excites our admiration. Though little is known of him his name is a familiar one - perhaps because of its sonorousness.

From the death of Alaptagin 963 A.D. - to the accession of Sabuktagin 977 A.D. :-

From the death of Alaptagin in 963 A.D. until the accession of Sabuktagin there is a period of intermittent warfare. On Alaptagin's death there ensued great chaos, for he left no capable successors. His son Abu Ishaq, whom the nobles raised to the throne in 963 A.D., had a tumultuous reign which only lasted three years. Abu Ali Lewik, son of Abu Bekr Lewik, the former ruler of Ghazna, invaded Ghazna in 964 A.D. and Ishaq had to fly to Mansur, the Samanid ruler of Bukhara, for help. The following year, with the assistance of the Samanids, Ishaq was able to regain Ghazna but he died very shortly afterwards, on the 12th November 966 A.D. Ishaq had recognised the Samanids as his overlords.

On the death of Ishaq the power devolved upon Bilaktagin, a slave of Alaptagin (or according to some sources a son of Alaptagin) who assumed the sovereignty in 966 A.D. He reigned until 972 A.D. No events of importance are recorded of him and Utbi depicts him as a pious and just ruler, always interested in the welfare of his subjects.

Piri ascends the throne 972 A.D. :-

Piri or Piritagin, another slave of Alaptagin ascended

the throne after the death of Bilaktagin. He is described as a tyrant and his subjects soon invited Abu Ali Lewik again to invade the country. Abu Ali Lewik, accompanied by the son of the king of Kabul marched on Ghazna. Sabuktagin, the commander of Piri's army with a small force of 500 men repulsed the joint armies of Abul Ali Lewik and the king of Kabul, and both of them were taken prisoner and executed. Piri or Piritagin was now deposed and Sabuktagin, according to the author of "Tabkat'i Nasri" came to the throne on 20th April 977 A.D. by the general consent of the nobles of the state.

Sabuktagin 977 - 97 A.D.

Early life of Sabuktagin :-

In his youth Abu Mansur Nasiru'd Din Sabuktagin, was a heathen Turkoman. He was born between 942 - 43 A.D. His father named Juq, was ^a nobleman of a small principality of Turkestan. About 954 A.D., in one of the invasions by a neighbouring tribe, Sabuktagin a mere lad of twelve was taken prisoner, and sold as a slave to one Haji Nasr. It was with Nasr that Sabuktagin was converted to Islam and received his early training. Nasr who lived at Nakhshab, situated on the river Kushkah, in the province of Transoxiana early marked the prudence and valour of Sabuktagin from amongst the rest of his slaves. Having given him a thorough

* Nizamu'l Mulk connects Sabuktagin with the ancient kings of Persia.

military training, Nasr brought Sabuktagin to Bukhara about 959 - 60 A.D. and expected to get a large sum for a slave so skilful in the use of arms, for in those days the military talents of a slave increased his commercial value. Sabuktagin was bought by Alaptagin at Nishapur, he then being the Chief Hajib of Abdul Malik. When Alaptagin went to Ghazna, Sabuktagin appears to have accompanied him. After the death of Alaptagin, Sabuktagin became the Chief Hajib of Ishaq and married a daughter of his late master Alaptagin.

Sabuktagin is raised to the throne 977 A.D. :-

Owing to the incompetency and tyranny of Piri, the nobles raised Sabuktagin to the throne. He did not fail the hopes of those who elevated him to royalty. The story in **Fireshta** runs that in the beginning of Sabuktagin's career he was out hunting and seeing a fawn and a deer grazing, he caught the fawn, placed it across the pommel of his saddle and returned. He had gone a little distance on his way when he looked back and saw the mother following the fawn, and in great distress. He took pity on the deer and set the fawn free, whereupon the mother withdrew to her native jungle, and while retreating she occasionally returned back as if to show gratitude. That very night Sabuktagin saw the Prophet Mohammad in a vision who foretold that he would be a sovereign in the future, and adjured him to take compassion on his subjects when he had obtained kingship. This legend, however, finds no place in any authentic histories.

He annexes Bust and Qusdar 978 - 79 A.D. :-

In 978 - 79 A.D. Sabuktagin added Bust and Qusdar

(probably the modern town of Khuzdar in Baluchistan) to his kingdom, the details of which have not come down to us. These conquests at the outset of his reign gave a proof of his capability to his courtiers and consolidated his position.

His invasions of India 986 - 87 A.D. :-

It will be outside the scope of this work to dwell upon the various battles that he fought in the plains of Punjab with the Hindu Rajahs of India. It is only necessary to state that in 986 - 87 A.D. Sabuktagin annexed that part of the Punjab which lies to the west of the river Chenab after his war with Jaipal of the Hindushahiyya dynasty. Jaipal marched on Ghazna to avenge the defeat but was again defeated at Ghuzak and sued for peace, paying an indemnity of 100,000 dirhems. Sabuktagin in these invasions is said to have introduced Islam to the Khaliji and Afghan tribes who lived in what is now the border of the North Wester Frontier province.

Sabuktagin's quarrel with Khalaf :-

While Sabuktagin was invading India Khalaf bin Ahmad, the Safarid governor of Seistan, (page 243, Chapter XV) considering his absence a golden opportunity, annexed Bust. According to Utbi Khalaf was not on good terms with Sabuktagin and had on various occasions induced Ilak Khan to invade Ghazna. Khalaf collected a year's tribute from the inhabitants of Bust and then returned to Seistan leaving one of his deputies in charge, who coined money and offered the Khutba in the name of the former.

When Sabuktagin returned from his expedition he was furious at the occupation of Bust. Khalaf's deputy was no match for his opponent and left the city. When Khalaf, who was no soldier heard that Sabuktagin was preparing to attack him, he sent many presents to the latter together with a letter of apology, which was accepted. After this Khalaf joined Sabuktagin in the war which he fought against Abu Ali Simjur.

His relations with the Samanids :-

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that in the rebellion of Abu Ali Simjur and Faiq in 994 A.D. Sabuktagin appeared as a protector of the Samanid Amir Nuh II (976 - 97 A.D.), and as a result of his victory the province of Khurasan was assigned to his son Mahmud. After the battle of Tus, fought in 995 A.D., Sabuktagin was able to dictate to the Samanids in their internal and foreign policies, especially as to their relations with the Qara-Khanids.

Death and character of Sabuktagin 997 A.D. :-

Sabuktagin was at Balkh, when his sister died. This caused him such grief that he became ill and set out for Ghazna for a change of climate, but on the way he died at the village of Madru Muy, on the frontier of Balkh, in August 997 A.D.

Sabuktagin, who had within a reign of twenty years raised his small principality into an extensive empire by adding Balkh, Bust, Qusdar and Khurasan, was undoubtedly a very great general, and as an administrator and statesman, he was no less eminent.

He provided the army with improved weapons and gave it his special attention. He married his son Mahmud to a princess of the Farighunid house, which was connected by marriage with the Samanids.

In his private life, Sabuktigin was amiable, benevolent, temperate in his habits, and charitable to the poor. He was an affectionate husband and a loving father. His loyalty was patent from his taking the oath of allegiance to Nuh II, when the power of the latter was obviously inferior to his own. As a Muslim his life was religious and praiseworthy. His court, according to Utbi, was the asylum of the oppressed and afflicted and one in which the grievances of the rich and poor were removed and justice was shown to all.

With all these good points, he was, nevertheless, unscrupulous in taking life wherever his personal interests were concerned. He was parsimonious and hoarded wealth. His wars with the Hindu Rajahs of India, though ostensibly carried on for the conversion of the heathen, seem to have been undertaken really for the sake of loot.

Towards the end of his reign he had become so powerful that the neighbouring states considered it wise to cultivate his friendship. It was a remarkable achievement to make a small principality into a great kingdom and renders him the real founder of the Chaznavid house.

Ismail bin Sabuktagin 997-98 A.D.

Ismail ascends the throne 997 A.D. :-

On the death of his father in 997 A.D. Ismail ascended the throne. Sabuktagin on his death-bed had left the provinces of Ghazna and Balkh to Ismail his younger son by Alaptagin's daughter. Probably Sabuktagin disinherited Mahmud, his eldest son, for some personal reason. Mahmud naturally objected and sought to make terms with Ismail, who on coming to the throne had lavished money on the troops in order to render his position secure.

Negotiations between the brothers :-

Mahmud, who was at Nishapur at Ismail's accession, sent Abul Hasan Hamuli to Ismail who was at Balkh, offering the latter the government of Balkh and Khurasan and asking for Ghazna in return. Ismail paid no heed to this suggestion but came to Ghazna to consolidate his power. Mahmud made several more attempts at getting his way but in vain. The Amir of Guzgan, Abul Haris, also tried to intercede with a view to bringing about an amicable agreement between the brothers but this too without success.

Mahmud marches on Ghazna 998 A.D. :-

Despairing of effecting a peaceful settlement Mahmud formed an alliance with his uncle Nasr, ruler of Bust and his uncle Bughrajuq, ruler of Herat, and marched on Ghazna. In the battle that ensued in March 998 A.D. the army of Ismail was defeated near Ghazna, and he fled to the castle of Ghazna, but shortly fell into the hands of Mahmud who placed him in

confinement. However in 999 A.D., after the battle of Merv, which Mahmud fought against the Samanid Amir Abdul Malik II, Ismail, who was suspected of plotting Mahmud's assassination was sent to the Amir Abul Haris at Guzgan, where he ended his days. According to some sources Ismail was sent to the fortress of Kalinjar (the modern Talwara) where he died.

... daughter of a nobleman of ... the ... along the ... of the ... in the ... of In his birth, according to ... remarkable occurrences took place, such as the ... of a fire temple. This was an omen that the future ruler would be a defender of the faith of Islam. Mahmud was well-educated, and is said to have learnt the Quran by heart when he was a child.

In 986 A.D., at the age of 15, Mahmud took an active part in a battle which was fought near ... between his father and In 990 - 91 A.D. a ... arising between the father and son which resulted in the imprisonment of Mahmud, but after a few months he appears to have regained his father's favour and was set free. In 994 A.D., Mahmud fought with his father against Abu Ali and ... and won the title of ... from the Samanid overlord. In 995 A.D., after he had been given ... Mahmud was attacked by Abu Ali but with his father's assistance he beat him back. ... A.D. after a ... his brother Ismail, Mahmud defended the throne of ...

Yaminu'd Dawla Sułtan Mahmud (998-1030 A.D.)

Early life at Mahmud :-

Ghazi Abul Qasim Yaminu'd Dawla Sultan Mahmud, the eldest son of Sabuktagin was born on the 1st November, 971 A.D. It is often incorrectly asserted that his mother was a slave girl. From all authentic accounts it appears that she was the daughter of a nobleman of Zabulistan, the highlands along the upper waters of the Helmund river in the province of Seistan. At his birth, according to Persian historians, remarkable occurrences took place, such as the falling down of a fire temple. This was an omen that the future hero would be a defender of the faith of Islam. Mahmud was well-educated, and is said to have learnt the Quran by heart when he was a child.

In 986 A.D., at the age of 15, Mahmud took an active part in a battle which was fought near Lamghan between his father and Jaipal. In 990 - 91 A.D. a misunderstanding arose between the father and son which resulted in the imprisonment of Mahmud, but after a few months he appears to have regained his father's favour and was set free. In 994 A.D., Mahmud fought with his father against Abu Ali and Faiq and won the title of Safu'd Dawla from the Samanid overlord. In 995 A.D., after he had been given Khurasan Mahmud was attacked by Abu Ali but with his father's assistance he beat him back. In 998 A.D. after a struggle with his brother Ismail, Mahmud ascended the throne of Ghazna.

Mahmud's relations with the Samanids :-

The subject of Mahmud's relations with the Samanids has been dealt with at some length in previous chapter; how at first he did homage to Mansur II, and at the accession of Abdul Malik II, in 999 A.D., he marched on Bektouzun and Faiq, as an avenger of the deposed Amir, and finally how by the victory of Merv in May 999 A.D., he became the ruler of Khurasan. As a result of this victory the supremacy of the tottering Samanids was terminated and in investiture for the government of Khurasan with a crown and the title of "Yaminu'd Dawl and Aminu'l Millat" (the right hand of the state and trusted representative of the faith) were received from the Caliph Qadir (991 - 1031 A.D.) in November 999 A.D.

Conquest of Seistan, 1002 A.D. :-

The incident of Khalaf's tyranny and Mahmud's invitation to Seistan has been related on page 287 of the previous chapter. After the conquest of this province, the Sultan placed his chamberlain, Qiniji, in control of Seistan which he administered under the supervision of one of the royal deputies, while the Sultan himself returned to Ghazna.

A few months after a general rising against the authority of the Sultan took place in September, 1003 A.D. The Sultan with his brother Nasr marched at the head of 10,000 men, commanded by Altuntash and Abu Abdullah Mohammad Tai, to quell the rebellion. The insurgents had taken refuge in the fortress of Ark, which the Sultan attacked on 15th October 1003 A.D. The

fort was taken and the rebels were crushed. The Sultan now entrusted Seistan to his brother Nasr and made it an appanage of Khurasan.

His relations with the Qara-Khanids :-

When Mahmud had conquered Khurasan, Ilak Khan had become master of Transoxiana, making Uzgand his capital. Mahmud sent Imam Abu Tayyib Sahl bin Mohammad Sal'uki as ambassador to Uzgand and formed an alliance with Ilak. The Oxus was fixed as the boundary line between the two territories. Presents were exchanged, Ilak sending musk, horses, camels, and slaves, and he also entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Sultan, Ilak's daughter Mahd'i Chigal being married to Mahmud. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and show.

Later on the relations between them seem to have become strained owing to Ilak's designs upon Khurasan. In 1005 - 6 A.D., when Mahmud was busy invading Multan, in the Pinjab, Ilak sent his brother Jaffartagin at the head of an army to take Balkh and another force under Subashtagin to conquer Khurasan. For a time the tide of war ran so strongly in Ilak's favour that his forces overran the whole of Khurasan and Balkh. Only Ghazna was left to Mahmud, protected by Arslan Jadhib.

On hearing these tidings Mahmud hurried back and with the help of the Khalji tribe, expelled Jaffartagin from Balkh and forced him to fly to Tirmidh. Arslan Jadhib similarly drove Subashtagin out of Khurasan and he fled to Jurjan. From Jurjan Subashtagin came to the Ghuzz desert where he sustained a further defeat at the hands of the Sultan's brother, Nasr. One of

Subashtagin's brother and 7000 soldiers were taken prisoners by the Sultan's forces.

Meanwhile, Ilak sent 6,000 soldiers under Chaghartagin (or Jaffartagin) to occupy Balkh so as to create a diversion for Subashtagin. After destroying Subashtagin's army Mahmud turned to Balkh. At the approach of Mahmud, Chaghartagin (or Jaffartagin) evacuated Balkh and fled to Bukhara. Thus about October, 1006 A.D., the whole of the provinces of Khurasan and Balkh were cleared of the enemy.

Ilak sends another army 1008 A.D. :-

But this did not discourage Ilak. To avenge the defeat Ilak summoned the people of Transiana and with the help of his kinsman ^{*} Qadir Khan, ruler of Khutan, with 50,000 soldiers, Ilak crossed the Oxus. The Sultan's army consisting of Afghans, Kurds, Ghuzz Turkomans and Khaljis mustered at the Shar Khiyan bridge, some 12 miles from Balkh. According to Gardizi the two armies met on the 4th January 1008 A.D. The Sultan's brother Nasr, Abu^{Nasr} Farughani, the ruler of Juzjaniyah, and Abdullah Tai were present and fought on the side of the Sultan. In the battle that followed the army of the Khan, numbering some 500,000 men, was seized with panic and fled and many of the Khan's soldiers were drowned in the river. A vast quantity of booty fell in the hands of the Sultan. The Sultan was unable to pursue the foe owing to the rebellion of Sukhpal at Multan, and was obliged to return to Ghazna.

* Utbi calls him Qadir Khan, while Gardizi calls him Yusuf Qadir. He is called Qutur Khan by the author of Jam'i Tawarikh, and Qaidu Khan by Hamad Ullah, -author of Tarikh'i Guzida.

Deeply chagrined, Ilak retired to Trans^{dx}iana and sought the help of the ruler of Qusdar. He also urged his brother Ahmad Tughan Khan, ruler of Kashgar, and Qadir Khan to join him against the Sultan. Qadir rejected the appeal and Tughan Khan, who was on friendly relations with Mahmud, also declined to help. Ilak, disgusted with his brother for refusing invaded his territory in 1010 A.D., but the heavy winter compelled him to return from Uzgand. He again marshalled his forces in 1011 A.D., but before the outbreak of hostilities the brothers came to an understanding and Sultan Mahmud appeared in the role of an arbitrator. According to Utbi, Ilak Khan died in 1012 - 13 A.D. and was succeeded by his brother Ahmad Tughan Khan, who remained friendly with Mahmud. Ahmad Tughan Khan also died in 1017 A.D. and his kingdom passed into the hands of Abu Mansur Arslan Khan, commonly known as "al'Assamm" (the deaf). In the reign of Al'Assamm an army of 100,000 men appeared from China over which Arslan Khan gained a complete victory, and some 10,000 girls were taken as slaves amongst the plunder.

Arslan Khan now gave his daughter in marriage to Masud, Mahmud's heir apparent. Arslan died in 1023 A.D. and on his death Qadir Khan ruler of Kashgar and Tughan Khan fought for the succession to the throne. Gardizi mentions that the Sultan came to Balkh in 1024 A.D. to watch the issue of the struggle in which Tughan Khan proved victorious and took Balasaghun, situated on the river Chu, the capital of Arslan Khan.

Mahmud invades Transoxiana 1025 A.D. :-

The Sultan alarmed at the possession of Bukhara by Tughan Khan marched to Transoxiana in 1025 A.D. Various causes have been given for this invasion. Ibnu'l Athir mentions that the pretext was that the ruler of Bukhara had refused the envoys of the Sultan leave to pass through his territory to go to Eastern Turkestan. According to Mirkhond, Qadir Khan induced the Sultan to invade Transoxiana, because it was occupied by Alitigin, the brother of Tughan Khan. Some historians assert that the inhabitants of Transoxiana had appealed to Mahmud to liberate them from the tyranny of the Khans.

The Sultan marched to Transoxiana and halted some miles south of Samarqand. Meanwhile Qadir Khan invaded Transoxiana from the direction of Kashgar and reached Samarqand and on the 8th March, 1025 A.D., where a friendly meeting took place between him and Mahmud at the gates of the city. Qadir Khan went to the Sultan's tent where Mahmud presented him with precious jewels, elephants, horses, mules, gold and silver goblets and other rare commodities. They both agreed to put an end to Alitigin's rule and to give the government of Transoxiana to Yaghantagin, the second son of Qadir Khan, later on famous by his surname of Bughra Khan. The compact between them was cemented by a matrimonial alliance and Yaghantagin was married to Zenib, the daughter of the Sultan. Qadir Khan on his side gave one of his daughters to prince Mohammad. Sultan Mahmud, into whose ^{hands} Samarqand had fallen

after the flight of Alitigin, now entrusted the government of that city to Qadir Khan.

Qadir Khan had not been there long before he was attacked by Alitigin, who having collected a powerful army, vanquished his opponent and again took possession of the city. Qadir Khan begged help of Mahmud, but he refused it as he was busy preparing to invade Somnath in India. In 1026 A.D. however when the Sultan returned from his Indian campaign he sent a large army to the relief of Qadir Khan who by this means was able to defeat Alitigin. Qadir Khan who died in 1032 A.D., maintained friendly relations with the Sultan till his death.

Mahmud's relations with the Mamunids :-

The Mamunids, rulers of Jurjaniyyah (Gurganj of the Persian writers and modern Urganj), on the final overthrow of the Samanids had thrown in their lot with the Ghaznavids. Mamun, who united the kingdom of Khwarzam-Shah (the modern Khiva) which lay between the states of the Turkish Khans and the Ghasnavids with that of Gurganj, was assassinated in 997 A.D. His son Abul Hasan Ali, who succeeded him, after the defeat of Subashtagin in 1006 A.D. allied himself with Mahmud. Abul Hasan Ali had married to the Sultan's sister whose name was Kah Khaliji. Abul Hasan Ali died in 1009 A.D. and was succeeded by his brother Abul Abbas Mamun bin Mamun, who married Kah Khaliji the widow of his deceased brother, thinking that by the continuation of this connection alone, he could retain his power. Gardizi gives 1015 A.D. as the date of this event.

1015 Abul Abbas maintained such outward respect for the Sultan that when Caliph Qadir (991 - 1031 A.D.) conferred upon him the title of "Aynu'd Dawla wa Zainu'l Millah" (Eye of the state and adornment of the religion) he was afraid to assume it openly in case it might give offence to the Sultan, as these honours were bestowed without his concurrence.

These amicable relations were short lived. The Vizier Abul Qasim Ahmad bin Hasan Maymaundi, at the instance of the Sultan, asked Abul Abbas Mamun to read the Khutba and issue coinage in his name. Mamun having consulted his nobles and replied that his army was not willing to recognise such suzerainty and that they and his aristocracy thought it better to give their lives on the battle-field than to recognise an alien monarch: that they would even rise against Mamun for making such a suggestion as an insult to the whole nation. Mamun now had no alternative but to secure his position and for this purpose he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Khans, the rival power to that of Mahmud, which naturally roused the Sultan's anger.

When Mahmud heard of the alliance of the Qara-Khanids he came to Balkh with an army of nearly 100,000 horse and 500 elephants and sent an ultimatum to Mamun, pointing out how unstable was his rule, if his subjects could dictate him. The Sultan again demanded the inclusion of his name in the Khutba, the gifts which a feudatory chief usually presented his overlord, and a complete apology for his past conduct. Mamun was opposed to a trife, and

and by the intervention of the Khans, peace was made. Mamun read the Khutba as directed in the districts of Nasa and Farwah (except in the capital towns of Gurganj and Kath where the military party was strong) and sent 80,000 golden dinars and 3000 horses to appease the Sultan.

When the Khutba was read in these districts the smouldering fire of revolt burst into flames. The army interpreted the treaty of Mamun as a declaration of submission to Mahmud and they regarded his action as cowardly and scandalous. The leader of the military party, Alaptagin (Utbi calls him Nibaltigin or Inaltagin) revolted against Mamun, and killed Mamun's Vizier. The castle of Mamun was razed to the ground and Mamun himself was murdered on the 20th March, 1017 A.D. while the castle was on fire. After his assassination the army raised his 17 year ^{*}old nephew Abul Haris Mohammad bin Ali bin Mamun to the throne. The real sovereignty however was exercised by Alaptagin. The soldiery were guilty of rapine and plunder and the country was in a state of great confusion.

The battle of Hazarasp, July 1017 A.D. :-

On being informed of the murder of Mamun, Sultan Mahmud sent an envoy to Khwarzam to demand the surrender of the murderers. The envoy, with gentle speech, assured the inhabitants that the best way to appease the anger of the Sultan was to send back his sister (Mamun's widow). The inhabitants agreed to this proposal and not only sent the sister of Mahmud back to him with every mark of respect, but upon the demand of the envoy to give up the

* According to Utbi, Mamun's son was raised to the throne.

assassins of Mamun they also handed over a few of them with 200,000 dinars and 400 horses. But Alaptagin and other ringleaders were not surrendered to the Sultan.

The Sultan treated this refusal as a cause for war. Mahmud's general Mohammad bin Ibrahim Tai (whom Utbi calls Abu Abdullah Muh bin Ibrahim) met the Khorezmian general Khumar Tash Sharabi and gave battle on the borders of Khorezmia, in which the Khorezmians were defeated, and Sharabi was taken prisoner. In the decisive battle near Hazarasp, which was fought on the following day, Alaptagin and Sayydatgin Khani were also captured and were trodden to death under elephants. In July 1017 A.D. Kath, the Capital of Khorezmia, was captured ~~and the~~: ~~the~~ young Amir was taken prisoner, and the Khorezmian army was incorporated into the army of the Sultan and used in his later invasions of India.

After the victory the Sultan entrusted the government of this country to his Chief Hajib, Altunatash, who was given the title of Khwarsam-Shah, while Arslan Jadhif, being second in command, was placed in charge of an army to assist Altunatash. Some vain attempts were made by the deposed family of Khwarzam-Shah to recover their lost power. Among the rebels in particular was one Abu Ishaq, the father-in-law of the deceased Abul Abbas, who tried to free Khorezmia from the Sultan's yoke but his attempts were ineffectual. Altunatash and Arslan Yadhif used such drastic measures that they crushed all spirit of opposition and the whole country became a part of the empire of Sultan Mahmud. This conquest greatly increased Mahmud's power and so facilitated his task of conquest in other regions.

Chapter XVIII. Chronicle.

Mahmud- continued (999 - 1030 A.D.)

Mahmud's relations with the ruler of Qusdar 1010 A.D. :-

The territory of Qusdar, which corresponds to the north east portion of modern Balushistan, was a dependency of Ghazna. Ibnu'l Athir narrates that in 1010 - 1011 A.D., the ruler of Qusdar, at the instigation of Ilak Khan revolted against the authority of the Sultan. When Mahmud marched against him, he submitted and paid an indemnity of 15,000,000 dirhems, on which Mahmud returned to Ghazna.

The conquest of Ghorr 1011 A.D. :-

The country to the S.E. of Herat and to the south of Juzjanan was called Ghorr or Ghoristan. Gardizi says that the first conquest of this territory was undertaken by the Samanid Nuh, who sent Abu Jaffar Zubadi there with an expedition, but the attempt proved a complete fiasco. Sabuktagin was able to extend his rule to the eastern portion of this territory, and was recognised as suzerain by Mohammad bin Suri, ruler of Mandish situated between Bamiyan and Ghazna in the N.W. of Ghorr.

After the death of Sabuktagin, Mohammad bin Suri rebelled adopting an arrogant attitude towards the new Sultan and annoyed him by withholding his tribute. According to Utbi, the pretext for the punitive expedition sent by the Sultan as a reply to this was the heathenish state of the country and that Mahmud wished to

introduce Islam. In 1011 A.D. the Sultan directed Arslan Jadhīb and Altunataš to reduce the province. In a series of battles the capital Ahangaran, the position of which cannot now be traced, was taken. Mohammad bin Suri fought with his son Shith and an army of 10,000, but on the loss of his capital, he fled to the hills, where he was pursued and taken prisoner and sent to Ghazna. On his way to Ghazna, however, he committed suicide by sucking a poison ring. Mandish was given to one Abu Ali bin Mohammad bin Suri, who after a short while was assassinated by his nephew Abbas bin Shith. The result of this expedition was that the eastern part of Ghorr was subdued. Four years later in 1015 A.D., the Sultan marched to Khawabin, situated in the S.W. of Ghorr and north of Bust, capturing some fortresses and returning to Ghazna.

In 1020 A.D. Masud the son of Mahmud, subjugated the N.W. Part of Ghorr known as Tab. An outcome of Masud's campaign was that the fortresses of Bartar and Razaan and other strongholds were taken. The local ruler, who had at first shown some signs of insubordination, submitted readily and thus the whole of Ghorr passed into Mahmud's possession.

Conquest of Gharjistan 1012 A.D. :-

Gharjistan, which lay to the east of modern Badghis at the head of Upper Murghab and is sometimes confounded by mediaeval writers with modern Georgia, or sometimes with Ghuristan, was held by the Samanids as a feudatory province. Its ruler, Abu Nasr Mohammad bin Asad, was called the Shar (King of the

mountains). We have seen earlier how Abu Ali Simjur and Faiq vainly attempted to conquer this territory and how the intervention of Sabuktigin nipped those efforts in the bud. After the conquest of Khurasan in 999 A.D. Mahmud sent his secretary Abu Nasr Muhammad Utbi, the author of Kitabu'l Yamini, to obtain the allegiance of the Shar. The mission of Utbi was welcomed by the ruler and he agreed to look on Mahmud as his overlord, to coin money and to read the Khutba in his name. The Shar also sent his son Shah Muhammad to the court of Mahmud where he was well received and placed in a position of some responsibility. After a little while Shah Muhammad left Mahmud's service and returned to his native province where his father abdicated in his favour and betook himself to study.

These cordial relations were shortlived as the Shar refused to supply the Sultan with an army when called on to do so. Mahmud began to suspect that the Shar had allied himself with Ilak Khan and called upon him to explain his conduct. In 1012 - 13 A.D. the Sultan ordered Altunatash and Arslan Jadhik to attack Gharjistan, and Abul Hasan Mani'i, the governor of Merv'i Rud, was ordered to accompany the royal forces. The imperial army penetrated as far as Afshin, the capital, situated about 50 miles above Merv'i Rud. Abu Nasr, the ex-Shar hastened to pay homage to Altunatash and told him that he had nothing to do with the conduct of his son.

Shah Muhammad resisted and took up a position in a hill fortress which was captured by the forces of the Sultan. The

Vizier of Shah Mohammad was subjected to tortures until he revealed the hiding-place of the Shah's treasures. Abu Nasr's apology was accepted but Shah Mohammad was taken prisoner and sent in a closed litter to Mustang in Baluchistan where he died. According to Gardizi the annexation of Gharjistan occurred in 1012 A.D. and was placed under Abul Hasan Mani'i, the governor of Marv'i Rud. Abu Nasr was given employment at the Sultan's court in Ghazna, where he died in 1015 - 1016 A.D.

Mahmud's invasions on India :-

It will be outside the scope of this work to discuss the Sultan's invasions of India. Mahmud following in the footsteps of his father, continued his forward policy and vowed that he would invade India every year. Authorities differ as to the character of these campaigns, whether they were really the outcome of religious zeal or the Sultan's greed for amassing the riches of the fertile land of India. His various invasions were as follows :-

- (1) September 1000 A.D. : an invasion of frontier forts. (2) September 1001 A.D.; the battle of Peshawar and Waihand where he attacked Jaipal. (3) 1004 A.D.; the invasion of Bhira (Bhatia), (4) March-April 1006 A.D.; the battle of the Indus and capture of Multan. (5) 1007 A.D.: invasion of Nawasa, (6) December 1008 A.D.; invasion of Waihand in which the Sultan met Brahmopal, the son of Jaipal, (7) 1009 A.D.: the invasion of Narian. (8) 1010 A.D.; Multan, (9) 1013 A.D.; Ninduna, (10) 1014 A.D.; Thanesar, (11) 1015 A.D.; Lohkot, (12) 1018 A.D.; Mithra and Kanuj, (13)

1021 A.D.; Rahib, (14) 1022 A.D.; Kirat, Lohkot and Lahore,,
(15) 1023 A.D.; Gawalior and Kalinar, (16) 1025 - 26 A.D.; Somnath.
and (17) 1026 A.D.; expedition against the Jats.

As a result of these invasions we read that quantities of jewels and precious metals, diamonds as large as pomegranates and millions of pounds weight of silver fell into Mahmud's hands, with which he beautified his capital and ^{the} province of Khurasan, expending the money on various charitable objects. The victories of Mahmud enriched the scholars of his court and men came from afar to join in these campaigns with the dual object of fighting for the faith and winning rich booty in the field.

Some idea of the vast wealth captured by the Sultan and his followers may be gathered from the fact that in his first invasion jewelled necklaces worth 180,000 dinars (£90,000) fell into Mahmud's hands. These victories also earned the name of Ghazi (victor and idol-breaker) for the Sultan, an epitaph with which the name of Mahmud is familiar to a student of the East. In the sixteenth campaign, undertaken against the temple of Somnath a million pounds worth of treasure fell into Mahmud's hands.

In speaking of the Sultan's invasions it is important to note that Mahmud never made a home in India, a country which was more extensive and richer than Khurasan and Afghanistan. These raids were carried out more or less like those of a brigand animated by a lust for booty rather than by a desire to build up an empire. India with all her riches never appealed to the Sultan as a country to make into a real part of his empire but he

left his deputies in the Punjab, who became rebels almost as soon as the Sultan withdrew from the country. It was the lot of the Ghorid princes, at first the lieutenants of the Sultan, to conceive the idea of establishing a kingdom in India.

Expedition against the Afghans 1019 A.D. :-

The tribes who inhabited the mountainous region between Ghazna and the Indus then, as ever since, made raids and looted the caravans which passed from Khurasan to India. In 1019 A.D. the Sultan, by a feint in another direction, deceived and then suddenly fell upon them and overwhelmed them. Mahmud showed but little mercy, putting great numbers to death. The rest he tamed and later on he formed a soldiery out of them for the Ghaznavid army even as the British have today.

Conquest of the valley of the river Nur and Qirat 1020 A.D. :-

The valley of the river Nur and Qirat lay to the north of Lamghan, in modern Kafiristan. According to Gardizi the inhabitants were pagans and worshipped lions. In 1020 A.D. the Sultan launched a crusade against them. The native ruler could not withstand the Sultan, submitted and embraced Islam. The Sultan after the conquest left the province to the local ruler as a feudatory, and sent teachers to instruct the inhabitants in Islam.

Relations with the ruler of Makran :-

Makran was dependency of the Buyids. It included the sea-coast land from the gulf of Oman to Sindh, comprising parts of Kirman and Baluchistan. Its capital, Kiz, was near the modern

town of Turbat. On the decline of the Buyid power its ruler Mad'am paid homage to Sabuktigin, and after his death he recognised Mahmud as his overlord. In 1025 - 26 A.D., when the Sultan was engaged in his expedition to Somnath in India, Mad'am died. On his death a civil war ensued for the succession to the throne which was claimed by his two sons Isa and Abul Mu'askar. In this contest Abul Mu'askar was defeated and fled to Seistan, and on the Sultan's return in 1026 - 27 A.D., Mu'askar went to Ghazna. Isa fearing that the royal favours would be extended to his brother, hastened to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sultan. Isa was confirmed in Makran, while his brother was granted an allowance.

Sultan Mahmud and the Seljuks :-

The Seljuks were a branch of the Ghuzz Turks. Their leader Duqaq or Tuqaq, father of Seljuk, migrated to Transoxiana and about 985 A.D. settled at Bukhara and the Samanids, then in their decrepitude, utilised his services against the Khans of Turkestan. Thus, under the patronage of the Samanids, Seljuk and his son Israel acquired great influence in Bukhara.

In 999 A.D., when Transoxiana was conquered by Ilak Khan the Seljuks were unruly and dangerous subjects. Ilak's successor Qadir Khan, requested Mahmud to remove the Seljuks to Khurasan to which the Sultan agreed. Mahmud thought to incapacitate them by making ~~a prisoner~~ their leader ^{a prisoner} and then taking stern measures

against the rest. Accordingly he invited Israel to a banquet and during it asked him how many followers he could muster for war, to which Israel replied that if he sent an arrow to his tent one hundred thousand men would prepare for battle, and that if he were to show his bow two hundred thousand would answer his summons. Mahmud, however, arrested Israel all the same and sent him to the fort of Kālanjir in Kashmir, where he died.

On the death of Israel, the tribe, desiring vengeance, requested Mahmud to allow them to settle in Khurasan. Arslan Jadhīb advised Mahmud to have a general massacre of them, or at least ^{to} cut off their thumbs so that they might be unable to use the bow, but Mahmud rejected this proposal and granted them permission to settle in Khurasan. Accordingly they settled at Sarkhas, Farwah, Nisa and Abiward, but were forbidden to keep any arms and were ordered to live in scattered places. It was not long however before Mahmud began to realise that he had made a mistake in planting a formidable enemy in the heart of his empire.

About 1027 A.D., the people of Abiward and Nisa began to complain so forcibly that Mahmud directed Arslan Jadhīb, governor of Tus, to take action against them. The Seljuks, however, had become too strong and in 1028 A.D. Mahmud personally took the field against them and inflicted heavy losses on them near Farawah. No mercy was shown and thousands were put to the sword. The survivors fled to the mountains, some to Dahistan and others to Kirman where the Buyid Qawamu'd Dawls (1012 - 28 A.D.) received

them kindly and enlisted them in his army. In 1028 A.D., at the death of Qawamu'd Dawla, they moved to Isfahan where they found a protector in the person of Atau'd Dawla Abu Jaffar bin Kakiwaih. At the instance of Mahmud Atau'd Dawla tried to massacre them after he had treacherously invited them to a feast, but the Seljuks became suspicious and fled to Azerbaijan and the Balkan mountains.

From there they began to carry out occasional raids, and Mahmud again sent Arslan Jadhik to exterminate them, and even the Sultan himself joined in the war. By these means he was able to sweep them for the time being out of Khurasan, but no sooner was he dead than they came back to Khurasan and occupied a greater part of it than before.

Conquest of Ray, Hamadan and Isfahan 1029 A.D. :-

Fakhru'd Dawla, the ruler of Media, died in 997 A.D. and was succeeded by his minor son Majdu'd Dawla. The mother of Majdu'd Dawla, acted as his regent, but on her death when the power passed to him, he proved quite incapable of governing the territories which he had inherited and he was obliged to appeal to the Sultan of Ghazna to restore order among his mutinous troops. Mahmud sent a force of 8000 men under Hajib Ali. This general reached Ray in 1029 A.D. and promptly arrested Majdu'd Dawla, when he came out to meet him to receive the Sultan's message. Thus Ray was annexed in 1029 A.D. The Sultan then visited Ray and took the oath of allegiance from all the petty chiefs. Subsequently he entrusted Ray to his son Masud with instructions to annex the

rest of the Buyid territories. Masud conquered Hamadan, and Isfahan from which he expelled the Buyid ruler Alau'd Dawla. After the death of his father in 1030 A.D. Masud, at the instance of the Caliph, gave up the town of Isfahan to Alau'd Dawla who recognised Masud as his overlord and ruled as his deputy.

Death and character of Sultan Mahmud :-

Sultan Mahmud died on the 30th April 1030 A.D.

A great struggle between Shiaism and the Sunnee faith centred around him. This struggle was carried on by methods which cause a distorted view of the controversy, as well as of Mahmud,

~~his detractors~~, his detractors using pure black for his character and his eulogists nothing but white.

Mahmud is described as a well built man of average height, commanding appearance and of kingly demeanour. Ameer Ali in his "History of Saracens" remarks "Sultan Mahmud's reign was one of the most brilliant in the history of Asia. He beautified Ghazna and might have said, like the first Emperor of Rome, that he found his Capital a town of huts and left it a city of marble palaces."

Sultan Mahmud is one of the greatest heroes in Eastern history. He created a mountain principality into an empire which covered almost the whole of the Central Asia. The poets and men of letters whom he patronised have immortalised him in their writings and have described his wonderful deeds so that they still fire the imagination of the Oriental peoples. Even in

the writings of the circle of great authors by which he was surrounded we find fragmentary pictures of the splendour of his court, showing it to have been among the greatest known to Persian culture and art.

There were many eminent scientists at this period, some of whom enjoyed an almost world-wide reputation. Biruni the astronomer, Farabi the philosopher, Utbi the historian, Bahiqi the writer of the memoirs, Unsari, Farakhi, Daqiqi and Asjadi, the poets will live in the memory of men for ever. The members of this literary coterie are however quite overshadowed by one poet of unsurpassed genius Firdausi, the Persian Homer, who created in the Persian tongue, till then the language of the uneducated, one of the greatest epics of the world.

Mahmud made grants amounting to two hundred thousand pounds to men of letters, founded a university, a library and a museum and endowed scholarships so that Ghazna became a city of charm and culture.

With all this, and though he was a great soldier, a man of dauntless courage and untiring energy, Mahmud lacked the foresight of a statesman. No laws nor institutions sprang from him. The security of his subjects was all that his rule guaranteed and we find no instances in which the individual liberty of his subjects was tampered with save where the personal motives of the Sultan were considered.

The religious wars of Mahmud were undoubtedly carried on for loot and the aggrandisement of his power. Though those who

volunteered for the army obtained great booty from these expeditions it should be noted that these wars often weighed heavily on his other subjects who were heavily taxed to meet their cost. There were cases in which the collection of such taxes caused the abandonment of agricultural districts and of irrigation.

The reign of Mahmud is remarkable in the Eastern Muslim countries as typical of government in which the despotic system reached its full development. Persian historians note how the enlightened Sultan established equality between soldiers and subjects and those who were required to obey and pay taxes were treated in the same way as a soldier who was expected to fight for the king. This development of despotism marks the reign of Mahmud.

This autocracy lasted while the Sultan lived. No sooner did his death take place than his empire fell to pieces. As is the case with every despot his rule though stable while supported by his strong personality ended with his death, so with Mahmud we find that no worthy successor appeared after him.

The Seljuks, Muhammad's uncle, and his other relatives with a number of influential chiefs, openly joined the rebels. Their example was followed by Muhammad's minister Buzurg Umayyid, and on October 2nd, 1030 A.D., they captured Muhammad's pavilion, seized his person, and confined him in the castle of Ruzbihan. Meanwhile Mas'ud advanced to Balkh and was joined by the ministers and courtiers of Muhammad.

Mohammad bin Mahmud 1030 A.D.

Accession of Mohammad and civil war between brothers 1030 A.D. :-

Mahmud had designated his younger son Abu Ahmad Mohammad as his heir-apparent, and had prevailed upon his elder son Masud who held the government of Ray, Hamadan, and Isfahan, to swear loyalty to Mohammad. In 1030 A.D., after his father's death, Mohammad ascended the throne of Ghazna. Masud received the tidings at Hamadan and immediately came to Khurasan and demanded that Mohammad should read his name in the Khutba as he was the elder, declaring that he had no intention of seeking full sovereignty, if, according to the will of his father, the provinces of Tabristan, Media and Khurasan were left to him. Mohammad refused this demand and, preparing for conflict, marched from Ghazna to Tuknabad on the 31st August, 1030 A.D.

Mohammad, weak by nature, could not keep the army under control: his officers rebelled against his authority and Yusuf bin Sabuktigin, Mohammad's uncle, and Amir Ali Khishwand with a number of influential chiefs, openly joined the rebels. Their example was followed by Mohammad's minister Husanik Meykaul, and on October 2nd, 1030 A.D., they captured Mohammad's pavilion, seized his person, and confined him in the castle of Tuknabad. Meanwhile Masud advanced to Balkh and was joined by the minister and Courtiers of Mohammad.

Masud showed no gratitude to these magnates who had revolted in his favour. Meykaul with whom Masud had had a personal quarrel during the life-time of his father, was put to death. A similar fate befell Amir Ali Khishwand, who was also executed, while Yusuf bin Sabuktagin was imprisoned. Thus Masud did away with those nobles who had placed him on the throne. He then returned to Ghazna and was crowned king.

Abu Sa'id Masud 1030 - 40 A.D.

Early life of Masud :-

Masud was born in 998 A.D., and as soon as he came of age his father entrusted him with responsible posts. In 1016 - 17 A.D. he was made governor of Herat and in 1020 A.D. he was entrusted with the task of the subjugation of the N.W. part of Ghorr. He was shortly afterwards imprisoned and sent to Multan, but later was restored to favour and reinstated in the government of Herat. In 1029 A.D. Mahmud appointed Masud governor of Ray, to which he added Hamadan and Isfahan. Masud was making preparations for further conquests in the Buyid territory when he received the news of his father's death in 1030 A.D.

Accession of Masud, October 1030 A.D. :-

After making his brother Mohammad a prisoner, Masud ascended the throne in 1030 A.D., about six months after his father's death, and found himself the inheritor of a great empire. Not content with Mohammad's imprisonment, Masud ordered his eyes to

be put out. The government of Media was entrusted to Abu Sahil and Hamadan with Isfahn to Aḥau'd Dawla Kakiwaiha, the maternal uncle of Majdu'd Dawla the Buyid. Masud pointed Ahmad bin Hasan Mamundi to the office of Vizier and in Khurasan he made Abul Fazal Suri governor. Masud further concluded a treaty with the Caliph in which the Commander of the Faithful bound himself to enter into relations with the Qara-Khanids only if Masud acted as intermediary.

His relations with the ruler of Makran :-

Towards the end of Mahmud's reign, when his whole energies were absorbed in the task of subduing the rebellious Seljuks, Isa, the ruler of Makran adopted an arrogant and hostile attitude towards the Sultan and thought it an opportune moment for asserting his independence. Mahmud was preparing to crush Isa when he died. Masud took stern measures against Isa, deposing and then executing him, and putting his brother Abdul Mu'asker in his place.

His relations with the Qara-Khanids :-

Masud entertained friendly relations with the Qara-Khanids and treated them as equals. In 1031 A.D., he sent Abul Qasim Ibrahim bin Abdullah Husayari and Qazi Abu Tahir Abdullah bin Ahmad Tabani to Qadir Khan, the ruler of Kashgar. These envoys succeeded in winning the daughter of Qadir Khan for Masud and a grand daughter of Qadir Khan for Masud's son Modud. The dowry of Masud's bride was fixed at 50,000 dinars (£25,000) and Modud's at 30,000 dinars (£15,000.)

As regards Masud's relations with Alitigin, the ruler of Bukhara, it should be noted that before coming to the throne Masud, when preparing to fight his brother Mohammad had demanded help from Alitigin, on condition that he should give Khuttal to the latter if he succeeded in gaining the sovereignty. When his accession to the throne was effected through the treachery of Mohammad's courtiers, without any bloodshed, Masud declined to carry out the terms of this treaty. Thus the relations between them became strained and led to Masud taking up the idea of conquering Transoxiana; for this task he appointed Altunatash.

Masud sends Altunatash to invade Transoxania, 1032 A.D. :-

In 1032 A.D. Altunatash marched at the head of an army to reduce Alitigin, with a further force of 15,000 men which Masud sent from Balkh as a reinforcement. On the arrival of Altunatash, Alitigin fled from Bukhara and the city was occupied by the Ghaznavid forces. Alitigin meanwhile sought help from the Seljuks and collecting his forces met Altunatash at Dabusiyah, situated between Bukhara and Samarqand, on the south side of the Sughd|river. Here an indecisive battle was fought but in the engagement Altunatash was badly wounded and retired to Khorezmia. The Vizier of Alitigin wrote to Altunatash and begged him to settle the matter by arbitration. He pointed out that Masud's father Mahmud had maintained friendly r-elations with Alitigin and he stressed the fact that Alitigin had given Masud substantial help on the occasion of his accession. A truce was patched

up, and Alitigin retired to Samarqand but Altunatash died of his wounds.

A reign of terror in Khurasan :-

Abul Fazal Suri, whom Masud had appointed governor of Khurasan became notorious for his misrule, and is said to have amassed great wealth by his extortions. To cover himself, it is recorded he used to make innumerable presents to Masud, nearly a half of his dishonest gains, and that he reduced his people to penury. As a result his Dihqans appealed to the Qara-Khanids and later on to the powerful Seljuks to deliver them from his tyranny.

Rebellion of Khwarzám-Shah 1034 A.D. :-

After the conquest of Khorezmia Sultan Mahmud had placed the province under his Hajib, Altunatash, on whom he had conferred the title of Khwarzám-Shah. Altunatash had repulsed the invasions of nomad Turkomans, especially the Qipchaq tribe, whom he had then taken into his service. Subsequently Altunatash employed the Seljuks also and had thus consolidated his power. Mahmud in his life-time wished to reduce the power of Khwarzám-Shah and had even tried to bring about his assassination by inviting him to Ghazna for that purpose, but without any success. Altunatash similarly evaded Masud's blood thirsty designs.

We have seen how Altunatash died of his wounds in 1032 A.D. in his invasion of Transoxiana. After his death Masud nominated Altunatash's son Haroun to the governorship of Khwarezmia, but to keep him under control or to curtail his power, he ordered that his (Masud's) son Saïd should be given the title

of Kharzam-Shah, and that Haroun was to act as the vassal of Sa'id.

In 1034 A.D. one of Haroun's brothers who was living at Masud's court at Ghazna died as a result of a fall from the roof. Haroun attributed his death to a conspiracy on the part of Masud, and rebelled, making friends with the Seljuks and the Qara-Khanid ruler Alitigin. Having refused to read the Khutba in Masud's name in the summer of 1034 A.D., Haroun gave the lands of Shabukan, the seat of the government of the Juzjan district, to the Seljuks in which to form settlements, and in 1035 A.D., Haroun invaded Khurasan. Alitigin ruling in Bukhara, died at this time and was succeeded by his son Ilak. Haroun incited Ilak to invade Tirmidh and Chaghaniyan and he also concluded an offensive treaty with Shah-Malik, the ruler of Jand. The combined forces of Ilak and Haroun invaded Chaghaniyan whose ruler, Abul Qasim, had to fly for safety. At this juncture, however, Haroun was murdered by his Ghaznavid slaves. Ilak returned to Samarqand and when Masud sent an army against him he apologised and made an offensive and defensive alliance with the Sultan. A sister of Ilak was married to Masud's son Sa'id, and a niece of Mahmud was married to Ilak.

Masud invades Turkestan 1038 A.D. :-

In 1039 A.D., Abu Ishaq Ibrahim (son of the first Ilak, the conqueror of Trans^{ix}iana) who was held prisoner by Ilak bin Alitigin, the ruler of Bukhara, made his escape from prison and fled to Uzgand. In the winter of 1038 A.D., contrary to the

advice of his court, Masud took the field against Abu Ishaq in person. Abu Ishaq, who had taken the title of Puritigin, marched on Khuttal, and then fell on Chaghaniyan. Masud, suffering from the snow and cold, reached Chaghaniyan in December, 1038 A.D., and besieged the pass of Shuniyan. Puritign, who had entered into an alliance with the Seljuks, incited them to invade Sarkhas, so as to create a diversion in his favour. The Sultan after an indecisive battle, was forced to retreat on the 12th January, 1039 A.D., to Tirmidh, thus giving to Puritigin, who pursued the imperial army, a practical victory.

Masud's expedition against the Seljuks :-

In the reign of Masud the Seljuks had become a great power. As early as 1030 A.D. Masud had endeavoured to destroy their power and had devised schemes to curtail it, for it was daily on the increase. In 1031 A.D. they had raided Herat but were driven back as far as Farawah. In 1033 - 34 A.D., they began to plan their campaigns systematically: their first expeditions had been merely plundering raids. In 1035 A.D., the Seljuks succeeded in making further encroachments on a considerable part of Khurasan. Masud sent his Hajib Baktoghdi and Hussain Ali bin Mik'ail against them and these two generals were able to inflict a considerable defeat on the Seljuks. However while the Ghaznavid troops were elated with victory and were plundering the enemy's camp, a body of Seljuks under their leader Daoud came down from the hills and caused fearful havoc in their ranks, and captured Hussain bin Ali. Masud's foolhardiness can be gathered

from the fact that instead of crushing this dangerous enemy he attempted a fruitless invasion of India in 1035 A.D.

In 1036 A.D. the Seljuks captured Balkh, but at the approach of Masud they retired to Merv and sued for peace. The foolish Sultan instead of crushing them, gave them the opportunity to consolidate their power and agreed to a shameful treaty. Barely had Masud set out on his return to Ghazna than the Seljuks attacked his army in the rear with considerable slaughter. Masud now turned back and wreaked a terrible revenge for their treachery, putting a large number to the sword, while the rest of them fled.

Battle of Dandanqan 1040 A.D. :-

The Seljuk hordes, their number increasing by the fresh migrations of Turkomans from the Steppes, were organised under their leader Tughril Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, into a coherent army. In order to face the Ghaznavids, the Seljuks had obtained the support of the people of Nasa, Abiward and Sarkhas. Masud, in order to crush them took the field in person. The Seljuks fought under Tughril bin Mik'ail bin Seljuk, and the scene of the decisive battle was the fortress of Dandanqan some forty miles from Merv. Masud deserted by his generals, suffered a complete defeat and fled to Ghazna. The Seljuks occupied Khurasan and made themselves masters of the whole province. Tughril, ~~was~~ seated on a throne on the very site of the battle, ~~and~~ was proclaimed Amir of Khurasan. Letters of this victory were despatched to the Caliph at Bagdad and to the Qara-Khanid rulers.

As a result of this reverse Masud considered going to India, probably to recruit an army with the wealth derived from the spoils of his Indian campaigns, and then to take revenge on the Seljuks. In vain did the Vizier and nobles advise the Sultan as to the futility of such a course; Masud had already made plans and even given ~~p~~ermission to some of his nobles, whom he intended to leave in Ghazna, to enter the service of the Seljuks, should they conquer Ghazna. In order to create fresh foes for the Seljuks Masud sent a mandate to Puritigin for the government of Balkh.

End of Masud :-

Before leaving for India, Masud slew many of the Seljukian nobles at his court and despatched his son Modud towards Balkh, while he himself set out for the Punjab, accompanied by his blind captive brother Mohammad with his three sons Ahmad, Abdur, Rahaman, and Abdur Rahim. He proposed to pass the winter in India and then to renew the war with the Seljuks. Leaving his baggage on the western side of the river Indus he intended to proceed leisurely, when without warning his forces rebelled, and one Nowashtagin, with a body of the imperial troops, plundered the royal treasures, raised the blind Mohammad to the throne once again and put Masud in chains. Being brought before Mohammad, the unfortunate Masud was ordered to be sent to a fortress where he was executed in the winter of 1040 A.D.

Character of Masud :-

Masud is described as a man of good physique who spent much of his time in hunting. W. Barthold writes, "Masud held the same high opinion of his power as Mahmud, and like him wished

wished to decide everything according to his own judgment, but lacking his father's talents, came to disastrous decisions, which he obstinately maintained, paying no heed to the advice of men of experience. The tales of Masud's prowess in the chase and in battle show that he was distinguished by physical bravery, but all the more striking is his complete lack of moral courage; in the hour of misfortune he showed himself more pusillanimous than a woman! Masud's obstinacy, vacillation and utter incapacity to rule brought about his ruin and led his army to revolt against him.

The peasants were overburdened by his forced levies and soon refused to co-operate with him. The reign of terror in Khurasan, under which the inhabitants groaned soon made the old supporters of the Ghaznavid house seek refuge with rival powers. The confiscation of property, [&] Masud's heavy punishments soon disgusted the old courtiers of the Sultan.

Notwithstanding these faults Masud is considered a great patron of learning. Numerous scholars flourished during his reign. He is said to have adorned Ghazna with some beautiful buildings and built a magnificent palace which, with its throne of exquisite workmanship, was a marvel of those days. The great wealth that his father left was lavishly spent on buildings and other luxurious projects.

The successors of Masud :-

After the deposition and assassination of Masud in 1040 A.D. a rapid succession of princes followed. The blind Mohammad reigned for a short time. In April 1041 A.D. Modud the son of Masud, succeeded to the crown. This internal warfare helped to confirm the power of the Seljuks, who, by 1041 A.D., had become the master of Tabristan. In 1043 A.D., having taken Khorezmia from Shah Malik, the ruler of Jund, who recognised the Ghaznavids as his overlords, Tughril defeated Modud in Khurasan, which made the Seljuks masters of the whole of Persia. About this time Puritigin, who had firmly established himself in Transoxiana, founded an independent dynasty.

The Seljuks divided the empire thus :-

Musa Arslan Payghau bin Seljuk was given Herat, Bust and Seistan, while his nephew Tughril was assigned Media, and Chaghri Beg Dawud was given Merv. Chaghri's three sons Qawurt, Yaquti, and Alp Arslan were allotted respectively Kirman with Tun, and Tabbas; Azerbaijan and Zanjan. Alp Arslan was to remain with his uncle Tughril at Ray. Hamadan was given to Ibrahim bin Inal bin Seljuk and Musa bin Qutalmish was given Jurjan and Damghan.

The patent of the Caliph Qaim, allotting all these provinces to Tughril, and the entry of the latter into Bagdad in 1056 A.D., cuts off the Ghaznavids from Persian history. Although the Ghaznavid dynasty flourished up to 1160 A.D., their power was confined to Afghanistan and the Punjab only.

Chapter XIX. Chronicle.

The Ziyarids 928 - 1042 A.D.

The founder of the dynasty and his lineage :-

Abul Hajjaj Mardawij bin Ziyar, the founder of the dynasty, was a descendant of Argush Farhadwand, who was the governor of Gilan in the time of Kay Khusrau, the famous monarch of the early Kay line. Biruni traces the genealogy of Mardawij up to the Sassanian king Qubad (487 - 531 A.D.) the father of Nushirwan the Just. Though the family resided in Gilan, the governorship had been wrested from them. One descendant, however, Mardawij, referred to above, got possession of Tabristan and Jurjan and laid the foundation of the Ziyarid house. To trace his rise, we shall briefly consider the history of Tabristan from 913 - 28 A.D. when Mardawij, having acquired power, made himself an independent ruler.

History of Tabristan 913 - 28 A.D. :-

In 914 A.D. Tabristan had come under Sayyid Nasir'i Kabir Utrawush, who at his death in 917 A.D., left the kingdom to his son-in-law Sayyid Hasan bin Qasim called Ad-Da'i ila'l Haqq. It is quite unnecessary to enter into the tiresome details of the various expeditions sent against the Sayyid by the Samanids. When the country was invaded by the Samanid general Abu Ali Simjur both Sayyid Hasan bin Qasim Da'i and Abul Hussain Ahmad, son of Sayyid Nasir'i Kabir Utrawush, made common cause against the former and divided Tabristan between themselves, Jurjan being given to

Abul Hussain Ahmad bin Nasir and Tabristan being retained by Da'i. At the death of Abul Hussain Ahmad bin Nasir in 923 A.D. his brother Abul Qasim Jaffar bin Nasir took possession of Tabristan and Da'i fled to the mountains. Soon afterwards Abul Qasim Jaffar bin Nasir died in 925 A.D., upon which the Daylamites swore allegiance to his nephew Sayyid Abu Ali. Abul Qasim Nasir however had made a certain Makan bin Kaki Governor of Jurjan, and he advanced the claims of his late master's son Ismail. Makan bin Kaki marched against Abu Ali and crowned Ismail. Ali bin Buwayh (later on famous by his title of Imadu'd Dawla), the founder of the Buyid house, was Sayyid Abu Ali's governor in Jajarm, near Isfanj, on the road to Bistam. In order to get the allegiance of Imadu'd Dawla news of the coronation of Ismail was sent to him at Jajarm, while an army under Abul Hussain bin Kaki (Makan's brother) was also despatched to win him over if force was thought necessary. It was, and Imadu'd Dawla fled beaten from the battlefield.

In his endeavours to defeat Sayyid Abu Ali, Abul Hussain Kaki was beaten and slain. Makan bin Kaki then made an unsuccessful attempt to avenge his brother's death and had to fly to Lamrask, pursued by Abu Ali. Makan was forced to take shelter with a poor man named Kayan Buj in Sari who healed Makan's wounds and on his recovery Makan entered into negotiations with the exiled Sayyid Hasan bin Qasim Da'i, urging him to revolt against Abu Jaffar who had succeeded to the throne of Tabristan after the death of his brother Abu Ali. Sayyid Abu Jaffar with an army of 1200 men marched against Makan and completely defeated him.

In the midst of this chaos, another adventurer, Asfar bin Shiruya, had conquered Sari and had proclaimed himself king of Jurjan. The joint forces of Makan and Hasan bin Qasim Da'i marched on Jurjan and reduced Amul, Asfar having fled at their approach. Nasr bin Ahmad, the Samanid Amir (914 - 43 A.D.) sent an army to subjugate Jurjan (vide page 213, Chapter XIII) and gave the government of Tabristan and Jurjan to Asfar as feudatory provinces. According to Ibn Isfandiyar Da'i's strategy in breaking down the bridges and obstructing the roads reduced the Samanid army to such straits for rations that it sued for peace, and the Sayyid became the undisputed master of Tabristan and Jurjan. After the departure of the Samanid army Makan bin Kaki revolted against Da'i.

Seeing that the relations existing between Da'i and Makan were strained, Asfar, who was given a patent for the vice-royalty of Tabristan from the Samanid government, marched with an army of 7000 Turks and Daylamites against Makan. In the battle that took place Asfar was routed and he then took service under the Samanids. In 927 A.D., it appears that Makan and Da'i formed an alliance, for their combined forces expelled the Samanid governor Mohammad bin Sal'uk from Ray and annexed it. In 928 A.D. Asfar, during Makan's absence from Jurjan, made incursions into Tabristan with the Samanid army. We hear for the first time of Mardawij bin Ziyar, an officer in Asfar's army who accompanied him on this expedition,

Mardawij bin Ziyar, a lieutenant of Asfar bin Shiruyia :-

Mardawij bin Ziyar, of whose early career and birth

little is known, was than a lieutenant of Asfar. On the tidings of their approach, Da'i hastened towards Amul to fight ^{*} the invaders. In the battle that ensued Da'i was slain by Mardawij at Abi-Abad, on the river at Amul, in 928 A.D. Asfar then took possession of Tabristan and later defeated Makan at Ray, which he added to Tabristan. After this conquest the relations between Asfar and Mardawij were cordial as is proved by the fact that when Agushi, the Turkish representative of Asfar in Ray, revolted, Asfar sent Mardawij against the rebel, whom he defeated and sent flying to Qum. At this time both Asfar and Mardawij recognised the Samanids as their overlords. On the intercession of the Samanid government Amul was given to Makan bin Kaki on condition that he should not interfere with the rest of Tabristan.

Mardawij becomes insubordinate 928 - 30 A.D. :-

Mardawij, not content with the position of a general, began to form ambitious schemes. Soon he adopted a hostile attitude towards Asfar, whose administration was none too good, and who had imposed heavy taxes on his people. At Zanjan, which lay on the high road west of Qazwin, in Media, which he held in fief, he declared his independence, and in consequence of Asfar's tyranny many came to Zanjan to seek shelter under him. At the end of 928 A.D. Mardawij attacked Qazwin and expelled Asfar's garrison from the city. Asfar after this reverse retreated to Tabas, where Makan bin Kaki opposed him. Asfar then tried to flee

* Hamad Ullah, author of Tarikh'i Guzida, relates that Mardawij was in the service of Makan bin Kaki at the time when Abu Ali the Buyid (Imadu'd Dawla) was at his court, but this is very confusing. The ^{above} statement ^{based} on Isfandiyar, is further corroborated by Masudi who thinks that Mardawij bin Ziyar started his career in the service of Asfar bin Shiruya. A similar view is also held by Miskawiah.

to the castle of Alamut but Mardawij barred his way, and he was forced to take shelter with a miller. Mardawij, discovering his hiding-place, killed him in 930 or 931 A.D. As a result of this victory Rudbar, Rustumdar, Abhar, Zanjan, Qazwin, Ray and Qumish all fell into Mardawij's hands.

Mardawij's conquests :-

After Asfar's assassination, it became the main ambition of Mardawij to reduce the rival power of Makan bin Kaki. This was no easy task. Disregarding his treaty with the Samanids Makan had subdued the whole of Tabristan and had become so powerful that he had even invaded and occupied Nishapur for a time. On the demand of Nasr II, however, Makan had vacated Khurasan but still held Tabristan and Jurjan. According to Isfandiyar, Makan and Mardawij were outwardly on friendly terms until Makan tortured Abul Fazal Shagird, a kinsman of Asfar's minister Mutrif, to make him disgorge his wealth, and Mardawij marched on Tabristan at Mutrif's call for help. In 931 A.D. Mardawij successfully attacked Makan and occupied Jurjan and Tabristan. Makan is said to have tried twice in vain to regain possession of these provinces with the help of the Samanids. Discouraged at these reverses Makan took service under the Samanids.

Mardawij patronises the Buyida :-

When Mardawij had established himself in Tabristan and Jurjan he lost no time in consolidating his power and in embarking on a career of conquest. His fame as a soldier spread far and wide. Ali bin Buwayh (later on Imadu'd Dawla), the founder of

the Buyid dynasty, with his brother Hasan (Ruknu'd Dawla) who were in the services of Makan bin Kaki, having seen the failure of the cause of their master, deserted him and went to Mardawij who received them cordially and took them into his employment, and utilised their services by sending Ali to Ray, where Mardawij's brother Washmagir was the governor.

Conquest of Karaj 931 A.D. :-

Washmagir ordered Ali the Buyid to take charge of Karaj near Hamadan, which formed a dependency of the governor of Ray. The former governor of Karaj is said to have misappropriated state funds and Ali was sent to set the matter right. Ali not only recovered the treasures from him but extended Mardawij's rule to several fortresses of the Khuramites (an atheistical sect). He next won the confidence of Mardawij's general, Ibrahim bin Kasak, but Mardawij, suspecting the intentions of Ali called him back. Ali suspecting treachery, delayed obeying and finally after collecting some money, left Karaj for Isfahan. Ali was joined by an officer of Mardawij named Shirzad, who brought some 40 men to Ali.

Conquest of Isfahan 931 A.D. :-

Ali the Buyid took the direction to Isfahan with the intention of seeking protection under Muzaffar bin Yaqut, the Governor of that place, whom he tried to convince of the sincerity of his purpose. Muzaffar, however, was suspicious of his designs and refused him an entry. Reluctantly Ali had to fight Muzaffar and defeated him. Muzaffar fled to his father Yaqut, the Governor of Fars. Ali occupied Isfahan and hastened to send a report of

of this victory to Mardawij whom, he added, he still recognised as his overlord and master.

Conquest of Hamadan 931 A.D. :-

In 931 A.D. Mardawij turned his attention to Hamadan. Its Governor, Haroun bin Gharib, was vanquished in a battle and took to flight, and as a result the whole of Jibal up to the border of Hulwan which reached the Mesopotamian frontier came under Mardawij's sway.

Recognition by the Caliph 932 A.D. :-

In 932 A.D., the Caliph Muktadir (907 - 32 A.D.) recognised Mardawij as the lawful ruler of those provinces which he had conquered on condition that Isfahan should be ceded to the Bagdad government. Mardawij hesitated over compliance. With this demand and while the negotiations were being carried on Muktadir was assassinated on the 31st October 932 A.D.

Rebellion of Ali the Buyid :-

Mardawij alarmed at the popularity of the Buyid Ali sent him friendly messages and also despatched an army under his brother Washamgir to bring him back, in case he should not surrender. Ali left Isfahan and directed his march towards Arrajan, which was governed by Abu Bekr Mohammad bin Yaqut. On Ali's approach Abu Bekr fled without giving battle and Arrajan was occupied by the Buyid commander. Ali wrote to Yaqut, suggesting a treaty but the latter would not consider the idea. Disgusted, Ali decided to go to Kirman, to seek protection under Makan bin Kaki, who ruled it under the suzerainty of the Samanids.

Mardawij occupies Khuzistan :-

Leaving his brother Washangir at Ray, Mardawij prepared his forces to March on Khuzistan. Shiraj bin Laila, Mardawij's general, was sent to Ahwaz at the head of 2400 men to bar the road there. In September 934 A.D. Mardawij's troops entered Ramhurmuz, a city which lay three day's march to the east of Ahwuz. Yaqut sent an army under Munis to oppose Mardawij's entry. In the battle that ensued Yaqut suffered a severe defeat while Mardawij occupied Ahwaz and Ramhurmuz. Yaqut now fled to Wasit from where he intended to obtain help. Hearing of Yaqut's defeat Ali sent his brother Hasan (Ruknu'd Dawla) to carry on guerilla warfare in the districts of Fars, from which he extorted vast sums of money. Yaqut sent an army which Hasan defeated with a handful of men and then joined his brother Ali.

Mardawij forms an alliance with Yaqut against Ali the Buyid :-

To deal more efficiently with Ali the Buyid, Mardawij formed an alliance with Yaqut. The combined forces pursued Ali, who moved to Istakhar. At this point some of the followers of Ali deserted to Yaqut, who beheaded them. Thinking himself incapable of facing such odds, Ali the Buyid offered to submit, to read Mardawij's name in the Khutba, and to pay a fine to which Mardawij acquiesced.

Recognition by the Caliph 934 A.D. :-

In 934 A.D. the Caliph Kahir (932 - 34 A.D.) confirmed Mardawij in all his conquests but demanded Isfahan. Mardawij

issued instructions to his brother Washamgir to hand over Isfahan to Muzaffar bin Yaqut, the Caliph's agent, but as Kahir was deposed and blinded in May 934 A.D., he evaded the demand and directed his brother to resist Ibn Yaqut should he come to Isfahan.

Assassination of Mardawij 935 A.D. :-

In 935 A.D., Mardawij was informed that Ali the Buyid had rebelled again and in order to crush him he proceeded to Isfahan to make his plans. While there was assassinated by his Turkish guards as he was in the bath.

Character of Mardawij :-

Mardawij began his career as a private in the army and became a general and an Amir through his military prowess. He established a dynasty which lasted for more than a century in Tabristan and Jurjan and one which played a great part in the history of mediaeval Persia, a period in which only the clever and resourceful could survive.

Mardawij combined the daring of Yakub the Coppersmith with the prudence of Ahmad the Samanid whose chequered career was so abruptly terminated. In his schemes he endeavoured to invade Bagdad and restore the throne of the Persian Chosroes in his own person. Though his government was notorious for levying heavy taxes, he was much loved by his soldiers, as was proved by the fact that after his murder, his corpse was taken from Isfahan to Ray, the coffin being carried by them on their shoulders.

The patronage which Mardawij extended to the Buyids resulted in the formation of an independent Buyid dynasty, which will be discussed in the following chapters. Ali the Buyid became more powerful than his suzerain and succeeded in expelling Washangir (Mardawij's brother) from Isfahan which he occupied himself.

The Buyids had every advantage on their side, having been trained in the protracted warfare between the Abbasids and the Sassanids in Tabaristan, hastened to acknowledge the superiority of the Buyids, with whose help he intended to maintain his own. This is in strong contrast to Mardawij, who acknowledged only the titular vassalage of the Abbasids. The Sassanid Amir Khusro II is said to have bestowed Mardawij's provinces on Washangir, to whom a formal investiture was sent from Baghdad.

As soon as Washangir was in the throne, he came into conflict with Makan bin Kafi, who dominated parts of Tabaristan and Jurjan, and he sent Shiraj bin Ishaq and other generals with an army against him. Makan, finding himself unable to do so, fled to Jurjan and Washangir then appointed him as his deputy in Amul, the capital of Tabaristan. Makan however died in August 916 A.D., as a result of a fall from a horse. In his death the army chose another general of Tabaristan, but Washangir refused to recognize his appointment and dismissed him.

Washamgir bin Ziyar (935-67 A.D.)

Washamgir ascends the throne -

In 935 A.D., after the assassination of Mardawij his brother Zahiru'd Dawla Abu Talib Washamgir ascended the throne. The army of Ray swore allegiance to him and Washamgir seeing that the Buyids had every advantage in their favour, having been trained in the protracted warfare between the Alid rulers and the Samanids in Tabristan, hastened to acknowledge the overlordship of the Samanids, with whose help he intended to maintain his own. This is in strong contrast to Mardawij, who acknowledged only the titular vassalage of the Abbasides. The Samanid Amir Nasr II 913 - 42 A.D. is said to have bestowed Mardawij's provinces on Washamgir, to whom a formal investiture was sent from Bukhara.

Expedition against Makan 935 A.D. :-

No sooner had Washamgir come to the throne than he came into conflict with Makan bin Kaki, who dominated parts of Tabristan and Jurjan, and he sent Shiraj bin Laila and Abul Qasim with an army against him. Makan, finding himself unequal to the contest, fled to Jurjan and Washamgir then appointed Abul Qasim as his deputy in Amul, the capital of Tabristan. Abul Qasim however died in August 936 A.D., as a result of a fall from a horse. On his death the army chose another General of Washamgir, Ibrahim bin Gushyar in his place but Washamgir refused to recognise Ibrahim's appointment and dismissed him.

Reconciliation with Makan bin Kaki 936 A.D. :-

Ibn Isfandiyyar says that for some unaccountable reason Washamgir recalled Makan bin Kaki from his exile at Nishapur and conferred on him the government of Jurjan (November - December 936 A.D.) and Makan bin Kaki accepted the governorship as Washamgir's vassal. Washamgir further entrusted Abu Daud with the command of an army to wage war against Abu Musa bin Bahram, who had rebelled in Daylam, and with the assistance of Abu Jaffar Nasr he defeated Abu Musa. Washamgir bestowed the conquered regions of Daylam, Jalus, and districts on the other side of Amul on Ahmad bin Salar and the government of Amul was granted to Mohammad bin Ahmad Nasr who, we are told, gave audiences on Mondays and Thursdays and held religious discussions with doctors of Islamic Law every Wednesday.

War with the Samanids 939 A.D. :-

The Samanid Amir Nasr II, becoming alarmed at the alliance of Washamgir and Makan, sent an army under his general Abu Ali bin Muhtaj against them to Jurjan, Makan appealed for help to Washamgir who sent him his generals Shiraj bin Laila and Isfahi, with numerous levies from Gilan and Daylam. For seven months Jurjan was a battlefield till Makan and his allies were defeated and Makan himself was obliged to fall back on Tabristan. Hasan, the Buyid (Ruknu'd Dawla) seized the opportunity of invading Ray with the approval of the Samanids. Washamgir then marched against him and fought him at a place called Mushtu, two stages distant from Ray. The Buyid army was defeated with heavy loss and Hasan had to retreat to Isfahan.

Battle of Ishaqabad 940 A.D. :-

When Washamgir had got rid of Hasan the Buyid, he came to the help of Makan. The Samanid General Abu Ali, after his first victory, had gone towards Ray to conquer its neighbourhood, and now fell upon Damghan, the capital of the province of ^{*}Kumis. The allied forces gathered at Ishaqabad, and on the 24th December 940 A.D. they drew up their battle array against Abu Ali who had been joined by Ruknu'd Dawla. At Abu Ali's first attack Washamgir fled but Makan fought on with reckless bravery until his army was practically annihilated and he himself perished in the battle, his head being sent to Bukhara. Amongst the slain was Mohammad Qami Hussain bin Mohammad, generally nicknamed Kala, one of the finest scholars of the age, whose son Ibnu'l Amid, the vizier of Imadu'd Dawla had played so important a part in the history of the province of Fars.

Washamgir returns to Amul 941 A.D. :-

After this reverse Washamgir returned to Amul. where he learnt of the death of Makan. He found that Makan's officers, led by Makan's cousin Hasan bin Firuzan, who was the governor of Sari, had incited the mob to riot as a protest against his desertion of Makan in the battle of Ishaqabad. Abu Ali had fallen back to Ray and was busy plundering. Washamgir tried in vain to

* The province of Kumis stretched along the Elburz mountains, its narrow strip lying between the hills and the great ^{most of} desert. In the modern map of Persia, Kumis has been wiped out and the province is included in Khurasan while its western end was incorporated in the outlying districts of Ray, or modern Tehran.

enforce his authority in Tabristan and sent Shiraj bin Laila to quell the rebellion of Hasan bin Firuzan. Shiraj was able to expell Hasan from Sari, but the latter joined the Samanid general and induced him to invade Tabristan. A battle took place in a place called Walajuy, near Sari, in which Washamgir was again defeated. Abu Ali now overran the whole country and Washamgir had to take refuge in a fort.

Abu Ali concludes peace 942 - 43 A.D. :-

Abu Ali, however, was greatly handicapped by the severe winter weather and the heavy rains, and hearing of the abdication or death of Nasr II, thought it advisable to make peace with Washamgir, leaving him the province of Tabristan and Jurjan on condition that he would recognise the sovereignty of the Samanids. Abu Ali then proceeded to Bukhara to join the new Amir, Washamgir appointed Isfahi governor of Tabristan and himself went to Ray.

His wars with Ruknu'd Dawla 943 A.D. :-

In June 943 A.D. Hasan the Buyid (Ruknu'd Dawla) advanced from Isfahan to conquer Tabristan and Jurjan. Washamgir marched from Ray to oppose him. Now disaster followed upon disaster. Washamgir was deserted by two of his captains, Shir Mardi and Gurigar, and in the battle that took place he was seized with panic, sustained a crushing defeat and fled to Mussla, a village near Amul. Elated with victory Ruknu'd Dawla seized Abu Omar (Washamgir's vizier) and tortured him in order to make him hand over Washamgir's treasure. Abu Omar pointed to Abul Hasan Mamtiri as the actual treasurer and he was subjected to horrible

tortures till he gave up all his own wealth, but he refused to surrender his master's treasures.

Washamgir now begged Hasan bin Firuzan for help, a foolish move, for he regarded Washamgir with considerable dislike because of his desertion of Makan. Having imprisoned the envoy, Hasan bin Firuzan marched on Sari, the place of Washamgir's refuge. In the battle that ensued Washamgir was completely routed, and with his relations and followers, had to fly to Isphabad Shahriyar bin Shariwan in the highlands, and from there he went to the Samanid Amir Nuh I (942 - 54 A.D.) At Washamgir's flight Hasan bin Firuzan captured Amul and killed Isfahi, the representative of Washamgir, and became master of Tabristan.

It has been narrated (Page 228, Chapter XIV) how in 948 A.D. Nuh I sent his general Qaratagin to march on Tabristan and how at the approach of the Samanid army Hasan bin Firuzan fled to Daylam. No sooner had the Samanid army departed to Khurasan than Hasan bin Firuzan entered into relations with Ruknu'd Dawla and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with him. A marriage was arranged as a consequence and Hasan bin Firuzan gave his daughter to Ruknu'd Dawla, who became the mother of his son Ali (afterwards Fakhru'd Dawla.)

In 949 A.D., Ruknu'd Dawla and Hasan bin Firuzan attacked Washamgir who retired without fighting. He was pursued by Ali bin Surkhab, a lieutenant of Ruknu'd Dawla, who attacked his baggage train. Most of Washamgir's followers deserted to Ruknu'd Dawla

who went to Amul while Washamgir fled to Nishapur. Ruknu'd Dawla occupied Tabristan and appointed Ali bin Kama as its governor. Shortly afterwards an Alid, Abul Fazal At'Thair, established himself at Jalus and began to covet Tabristan. Ruknu'd Dawla sent his Vizier Ibnu'l Amid to Amul to help Ali bin Kama, and as soon as they reached Tabristan Abul Fazal fled, but made several attempts to re-establish himself in Amul and at other places. There is no need to relate the details of these unimportant expeditions : it will be sufficient to note that after its pacification Ruknu'd Dawla appointed Hasan bin Firuzan governor of Tabristan and Washamgir lost these provinces.

Washamgir occupies Tabristan 949 A.D. :-

Washamgir, having at last obtained the assistance of Nuh I, marched on Tabristan in 949 A.D. He was able to defeat Hasan bin Firuzan and take over the country, but no sooner had Ruknu'd Dawla turned his attention to and marched on Tabristan than Washamgir fled to Daylam, taking refuge with Abul Fazal At'Thair. Ruknu'd Dawla occupied Amul, where he remained a month when the news of the death of his brother Imadu'd Dawla reached him in December 949 A.D. On this Ruknu'd Dawla left Tabristan and went to Fars to settle his affairs. As soon as he left the province Washamgir marched on Tabristan and occupied the province.

Washamgir evacuates Tabristan 950 A.D. :-

After mourning for his brother, Ruknu'd Dawla marched on Jurjan and compelled Washamgir again to leave Jurjan by way of

Nasa and to go to Merv, from where he called upon the Samanid Commander Mansur bin Qaratagin. The death of Qaratagin in 951 A.D. upset ~~the~~^{his} arrangements for an expedition to Tabristan and the command was now entrusted to a newly appointed general Abu Ali bin Muhtaj. It has been previously mentioned (page 234-32 chapter XIV) how Abu Ali concluded an inglorious treaty with Ruknu'd Dawla and was subsequently dismissed by Nuh I, and how he afterwards revolted. In 955 A.D. Bekir bin Malik was entrusted with the command of an army to take Ray from Ruknu'd Dawla (page 234 Chapter XIV) and Washamgir was reinstated in the government of Jurjan. Soon after Washamgir was again defeated and fled for help to Mansur bin Nuh (961 - 76 A.D.).

Mansur sent his general Ibrahim Simjur to help Washamgir to get back his hereditary provinces from the Buyids. Ruknu'd Dawla begged the assistance of his son Adudu'd Dawla (949 - 82 A.D.) the ruler of Fars, and his younger brother Muizu'd Dawla who had become the "Amiru'l Umra" of Bagdad. In 967 A.D. Abul Hasan Simjur joined Washamgir in Jurjan. In the midst of these events Washamgir died and his death put an end to the operations.

Death and character of Washamgir :-

On 7th December 967 A.D. Washamgir went out hunting. His astrologers had advised him not to ride a certain black horse, which had been brought to him from the ruler of Khurasan and which he admired most of his animals. He ignored their warnings and ordered it to be saddled. While hunting he was attacked by a

white boar, his horse was wounded and he himself was thrown to the ground and died shortly afterwards.

Washamgir is depicted as a man who showed a dogged perseverance in the pursuit of his aims. Little is known of this Ziyarid prince, as the records dealing with him are very vague. The respect shown to Washamgir by the Samanid Amir Nuh I is sufficient evidence of the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries. His adventurous life, which was spent in continual warfare for the creation of a kingdom, was brought to an unhappy end by the fruitlessness of his expeditions, and his lack of military ability. Persian historians depict him as the real founder of the Ziyarid house and ignore Mardawij, the first ruler and actual founder of the dynasty.

Undoubtedly Washamgir was poor soldier both as strategist and tactician. His desertion of Makan on the battlefield was a cowardly act which naturally bore its fruit and created enemies for him. In dealing with Washamgir, one can note his constant flights from the field as he never seems to have won a single battle. Thus, it was evitable that the Buyids should establish their power in Tabristan and Jurjan, and that Washamgir should lose the heritage of Mardawij.

Bihustan bin Washamgir 967 - 76 A.D.

Meagre records of Bihustan's reign :-

Washamgir left two sons, Bihustan and Qabus, the former being in Tabristan while the latter was in Jurjan with his father at the time of his death. Zahiru'd Dawla Abu Mansur Bihustan appears to have succeeded his father. In 968 A.D. Bihustan (as narrated in the previous chapters on the Samanids) sought the help of Mansur I (961 - 76 A.D.) who sent his general Abul Hasan Simjur at the head of an expedition. When the Samanid general demanded money for the pay of his army Bihustan deserted the Samanids and joined Ruknu'd Dawla whom he recognised as his overlord.

We know nothing about Bihustan as no records dealing with his life exist, except for a few vague remarks of Gardizi who states that he reigned until 976 A.D. Ibn Isfandiyar mentions that in 976 A.D. the army and nobles of Tabristan swore allegiance to Qabus. Bihustan made overtures to his suzerain Ruknu'd Dawla for help and leaving Tabristan went to Ray to enlist his sympathy. Whether Ruknu'd Dawla actually helped Bihustan or not, we do not know, but the Isphabad Rustum bin Sharwain gave armed assistance to Qabus. Bihustan in despair is said to have abandoned all efforts to win back the kingdom.

In the absence of any detailed account we cannot be sure whether any civil war took place between Qabus and Bihustan

but it is certain that Qabus attained the sovereignty. It is also doubtful whether in 976 A.D. the brothers came to an understanding. From 976 A.D. the period of his dethronement, the life of Bihustan seems to have been spent outside of Tabristan and Jurjan. According to Gardizi his death took place in 979 A.D. at Astrabad.

Shamus'l Ma'ali Abul Hasan Qabus, 976-1012 A.D.

Accession to the throne, 976 A.D. :-

Abul Hasan Qabus generally known by his title of Shamsu'l Ma'ali (Sun of sublimity) came to the throne of Tabristan and Jurjan in 976 A.D. as the result of a military conspiracy in which Bihustan was deposed and Qabus put in his place. His maternal uncle Isphabad Rustum bin Sharwain also supported Qabus.

Qabus is compelled to leave Tabristan 981 A.D. :-

About 981 A.D. Qabus actively assisted his son-in-law Fakhru'd Dawla and in consequence he was attacked by Adudu'd Dawla and Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, and, being defeated at Astrabad, had to leave Tabristan, as previously narrated (Chapter XV). Qabus placed himself under the protection of the Samanid governor Tash at Nishapur. The provinces of Tabristan and Jurjan were now occupied by Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, and their conquest was legalised by a patent from the Caliph Tai. According to Mirkhond Qabus remained in Khurasan for 18 years during which period "His benevolent disposition never forsook him."

Fakhru'd Dawla takes Tabristan 983 A.D. :-

After the death of Adudu'd Dawla, Fakhru'd Dawla was called upon by the Buyid chiefs to come and take control of Tabristan and Jurjan. In 983 A.D., after assuming the government of these provinces Fakhru'd Dawla wished to restore them to Qabus, but on the advice of his Vizier Sahib bin Abbad, Fakhru'd Dawla kept both these provinces for himself. Thus the services of Qabus were either deliverately ignored or forgotten.

Wanderings of Qabus 981 - 98 A.D. :-

For seventeen years (981 - 98 A.D.) Qabus remained in Khurasan and made several attempts to win back Tabristan. Towards the close of the tenth century A.D., the Qara-Khanids and the Ghaznavids had partitioned the Samanid empire, and Qabus had to go to Sabuktagin for help. Sabuktagin was obliged to ask the aid of Ilak Khan to reinstate Qabus. The untimely death of Sabuktagin in 997 A.D., however, prevented the completion of his project in this matter.

On the accession of Sultan Mahmud, if Utbi is to be believed, Qabus was promised active help but stipulated that he himself would not pay for the expedition. Qabus begged to be granted time for payment, but as Mahmud was fighting with his brother Ismail for his own throne at the time he refused to consider Qabus's request, and thus Mahmud and Qabus became life-long foes.

Death of Fakhru'd Dawla and endeavours of Qabus :-

In 997 A.D. at the death of Fakhru'd Dawla, Abul Qasim Simjur and other Daylamite chiefs invited Qabus to come over and assume the government of Tabristan and Jurjan. Abul Qasim Simjur's desertion to Firuzan bin Hasan bin Firuzan led to the failure of Qabus's expedition. At last Qabus approached the Isphabad Shahryar bin Shirwan, suggesting that he ^{should} conquer the highlands of Shshryar which were governed by Rustum bin Mu'zban, uncle of Majdu'd Dawla, who had succeeded his father Fakhru'd Dawla. The Isphabad, after the conquest of these parts, read the Khutba in the name of Qabus.

Another adventurer, Bati bin Sa'id entered upon hostilities with the Isphabad of Shahryar. Having allied himself with Nasr bin Hasan bin Firuzan, Bati defeated Shahryar whom he took prisoner. The allies now made a joint invasion of Amul and drove out the Buyid governor, Abul Abbas. After the conquest of Amul Bati invited Qabus to come to Tabristan and take possession of it, offering his allegiance. Leaving Nasr bin Hasan bin Firuzan, Bati proceeded to Astrabad where he succeeded in persuading the inhabitants to accept the rule of Qabus.

On receiving the tidings of this victory, Firuzan bin Hasan bin Firuzan, who held the governorship of Jurjan under the Buyids, marched towards Ray and gave the victors battle near Astrabad. In the engagement Firuzan was defeated and taken prisoner with twenty of his generals. As the remnants of the

vanquished army were retreating homewards Salar bin Khurkash, a kinsman of Qabus, completely routed them. Qabus was then proclaimed Amir in August, 998 A.D.

Wars with Majdu'd Dawla 998 A.D. :-

Fakhru'd Dawla's son, Majdu'd Dawla, who ruled Media, endeavoured to restore his authority in Tabristan and Jurjan. Having collected an army he sent it under his Vizier Abu Ali Hamu'ali and in this expedition Qabus' s son Manuchir is said to have fought against his father on Majdu'd Dawla's side. An account of the battle that ensued, in which Qabus was victorious has been given on Page 40 Chapter XXI, dealing with the reign of Majdu'd Dawla.

After this defeat, Majdu'd Dawla sent his chamberlain Yakutagin, with six hundred Turkish horsemen and his maternal uncle, Rustum bin Murzban, against Qabus, and he had an initial success over Qabus's general Bati, but Rustum bin Murzban was later completely routed by the Isphabad Shahryar.

Friendly relations with Majdu'd Dawla :-

After these encounters Qabus and Majdu'd Dawla came to an understanding and agreed to combine against Nasr bin Hasan bin Firuzan, who had formed an alliance with Abul Qasim Simjur, the governor of Quhistan. Abul Qasim Simjur and Nasr had marched on Ray against Majdu'd Dawla, but Qabus met and defeated both. They then fled to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and offered him their services.

Rebellion of Isphabad Shahryar :-

After gaining victories for Qabus the Isphabad Shahryar

began to behave haughtily. He appears to have been deceived by the numbers of his followers and the promises of army leaders who offered active help to him, should he rise against Qabus. Rustum bin Murzban was sent to crush him and without much difficulty took the Isphabad prisoner. The highlands were allotted to Rustum, who acknowledge Qabus as his overlord and read the Khutba in his name.

Qabus harbours the last of the Samanids :-

It has been narrated (Chapter XVI page 283) how in 1001 A.D., the Muntasir the last of the Samanids, sought refuge at Jurjan under Qabus and was cordially received. Qabus presented him with sixty Arab horses, ten horses with gold trappings, thirty with silver trappings, thirty mules with ornaments of gold, thirty mules laden with precious carpets, furniture and vessels, a thousand sacks each containing a thousand dirhems and thirty thousand dinars of gold, fifty wardrobes and much raw silk. A guard of honour was stationed at his residence. Qabus further advised him to march on Ray, with his sons Dara and Manuchihr.

After Muntasir's second defeat he again came to Jurjan for help. Qabus was, however, disgusted at Muntasir's disregard of his advice and sent a force to bar his entry and henceforth concerned himself no further with the family of Saman.

Extent of Qabus's territory :-

Qabus soon added Gilan to his provinces of Tabristan and Jurjan. Unfortunately we are not told how he acquired this

province. He is said to have appointed his son Manuchihr as the governor of Gilan.

Conspiracy against Qabus :-

It is clear that Qabus treated his military officers in a high-handed manner and alienated many of his subjects by his arrogance. He inflicted the capital punishments for petty offences and his severity in this respect disgusted the people. An inoffensive chamberlain Na'iam, the governor of Astrabad, who was accused of holding the heretical Mutazilite doctrines, was condemned and executed without being permitted to defend himself. This led to a general rising of the army. The military chiefs declared that under Qabus and his harsh regime neither the aristocracy nor the poor were secure. Qabus had gone to Janashk, the locality of which is not known, for a change of climate and knew nothing of the rebellion. One night the rebels attacked his camp and plundered his baggage but his retainers eventually drove them off.

When the rebels failed in their design they fell upon the city of Jurjan and occupied it. They then offered the sovereignty to Qabus's son Manuchihr, who was in Tabristan. Manuchihr hastened to Jurjan but found the army in open mutiny. The rebels demanded (1) the deposition of Qabus, (2) that Manuchihr should be raised to the throne on the express understanding that he should not side with his father, and (3) that if he would not agree to accept these terms they would be free to choose their own ruler.

Manuchihr realising his inability to oppose the conspirators agreed to their demands in which Qabus himself acquiesced. Thus ended the reign of Qabus in 1011 - 12 A.D. He was confined in Bihustan, about a day's march to the east of Kirmanshah, at the foot of the mountains. The rebels afraid that their position was not secure as long as Qabus was alive secretly had him put to death. Qabus ^{was} buried outside Jurjan on the Khurasan road under a dome.

Character of Qabus :-

Qabus was one of the most illustrious princes of the Ziyarid house. Prof. E.G. Browne remarks, "More important as a patron of letters, if not as a poet was the Ziyarid prince of Tabristan, Qabus bin Washamgir entitled Shamus'l Ma'ali. He was highly renowned for his literary taste and enlightened intellect."

Qabus had a profound knowledge of several branches of science, notably astronomy and astrology and also of philosophy. He was himself a poet of no mean order. As regards his literary attainments, his subtle mastery of style and some lovely poems which he wrote have given him a lasting place in the realm of literature. Among his famous prose works ~~was~~ a remarkable treatise on the astrolable and an essay in Arabic on the Prophet's companions. He was also a distinguished calligrapher. Among the men of letters who flourished at his court, the name of Biruni, the author of "The Chronology of Ancient Nations", who dedicated his work to this Ziyarid patron, and the famous Ibn

Sina (Avicenna), will be remembered for ever.

Many sayings are recorded of Qabus, the best known of them being the one mentioned by Utbi "Amusement and Sovereignty are two opposed factors and their unity can never be idealised." It should be noted that Qabus to whom the chroniclers have attributed so many cruel acts and judicial murders is a strangely different person from the Qabus depicted as a hero in the panegyrics of the poets who enjoyed his patronage.

In administrative life Qabus resembled Khalaf, the last of the Safarids in exacting heavy fines and imposing burdensome taxes on his subjects for his personal expenses. Qabus was no less a tyrant than Khalaf and by his high-handed measures quickly disgusted his people.

Falaku'l Ma'ali Manuchihr 1012-29 A.D.

Assumes royalty 1012 A.D. :-

In 1012 A.D., on the deposition of his father Manuchihr assumed the government of Tabristan and Jurjan. Soon afterwards he was given the title of Falaku'l Ma'ali (Firmament of sublimity) from the Caliph Qadir, who confirmed him in his possessions by letters patent.

In opposition to Manuchihr, Sultan Mahmud supported the claims of Dara, his younger brother, who was residing at Ghazna and even sent an army under Arslan Yadhik to place him on the throne. Manuchihr however won Sultan Mahmud by promising to pay a tribute of 50,000 dinars annually, and he recognised Manuchihr as the lawful sovereign and sent Abu Mohammad bin Mihran as an envoy to his court. Manuchihr recognised Sultan Mahmud as his suzerain and coined money in his name.

His relations with Sultan Mahmud :-

To win the further favours of Sultan Mahmud, Manuchihr sent his able courtier Abu Sa'd Sawak, one of the greatest nobles of Jurjan, to Ghazna with precious ornaments and jewels to suggest a matrimonial alliance, and by his silver speeches he secured a daughter of Mahmud for Manuchihr. Utbi mentions that the Sultan presented his daughter with so magnificent a dowry that the treasury of Manuchihr became as full of riches as a mine of jewels.

Takes revenge on the conspirators against his father :-

Having thus strengthened himself, Manuchihr next determined to take revenge on those who had conspired against his father and, by creating disunion among them and other artifices, he was able to destroy them all. Abdul Qasim Ja'dai, the commander of the army, who was considered the ring leader in the insurrection, was blinded and imprisoned. After sometime he managed to escape from prison and went to Nishapur where he sought the protection of Sultan Mahmud but the Sultan handed him over to Manuchihr who had him put to death.

His strained relations with Sultan Mahmud :-

In 1029 A.D., when Sultan Mahmud went to Jurjan to watch the events that were taking place in Ray, especially as regards the position of the Buyid prince Majdu'd Dawla, Manuchir welcomed him and presented him with 40,000 dinars. On hearing that Majdu'd Dawla had been taken prisoner by one of his generals, the Sultan marched on Ray and conquered the province of Persian Irak. The fall of Ray alarmed Manuchihr who began to consider that the next step of the Sultan would be against him and he therefore adopted a somewhat hostile attitude towards the Sultan, close the road to Ghazna, broke down bridges and tried in every way to impede his progress.

Before returning to Ghazna Mahmud thought it wise to march on Jurjan. This brought Manuchihr to his knees and in order to please the Sultan he paid an indemnity of 500,000 dinars and

apologised for his conduct. The Sultan accepted his apology and returned to Ghazna.

Death of Manuchihr 1029 A.D. :-

Manuchihr died in ^{*}1029 A.D. He is famous for his patronage of poets. Among his proteges was the famous Persian poet Abu'n Najm Ahmad Manuchihri who flourished at his court. He seems to have taken his pseudonym from his patron. Little is known of Manuchihr but he appears to have been an energetic prince who well maintained the dignity and strength of his position.

In 998 A.D., when the provinces of Tabaristan and Jurjan were conquered by Qabus, he appointed his son Dara governor of Tabaristan, but mutual suspicion arose soon between father and son and the former, who was residing at Astrabad, called upon the latter to present himself before him. Dara obeyed the royal summons but on reaching Astrabad became distrustful of his father and fled to Khurestan to seek the protection of Sultan Mahmud.

Soon he offended the Sultan and had to take refuge with the Shar, the ruler of Sharjistan. On the demand of the Sultan the Shar handed him over and he was imprisoned. After reaching his confinement some time he was set free, won the favour of the Sultan again and entered his service. In 1012 A.D., after the deposition and assassination of Qabus, Sultan Mahmud sent his son under Arslan Yachiq to put Dara on the throne but Manuchihr

* Ibn Isfandiyyar gives 1033 A.D. as the date of the death of Manuchihr, but this is incorrect. Ibn Khaldun makes the ridiculous error of assigning his death to 1035 A.D., stating that his son and successor did homage to Sultan Mahmud, who had died in 1030 A.D.

Dara bin Qabus

An important Ziyarid prince :-

In a chapter dealing with the house of Ziyar some reference must be made to Dara bin Qabus, a prince who had played a leading part in the history of the Samanid dynasty though nothing much is recorded of him except his early life. Mention has been made of his betrayal of Abu Ali Simjur and desertion to Nuh II in the battle of 994 A.D. when Abu Ali Simjur and his ally Faiq were fighting against Nuh II and Sabuktigin.

In 998 A.D., when the province of Tabristan and Jurjan were conquered by Qabus, he appointed his son Dara governor of Tabristan, but mutual suspicion arose soon between father and son and the former, who was residing at Astrabad, called upon the latter to present himself before. Dara obeyed the royal summons but on reaching Astrabad became distrustful of his father and went to Khurasan to seek the protection of Sultan Mahmud.

Soon he offended the Sultan and had to take refuge with the Shar, the ruler of Gharjistan. On the demand of the Sultan, the Shar handed him over and he was imprisoned. After remaining in confinement some time he was set free, won the favour of the Sultan again and entered his service. In 1012 A.D., after the deposition and assassination of Qabus, Sultan Mahmud sent an army under Arslan Yadhik to put Dara on the throne but Manuchihr, as already told, won over the Sultan by diplomacy and the unfortunate

Dara had to content himself with remaining on in the service of the Sultan.

At the time when the Buyid prince Abul Fawaris Qawamu'd Dawla ^{bin} Adudu'd Dawla, fleeing from Kirman because of the tyranny of his brothers, sought refuge with Mahmud in the hope of getting assistance from the latter, Dara was still in the Sultan's employment. One night Dara and Abul Fawaris Qawamu'd Dawla met in the royal palace and a dispute arose between them as to the nobility of their respective families and length of their genealogies and in the course of it Dara used abusive language to Abul Fawaris. When the Sultan warned Dara to refrain from such invective, he repeated his remarks. Consequently he was imprisoned until May 1018 A.D. when through the intercession of the Vizier he was released and his private estate was restored to him.

What befell Dara subsequently and his ultimate fate we do not know.

Successors of Manuchihr :-

Great confusion prevailed after the death of Manuchihr, and the subsequent account of the dynasty is very vague.

According to Ibn Isfandiyar, Manuchihr was succeeded by his son Abu Kalanjar, who was the contemporary of Masud bin Mahmud, the ruler of Ghazna. In 1035 A.D. Sultan Masud visited Jurjan and exacted tribute. On Masud's arrival Abu Kalanjar retired to one of his castles in the mountains and left the kingdom to the mercy of Masud, but the Seljuks at Merv rebelled against him and he was compelled to leave the country.

According to Prof. E.G. Browne, Masud took Tabristan from the Ziyarid prince Dara bin Manuchihr in 1034 - 35 A.D. According to some sources Abu Kalanjar ruled over Jurjan from 1031 - 1041 A.D. and in 1041 A.D. the Seljuks, under their leader Jaghri Beg, overran Tabristan and Jurjan. The power of the Ziyarids declined and their territory shrank until at last they only retained the mountain districts of the Isphabads. In 1041 A.D. Tughril Beg appointed Mardawij bin Basn as the governor of Tabristan.

According to Ibn Isfandiyar the Ziyarids, bereft of power, maintained their own in the mountainous parts up-till 1078 A.D., and their last Amir Anushirwan, the cousin of Gilanshah, had but a shadow of power. Thus ended the house of Ziyar, a power which fell to pieces before the Seljuks, who under their leader Tughril Beg took Bagdad in 1056 A.D., the year in which we terminate our history.

Chapter XX. Chronicle.

The Buyids (932 - 1056 A.D.)

The origin of the Buyids :-

In tracing the events which raised the Buyids to sovereign power from the ranks of their native land, which was called Daylam (the ancient Hyrcania), a part of Tabristan, we have little data as to their lineage. The founder of the house after whom the dynasty was called, was Abu Shuja Buwayh, a highlander of Daylam and hence the dynasty is also called the Daylamites. Of Abul Shuja little is known : he is connected by several writers with Bahram Gur, the mighty hunter (420 - 40 A.D.) and by certain chroniclers with Yezidgerd III, the last of the Sassanian line, whose descendants during the Muslim conquest fled to the highlands which were said to be the ancestral home of Abu Shuja.

This unofficial pedigree is little more than the usual attempt to elevate the dignity of the Buyid house. In some sources the Buyids are mentioned as people whose first progenitor was a fisherman of Daylam; whether this be so or not they are generally regarded as a tribe that constantly offered their services as mercenary soldiers.

Early life of Abu Shuja Buwayh :-

Of the date of the birth and the principal events of the life of Abu Shuja Buwayh nothing is known. He is represented as a man of humble means who early lost his wife whom he dearly loved. Mirkhond and Masikawaha give the following legendary account of

Abu Shuja's aspiration to power :-

Upon the death of his wife Abu Shuja was stricken with grief and was consoled by one of his friends, Shahryar bin Rustum. While staying with his friend, Abu Shuja is said to have met an astrologer to whom he related a certain dream and sought an explanation for it. In the dream Shuja had seen a huge fire issuing from his person going towards heaven, illuminating the whole world. The astrologer asked for a suit of clothes and a horse as a fee for the explanation of the dream. Abu Shuja who was in poor circumstances could not meet this demand. The astrologer then reduced his fee to ten dinars, but even this modest sum was beyond Buwayh's means. At last the astrologer told him that the light represented the sovereign power destined to pass to his three sons, Ali, Hasan and Ahmad and so illumine the world. To Buwayh the whole idea appeared absurd but the astrologer assured him of its correctness and by reading the hands of his three sons confirmed the accuracy of the forecast in relationship to them.

This account, often quoted by the Persian authors merely emphasises the humble origin of Buwayh. Even if we discard the whole story as a myth or legend it at least suggests the manner in which the mind of Buwayh may have been influenced as regards his succession to a throne.

Ibn Isfandiyar relates that Buwayh with his son Ali (Afterwards Imadu'd Dawla) entered the service of the Alid Hasan

bin Qasim Da'i who had made himself master of Jurjan in the reign of the Samanid Amir Nasr II (913 - 42 A.D.) As early as the summer of 923 A.D. Abu Shuja and his son Ali joined Hasan bin Qasim against the Samanid general Abu Ali Simjur. Abu Shuja does not appear to have taken any prominent part in this campaign but later seems to have served under Hasan bin Qasim. According to Mirkhond Abu Shuja was admitted to the service of Makan bin Kaki who had made himself master of Jurjan and Tabristan in succession to Hasan bin Qasim. No further information than these facts can be derived from any of the Persian records about the life of Abu Shuja. His three sons referred to above were the real founders of the dynasty.

Abu Shuja then entered the service of Makan bin Kaki in 923 A.D. He transferred his allegiance to Karkadaj bin Ziyar who, two years later, granted him the government of a town named Karkaj to the south east of Herat with a number of soldiers as his guard. Ali soon showed his singular genius by the conquest of several fortresses belonging to the Khwarezmians, an atheistical sect and won the hearts of his subjects and increased his power by a couple of hundred men.

Conquest of Isfahan, 933 A.D.

All bin Shuja took into his confidence a man named Ibrahim Karkadaj, a man named Ibrahim Karkadaj, who was a suspicion in Karkadaj's mind who invited him to go to Isfahan. All, suspicious of treachery, ...

Imadu'd Dawla Abul Hasan Ali bin Buwayh, the first Buyid
Sovereign 932-49 A.D.

His early career :-

The date of the birth of this hero is unknown and very little has been recorded of his early life, but in the frequent wars fought in Tabristan and Jurjan Ali bin Buwayh appears to have been in the service of Hasan bin Qasim Da'i the Alid ruler of Tabristan. In 925 A.D. Ali accepted the governorship of Jajram under the Alid ruler Abu Ali, grandson of Sayyid Nasir'i Kabir Utrawush, when Hasan bin Qasim fled to the mountains leaving the government to Abu Ali. As has been related (Page 332, chapter XIX) Makan bin Kaki forced Ali bin Buwayh to offer his allegiance to Ismail bin Abul Qasim, ^{and Ali} then entered the service of Makan bin Kaki. In 930 A.D. he transferred his allegiance to Mardawij bin Ziyar who, two years later, granted him the government of a town named Karaj to the south east of Hamadan with a hundred soldiers as his guard. Ali soon showed his singular genius by the conquest of several fortresses belonging to the Khuramates, an atheistical sect and won the hearts of his subjects and increased his soldiery by a couple of hundred men.

Conquest of Isfahan, 933 A.D. :-

Ali bin Buwayh took into his confidence one of Mardawij's commanders, a man named Ibrahim Kosak — an act which aroused suspicion in Mardawij's mind who invited Ali to come to Ray. Ali, suspicious of treachery, hesitated, and Mardawij and his

brother Washamgir in vain plotted to arrest him. At this juncture a Daylamite commander, Shirzad, deserted to Ali with 40 men. This reinforcement increased Ali's force to 700 good men, but it was insufficient to face Mardawij and so he turned towards Isfahan with the intention of seeking the protection of Muzaffar bin Yaqut, the Caliph's governor of Fars. Before he could reach it however Muzaffar left Shiraz with 4000 men to prevent his entry into the city. Ali bin Buwayh hesitated to give battle having so few men but emboldened by the desertion to him of some 600 Daylamites in the service of Muzaffar, he attacked his opponent and in the battle, which took place in 933 A.D. near Isfahan, Muzaffar, deserted by his army, and not daring to trust his lazy mercenaries, fled to his father in Fars. This victory made Ali the master of Isfahan and brought him much fame.

Conquest of Arrajan 933 A.D. :-

Alarmed at Ali's popularity, Mardawij sent friendly messages to the Buyid chief, backed up by an army under his brother Washamgir, thus hoping to overawe him. Ali, however evacuated Isfahan after collecting its revenues and then directed his march to Arrajan, lying on the boundary of Fars and Khuzistan near the modern town of Bihbahan. Arrajan was governed by Abu Bekr Mohammad bin Yaqut. On the approach of Ali, Abu Bekr fled, not daring an engagement, and Ali made himself master of the district. Still thinking himself no match for Mardawij, Ali tried to make peace with Yaqut but in vain ; Yaqut would list to no proposal for a truce and was only eager for revenge for his previous reverse.

Ali then thought of seeking the protection of Makan bin Kaki who held Kirman under the Samanids.

Conquest of Nawabanjan, 933 A.D. :-

While Ali was still meditating joining Makan bin Kaki, he received an invitation from Abu Talib Zayd bin Ali, a local chief of Nawabanjan, situated some seventy miles from Shiraz pointing out that the people were disgusted with the misgovernment and oppression of Yaqut. Ali at first hesitated to accept such an invitation in view of his slender forces, but fearing that the armies of Yaqut and Mardawij might unite, hurriedly advanced on Nawabanjan. Yaqut had despatched an army of 2000 soldiers under his Captains Kurmurd and Khurgosh in anticipation of Ali's design. They gave battle on the road to Nawabanjan and Ali put Yaqut's forces to flight.

Battle of Istakhr, 934 A.D. :-

During the occupation of Nawabanjan, Abu Talib Zayd greatly helped Ali by sending him rations, furnishing him with details of passes and routes and contributing nearly 200,000 dinars towards the expenditure of the expedition. After the victory Ali sent his brother Hasan (Ruknu'd Dawla) to Kazarun, situated in the region what is now a days called Shulistan. Hasan is said to have extorted a vast sum of money from this and other districts of Fars, having unearthed the treasures of Choeres. If Masikawaha is to be believed Ali and Hasan obtained half a million golden dinars besides treasures from these districts.

Ali, still considering himself an unequal match for Yaqut, went towards Kirman. He moved to Istakhr, better known to us as Persepolis, the capital of Darius situated on the river Pulvar, a few miles above its junction with the Kur river, from where he moved to Baida, the exact locality of which is unknown, followed by Yaqut who had reinforced his army with the defeated forces of Kurmurd and Kurgosh. Ali at last reached a bridge on the road to Kirman where Yaqut had taken up his position and was compelled to fight. Ali tried to make peace, for Yaqut's forces numbered 17,000 men while he himself had but 800, and asked him to allow his army to retire. Yaqut however wished to wipe out the Buyid power and attacked Ali.

The engagement which began on the 3rd June 934 A.D. lasted two days. At the commencement, a few followers of Ali lost heart at such odds and deserted to Yaqut, who beheaded them. The rest of Ali's followers, seeing they could not secure pardon, fought with desperate bravery, and favoured by a storm which arose and caused a panic in Yaqut's followers, Ali gained a complete victory. Yaqut fled, pursued by the Buyid chief.

He takes Shiraz 934 A.D. :-

Ali wished to pursue the enemy to his headquarters and accordingly followed them to Qurqan and thence to Dinakan, two villages near Shiraz and encamped before the walls of the capital of Fars. He issued a proclamation of a free pardon to those who had fought on the side of Yaqut and promised a just government which

would guarantee the security of the inhabitants. Many joined Ali who then entered Shiraz without further opposition and made himself master of the town on the 7th June 934 A.D.

Discovery of treasury, 934 A.D. :-

While at Shiraz Ali's army demanded money of him. His position was very insecure and lying in solitude one day he saw a hole in the ceiling of his apartment, where a snake had concealed himself. In fear, he ordered the ceiling to be broken. When his command had been carried out, it was discovered that the ceiling led to two rooms beneath the roof of the house, in which were boxes containing half a million dinars. This was identified as Yaqut's treasury and Ali distributed it among his soldiers and so calmed them.

Another story of how Ali obtained the money is that one day, Ali ordered a tailor to be brought to him to make some clothes. Fortunately for Ali a deaf tailor who had been in the service of Yaqut, was recommended for the work. The deaf tailor thought that Ali had been informed about a deposit committed to his charge by Yaqut and when Ali ordered a staff to be brought for measuring the cloth, the tailor thought that the Buyid prince had ordered him to be flogged in order to extort a confession. He immediately swore that he knew of the existence of 17 chests of whose contents he was ignorant. When examined these chests were discovered to contain an immense amount of money. Smiling at this extraordinary piece of good fortune, which excited the astonishment of his followers Ali immediately availed himself of the discovery to pacify his clamouring soldiers.

Does homage to Mardawij, 934 A.D. :-

After the subjugation of Fars, Ali began to negotiate with the Caliph Razi (934 - 40 A.D.) to legalise his conquest by a patent, promising to pay eight million dirhems annually. In October, 934 A.D., the Caliph sent him an investiture, the envoy being enjoined not to delivery the robes until he had received the first instalment of the promised money.

These honours highly offended Mardawij, who had come to Isfahan to make plans with his brother Washamgir, and made him decide to take the field against Ali. He advanced towards Ahwaz, at the head of a large army, and is said to have concluded an alliance with Yaqut to oppose Ali as a common enemy, but Mardawij's arrival at Ramhurmuz and his march on Ahwaz made Yaqut suspicious, and becoming alarmed, he offered him armed resistance. Mardawij defeated him, and occupied ~~the~~ Ahwaz which forced Ali to recognise him as his overlord and to pay an indemnity. No sooner had Mardawij gone, however, than Ali adopted a hostile attitude and asserted his independence again. Mardawij on this went to Isfahan to consult his brother Washamgir where he was assassinated in 935 A.D. by his guards.

Defeats Yaqut-battle of Arrajan 935 A.D. :-

On the assassination of Mardawij Yaqut sent Abu Adbullah bin Jinni Jarjar'i to occupy Ahwaz. Ibrahim bin Kasak, whom Ali had appointed governor of Arrajan, was also anxious to sieze Ahwa and advanced from Arrajan to Ramhurmuz for the purpose but on hearing

that Ahwaz had been occupied by Yaqut's followers, he returned to Arrajan. Yaqut then led an army to Arrajan and was reinforced by his secretary Abu Abdullah Baridi, who is said to have distributed 300,000 dinars to Yaqut's army. In Arrajan Ali bin Buwayh met Yaqut and inflicted another severe defeat on him, from the effects of which he never recovered. Ali pursued him and was about to occupy Ahwaz when terms were arranged with Abu Abdullah Baridi and he returned to Shiraz. As a result of this victory Ali bin Buwayh was gradually able to master the whole of Fars.

Execution of Abu Sa'd Isra'il 935 A.D. :-

Ali bin Buwayh's secretary was Christian of Ray named Abu Sa'd Isra'il bin Musa, He had joined the Buyid prince when he was in very humble circumstances and in several battles against Yaqut and other opponents Abu Sa'd had distinguished himself and had shown an unusual fidelity to his leader. In recognition of his services he was made the commander of Ali's army and was allowed to keep Turkish retainers of his own.

One Abul Abbas Hannat Qummi, a courtier of Ali being jealous of these favours attempted to poison the mind of Ali bin Buwayh against Abu Sa'd but failed. Abu Sa'd was also hated by a chamberlain Khutlukh. It so happened that Abu Sa'd invited Ali bin Buwayh to a feast and Khutlukh enraged that Abu Sa'd should be so highly honoured determined to kill him. Fortunately Abu Sa'd had been informed before hand and took precautionary measures to safeguard himself. He told his retainers to have their weapons

ready in case Khutlukh's behaviour should be suspicious.

Khutlukh came and contriving to pick a quarrel drew his dagger. Abu Sa'd called his soldiers who entered quickly and put him to death. Abul Abbas reported this to Ali bin Buwayh who regarding the action of Abu Sa'd as justifiable forgave him. Perseveringly, Abul Abbas now set on foot another plot for Abu Sa'd's downfall by spreading a report that Abu Sa'd was planning a rebellion and trying to obtain promises of allegiance from the army leaders, and so assured Ali bin Buwayh of this that he gave orders for Abu Sa'd's confinement. One day while Ali bin Buwayh was drinking Abul Abbas obtained from him the order for Abu Sa'd's execution and after it Abul Abbas was appointed Secretary.

Ali bin Buwayh sends his brother Hasan to conquer Ray 943 A.D. :-

It has been narrated in the reign of Nasr II how the Amir despatched his general Abu Ali at the head of an expedition to Tabristan against Washamgir and Makan bin Kaki. Ali taking advantage of the opportunity sent his brother Hasan (Ruknu'd Dawla) to accomplish the conquest of Ray and he joined the Samanid general Abu Ali. Near Ishaqabad, the decisive battle took place in which Makan bin Kaki was slain. In 942 A.D. the Samanid general retreated to Khurasan and Washamgir again took possession of Ray. In 943 A.D. Ruknu'd Dawla attacked Washamgir and having defeated the Ziyarid prince, occupied Ray, Jurjan and Tabristan. The occupation of Ray made the Buyid's virtually master of Persian Iraq, the ancient Media.

Ali bin Buwayh received the title of Imadu'd Dawla, 946 A.D. :-

When the long series of victories of Ahmad bin Buwayh (Muizu'd Dawla) the second brother of Ali which resulted in the conquest of Kirman in 935 + 36 A.D., led him to advance westward, in December 945 A.D. he entered Bagdad where the Caliph Mustakfi created him Amiru'l Umra (Chief-of-Chiefs) and bestowed upon him the title of Muizu'd Dawla. At the same time the Caliph also awarded the title of Imadu'd Dawla to Ali bin Buwayh and that of Ruknu'd Dawla to the second brother Hasan. Orders were issued by the Caliph that these titles should be struck on the dinars and dirhems or other similar coins.

Death and character of Imadu'd Dawla :-

In December 949 A.D. Imadu'd Dawla died. He left no sons but appointed his nephew Abu Shuja Fanakhusrau bin Ruknu'd Dawla as his successor. Imadu'd Dawla started his career in a period of great political agitation in Tabristan and experienced a life full of incident. By siding now with one part and now with another he won the confidence of his troops and soon realised his ambition of attaining royalty, restoring a Persian dynasty and recreating Persian nationalism in his own person. In the eyes of Oriental historians he was a typical ruler whose government in its character and religion realised the beau ideal of Persian perfection. According to the fashion in the northern provinces of Tabristan and Jurjan, Imadu'd Dawla styled himself a Shia although to such a warrior religious questions were of little importance.

In his private life Imadu'd Dawla is depicted as a humble and gentle ruler, who even in his hours of victory shared the fortunes of the humblest of privates. Humility of heart and submissiveness were notable features, while his affection for his brothers is remarkable in this age. It is recorded that when Muizu'd Dawla was in Kirman some mischief-makers spread the news that Imadu'd Dawla had advanced to take certain districts adjoining Ahwaz, to which Imadu'd Dawla replied, "I have no sons. Muiz and Ruknu'd Dawla are my sons. My purpose in life is to consolidate and organise an empire for them. I pray to God for the life of both." These words express the deep affection that he cherished towards his brothers.

According to some historians Imadu'd Dawla was a just and amicable ruler who after the conquest of a territory seldom laid heavy taxes on the people. Miskawaihi quote some anecdotes anent his generosity but conflicting accounts have also come down to us in which we are told that he ^{was} parsimonious and his short sighted fanaticism and ruinous taxation of conquered territories led to the destruction of his subjects by thousands. His patronage of men of letters seems to have been but an ostentatious desire to imitate the Samanids, who were then at the zenith of their power. Nor can we take for granted his religious solicitude as a token of sincerity or love of God. The Shia Imamas were respected and revered as long as they suited Imadu'd Dawla. His decrees for the confiscation of property on the plea of the heresy of its owners has been

attested by the several jurists. Behind all this was his love of money and his subjects were merely regarded as tax-payers to the Amir.

Imadu'd Dawla organised the Daylamites into a nation of warriors to the distinguished officers of which he gave fiefs and expected fidelity and service in time of war. He held supreme power and none dared oppose his will. The Shiz dynasty of which Imadu'd Dawla was the founder was the first national despotic Persian house after the Islamic conquest which fulfilled the national aspirations.

Regarding the early life of Ruknu'd Dawla little is known. On his brother Imadu'd Dawla's death he entered the army of Mansur bin Zaki in 930 A.D. Ruknu'd Dawla followed in his footsteps and soon obtained high rank. From 933 - 34 A.D. Ruknu'd Dawla shared the fortunes of his brother and distinguished himself in the various expeditions against Yaman. In 942 A.D. the invitation of Imadu'd Dawla, he invaded Ray and by the following year had made himself master of the province of Jibal as previously narrated.

Ruknu'd Dawla's relations with the Samanids and Alids

The reign of Ruknu'd Dawla was one of weakness and warfare for the maintenance of his authority in Ray against the Samanids on one hand and against Alids in Jibal and against the Alids on the other. Wahangir's death created an opportunity for Ruknu'd Dawla to advance his authority in Ray and Jibal.

Ray, Hamdan and Isfahan.

His accession and early career :-

After the death of Imadu'd Dawla his place fell to Ruknu'd Dawla, who became the new head of the Buyid house, Abu Shuja Fanakhusrau (son of Ruknu'd Dawla) was given the province of Fars, with his capital at Shiraz, while Persian Iraq (called by the Arab writers the province of Jibal), with its chief towns of Ray, Hamdan and Isfahan, passed under Ruknu'd Dawla himself.

His early life :-

Regarding the early life of Ruknu'd Dawla little is known. On his brother Imadu'd Dawla's enrolment in the army of Makan bin Kaki in 930 A.D., Ruknu'd Dawla followed in his footsteps and soon obtained high rank. From 930 - 42 A.D. Ruknu'd Dawla shared the fortunes of his brother and distinguished himself in the various expeditions against Yaqut. In 942 A.D., at the instigation of Imadu'd Dawla, he invaded Ray and by the following year had made himself master of the province of Jibal as previously narrated.

Ruknu'd Dawla's relations with the Samanids and Ziyarids :-

The reign of Ruknu'd Dawla was one of continuous warfare for the maintenance of his authority in Ray against the Samanids on one hand and against Washamgir in Tabristan and Jurjan on the other. Washamgir constantly invaded his territory as opportunities occurred. To enhance his authority in Tabristan

he married the daughter of Hasan bin Firuzan (a cousin of Makan bin Kaki), a local chief. Regarding his relations with the Samanids his numerous contests have already been narrated in the reign of Nasr II, and Nuh I, and in the chapter on the Ziyarids. In 948 A.D. Muizu'd Dawla was able to procure from the Caliph a formal investiture as governor of Khurasan for Ruknu'd Dawla but this diploma could only give Khurasan in name to the Buyids, for the authority of the Samanids still ran strong. In 949 A.D. Ruknu'd Dawla was given the title of "Amiru'l Umra" (the Premier noble) as senior member of the Buyid house. The wars with the Samanids were intermi-tent till a peace was patched up by Abdul Malik, who sent Ruknu'd Dawla robes of honour as a recognition of the latter's governorship of Ray.

The famous Vizier of Ruknu'd Dawla :-

The reign of Ruknu'd Dawla is best remembered by the famous Vizier Abul Fazal Ibnu'el Amid (sometimes called Abul Fattah Ibnu'el Amid), one of the greatest Arabic scholars of his time. He is usually styled "Ustadh" (the master) and is said to have possessed a notable library. Several of his poems are extant and they are of the highest order, and remarkable for felicity of phrase and beauty of expression. Ibnu'el Amid was also a logician and mathematician. In his private life he was simple and of a quiet disposition. In the political sphere he is depicted as a fine soldier, a prudent commander, a born organiser and administrator.

Reforms of Ibnu'l Amid :-

When Ibnu'l Amid assumed the control of the Vizierite chaos prevailed everywhere in the kingdom. The army was disorderly and the state officials were dishonest, army officers had been given large fiefs by Ruknu'd Dawla to win their loyalty.

Soon after taking up office Ibnu'l Amid introduced many reforms: He systematised the public services, resumed possession of fiefs and gave cash payments in lieu to the army officers. He also furthered education by giving liberal grants to various educational institutions. In short he became so famous that many poets and literati of far countries gathered round him, enjoyed his generous patronage and immortalised him in their works.

The expedition of Murzaban against Ray, 948 A.D. :-

Between 948 - 49 A.D. an adventurer, Murzaban bin Mohammad, commonly known by his nickname "Salar", marched at the head of an expedition against Ruknu'd Dawla to conquer Ray. Ruknu'd Dawla was already fighting against the Samanids but he sent his general Mohammad bin Abdur Razzaq against the adventurer, with the result that he defeated and took him prisoner. While Murzaban was being sent from Ray to a prison in Isfahan he tried to escape by enlisting the sympathies of certain Daylamites, but the plot being detected by Ibnu'l Amid, who seems to have accompanied the force, was frustrated. We do not know why Murzaban escaped punishment. Later on it is said Ruknu'd Dawla married the daughter of Murzaban.

Ruknu'd Dawla goes to Fars, 950 A.D. :-

In 950 A.D. after the death of Imadu'd Dawla, Ruknu'd Dawla who was in Jurjan fighting against Washamgir left the province and proceeded to Fars. No sooner had Ruknu'd Dawla evacuated Jurjan than Washamgir occupied it. Ruknu'd Dawla came to Shiraz, where he mourned the death of his brother, and finally returned to Ray, which he had made the seat of his government. In 950 A.D. Ruknu'd Dawla recovered Jurjan from Washamgir who fled to Nishapur for help.

The son of Makan bin Kaki takes Ifahan, 951 A.D. :-

In 951 A.D., while Ruknu'd Dawla was at Ray, the son of Makan bin Kaki marched on Isfahan with an army. Abu Mansur, Ruknu'd Dawla's son, either could not or would not face the adventurer, and with his family disgracefully evacuated Isfahan and abandoned it to the invader. Ibnu'l Amid, however, got together an army and gave battle to Makan's son and defeated him, making him prisoner. History does not record what befell this son of Makan.

Ruknu'd Dawla pays homage to the Samanids :-

By his treaty with the Samanid Amir Mansur (961 - 76 A.D.) Ruknu'd Dawla agreed to hold Persian Iraq under the suzerainty of the Samanids and to pay 150,000 dinars annually. This treaty made Ruknu'd Dawla the legal master of Tabristan and Jurjan. On the death of Washamgir Ruknu'd Dawla assigned these provinces to Bihustan, the Ziyarid prince, who recognised the Buyids as his overlord, and also bestowed the title of Zahiru'd Dawla on him.

Khurasanite soldiers pillage Ray, 966 A.D. :-

In the summer of 966 A.D, some twenty thousand soldiers from Khurasan wished to join in the holy war under Safyu'd Dawla in Syria who was waging war with Byzantine government upon the frontier of Armenia. These soldiers had to pass Ray on their way and Ibnu'l Amid, the Vizier, advised Ruknu'd Dawla either to refuse them admission through his country or else to stipulate that they should pass in organized units of 2000 at a time in order to preserve the peace. The pride of Ruknu'd Dawla rejected such a proposal and he allowed them to pass through in a body. No sooner did these bands arrive at Ray than they began to demand money and the whole of the land tax and in August they invaded the palace of the Vizier, who was trying to check their depredations. The palace was pillaged and they then even attacked the palace of Ruknu'd Dawla and in a short time had overrun the whole country.

Ruknu'd Dawla determined to get rid of them, and after he had sent his woman and children to Isfahan, assumed the offensive. Their leader deserted to the Buyids and the others were soon completely defeated and sued for an amnesty, and were allowed to proceed to the holy war, Ruknu'd Dawla giving them the money for the journey and other equipment.

Ruknu'd Dawla as an arbitrator in the struggle between his nephew and his son, 975 A.D. :-

After the death of Muizu'd Dawla in 967 A.D. his son Izzu'd Dawla Bakhtiyar succeeded him in Kirman, Khuzistan and

Bagdad. The new prince was a weak voluptuary who was unable to enforce his authority over his mutinous Daylamites and Turkish soldiers, especially as their pay was in arrears. To maintain his control over them he begged the assistance of his cousin Adudu'd Dawla (son of Ruknu'd Dawla) who was ruling Fars. Adudu'd Dawla thereupon marched against the mutineers and having crushed the rebellion in Bagdad, made Izzu'd Dawla Bakhtiyar prisoner on the 12th March 975 A.D. and took for himself the office of the governor of Bagdad.

When informed of this, Izzu'd Dawla Bakhtiyar's son Murzaban, who was the Governor of Basrah, revolted against Adudu'd Dawla and begged his uncle Ruknu'd Dawla to Adjudicate the family dispute. Ruknu'd Dawla encouraged Murzaban to resist Adudu'd Dawla, promised to assist him and assured him that he would march on Bagdad to reinstate his father. When Ruknu'd Dawla came to Bagdad Adudu'd Dawla received him cordially and proposed that the government of Bagdad should be given to him since Izzu'd Dawla Baihtiyar was incompetent and suggested that some part of Fars should be allotted to Izzu'd Dawla as a fief. Ruknu'd Dawla scornfully rejected this offer and insisted that Izzu'd Dawla Bakhtiyar should be reinstated. Accordingly on June the 18th 975 A.D., Izzu'd Dawla Bakhtiyar was taken out of prison and reappointed Governor of Bagdad, while Adudu'd Dawla returned to Fars.

Ruknu'd Dawla's partition of his kingdom among his sons :-

Before his death Ruknu'd Dawla followed the unwise and

fatal precedent set by some of his ancestors of dividing his kingdom among ^{his} three sons. To the eldest, Adudu'd Dawla Fanakhusrau was assigned the province of Fars which he already held as heir-apparent of Imadu'd Dawla. The second son, Abu Nasr Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, received the governorship of ISfahan, Qum and Jurbadhaqan, while to the third son, Abul Hasan Ali Fakhru'd Dawla, Ray, Hamdan, Qazwin, Tabristan and Jurjan were allotted. The suzerainty of the kingdom was vested in Adudu'd Dawla whose orders the others were to obey.

Character of Ruknu'd Dawla :-

Ruknu'd Dawla died in September 976 A.D. Being of non-royal blood and brought up in humble circumstances he has been represented as a chieftian of the warlike Daylamites and as a tyrannical and unscrupulous ruler. In order to finance his expeditions his officers of state were often compelled to fine the poor or borrow or confiscate from the rich. He passed his reign in a series of campaigns either for booty or to maintain his position against the Samanids and Ziyarids, and he entirely disregarded the welfare of his subjects.

In his private life Ruknu'd Dawla exhibited great affection for his brother and nephews. Undoubtedly he excelled his contemporaries in ability and the maintenance of his authority against all the attempts ^{of the Ziyarids & Samanids} in Persian Iraq clearly shows he was a strong and brave man. ~~.....~~

As a ruler he permitted great licence to his soldiers and officials and seldom curtailed their powers. The appointment of Ibnu'l Amid, his Vizier, was made through sheer force of necessity rather than for justice and it was chiefly in imitation of the Samanids that he became a patron of men of letters.

Conquest of Kirman 331 A.D.

In 935 A.D. Mohammed bin Ilyas, who had been vizier of Kirman, was besieged by the Samanid general Ibrahim bin Ali. Thinking that both the armies might be tired of warfare, he took a chance and boldly advanced with the result that he broke through the siege and left for Kerman. Mohammed bin Ilyas's forces were utterly exhausted and finding himself unable to offer any opposition to Ibrahim's army, he fled towards Balkh, and Kirman passed under the Samanid rule. He then established himself in Sirjan, the capital of Kirman, the site of which is occupied by the modern town of Sirjan.

Soon afterwards Muzay'ib bin Ali extended his sway to Sirjan, the southern half of the province of Kirman. Sirjan was occupied by Ali bin Fallah, a Baluchi, who was the son

Ahmad bin Buwayh, Muizu'd Dawla, 932 - 67 A.D.

Ahwaz, Khuzistan, Kirman and Arabian Iraq

Brief summary of the events which led to the rise of Ahmad bin Buwayh (Muizu'd Dawla) :-

Regarding the third brother Ahmad we know very little. The first record of him shows how, as a lad of nineteen, at the head of a handful of Daylamite soldiers he distinguished himself in the battle of Istakhr in 933 A.D., killing nearly a thousand of the followers of Yaqut. After the conquest of Fars, Imadu'd Dawla placed the youth in command of 1500 Daylamite and 500 Turkish soldiers and sent him to Kirman to establish his power there.

Marches on Kirman 935 A.D. :-

In 935 A.D. Mohammad bin Ilyas, who had made himself master of Kirman, was besieged by the Samanid general Ibrahim Simjur. Thinking that both the armies might be tired of warfare, ^{Muiz} took a chance and boldly advanced with the result that Ibrahim raised the siege and left for Khurasan. Mohammad bin Ilyas's forces were utterly exhausted and finding himself unable to offer any opposition to Muizu'd Dawla, he fled towards Seistan, and Kirman passed under the Buyid rule. Muiz now established himself in Sirjan, the capital of Kirman, the site of which is occupied by the modern town of Sa'idabad.

Soon afterwards Muizu'd Dawla extended his sway to Jiruft, the southern half of the province of Kirman. Jiruft was occupied by Ali bin Kallawahi, a Baluchi, who came to terms

with the Buyid prince. It was decided that Jiruft should be held as a fief on payment of a million dirhems a year. Muiz obtained one hundred thousand dirhems in advance from the Baluchi chieftain, who also agreed to read the Khutba in the name of Muizu'd Dawla.

Muizu'd Dawla's Secretary "Kordepair" (the blind scribe) suggested an attack on Jiruft, in violation of the treaty, in order to enrich his treasury. Muiz readily gave ear to this proposal and attempted to take Ali bin Kallawahi by surprise by a night assault. He, however, was on his guard and repulsed the attackers, Muizu'd Dawla himself falling in the battle and losing his left hand and some fingers of the right one and was found unconscious among a pile of corpses. He was taken back to Jiruft where he was nursed to health, and, on his recovery, kept as a prisoner.

When the news of this unfortunate expedition reached Imadu'd Dawla he sent an army against Ali bin Kallawahi. On the arrival of this forces Ali apologised and obtained a renewal of the treaty made by Muizu'd Dawla who was released and proceeded to Sirjan, which he had made his headquarters.

When Mohammad bin Ilyas was informed of these events he collected an army and marched from Seistan. Muiz however completely routed him and he fled. After this victory Muiz, in direct violation of his treaty, marched on Ali bin Kallawahi to avenge his defeat and ambushed his forces at night. Ali bin Kallawahi was routed and the whole of Kirman passed under Muiz.

Conquest of Ahwaz, Wasit and Khuzistan :-

After the conquest of Kirman Muiz consolidated his power and then turned his attention to the conquest of Ahwaz, which he succeeded in uniting to his other territories. In 943 A.D. he marched on Wasit, which was defended by Tuzun, the Amiru'l Umra of the Caliph. A drawn battle was fought and Muiz had to retire to Ahwaz. In June of the following year, he renewed the contest, completely routed Tuzun, and added Wasit to his possessions. Soon afterwards he reduced the whole of Khuzistan, and turned his attention to Bagdad, his final objective.

His conquest of Bagdad and subjugation of Arabian Iraq

December 945 A.D. :-

Muiz, whose forces had continued to advance, having defeated the Caliph's army in a series of battles, made his triumphant entry into Bagdad in December, 945 A.D. Ibn Shirzad, the Caliph's Amiru'l Umra, went into hiding and on January the 17th, 946 A.D., the Caliph Mustkafi gave audience to the Buyid prince who declared his loyalty to him. Muiz persuaded the Caliph to grant a pardon to Ibn Shirzad, who was made secretary to Muiz. After this conference the Caliph conferred the title of Muizu'd Dawla and the rank of Amiru'l Umra on the Buyid prince. The occupation of Bagdad made Muiz master of the whole of Arabian Iraq.

Muiz arrests Mustkafi and confers the Caliphate on Moti January 946 A.D.

Muiz suspected that the Caliph Mustkafi was secretay

plotting to destroy him and so he decided to strike first. To win the support and confidence of his Daylamite soldiers, Muiz had laid stress on the Sunni beliefs of the Caliph, who had dared to arrest their Shia leader, Shafi'i. The Caliph, on the other hand, suspicious of Muiz's loyalty, had arranged his arrest at a banquet. On the 29th January, 946 A.D., when Mustkafi arrived at the ^aplace Muiz kissed the ground before him. Two Daylamites then laid violent hands on the Caliph while those who were believed to be accomplices in the Caliph's plot were also arrested. Mustkafi was imprisoned and blinded and Abul Qasim al-Fazal, the son of Muktadir, was proclaimed Caliph with the title of Al-Moti.

Muiz's wars with Nasru'd Dawla, the Hamadanite :-

In a history of Persia it is unnecessary to give detailed accounts of the various wars which Muiz had to fight with the Hamadanite prince Nasru'd Dawla, who held Mosul. In 947 A.D. a treaty was made between them by which it was agreed that Nasru'd Dawla should remain master of Mosul while Muiz should retain Bagdad. Hostilities, however, broke out afresh in the following year when Muiz made incursions into the Mosul district but another truce was made with the condition that Nasru'd Dawla should pay 8000 dirhems to Muiz as a tribute. Other disputes however arose between them and strained relations lasted until the death of Muiz.

Appointment of Bakhtiyar as heir apparent :-

Events from 948 - 66 A.D., during the practical regency of Muiz at Bagdad, are of little interest to a student of Persian

history, as they mainly concern Iraq and the Mesopotamian frontier. At the end of 966 A.D. Muiz became ill and appointed his son Bakhtiyar, Izzu'd Dawla, as his successor in the office of Amiru'l Umra at Bagdad.

Death and character of Muizu'd Dawla :-

In the spring of 967 A.D. Muizu'd Dawla had an attack of diarrhoea, from the effects of which he never recovered. On his death-bed he asked the Muslim jurists what he should do to atone for his evil deeds, and to expiate his crimes he gave a considerable amount of money in alms, liberated many slaves, and returned large sums of money that had been dishonestly seized. Miskawaihi gives his death as the 16th March, 967 A.D.

Ameer Ali, in his history of Saracens, while discussing the Buyids as mayors of the Caliph's palace thus sums up the character of Muiz, "His position was like that of Charles Martel under the Merovingian kings of France, for he was the virtual sovereign, whilst the Caliph was merely his dependent, receiving a daily allowance of 5000 dinars from the public treasury." When Muiz began to rule the power of the Caliphate reached its nadir, the Caliph being a mere puppet in the hands of the Buyid prince. According to some sources, Muiz assumed the title of "Sultan". It is evident however that he did not do so, for on the coins which he minted he was designated "Amiru'l Umra" (Chief of the Chiefs).

Muiz possessed an ungovernable temper and he often overwhelmed his viziers and most dignified courtiers with abuse. He

had his vizier Muhallabi scourged to death when he entered his apartments without permission and had failed to raise the revenues he expected from Wasit. Muiz is depicted as a staunch Shia and it was he who appointed the tenth day of Mohorrum as the day of mourning. In the words of Sir William Muir, "So inclined moreover, was Muizu'd Dawla, the first Buyid prince to the Shi'ite faith that he was only prevented from raising to the Caliphate a scion of the house of Ali by alarm for his own safety and fear of rebellion not in the Capital alone but all round."

Although treacherous and cruel by nature, Muiz with all his faults was a benefactor of agriculture and he is said to ^{have} repaired canals. It was during his reign that the Rufil and Wanat canals were restored. Such public works, however were not undertaken from philanthropic motives but to gain prestige and increase revenue. With all his lavishness Muiz is said to have left 400,000 golden dinars (£200,000) in his treasury at his death.

Dullaha, who hated Muizu'd Dawla for his partiality towards the Turks. One brother after renounced his allegiance to his sovereign in Ahsaz, while the second, formerly in the service of Muiz, had rebelled in Baghdad, and the third Dullaha stirred up an insurrection in Suway against Ahsaz's Dawla. Unfortunately we do not know the details of the story but only the facts of its suppression. Ibn'l Asid, the victor, by his clever diplomacy captured Dullaha and averted the danger which threatened to destroy the power of Ahsaz's Dawla.

Chapter XXI. Chronicle.

Adudu'd Dawla Abu Shuja Fanakhusrau (949-82 A.D.)
Fars, Iraq, Khuzistan, Kirman and Persian Iraq.

The sovereignty passes to him 949 A.D. :-

After the death of Imadu'd Dawla in 949 A.D. the province of Fars passed to Adudu'd Dawla Abu Shuja Fanakhusrau, the son of Ruknu'd Dawla, who had been recognised as the heir-apparent during the life time of his uncle. On his accession he retained Ibnu'l Amid as his prime minister in Fars, while his father Ruknu'd Dawla was governor of Persian Iraq. In the early years of his reign he had to face a mutiny of his army.

His throne is threatened by a rising of Daylamites, 957 A.D. :-

In 957 A.D. the Daylamites, headed by one Bullaka bin Wandad-Khurshid, revolted in Fars against his authority. This outbreak was a continuation of the rising of the three brothers of Bullaka, who hated Muizu'd Dawla for his partiality towards the Turks. One brother Asfar renounced his allegiance to his suzerain in Ahwaz, while the second Rusbahan, formerly in the service of Muiz, had rebelled in Bagdad, and the third Bullaka stirred up an insurrection in Shiraz against Adudu'd Dawla. Unfortunately we do not know the details of the mutiny but merely the facts of its suppression. Ibnu'l Amid, the Vizier, by his clever diplomacy captured Bullaka and averted the danger which threatened to destroy the power of Adudu'd Dawla.

Given the title of Adudu'd Dawla 961 A.D. :-

In 961 A.D. the Caliph Moti bestowed the title of Adudu'd Dawla on Abu Shuja Fanakhusrau, and an imperial decree was issued from the Bagdad government to the effect that in all official correspondence he should be so designated. This, of course, came from his uncle Muizu'd Dawla, who was mayor of the Caliph's palace.

Adudu'd Dawla sends a fleet for the conquest of Oman, 966 A.D. :-

In 966 A.D. Muizu'd Dawla was waging war against one Imran bin Shabin, known as the ruler of marshes, who had made himself master of a greater part of Wasit and had even encroached on Iraq. On the 4th October, 966 A.D., Muiz sent an army to Oman, and asked Adudu'd Dawla to send a reinforcement. Adudu'd Dawla prepared a flotilla to assist his uncle, and at a place called siraf the forces of Muiz joined with those of his nephew. It was at this juncture that Muiz fell sick and retired to Bagdad. After Muiz's death his son Bakhtiyar made peace with Imran.

Rebellion in Kirman, 967 A.D. :-

Kirman was ruled by Abu Ali bin Ilyas who recognised Adudu'd Dawla as his sovereign. Abu Ali had a son Alysia whom he had imprisoned in one of the fortresses of Kirman for his ambitious schemes. Either he won over the guards or eluded their vigilance, be that as it may, Alysia soon escaped. On regaining his liberty the army rallied round him and Abu Ali, finding himself unequal to facing his son, fled to Bukhara where he sought the

protection of the Samanids and ultimately died. (Page 241 Chapter XV)

Abu Ali left his two chamberlains, Bashar bin Medhi and Tuzmish, to help his other son Suliman who was stationed at Sirjan, the capital of Kirman. Alysia sent for Suliman under pretext of consulting him, but suspecting treachery he refused to come, upon which Alysia marched against his brother and having defeated him became ~~the~~ master of Kirman. Suliman then fled to Bukhara and joined his father.

Utbi remarks that the history of Alysia exemplified the truth of the Arabic proverb, "The ass seeking two horns lost his two ears." When Adudu'd Dawla sent a detachment of Daylamite soldiers to crush the rebels most of his officials and some 1000 soldiers of Alysia's army deserted to the Buyid chief. Alysia lost heart and fled and Adudu'd Dawla occupied Kirman and appointed his son Abul Fawaris as the governor of that province.

His conquest of Bagdad 976 A.D. :-

We have noted in the last chapter that Izzu'd Dawla Bakhtiyar who had succeeded in the government of Bagdad implored the assistance of his cousin Adudu'd Dawla who occupied that Capital in Januray 975 A.D. The plans of Adudu'd Dawla to retain Bagdad were repudiated by Ruknu'd Dawla after whose death in 976 A.D. Adudu'd Dawla, who coveted the metropolis of Caliphate above all, marshalled his forces to conquer Bagdad. We need not linger over the details of the wars that ensued between the cousins. Izzu'd Dawla Bakhtiyar, steeped in sensuality and luxury and lulled to a false sense of security, spent his time

listening to court singers and jesters and had already lost the support of his Turkish general Sabuktagin who was in open rebellion. Upon the approach of Adudu'd Dawla many officers of Izzu'd Dawla deserted the latter, and during the two days battle that took place in the province of Khuristan Izzu'd Dawla fled from the battle-field towards Mosul. He was pursued and captured and brought before Adudu'd Dawla who beheaded him. As a result of this victory the whole of Arabain Iraq and Khuzistan passed under Adudu'd Dawla.

Recognition by the Caliph :-

After the conquest of Bagdad almost royal honours were conferred upon Adudu'd Dawla by the Caliph Tai (974-91 A.D.) who bestowed the title of "Taju'l Millat" (Crown of the faith) on the victor. The office of Amiru'l Umra was given to him and his name was to be heralded by the beating of drums at the gate of the royal palace during the hours of sunrise and sunset.

His relations with the Samanids :-

It has been mentioned that Adudu'd Dawla entered into matrimonial relations with the Samanid Amir Mansur I (954-61 A.D.) to whom he paid homage. On the accession of Nuh II (976-97 A.D.) a certain amount of estrangement existed on account of Adudu'd Dawla's encroachment upon Samanid territory, but it was soon removed as the Buyid prince agreed to recognise Nuh II as suzerain. According to Utbi, when Abul Hasan Utbi, Nuh's Vizier, paid a visit to Adudu'd Dawla and demanded presents of robes and pieces of embroidery as a tribute from a vassal, Adudu'd Dawla became angry

and declared war, but soon afterwards he complied with the envoy's wishes in order to maintain friendly relations with the Bukhara government. Till the end of his life Adudu'd Dawla recognised the Samanids as his suzerain.

Takes Tabristan and Jurjan 976 A.D. :-

Having conquered Bagdad, Adudu'd Dawla next turned his attention to his brothers who had been allotted separate principalities by his father. As previously narrated on Page 248, chapter XV, Adudu'd Dawla had resented the partitioning of the kingdom and had assumed a hostile attitude towards his younger brother Fakhru'd Dawla. On the death of Ruknu'd Dawla, Fakhru'd Dawla, who was assigned Ray, Persian Iraq, Tabristan and Jurjan had set out for Tabristan to assume the governorship of that province without Adudu'd Dawla's consent while Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla submitted and recognised Adudu'd Dawla as his suzerain. Adudu'd Dawla now directed Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla to march on Tabristan and prevent Fakhru'd Dawla from taking peaceful possession of that province. Apparently his aim was to cause a civil war between the brothers and then add their territories to his kingdom by crushing them separately or by diplomacy. In the battle that was fought in 986 A.D. near Hamadan, Fakhru'd Dawla was betrayed by his followers and had to fly and take refuge with Qabus, the Ziyarid prince of Jurjan.

Adudu'd Dawla and Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla now attempted to bribe Qabus with promises of gift to hand over Fakhru'd Dawla to them, but Qabus refused all their offers, upon which Mu'ayyidu'd

Dawla again marched on the joint forces of Qabus and Fakhru'd Dawla in Jurjan and they had to fly to Nishapur after a battle fought at Astrabad in November, 981 A.D., and seek the protection of Nuh II, who entrusted the task of regaining their kingdom to his governor Tash. The details of these wars have been narrated at length in Nuh's reign and it is only necessary to state that Tabristan and Jurjan were lost by Fakhru'd Dawla and were added to the provinces of Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, who remained loyal to Adudu'd Dawla until his death.

Takes Mosul, 978 A.D. :-

In 978 A.D. Adudu'd Dawla advanced on Mosul and gained possession of that city, its ruler Abu Taghlib, the Hamdanaite prince, having fled to Syria where after various vicissitudes of fortunes, he was assassinated. As a result of this victory Adudu'd Dawla became master of the adjoining districts of Mosul.

Marries the daughter of the Caliph Tai, 980 A.D. :-

In 980 A.D. Adudu'd Dawla entered into matrimonial relations with the Caliph Tai, who agreed to give his eldest daughter to him. The dowry of the bride was fixed at 100,000 golden dinars (£50,000). By this union Adudu'd Dawla hoped to restore the Caliphate to the Buyid house, if she bore him a son.

Death of Adudu'd Dawla 983 A.D. :-

On the 26th March, 983 A.D., Adudu'd Dawla died in an epileptic fit at Bagdad after a reign of 34 years. According to his will his corpse was taken to the shrine of Ali and buried in Najf. This stipulation had been made in order to prove his

life-long loyalty and devotion to the principles of Shiaism. It was a tragic close to a glorious reign.

The memory of Adudu'd Dawla has come down to posterity gathering glory through succeeding ages. He is celebrated as the most illustrious sovereign of his house under whose wise government the Buyid kingdom reached its zenith. He succeeded in uniting the whole of Iraq, Tabristan, Fars, Jibal, and Kirman under his sceptre.

In his private life Adudu'd Dawla is depicted as a disciplined man of moderate habits. He rose early and took a bath, after which he would perform the prescribed prayers. He would then give audience to his Vizier Abul Qasim Mutahhar bin Abdullah, who furnished him with a report of the latest news and received instructions as to necessary action. As the day advanced he would wait for the post, which he used to open himself. He imposed the heaviest punishments for any delay in the post and is said to have flogged a carrier with 3000 lashes once when he delayed so as to have his dinner. After the perusal of the letters he would draft replies to the important ones and, having finished, he would dine in the presence of a physician and then go to sleep in the middle of the day.

After a nap, he would say his afternoon prayers and would then retire to a room where he enjoyed wine and songs. It was here while drinking and hearing music that he used to sign papers which were then conveyed to the post office. This would continue till sunset when the prince would retire. He used to superintend

the household expenditure himself, going into the details of stores and of the kitchen.

Adudu'd Dawla was the poet's ideal of a great and magnanimous prince and was often the subject of historians' encomiums, gaining from them the title of "The best of the Buyids". Not only was he celebrated because of his patronage of men of letters but also because of the vast sums of money which he spent on works of public utility, the reconstruction of mosques and the erection of other buildings. Adudu'd Dawla called engineers to deepen the channel of the river Band'i Amir, near Shiraz in Fars, thus making it navigable as far as Shiraz and this effectively prevented the periodical floods which had been so detrimental to the suburbs of the city. The construction of the shrine of Ali and Hussain, the hospital of Bagdad, the wall of Medina, the town of Suqul'i Amir which he built in the south of Shiraz and a caravanserai are sufficient evidences of his beneficence. He gave a grant of 100,000 dinars to the hospital of Bagdad, which he had newly built.

Hamad Ullah relates that when the building of the hospital was completed Adudu'd Dawla went to inspect it and there he met a madman. The maniac remarked to Adudu'd Dawla, "All your work is madness and topsy turvey." Adudu'd Dawla asked, "What madness have you seen in me?" The madman replied, "In the first place you rob the innocent of their money and then spend it on the insane. Secondly the cure of the disease is in the hand of God but you think that you and your hospital are the physicians. Is

it not madness?" Adudu'd Dawla thus reproved felt ashamed.

According to Shuja, the chief chronicler of the Buyid dynasty, although Adudu'd Dawla's reign offered protection to men of letters it imposed heavy taxes on the poor. He imposed new duties on paper imported into Iraq by levying an additional tariff of 10% and the owners of mills were allowed to keep but a small part of their profit, while the bigger portion went to the state treasury. Duties on the sales of those animals which were auctioned at the market, viz., horses, camels, asses, and cows were so exorbitant that the people complained bitterly. Silk yarn and ice, which were free of duty before were now considered a monopoly of the state and the manufacturers were expected to pay part of their profit to the state.

Other stories are told in which Addud'd Dawla is shown as criticising the expenditure of a few candles for light at night. A courtier of Adudu'd Dawla thus gives his character, "This person weighed the world in an improper scale and assigned it an undue price. It is enough that seeking profit in the world he had lost his soul."

Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla unsuccessfully aspires to attain power :-

After the death of Adudu'd Dawla, his brother Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla aspired to succeed him. For this purpose he sent his courtier Abul Qasim to Fars to obtain the allegiance of Sharafu'd Dawla, the son of Adudu'd Dawla, who had become governor of that province during the life of his father. Abul Qasim was able to have the Khutba read in the name of Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla in some towns of Fars, and coins bearing his inscription struck in those towns are extant. While the negotiations with Sharafu'd Dawla were in progress Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla also wrote to his brother Fakhru'd Dawla in Khurasan offering him the government of Jurjan and money to make common cause against Sharafu'd Dawla. Fakhru'd Dawla, suspecting treachery however, ignored this offer. While Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla was occupied with these schemes, there came a call from which no one escapes and he died in December, 983 or January, 984 A.D.

was ruled by Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, viz., Jurjan, Fakhru'd Dawla, and Fars, Iraq, and a letter of invitation was also sent by the Vizier, congratulating Fakhru'd Dawla on his election. Fakhru'd Dawla came to Jurjan in the spring of 984 A.D. and was installed without opposition. He appointed Sahib Ismail bin Abbas as his Vizier.

It is curious to note that at the restoration of Fakhru'd Dawla no opposition was shown by Sharafu'd Dawla, the eldest son of Adudu'd Dawla who had been placed on the throne of Fars after his father's death. The authority of Fakhru'd Dawla was further confirmed by the inactivity of other members of the family. This lack of opposition was however soon remedied by the vizier.

Fakhru'd Dawla 984-997 A.D.

Ruler of Persian Iraq, Tabristan and Jurjan.

Buyid chiefs offer the throne to Fakhru'd Dawla, 984 A.D. :-

Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla's Vizier, Sahib Ismail bin Abbad, asked Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla on his death-bed to nominate his successor but he left the choice to the Vizier's discretion telling him, "Do what you may deem fit." Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla at this time was repenting of his high-handed deeds and was making restitution of all the goods which he had unlawfully seized. He was perhaps remorseful for having disinherited Fakhru'd Dawla and breaking the covenant made with his father.

A council of Daylamite nobles invited Fakhru'd Dawla, the eldest member of the family who was in hiding at Nishapur, to come over and take over possession of that part of the kingdom which was ruled by Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, viz., Jurjan, Tabristan, and Persian Iraq, and a letter of invitation was also sent by the Vizier, congratulating Fakhru'd Dawla on his election. Fakhru'd Dawla came to Jurjan in the spring of 984 A.D. and was acclaimed without opposition. He appointed Sahib Ismail bin Abbad as his Vizier.

It is curious to note that at the restoration of Fakhru'd Dawla no opposition was shown by Sharafu'd Dawla, the eldest son of Adudu'd Dawla who had been raised to the throne ⁱⁿ Kirman after his father's death. The authority of Fakhru'd Dawla was further confirmed by the inactivity of other members of the Buyid house. This lack of opposition was however soon balanced by the civil

wars which soon broke out between the sons of Adudu'd Dawla. In 986 A.D. Abu Nasr Shahr'i Salar, a son of Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla, came to Fakhru'd Dawla's court where he was cordially received. He also recognised his uncle as the lawful ruler of the provinces which he held.

The Caliph formally recognises his position, 984 A.D. :-

In 984 A.D. The Caliph Tai was approached on the subject of recognising Fakhru'd Dawla with the imperial diploma and robes. The Caliph held one of the usual receptions at which he received ambassadors and he granted Sahluyah, Fakhru'd Dawla's envoy, seven robes with a black turban, the sword, the collar, the bracelet, the banner and horses with gold saddles and other symbols of office. A deed was also read out by which Fakhru'd Dawla was appointed to the governorship of the provinces which he already occupied. The title of "Falaku'l Ummah" (Orb of the nation) was added to the title of Fakhru'd Dawla (pride of the state), and the honorary rank of Amiru'l Umra was also conferred on him in Bagdad, as he was expected to fulfil the functions connected with these offices through his representative Sahluyah.

Fakhru'd Dawla poisons Ali bin Kama, 984 A.D. :-

Ali bin Kama was the governor of Rukhnu'd Dawla in Ray who had taken the side of Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla in the civil war between the brothers when Fakhru'd Dawla attacked Jurjan with the Samanid army. On his accession in 984 A.D. Fakhru'd Dawla planned to seize the property and person of Ali bin Kama. The latter invited Fakhru'd Dawla and Sahib Ismail bin Abbad to a banquet in

order to cultivate their friendship. Fakhru'd Dawla provided the cup-bearer with deadly poison which he administered to Ali bin Kama while he was under the influence of drink and on his death his property and fief were declared forfeit.

Appoints Khusrau Firuz as his Deputy, 984 A.D. :-

On gaining this estate Fakhru'd Dawla appointed his younger brother Khusrau Firuz Abul Abbas as his Deputy in Jurjan. He only remained governor of Jurjan for a short period, as on the arrival of the Samanid general Tash, Fakhru'd Dawla assigned the government of Jurjan to the latter together with the right to collect its revenue, while Fakhru'd Dawla himself retired to Ray. The incursion of Tash has been fully discussed in the reign of Nuh. When Khusrau Firuz treacherously annihilated the army of Tash, Fakhru'd Dawla marched against his brother and he was forced to tender an apology.

Marches on Khusistan, 989 A.D. :-

Sahib Ismail bin Abbad had always aspired to rule Arabian Iraq and he determined to attain his ambition at the death of Sharafu'd Dawla, the Amiru'l Umra of Bagdad, in 989 A.D., when he advised Fakhru'd Dawla to send an army to occupy Bagdad, Basrah and the whole of Iraq. Fakhru'd Dawla had to face his nephew Bahau'd Dawla, a son of Adudu'd Dawla, who after the death of his brother Sharafu'd Dawla had attained the chief power in Bagdad. At the head of a large army Fakhru'd Dawla marched to Ahwaz, the territory of Bahau'd Dawla. At this juncture great chaos prevailed in Iraq and some of the Daylamite officers of the deceased

Sharafu'd Dawla deserted to Fakhru'd Dawla, notably Abu Mansur bin Alika, the war minister. By this lucky stroke of fortune Fakhru'd Dawla took Ahwaz. Meanwhile great dissatisfaction in the ranks of Fakhru'd Dawla prevailed as the soldiery declared that their services had not been adequately requited and mutinous murmurs were heard against their Buyid leader, but the movement was either quelled or the demands were satisfied.

Having taken Ahwaz, Fakhru'd Dawla directed his march towards Basrah in order to subdue the whole Iraq. Firuzan bin Hasan, the maternal uncle of Fakhru'd Dawla was entrusted with the command of 3000 Daylamites for the march on Basrah, while Badr bin Hasanwaihi with 4000 Kurds was instructed to march by another route. Firuzan bin Hasan on crossing the Shattu'l Arab faced the armed resistance of the people of Basrah. Meanwhile Bahau'd Dawla despatched Ubaudhala bin Fazal from Bagdad with troops to reinforce Basrah.

Fortunately for Bahau'd Dawla the scene of the battle was chosen near the river Shattu'l Arab where an inundation covered the fields. Fakhru'd Dawla's troops thought that the floods were the result of the strategy of the enemy who had deliberately cut the dykes in order to sweep them away. Weary of long marches, Fakhru'd Dawla's men deserted in large numbers to Bahau'd Dawla. As the floods had obliterated the foot paths many of the soldiers were caught in the mud. At last overwhelmed with difficulties Fakhru'd Dawla blamed Sahib Ismail bin Abbad for the defeat and in revenge for the failure of his expedition he

executed many of his officers as he was retiring to Ray.

Ubaidhala bin Fazal, occupied Ahwaz. Fakhru'd Dawla during his retreat started negotiations with Bahan'd Dawla and soon both the uncle and nephew came to an understanding, each agreeing to restrict his attentions to his own province.

The ministry of Sahib Ismail bin Abbad :-

The chief feature of the reign of Fakhru'd Dawla was the brilliant administration of Sahib Ismail bin Abbad who has been described as a man of outstanding talent, a genius of the age. Not only as a statesman but also as a patron of men of letters the Sahib has become immortal in the literary history of Persia. The famous writer Abu Mansur Tha'alibi dedicated his "Lata'iful Ma'arif" to this scholar. The poet Abul Fazal Ahmad bin Huasain of Hamadan famous as "Badu'z Zaman" (the wonder of the age) also flourished under the patronage of this Vizier. The Sahib's passion for literature is evidenced by the interesting fact that when he was going on an expedition he used a caravan of 400 camels for the conveyance of his library.

The death and last will of the Sahib :-

In February, 995 A.D. Sahib Ismail fell sick at Ray. When he had lost all hope of recovery he called Fakhru'd Dawla to his bedside, and begged him to pursue a policy which would promote the peace and welfare of his subjects which he promised to do. Scarcely had the Sahib expired when Fakhru'd Dawla, at the instance of Abu Mohammad, the librarian of the Sahib and a spy of Fakhru'd Dawla, seized the house and treasures of the Sahib and a bag

containing 150,000 dinars, found among his possessions, was confiscated. The coffin of the Sahib was carried to Isfahan where he was buried. After his burial his children and dependants were exposed to every kind of torture and misery.

Qazi Abdul Jabar fined three million dirhems, 995 A.D. :-

Qazi Abul Hasan Abdul Jabar bin Ahmad, the Chief Qazi of the state, did not approve of any mercy being shown to the Sahib Ismail, whom he considered to have died without proper repentance. Since the Qazi had been a protégé of Ismail's he was guilty of gross ingratitude to his former patron, to whom indeed he owed his office, and Fakhru'd Dawla justly issued a warrant of his arrest, and fined him three million dirhems. In order to raise the sum necessary for the payment of such an exorbitant fine his possessions were seized including ten thousand garments of Egyptian wool. Subsequently the Qazi was dismissed, for holding the Mutazilite doctrines and his property was confiscated.

The office of Vizier is offered for sale :-

After the death of Sahib Ismail, Fakhru'd Dawla offered to sell the office of Vizier to the highest bidder. From amongst the applicants two bidders were selected: one, Abul Abbas Ahmad bin Ibrahim Dabbi, who held the title of Ko'fiu'l Ah'ud (the unique of the age) offered *six million dirhems: the other, Abu Ali Hamu'ali made a bid of eight million dirhems, Fakhru'd Dawla

* According to Hamad Ullah Dabbi gave 10,000 golden dinars for the office. ~~two~~ Six million dirhems = £150,000, while 10,000 dinars ~~are~~ only £5,000.

confirmed both Dabbi and Hamu'ali in the office of Vizier and they were made joint Viziers and robes of honour were conferred on both alike. They performed the duties of the office on alternate days.

A reign of terror, 995-97 A.D. :-

After the confirmation of both the Viziers, Fakhru'd instructed them to raise thirty million dirhems as the Sahib was accused of having wasted the public revenues. The new Viziers now proceeded to arrest and prosecute all those who had been exempted from taxes in the days of the Sahib. Towns, villages and cities were heavily fined and money was raised on the smallest pretext. Men were refused audience until promises of payment were made, and by corporal punishment and the restriction of food supplies ten million dirhems were raised from the subject of Fakhru'd Dawla.

Fakhru'd Dawla's relations with Sabuktagin :-

While Sabuktagin was at Balkh, suppressing the rebellion of the Samanid general Simjur, Fakhru'd Dawla sent valuable presents to him, hoping to secure his freindship. Sabuktagin returned six elephants and other valuable presents from Khurasan through his ambassador Abdullah, the scribe, who was to remain at Fakhru'd Dawla's court. Fakhru'd Dawla began to suspect Abdullah of being a spy and complained to Sabuktagin of the treachery of the envoy. This resulted in strained relations for a time, but Fakhru'd Dawla realising the great power of Sabuktagin, hastened to tender an apology and desired the renewal of their friendship. The petition was granted by Sabuktagin and cordial relations were

again re-established.

Death of Fakhru'd Dawla, 997 A.D. :-

In 997 A.D. Fakhru'd Dawla was staying in the fortress of Tabarik, near Ray and ate and drank to excess, which led to a serious illness that carried him to his grave. On the night of his death there was no shroud in which his body could be wrapped, since no one would venture into the town to procure one on account of a riot which had broken out among the troops. Finally his body was swathed in a winding sheet purchased from the keeper of the mosque below the fortress, and as a decent burial was out of the question, his coffin was dragged down the steps of the fortress where his remains were laid. He is said to have left ten million coins in gold, silver besides many jewels.

Fakhru'd Dawla's character :-

The character of Fakhru'd Dawla has been painted in the darkest colours as a cruel tyrant and one in whose reign all classes were greatly oppressed. In treachery and deceit he excelled all the Buyids and ingratitude towards his benefactors was one of the most marked features of this prince, as can be gleaned from his treatment of Qabus, the Ziyarid prince. Qabus lost his hereditary province of Jurjan through giving shelter to Fakhru'd Dawla when he was attacked by Mu'ayyidu'd Dawla and Adudu'd Dawla, yet on his accession Fakhru'd Dawla completely ignored his former protector. His treatment of the property of the famous Sahib Ismail bin Abbad is an almost unparalleled instance of baseness.

Majdu'd Dawla bin Fakhru'd Dawla (997-1029 A.D.)

Persian Iraq.

Majdu'd Dawla is raised to the throne, 997 A.D. :-

After the death of Fakhru'd Dawla, the nobles raised his * 10 years old child, Abu Talib Rustum Majdu'd Dawla, to the throne. Majdu'd Dawla was born in Jurjan when Tash the Samanid general had taken refuge with Fakhru'd Dawla in 987 A.D. His mother was a sister of the Isphabad, and this relationship stood her in good stead, as we will see later on. No sooner was Majdu'd Dawla placed on the throne than the army clamoured mutinously for their pay which was in arrears. It was a difficult task to satisfy them but his mother Seydah, who became regent, succeeded in doing so with promises.

Loss of Jurjan and Tabristan 998 A.D. :-

At the time of Majdu'd Dawla's accession the two Viziers of Fakhru'd Dawla regarded each other with bitter jealousy. At this juncture Qabus bin Washamgir was invited by the people of Jurjan to come and liberate them from the tyranny of the Buyids. Majdu'd Dawla asked Badr bin Hasanawaihi for assistance but he declined to help. The Vizier Hamu'ali was despatched at the head of an army to oppose Qabus and a pitched battle was fought in the vicinity of Jurjan city in which Hamu'ali was defeated and was forced to retire to Ray. As a result Qabus occupied Jurjan, where he firmly established himself by reducing many taxes.

On his return Hamu'ali was severely censured and a fresh

* According to Shuja, Majdu'd Dawla was four years old at his accession.

army was collected to invade Jurjan. Hamu'ali refused to undertake this operation and pointed out that it was now the turn of the Vizier Dabbi. For this insolence Hamu'ali was arrested, and, later on, put to death by order of the queen Seydah. After the murder of Hamu'ali the Daylamite army in Ray mutinied and pillaged the palace of Dabbi, who was considered to be instrumental in Hamu'ali's arrest. The situation became tense and the queen regent had to arrest Dabbi as well ~~as~~ to pacify the rioters. Shortly after, ~~when~~ order had been restored, the queen released Dabbi and he was reinstated in his office.

Investiture of the Caliph 998 A.D. :-

In 998 A.D. the Caliph Qadir received two envoys, one from Majdu'd Dawla and the other from Badr bin Hasanwaihi, a Hajib of Addud'd Dawla, requesting him to invest them with the governorship of Persian Iraq. The Caliph, at the instance of Bahau'd Dawla, a cousin of Majdu'd Dawla and the Amiru'l Umra of Bagdad, granted Ray and its dependencies to Majdu'd Dawla to whom he sent the insignia of office. ^{*} To Badr bin Hasanwaihi was given the title of Nasiru'd Din wa Dawla (the helper of the religion and the state) together with the territory of Kurdistan.

Civil war between mother and son :-

When he had attained his majority, Majdu'd Dawla sought to recover the kingdom from his mother, who maintained a very authorative and dictatorial attitude over him. The queen strongly

* Hasanwaihi bin Hussain (959-79 A.D.) a chief of Barzikani Kurds, had made himself master of Kurdistan including the towns of Dinawar, Hamadan and Nahawand. After his death Adudu'd Dawla appointed Hussain's son, Badr bin Hasanwaihi, (979-1014 A.D.) governor over his late father's dominions.

disapproved of her son's action in appointing Abu Ali as his Vizier and accordingly sought the help of Badr bin Hasanwaihi, which he readily gave. At the head of a large army Badr bin Hasanwaihi marched on Ray where he met Majdu'd Dawla and in the battle Majdu'd Dawla and his Vizier Abu Ali were taken prisoner. Having placed Seydah on the throne Badr bin Hasanwaihi retreated to his own territory, well rewarded by the queen. Seydah now became undisputed ruler of Persian Iraq.

The just and peaceful reign of ^{queen} Seydah :-

As soon as Seydah was established she set about introducing an impartial administration of justice, and prosperity and happiness soon prevailed in the country. Unassisted, she received foreign ministers and gave audience to the people. At this time she received an envoy from Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna who demanded that the Khutba be read in his name and that the coins should also bear it. The Sultan declared that if she refused to comply with his request he would send her an ultimatum. She replied that a wise king like Mahmud should know that the issue of war is in the hands of God and that if he gained victory it would not enhance his dignity to overcome a woman but if the Sultan were defeated he would never recover the prestige which he would lose through such a defeat. Her witty reply disarmed him and he put off his expedition against Iraq until after the death of the great queen.

After reigning for a few years Seydah, who loved her son, made him king again, yet she seems to have retained a good deal of her power and governed justly and wisely. With her death order

and prosperity vanished from the land.

Majdu'd Dawla loses his kingdom to Sultan Mahmud 1029 A.D. :-

After the death of his mother Majdu'd Dawla proved quite incapable of ruling his kingdom. He had made his brother Shamsu'd Dawla governor of Hamadan, and the outbreak of a mutiny in his army soon compelled him to ask the aid of Sultan Mahmud to suppress the revolt. In 1029 A.D. the Sultan sent a force of 8000 men under Hajib Ali with instructions to arrest Majdu'd Dawla. When he arrived at Ray Majdu'd Dawla went out to receive him and was at once made a prisoner and his dominions incorporated into those of the Sultan.

Subsequent fate of Majdu'd Dawla :-

After the success of Hajib Ali, Sultan Mahmud who had followed him, gave audience to Majdu'd Dawla, now a captive. The Sultan asked him if he had ever played a game of chess. When the unfortunate prince answered in affirmative he next demanded if he had ever noticed two kings reigning in the same realm or if on the chess board he had ever seen two kings planted on the same square? Majdu'd Dawla having replied "No", the Sultan then asked what madness actuated him to come out to meet his troops and submit tamely to the rule of another. After this scene the Sultan sent Majdu'd Dawla to the fortress of Ghazna where he was executed together with his son and chief Adherents.

Character of Majdu'd Dawla :-

Majdu'd Dawla was a thoroughly despicable character under whose government murder, rapine, plunder and highway robberies

were common events. Cruel and unscrupulous like his father, he inherited the unpleasant traits of Fakhru'd Dawla's character. He was the last sovereign of his house in Persian Iraq, since with his execution, the Buyid dynasty ends and the Ghaznavids house takes its place. It should be noted that Majdu'd Dawla's brother Shamsu'd Dawla, who governed Hamadan only, had recognised the Ghaznavids as his suzerains. Samau'd Dawla, the son of Shamsu'd Dawla, who vainly attempted to establish an independent principality, was deposed by Ibn Kakawayh, a first cousin of Majdu'd Dawla. He founded a dynasty called that of Kakawayh, which ruled Kurdistan from 1007-51 A.D. and was finally conquered by the Saljukian king Tughril Beg in 1051 A.D.

Execution of the Vizier Abu Mansur bin Harun 932 A.D.

On ascending the throne Sharafu'd Dawla gave orders for the arrest of Abu Mansur bin Harun, the Christian Vizier of Adudu'd Dawla. In the days of Adudu'd Dawla this minister had thwarted the desires of Sharafu'd Dawla; looked on his followers with suspicion, and patronised the party hostile to him. The Vizier was arrested in his council chamber, brought for trial

Chapter XXII. Chronicle.

Sharafu'd Dawla Abul Fawaris Shirzil bin Addud'd Dawla
(982-89 A.D.) Fars and Arabian Iraq.

Attains the sovereignty of Kirman, 982 A.D. :-

When we revert to the history of the province of Fars we find that Adudu'd Dawla left five sons, the eldest Abul Fawaris Shirzil Sharafu'd Dawla, then Abu Kalinjar Murzban Samsamu'd Dawla, Abu Nasr Bahau'd Dawla, Abul Hussain Taju'd Dawla, and Abu Tahir Firuzshah. Adudu'd Dawla had made Sharafu'd Dawla governor of Kirman in 982 A.D., some months before his death, and after it Sharafu'd Dawla retained Kirman, while his younger brother Samsamu'd Dawla went to Bagdad where he was made Amiru'l Umra. Apparently the brothers came to an understanding and agreed to keep their respective provinces and to refrain from encroaching upon each other's territory. As we have seen, Sharafu'd Dawla abandoned his claims over Ray, Hamadan, and Tabristan in favour of Fakhru'd Dawla.

Execution of the Vizier Abu Mansur bin Haroun 982 A.D. :-

On ascending the throne Sharafu'd Dawla gave orders for the arrest of Abu Mansur bin Haroun, the Christian Vizier of Adudu'd Dawla. In the days of Adudu'd Dawla this minister had thwarted the desires of Sharafu'd Dawla, looked on his followers with suspicion, and patronised the party hostile to him. The Vizier was arrested in his council chamber, brought for trial

before Sharafu'd Dawla and sentenced to death. After his execution Sharafu'd Dawla proceeded to release from custody the various people whom his father had imprisoned. One of these prisoners, named Qaratagin bin Justan, was appointed commander-in-chief, while another, Shabushti, was reinstated in his office of chamberlain.

Civil war between the brothers, 982 A.D. 1-

As soon as Sharafu'd Dawla had established himself at Kirman, he heard that his brother Abul Hussain, who was at Bagdad, intended to march on Fars. Abul Hussain had obtained the support of Abu Faraj Mansur bin Khusrau, the governor of Ahwaz, and had openly rebelled against the authority of Sharafu'd Dawla.

Assuming the title of Taju'd Dawla (Crown of the state) Abul Hussain had had the Khutba read in his own name in Ahwaz.

Samsamu'd Dawla sent a force from Bagdad to oppose Abul Hussain's advance and the two armies met at Qurqub near Ahwaz, where the army of the former was routed. Abul Hussain now gained possession of Ramhurmuz and afterwards annexed Basrah. By this time the position of Abul Hussain had grown so strong that he meditated the conquest of Fars.

Sharafu'd Dawla enforces his authority in Fars 982 A.D. :-

Taking advantage of the war between Abul Hussain and Samsamu'd Dawla, Sharafu'd Dawla hastened from Kirman to Shiraz, which he occupied in 982 A.D. Having established himself there he consolidated his power, amassed treasure, and set about raising an army to oppose Abul Hussain.

Takes Ahwaz and Khuzistan 985 A.D. :-

In 985 A.D., satisfied that he was now strong enough, Sharafu'd Dawla, marched on Ahwaz. Abul Hussain was unable to withstand him for he had succeeded in capturing Asfar bin Kurduyah and Abdul Aziz bin Yusuf, his two generals. Both of these were conveyed to a fortress in Fars where they remained until the death of Sharafu'd Dawla set them at liberty. Sharafu'd Dawla now negotiated with Abul Hussain offering him to confirm him in the governorship of Ahwaz, provided he recognised him as his overlord and allowed him to pass through his territory to Bagdad, where he intended to release his brother Abu Nasr (later on Bahau'd Dawla) whom Samsamu'd Dawla had made prisoner.

Abul Hussain refused to listen to these overtures and prepared again for war. In the engagement that followed Abul Hussain had to fly from the battlefield and went to Isfahan to seek the protection of Fakhru'd Dawla, who promised him active help but never gave it, though he granted him an allowance of 100,000 dirhems per month. Failing to get armed help Abul Hussain in despair spread a report in Isfahan that he had secretly entered into relations with Sharafu'd Dawla with whose assistance he intended to make himself master of Isfahan. The Vizier Dabbi, at the orders of Fakhru'd Dawla attacked the palace of Abul Hussain, and having taken him prisoner conveyed him to Ray where he remained for a considerable time. Before his death Fakhru'd Dawla gave orders for his execution.

Strained relations with Samsamu'd Dawla 985 A.D. :-

In 985 A.D. Sharafu'd Dawla who had made himself master of Ahwaz and Khuzistan, proceeded to Arabian Iraq to attack Samsamu'd Dawla who had adopted a hostile attitude. Accordingly Ala bin Hasan was sent to Basrah to arrest Abu Tahir (Firuzshah) bin Addud'd Dawla, who was reported to have formed an alliance with Samsamu'd Dawla. Ala bin Hasan was able to reduce Basrah, and take Abu Tahir Firuzshah captive. Having thus consolidated his power Sharafu'd Dawla continued his march towards Bagdad.

His treaty with Samsamu'd Dawla 986 A.D. :-

In May 986 A.D. the Caliph Tai in order to avert a civil war between the brothers patched up a peace and an alliance for mutual protection between Sharafu'd Dawla and Samsamu'd Dawla, in which the latter agreed to recognise the former as the head of the family and to put his name after that of the Caliph and recognise his precedence. The treaty began with a declaration of loyalty and obedience to the Caliph, in which the parties agreed in the name and fear of God to obey all the commandments of the Commander of the Faithful. The Caliph further conferred the title of "Zainu'l Millah" (Ornament of the faith) on Sharafu'd Dawla and presented him with robes of honour and a banner. To give effect to this truce Samsamu'd Dawla sent his envoy to Sharafu'd Dawla's court professing friendship.

Sharafu'd Dawla violates the treaty, 986 A.D. :-

No sooner had Sharafu'd Dawla made this treaty than he discovered that his brother's affairs were hopelessly entangled and

that he was quite incapable of governing his own province; his troops were disaffected and demanding their pay which was much in arrears. Sahrafu'd Dawla received envoys from the nobles and grandees of the various districts of Arabian Iraq who declared their willingness to give their allegiance to him. In the winter of 986 A.D., in violation of the treaty, Sharafu'd Dawla marched on Wasit at the head of a large army having with him, we are told, 13,000 camels and 1800 grooms. When Samsamu'd Dawla was informed of his approach he sent his younger brother Abu Nasr (Bahau'd Dawla), whom he had been holding as a prisoner, as an envoy to Sharafu'd Dawla's camp at Wasit.

Takes Wasit and then proceeds to Bagdad 987 A.D. :-

Samsamu'd Dawla had so far offered no opposition to Sharafu'd Dawla's advance to Wasit. Sharafu'd Dawla, having occupied Wasit, drew near to Bagdad when Samsamu'd Dawla decided to go to Sharafu'd Dawla's camp in order to settle matters with him. When he came to Sharafu'd Dawla's tent he found him waiting with his retinue. He dismounted and kissed the ground three times and then asked the hand of his brother but was immediately made a prisoner and brought to a tent which had been pitched for him, as the place of his confinement.

Sharafu'd Dawla's entry into Bagdad, 987 A.D. :-

Sharafu'd Dawla then entered Bagdad triumphantly without opposition in January, 987 A.D., and became its ruler. On the eve of his entry a dispute arose between the Daylamites and the Turkish soldiers but it was soon settled. In the beginning of

February Sharafu'd Dawla was given a cordial reception by the Caliph Tai, who made him Amiru'l Umra of Bagdad while Samsamu'd Dawla was taken to Shiraz and in 989 A.D., by the order of Sharafu'd Dawla, he was blinded.

Death and character of Sharafu'd Dawla :-

In 989 A.D. Sharafu'd Dawla, who had reigned in Bagdad for a period of two years and eight months, fell sick and died in the prime of his youth. On his death-bed he commissioned his son Abu Ali to go to Fars and appointed his brother Abu Nasr Bahau'd Dawla as his deputy in Bagdad to represent him until his recovery. Sharafu'd Dawla was a staunch Shia who never neglected his prayers and discharged all his religious obligations. By his will his corpse was taken to Kufa where his remains were laid.

The reign of Sharafu'd Dawla is marked by the just and wise government of his Vizier, Abu Mansur, who revived learning in the schools at Bagdad which had suffered much owing to the numerous revolutions. The local provincial governors were kept under strict supervision and ordered to promote agriculture. Industry and trade was also developed. Finding that the price of food was exorbitant in Bagdad, corn was imported from Fars and even from other countries. Sharafu'd Dawla was a great patron of men of letters and under him flourished the great scientist Ibnu's Salam and the celebrated astronomer and geometrician Abul Wafa. Besides these a host of Philosophers, jurists, and poets adorned Sharafu'd Dawla's court, among whom Sufi Abdur Rahman enjoyed an unusual wide reputation.

Samsamu'd Dawla Abu Kalinjir Murzban, 989-98 A.D.

Fars.

Release from the captivity :-

On the death of Sharafu'd Dawla the blinded Samsamu'd Dawla was released by the Turkish guards and proclaimed King of Fars. A considerable army soon gathered round him and offered their services to resist Abu Nasr Bahau'd Dawla, whom Sharafu'd Dawla had nominated his successor in Bagdad.

Defeat of Bahau'd Dawla 990 A.D. :-

Abu Nasr who had by this time obtained the sanction of his appointment from the Caliph Tai with the title of Bahau'd Dawla wa Diyau'i Millah (Pride of the state and light of the faith), soon collected an army to frustrate the designs of Samsamu'd Dawla. In 990 A.D., he marched towards Shiraz to secure his rights in Fars. First he proceeded to Wasit, and despatched his general Abu Ala Ubaidallah bin Fazal to Arrajan, which he took. In the citadel of Arrajan Bahau'd Dawla found nearly ^{a million golden dinars, eight million} ~~million~~ dirhems, jewels of considerable value and rare weapons. From Arrajan Ubaidallah set out for Fars and by gradual marches came within sight of Shiraz. Samsamu'd Dawla directed Fullad bin Mandhar to oppose him and he defeated Ubaidallah in Khwabdhan near Shiraz. Ubaidallah now retired to Arrajan, having suffered heavily.

A formal treaty, 990 A.D. :-

Negotiations now took place between the opposing generals and it was decided that Fars and Arrajan should remain under Samsamu'd Dawla, while Bahau'd Dawla should have Arabian Iraq and

the Emirate of Bagdad. A formal treaty was drawn up and ratified with solemn oaths and a declaration of mutual friendship. Each of the Buyid chiefs retained a fief and an ambassador in the territory of the other. Bahau'd Dawla sent Bundar bin Firuzan to Shiraz as his envoy, while Samsamu'd Dawla appointed Abu Abdullah Hussain bin Ali bin Abdan to act in the same way at Bagdad.

Arrest of Ala bin Hasan and his release, 992 A.D. :-

Ala bin Hasan ~~who~~ was the Vizier of Samsamu'd Dawla was a wise and efficient administrator. In 992 A.D. Samsamu'd Dawla seems to have obtained power enough to demand a large sum of money from the Vizier which the latter was unable to pay. In consequence he was arrested together with his staff and his daughter, and they were subjected to such cruel tortures that his daughter and many of his attendants died. Ala bin Hasan was confined in a prison, but later on for some reason not given, he was released by the queen mother who reinstated him in office in 993 A.D. When he resumed his official duties he was blind but his sight was later partly restored.

The ministry of Ala bin Hasan, 993-97 A.D. :-

After his release Ala bin Hasan, who secretly hated Samsamu'd Dawla, determined to have his revenge and set about squandering the national funds. His mal-administration soon resulted in the complete disorganization of Samsamu'd Dawla's affairs and the downfall of his kingdom.

The sons of Bakhtiyar escape from prison, 993 A.D. :-

Six of the sons of Izzu'd Dawla Bakhtiyar bin Muizu'd Dawla, were confined in a fortress called Kharshanan in Fars. They won over the governor, who released them. They then appealed for help and a considerable number of people flocked to their standard. Samsamu'd Dawla directed Abu Ali Hasan bin Ustad Hurmuz to crush the rising and at his approach the sons of Bakhtiyar entrenched themselves and were at once besieged. Owing to the treachery among the besieged, Abu Ali was able to capture the fortress and the sons of Bakhtiyar were arrested. Samsamu'd Dawla executed two of them but the rest were imprisoned in another fortress.

Massacre of the Turks, 995 A.D. :-

In 995 A.D. Samsamu'd Dawla ordered the execution of all the Turks in Fars. Some were murdered in cold blood, others fled and began to cause trouble in the country. Samsamu'd Dawla sent his troops against them and they were compelled to escape to Sindh in India, where they sought the protection of the governor of that province. Here many of them were ruthlessly executed though a few escaped and returned to Fars. We do not know why this exodus was ordered but it was probably due to the division of the court into rival factions of Daylamites and Turks in which Samsamu'd Dawla espoused the cause of his countrymen.

Samsamu'd Dawla sends a force to conquer Khuzistan, 995 A.D. :-

In 995 A.D. Samsamu'd Dawla, contrary to the treaty which he had made with Bahau'd Dawla, sent his Vizier Ala bin Hasan

to Ahwaz, the capital of Khuzistan, the territory of the latter. Bahau'd Dawla despatched Murzban bin Shahfiruz to Ahwaz as his deputy assigning the province to him. Murzban tried to negotiate with Ala bin Hasan but he continued to march on Khan Tauq where the two armies met, and in the battle that followed the forces of Bahau'd Dawla were defeated. He sent another army but this also suffered a reverse and had to retreat towards Bagdad. Ala bin Hasan now overran the whole of Khuzistan and pursued the fugitives as far as Askar Mukram and Tustar. Here another battle was fought in which Bahau'd Dawla's army gained the upper hand and took possession of Ramhurmuz and recovered most of Khuzistan.

Having been vanquished Ala bin Hasan increased the pay of the army in order to retain the loyalty of his troops, but, with insufficient resources at his command, he was unable to fulfil this promise and was forced to remain inactive on the border of Arrajan and Khuzistan. In order to satisfy the soldiers he had to distribute the territory in fiefs to the generals. While he was thus watching the course of events he died in January, 997 A.D.

Appointment of Abul Tayyib Farrukhan in Vizierate, 997 A.D. :-

After the death of Ala bin Hasan, Samsamu'd Dawla appointed Abul Tayyib Farrukhan to the office of Vizier. He proved incompetent and was unable to maintain his master's authority over the rebellious elements of the community. The retainers of Bahau'd Dawla seized Sus and Jundaisabur, the cities of Khuzistan which was still under Samsamu'd Dawla.

Samsamu'd Dawla now despatched Abu Ali Ustad Hurmuz at the head of an army to assist the Vizier and drive out Bahau'd Dawla's garrison from Jundaisabur.

Civil war between the brothers, 997-998 A.D. :-

Abu Ali Ustad Hurmuz emerged victorious from the various engagements that followed between the Turkish retainers of Bahau'd Dawla and the Daylamite soldiers of Samsamu'd Dawla. Finally Bahau'd Dawla's soldiers evacuated Khuzistan and returned to Wasit and Abu Ali became master of the province of Khuzistan. Bahau'd Dawla now sent his general Ibn Mukram to redress matters and a series of battles followed in which the Turkish soldiery of Bahau'd Dawla were about to retire when Abu Ali received the news of the murder of Samsamu'd Dawla. On hearing this tragedy Samsamu'd Dawla's army lost heart and deserted to the enemy.

Mutiny in Samsamu'd Dawla's troops, 998 A.D. :-

The army of Samsamu'd Dawla, which largely consisted of Daylamites, rebelled at Shiraz in 998 A.D. These soldiers demanded that the fiefs allotted by Ala bin Hasan, the Vizier, to certain generals should be divided amongst them. The mutineers took the governor of Shiraz prisoner, and then put him to death while the court officials fled. When Samsamu'd Dawla came out in person and tried to appease them, he was rudely treated and the troops clamoured insistently for the division of fiefs. Samsamu'd Dawla for the time being acceded to their request and peace was restored.

Formation of the register :-

Samsamu'd Dawla alarmed at the growing power of the Daylamites devised a scheme to check it - a scheme which ultimately brought about his own fall. He caused a register to be made in which the names of those persons who were of Daylamite descent were entered. All those whose names did not appear in this official list were to be excluded from active service, and other concessions enjoyed by the privileged Daylamites. The task of compiling of this register was entrusted to Abu Jaffar and as a result of his investigation the names of 1050 persons were removed and were deprived of their privileges: their property was confiscated and granted to men of Daylamite origin.

Assassination of Samsamu'd Dawla, 998 A.D. :-

By this time, owing to the general disorder, the two captive sons of Bakhtiyar, Abul Qasim and Abu Nasr Shahfiruz were able to make their escape once more. The rejected Daylamites flocked to the standard of these pretenders and Abul Qasim was able to gain possession of Arrajan, from which he expelled Samsamu'd Dawla's representative. Abu Nasr Shahfiruz proceeded towards Shiraz. Samsamu'd Dawla had sent his army to Ahwaz under the command of Abu Ali bin Ustad Hurmuz and he had only 300 soldiers with him and they refused to fight.

He therefore decided to take his treasures and his family and join Abu Ali in Ahwaz. Since it was a hazardous undertaking to march with so small a force, he solicited the help of the Kurds and made a treaty with them. Samsamu'd Dawla

had however marched but two leagues when the Kurds pillaged his stores and he was forced to fly to Dudmaun, a small town two stages distant from Shiraz. Tahir, the Villiage chief tried to protect him but Abu Nasr Shahfiruz coming up, attacked, took Samsamu'd Dawla prisoner and put him to death on the 24th November, 998 A.D.

Cruel treatment of Samsamu'd Dawla's followers :-

After the execution of Samsamu'd Dawla, Shahfiruz arrested Radi, the mother of Samsamu'd Dawla and subjected her to cruel torture to make her reveal her treasures. She refused to do so and was put to the sword. It was when Bahau'd Dawla gained Fars that tombs were built on the graves of Samsamu'd Dawla and his mother as tokens of respect to him.

Character of Samsamu'd Dawla :-

Samsamu'd Dawla was an unscrupulous and cruel prince in whose reign according to Shuja, "There was more wormwood than honey and the pleasures were exceeded by the pains". Intent on achieving his personal ambition and engrossed in luxury Samsamu'd Dawla seldom cared for the maintainence of peace and order in the country. His methods alienated many of his followers, who deserted him and joined his enemies.

A treaty was also made with Samsamu'd Dawla by which Arabian Iraq was allotted to Bahau'd Dawla.

The Baluch Tal is arrested by Bahau'd Dawla, 991 A.D. :-

In 991 A.D. the soldiers in Bahau'd Dawla's army began to demand their pay, which was in arrears, while the treasury was

Abu Nasr Bahau'd Dawla bin Adudu'd Dawla, (998-1012 A.D.)

Fars, Kirman, Khuzistan, and Arabian Iraq.

His early career :-

Abu Nasr Khusrau Firuz Bahau'd Dawla was probably born in 971 A.D. and at the death of his father in 982 A.D., when Samsamu'd Dawla attained the Emirate of Bagdad, Bahau'd Dawla was also in that capital. In 985 A.D. Samsamu'd Dawla found that a conspiracy had been formed to dethrone him and place Bahau'd Dawla in his stead, and as a result Bahau'd Dawla was imprisoned.

Sharafu'd Dawla, who had become the ruler of Fars, in vain demanded the release of Bahau'd Dawla and in 986 A.D. he advanced on Wasit and began to take active measures against Samsamu'd Dawla, who sent Bahau'd Dawla to his camp to pacify him as has been narrated above.

In 989 A.D. on Sharafu'd Dawla's death, Bahau'd Dawla was nominated as his successor, assumed the emirate of Bagdad and was confirmed in office by the Caliph Tai, who bestowed on him the titles of Bahau'd Dawla and Diyau'l Millah (Strength of the State and Light of the Faith). In 989 A.D. when Fakhru'd Dawla marched on Ahwaz Dawla, greatly alarmed, sent a force to oppose him. In the battle that followed Fakhru'd Dawla was badly defeated and a treaty was concluded, as previously mentioned. In 990 A.D. a treaty was also made with Samsamu'd Dawla by which Arabian Iraq was allotted to Bahau'd Dawla.

The Caliph Tai is arrested by Bahau'd Dawla, 991 A.D. :-

In 991 A.D. the soldiers in Bahau'd Dawla's army began to demand their pay, which was in arrears, while the treasury was

empty. His secretary Abul Hasan Mu'allim persuaded him to arrest the Caliph Tai and seize his treasury. The nobles of the Caliph's court were subjected to various indignities and the captive Caliph was conveyed to the palace of Bahau'd Dawla and Al-Qadir Billah was nominated in his stead. The deposed Caliph was further compelled to sign a deed by which he proclaimed his own abdication and recognised Al-Qadir as his successor.

Takes Fars, 998 A.D. :-

The various wars (991-98 A.D.) of Bahau'd Dawla with Samsamu'd Dawla have been described previously. In 998 A.D. when the murder of Samsamu'd Dawla took place, Bahau'd Dawla was in Khuzistan fighting with Abu Ali bin Ustad Hurmuz. Abu Ali received an envoy from Shahfiruz bin Bakhtiyar begging his support while Bahau'd Dawla also tried to win him over and sent him this message, "Before this event we were at war and the dispute for the sovereignty lay between my brother and myself. Now that by virtue of reversionary rights I am entitled to the throne of Fars, on the death of my brother, we have a common cause for which to fight, namely, to avenge the murder of Samsamu'd Dawla and there is no reason why you should not give us your support." Abu Ali consulted his Daylamite chiefs who were in favour of carrying on the war, but he soon dissuaded them and declared for Bahau'd Dawla.

Having joined his forces with those of Abu Ali, Bahau'd Dawla decided to reduce Fars. He appointed Abu Jaffar Hajjaj as his deputy in Ahwaz and sent his Vizier Abu Ali bin Ismail (surnamed Muwafaq or powerful) with Abu Ali bin Ustad Hurmuz to

effect the conquest of Fars. When they had proceeded some distance on their way they were joined by Abu Jaffar bin Ustad Hurmuz $\frac{1}{2}$ (probably a brother of Abu Ali bin Ustad Hurmuz) who had fled from the tyranny of the sons of Bakhtiyar. They reached Shiraz where they routed the sons of Bakhtiyar in the first engagement.

The sons of Bakhtiyar, however, collected another force and fought a second time, but owing to the desertion of the Daylamites they were put to flight. Abu Musawi had the Khutba read in the name of Bahau'd Dawla and invited him to come to Shiraz. Abu Nasr bin Bakhtiyar, who had fled to Daylam, was able to collect another small army and appeared once more in Kirman where he tried to enforce his authority. Abu Jaffar bin Ustad Hurmuz was sent to oppose him and in the battle that was fought Abu Nasr was completely routed and retreated to Jiruft in the remoter confines of Kirman.

Bahau'd Dawla now deputed his Vizier Abu Ali bin Ismail Muwafaq to subdue him, and in the engagement that took place at Darzin, a few miles from Jiruft, Abu Nasr was put to flight, and as he was flying from the battlefield one of his own followers, weary of the struggle, struck him down with a club. According to Utbi, when the head of Abu Nasr was presented to Bahau'd Dawla he ordered that the man who had brought it should be flayed as a warning that royal corpses should not be publicly exhibited and disgraced.

Massacre at the village of Dudmaun, 999 A.D. :-

After his victory at Fars Bahau'd Dawla ordered his soldiers to pillage the village of Dudmaun, where Samsamu'd Dawla

was assassinated. The villiage was burnt and all the inhabitants were massacred. He afterwards brought the body of Samsamu'd Dawla to Shiraz where he gave him a decent burial and all the sons of Bakhtiyar who could be found were mercilessly butchered. After this the question of the bestowal of fiefs was settled in Shiraz, half of the fiefs being given to Daylamites and the other half to Turks. In dividing up the land preference was given to nobles.

Arrest of Abu Ali bin Ismail Muwafaq, 1000 A.D. :-

After the conquest of Fars, Bahau'd Dawla turned his attention to his Vizier Abu Ali bin Ismail who had won the province of Fars and Kirman for him, and on the 26th of July, 1000 A.D., a royal warrant for his arrest was issued and enforced. We do not know the cause of his downfall; either the concentration of political power in his hands alarmed Bahau'd Dawla or the arrogant attitude which he had assumed led to his arrest. Mirkhond asserts that Abu Ali insisted upon resigning the office of Vizier contrary to the express wishes of Bahau'd Dawla, who was so enraged at Abu Ali's act that he ordered his arrest. The palace of Abu Ali was searched and his money, armour and saddlery were confiscated.

After the arrest of Abu Ali bin Ismail, his namesake Abu Ali bin Ustad Hurmuz was appointed Vizier of Fars and after a brief tenure of office retired. The Vizierate was then entrusted to Abu Ghalib bin Khalaf, the deputy governor of Shiraz. In March 1002 A.D., Abu Ali bin Ismail escaped from prison and negotiated with Bahau'd Dawla for a pardon and obtained from him a "Safe conduct"

and promise of honourable employment upon his return, but when he came back he was sent to prison where he ultimately died.

His relations with Sultan Mahmud :-

Cordial relations existed between Bahau'd Dawla and Sultan Mahmud and they formed an alliance cemented by an exchange of gifts. In 1002 A.D. the Sultan conquered Seistan, adjacent to Kirman which was under Bahau'd Dawla. Not long afterwards some misunderstanding arose between these sovereigns because Bahau'd Dawla wished the Khutba to be read in his name in Seistan. He seems, curiously, also to have been asking for the Sultan's daughter in marriage. Mahmud despatched Hadis Abu Omar Bast'ami the Qazi of Nishapur, as an envoy to Fars to negotiate, and, just as Bahau'd Dawla was about to take hostile measures against the Sultan, he died.

His relations with Muhadh^{dh}ibu'd Dawla :-

It would be unnecessary in the history of Persia to enter into the details of the various battles which Bahau'd Dawla fought with Muhadh^{dh}ibu'd Dawla (Ali bin Nasr Hasan) who had made himself master of Wasit. Bahau'd Dawla gave one of his daughters in marriage to Muhadh^{dh}ibu'd Dawla and her dowry was fixed at 100,000 golden dinars. In 996 A.D. Basrah was taken by Muhadh^{dh}ibu'd Dawla and by wise and just government he consolidated his power there. Cordial relations appears to have existed afterwards, probably due to constant loans which were made to Bahau'd Dawla.

Death and character of Bahau'd Dawla :-

In 1012 A.D., Bahau'd Dawla died in Arrajan and his body was sent to Nejf. During his life he exerted a considerable influence on the Caliphate, and according to one account he was styled "Shahi'n Shah wa Qawamu'l Din" (King of kings and defender of the faith) by the Caliph Qadir. It is doubtful whether he was named Shahi'n Shah but the Persian authors have given him this dignity to enhance the glory of his house.

By nature Bahau'd Dawla was unscrupulous, cruel and suspicious. To achieve his own ends he devised tortuous schemes and broke every promise. The execution of his viziers who were his benefactors shows his remorselessness. Regardless of the anarchism which prevailed in Bagdad amongst the Turkish soldiers, Bahau'd Dawla permitted them wild license, making no effort whatever to curtail their power. The Turks, who belonged to the orthodox church, and the Daylamite soldiers of Bahau'd Dawla, who were Shias were continually at variance and this struggle, carried on interminably, resulted in the fall of the Buyid house in the days of his successors. With all his faults Bahau'd Dawla was able to unite Iraq, Fars, Kirman, KhuZistan, and Jibal under his sceptre, and he was the last prince of this house who exercised any real power. With his death fell the prestige of the dynasty.

CHAPTER XXIII. Chronicle.

Sultanu'd Dawla Abu Shuja bin Bahau'd Dawla, 1012-24 A.D.

Fars, Iraq and Ahwaz.

Accession of Sultanu'd Dawla :-

Bahau'd Dawla left four sons, Abu Shuja Sultanu'd Dawla, Abu Tahir Jalalu'd Dawla, Abul Fawaris Qawamu'd Dawla, and Abu Ali Hasan Musharifu'd Dawla. The eldest, Sultanu'd Dawla was at Arrajan at the time of his father's Death and he hastened to Shiraz to place himself on the throne. By the unanimous assent of his Daylamite nobles he was made sovereign of Fars. After ascending the throne Sultanu'd Dawla appointed his brothers as governors in his dominions, Basrah being assigned to Jalau'd Dawla, Kirman to Qawamu'd Dawla, and Bagdad to Musharifu'd Dawla. Soon after taking charge of Kirman Qawamu'd Dawla adopted a hostile attitude towards his brother, and rebelled.

Rebellion of Qawamu'd Dawla in Kirman, 1012 A.D. :-

On 1012 A.D. Qawamu'd Dawla revolted in Kirman and received the support of many Daylamite chiefs, and while Sultanu'd Dawla was in Bagdad, he seized Shiraz. When Sultanu'd Dawla heard of this, he assembled an army and marched on Fars. In the battle that followed near Shiraz Qawamu'd Dawla was routed and had to retreat to Kirman, pursued by Sultanu'd Dawla. Qawamu'd Dawla finding himself unequal to the contest fled to Khurasan, leaving Kirman to Sultanu'd Dawla. At Nishapur Qawamu'd Dawla

begged the help of Sultan Mahmud, who had become the ruler of Khurasan by that time.

Qawamu'd Dawla reappears with an army, 1018 A.D. :-

Qawamu'd Dawla was cordially received by Mahmud, at whose court he found Dara bin Qabus, the Ziyarid prince. The Sultan sent an army under the command of his general Abu Sa'id Ta'i to assist him in re-gaining control of Kirman. Mahmud's Plan of campaign was that the army should first of all proceed to Kirman and then take possession of Fars. When Sultanu'd Dawla, who had returned to Bagdad, was informed of Qawamu'd Dawla's march, he set out again for Shiraz with the Turkish Army stationed at Bagdad. By this time Qawamu'd Dawla had reached Kirman, to which place a force of Sultanu'd Dawla was despatched against him. At the approach of this army Qawamu'd Dawla, having raised money from the state treasury and satisfied with the loot, avoided an engagement, ~~and~~ left Kirman and fled towards Hamadan to seek protection under his kinsman Shamsu'd Dawla bin Fakhru'd Dawla.

We do not know why Qawamu'd Dawla hesitated to give battle to Sultanu'd Dawla's troops, reinforced as he was by Mahmud's army. If Mirkhond is to be believed, Sultan Mahmud's general Abu Sa'id Ta'i delayed his operations and Qawamu'd Dawla, becoming suspicious of Ta'i's designs, left for Hamadan. On Qawamu'd Dawla's flight Abu Sa'id Ta'i retreated towards Nishapur.

Accepts suzerainty of Sultanu'd Dawla :-

Since Shamsu'd Dawla's forces were inconsiderable, Qawamu'd Dawla entered into negotiations with his brother Jalalu'd

Dawla, who was the governor of Basra and succeeded in winning him over to his cause and got him to plead with Sultanu'd Dawla. At length the dispute was settled by arbitration and Kirman was returned to Qawamu'd Dawla on the express understanding that he should show no further hostility to Sultanu'd Dawla, whom he was to recognise as his suzerain, and in 1018 A.D. he took up the governorship again.

Rebellion of Musharifu'd Dawla 1020 A.D. :-

In 1020 A.D. Abu Ali Hasan bin Bahau'd Dawla, later known by his title of Musharifu'd Dawla, to whom had been assigned the government of Bagdad, revolted. A number of chiefs, together with a considerable part of the army, supported him in his design. Sultanu'd Dawla now marched towards Bagdad to subdue the rebel but the contest was terminated by a treaty by which it was agreed that Musharifu'd Dawla should retain Bagdad with Arabian Iraq as the Vassal of Sultanu'd Dawla, that hostilities should cease and that Sultanu'd Dawla should dismiss Ibn Seh'lan from the office of Vizier since he was thought to be the cause of all the trouble between the brothers. On this understanding Sultanu'd Dawla retreated ordering his army to march back on Ahwaz.

Sultanu'd Dawla recommences hostilities, 1020-22 A.D. :-

On reaching Ahwaz, Sultanu'd Dawla, in violation of the treaty just made, retained Ibn Seh'lan as his Vizier and further entrusted him with a force to start hostilities again. The contest between the brothers lasted for a period of two years when Ibn Seh'lan was finally defeated in 1022 A.D. and was forced to

take refuge in the fortress of Wasit. Mirkhond narrates that the besieged were reduced to such straits through famine that they ate cats and dogs. The differences between the brothers were once more settled by a formal compact which stipulated that the government of Bagdad together with that of Arabian Iraq should pass to Musharifu'd Dawla in full sovereignty and accordingly he omitted the name of Sultanu'd Dawla from the Khutba and adopted the title of Sahai'n Shah, a title which the Persian historians give in order to glorify the house. By virtue of this treaty Sultanu'd Dawla was given Fars and Kirman. In 1022 A.D. Jalalu'd Dawla, the governor of Basrah also recognised Musharifu'd Dawla as his suzerain. Musharifu'd Dawla now proceeded to take revenge on Ibn Seh'lan, whom he had captured and the unfortunate Vizier was murdered.

Death and character of Sultanu'd Dawla :-

In the reign of Sultanu'd Dawla, who died in 1024 A.D., the signs of the decline of the dynasty were clearly apparent. The Buyid house torn in fraternal warfare and constant risings as opportunities offered, was destined to its fall. As a result of these fraternal wars the kingdom was partitioned into small principalities the respective rulers of each being at bitter enmity with the neighbouring chiefs. Sultanu'd Dawla's whole time was spent in a fruitless endeavour to establish his authority over his rebellious brothers who profited by his weakness and indolence took arms to defy his authority. During his turbulent reign life and property among his subjects were insecure and the army was generally mutinous.

Musharifu'd Dawla Abu Ali Hasan bin Bahau'd Dawla 1020-25 A.D. :-

His short emirate of Bagdad 1020-25 A.D. :-

Abu Ali Hasan Musharifu'd Dawla, who resumed the governorship of Bagdad in the manner previously described, by the treaty of 1022 A.D. with his brother Sultanu'd Dawla became the governor of Arabian Iraq. He remained the Amiru'l Umra for a period of five years, (1020-1025 A.D.) in the first two paying homage to Sultanu'd Dawla while in the last three he assumed independence. The main events of his reign were connected purely with Arabian history and affected Persian history very little, so that we can safely pass on to the reign of Abu Kalinjir Murzban Imadu'd Din, who succeeded his father Sultanu'd Dawla in Fars in 1024 A.D. Musharifu'd Dawla, according to Hamad Ullah, died in 1025 A.D. at the age of thirty three years.

Abu Kalinjir Murzban Imadu'd Din, 1024-48 A.D.

Fars, Kirman, and Iraq.

Invitation to take the throne of Fars, 1024 A.D. :-

In 1024 A.D. at the death of Sultanu'd Dawla, his son Abu Kalinjir Murzban Imadu'd Din was in Ahwaz and Ibn Mu'krum and the Buyid nobles of Shiraz immediately offered him the throne. At this time there were two parties at the court of Shiraz - the Turks who were in the military service of Sultanu'd ^{Dawla} and the Daylamite guards. The Turks invited Abul Fawaris Qawamu'd Dawla, who was governor of Kirman, to assume the sovereignty of Fars. Before Abu Kalinjir Murzban could gain Shiraz his uncle Qawamu'd Dawla, accepting the invitation of the Turks, advanced from Kirman towards Fars and found no difficulty in gaining over the province. Having captured Ibn Mu'krum, Qawamu'd Dawla installed himself at Shiraz.

Installation in the government of Fars, 1025 A.D. :-

By this time Abu Kalinjir Murzban, who was on his way from Ahwaz to Shiraz, had collected a huge army from Khuzistan. Qawamu'd Dawla, being unable to face such a force, fled back to Kirman and left his nephew in possession of Fars. Abu Kalinjir met with great opposition from the Turks, who hated the Daylamites on account of their Shia religion and clanish feeling. Even the Buyid chiefs were divided into two parties, one supporting Abu Kalinjir Murzban and demanding that Qawamu'd Dawla should be pursued and expelled from Kirman, while the other favoured Qawamu'd

Dawla. To increase his difficulties, his soldiers began to ask for their pay and the treasury was empty. At last unable to face the situation, he fled from Shiraz to Wasit.

Loses Fars and Kirman 1026 A.D. :-

In Wasit Abu Kalinjir hoped to recover his power by the help of ^{his} Daylamites. Qawamu'd Dawla marched from Kirman once more and came to Shiraz where he was cordially greeted by the Turks and the Daylamites who had remained. Abu Kalinjir, finding himself unable to oppose his uncle, made a treaty with him whereby he agreed to relinquish all his claims to Fars and Kirman while he was to have the province of Khuzistan with Ahwaz. Qawamu'd Dawla now made Shiraz his capital instead of Kirman, while Abu Kalinjir made Arrajan his headquarters.

Regains Fars, 1027 A.D. :-

This treaty only lasted a few months. Qawamu'd Dawla's vizier, disgusted at his master's cruelty and tyranny, soon deserted him and joined the supporters of Abu Kalinjir who began to form an army. In 1027 A.D. Abu Kalinjir marched at the head of a great force towards Shiraz where a battle took place in which Qawamu'd Dawla was utterly defeated, and fled, and the whole of Fars again came under Abu Kalinjir. In 1028 A.D. Qawamu'd Dawla collected another army to invade Fars but while on the way he died and thus Kirman also passed under his nephew.

His nine years war with Jalalu'l Dawla 1028-37 A.D. :-

Abu Kalinjir's nine years war with Jalalu'l Dawla has

been mentioned in the account of the reign of the latter. It should however be noted that after the death of Jalulu'l Dwala in 1043 A.D. the whole of Arabian Iraq passed under the control of Abu Kalinjir.

Rebellion of the Turks in Bagdad 1044 A.D. :-

After gaining the emirate of Bagdad in 1043 A.D. Abu Kalinjir resided at that metropolis. In 1044 A.D. the Turks rebelled against his authority and he was unable to keep them in check, and at length alarmed at their excesses, Abu Kalinjir fled to Shiraz, leaving his son Al-Maliku'r Rahim in Bagdad to represent his nominal authority there. Abu Kalinjir retained but the semblance of power, for the government was in the hands of the Seljuks and the Turks, and in a short time the last vestige of his authority was swept away.

His relations with Tughril Beg :-

In 1045 A.D. Tughril Beg, the leader of the Seljuks who had settled in Khurasan, had conquered extensive territories, and had annexed Syria and the greater part of Armenia along with Khurasan which he already held, decided to attack Abu Kalinjir. By the mediation of Qazi Abu Mohammad An'Nasi (author of Al Musadi, the treatise on Hanfite Law) war was averted and a matrimonial alliance arranged by which Tughril married one of the daughters of Abu Kalinjir.

His death and character :-

On day in 1048 A.D., when Abu Kalinjir was out hunting in the vicinity of Kirman he died, his death being caused by

intemperance and gluttony. He is described as a bigoted man of narrow views who soon disgusted his Turkish soldiers. Timid by nature, treacherous in his dealings, Abu Kalinjir was oppressive unjust and intolerant in administration. At the time of his death Iraq had practically passed into the hands of the Seljuks, although this Buyid prince in addition to his titles of Imadu'd Din and Izzu'l Muluk (Pillar of the Religion and Bride of the State) bore the pompous designation of Hasamu'd Dawla (Sword of the State). Abu Kalinjir was the last prince worthy of note of the Buyid house since his successors were mere figure heads and exercised no real power. With his death the Buyid dominions became unsettled, and the Seljuks ravaged them from right, left and centre.

and the populace of Bagdad from which the Turks emerged victorious, and the people in their despair installed Jalalu'd Dawla to be their ruler.

Installed in Bagdad 1027 A.D. :-

At the invitation of the people of Bagdad Jalalu'd Dawla came to the city and after engaging in some skirmishes with the Turks managed to subdue them, and in 1027 A.D. had the Khutba read in his name. In 1028 A.D. the Turks succeeded in kidnapping Jalalu'd Dawla and his vizier, Abu Ali and in plundering his house. The Caliph, however, stood surety for Jalalu'd Dawla and secured the soldiery that their arrears of pay should be given them. They then released Jalalu'd Dawla who had to sell his carpets and the furniture of his house to meet the demand.

Jalalu'd Dawla Abu Tahir bin Bahau'd Dawla, 1027-43 A.D.

Iraq and Bagdad.

Endeavours to obtain the emirate of Bagdad, 1025 A.D. :-

Reverting to the history of Bagdad, it should be noted that after the death of Musharifu'd Dawla in 1025 A.D. his younger brother Jalalu'd Dawla, who was the governor of Basrah, endeavoured to obtain the emirate of Bagdad. At the approach of this Buyid prince a party of Turkish soldiers came out to oppose him and succeeded in plundering his treasury, which so disheartened him that he returned to Basrah and prepared to carry on the war against the Turks from there. In 1026 A.D. the Turks took possession of Bagdad and pillaged it in spite of a fierce struggle between them and the populace of Bagdad from which the Turks emerged victorious, and the people in their despair installed Jalalu'd Dawla to be their ruler.

Is installed in Bagdad 1027 A.D. :-

At the invitation of the people of Bagdad Jalalu'd Dawla came to the city and after engaging in some skirmishes with the Turks managed to subdue them, and in 1027 A.D. had the Khutba read in his name. In 1028 A.D. the Turks succeeded in imprisoning Jalalu'd Dawla and his vizier Abu Ali and in plundering his house. The Caliph, however, stood surety for Jalalu'd Dawla and assured the soldiery that their arrears of pay should be given them. They then released Jalalu'd Dawla who had to sell his carpets and the furniture of his house to meet their demands.

Loses Basrah and Wasit 1028 A.D. :-

In 1028 A.D. a quarrel occurred between the Turkish and Buyid guards stationed at Basrah in which Abu Mansur Al-Maliku'l Aziz, a son of Jalalu'l Dawla, sided with the Turks. Taking advantage of the confusion Abu Kalinjir Murzban, ruler of Fars, marched on Basrah and meeting with no opposition, was able to subdue the city. He next proceeded to Wasit where the followers of Jalau'l Dawla were put to the sword. Jalalu'l Dawla could not raise an army owing to his lack of funds and the unsympathetic attitude of the people of Bagdad.

Nine years war with Abu Kalinjir Murzban 1028-37 A.D. :-

For a period of nine years a war was carried on between Abu Kalinjir Murzban and Jalalu'l Dawla for the emirate of Bagdad, the details of which have been lost. Sometimes one party and then the other proved victorious. Mirkhond relates that in 1029 A.D. on the conquest of Persian Iraq by Sultan Mahmud, Abu Kalinjir wished to end these hostilities but Jalalu'l Dawla turned a deaf ear to his overtures for peace. In 1030 A.D. Jalalu'l Dawla invaded Ahwaz and completely overran the province of Khuzistan. After this victory he proceeded to Wasit which he recaptured and then returned to Bagdad. This warfare continued until 1037 A.D. when a truce was patched up between the uncle and nephew wherein it was agreed that each should refrain from hostilities and should not encroach upon the territory of the other.

Rebellion of the Turks in Bagdad 1039 A.D. :-

At the time of the Caliph Qadir's death in November, 1031 A.D. the sectarian bitterness between the Turkish and Buyid guards

had resulted more than once in civil strifes. This struggle arose again in 1039 A.D. with greater frenzy when the Suljuks had become a power in the land. The Turks plundered the palace of Jalalu'l Dawla and slaughtered many of his adherents. They had now become so powerful that they dictated to the rulers of the city.

Death and character of Jalalu'l Dawla :-

Jalalu'l Dawla died at Bagdad in 1043 A.D. after a reign of 18 years which is marked by the gradual rise to supreme power of the Turkish guards. Whatever power he enjoyed was purely nominal and even his title was disputed. He was obliged to spend the greater part of his time fighting in order to enforce the recognition of his ephemeral sovereignty. "During his reign" remarks one of the chroniclers, "In the burning intestine discord, murder and sedition flourished." Jalalu'l Dawla was indolent and a weakling; his nobles were dissatisfied his court demoralised. Irrespective of these faults, in his private life, Jalalu'l Dawla is depicted as a patron of art to whose court the literati resorted, and he himself was a calligraphist of no mean order. After his death his son Abu Mansur Al-Maliku'l Aziz, who held the government of Wasit, was unable to resist Abu Kalinjir Murzban and fled to Diyar Bekr, where he died in destitution.

Al-Maliku'r Rahim Abu Nasr Khusrau Firuz Abu Kalinjir,
1048-56 A.D. (Fars and Iraq).

Succeeds to the emirate of Bagdad 1048 A.D. :-

Abu Kalinjir Murzban Imadu'd Din left four sons, Al-Maliku'r Rahim Nasr, Abu Mansur Fullad Suttan, Abu Sa'id and Abu Tahir. On his death-bed, Abu Kalinjir nominated Al-Maliku'r Rahim to be Amir of Bagdad and the Caliph approved his appointment. Abu Mansur Fullad Suttan immediately seized Fars and declared himself an independent king. Negotiations were carried on between the brothers and Al-Maliku'r Rahim demanded that Fullad Suttan should acknowledge him as his suzerain.

Civil war between the brothers, 1048 A.D. :-

The hatred and distrust which existed between the brothers soon led to an outbreak of hostilities. Al-Maliku'r Rahim formed a temporary alliance with his brother Abu Sa'id and placed him in command of an army which was to march on Shiraz. Abu Sa'id was able to defeat Fullad Suttan, whom he took prisoner and confined in the fortress of Istakhr, while he himself remained in occupation of Fars. When Al-Maliku'r Rahim heard of the victory he proceeded to Fars, but as he approached Shiraz, the Turks liberated Fullad Suttan from the citadel and declared him king again. Al-Maliku'r Rahim now retreated towards Ahwaz to reform his forces. Fullad Suttan collected an army and proceeded towards Ahwaz and fought a two day's battle with his brother in the vicinity of that city. In this contest Al-Maliku'r Rahim and his brother Abu Sa'id were completely defeated and routed.

Al-Maliku'r Rahim now fell back on Wasit from where he

despatched another force to meet Fullad Suttan, and this internecine war continued for six years, first one side and then the other proving victorious. Fullad Suttan weary of this prolonged struggle acknowledged Tughril Beg, the Seljuk, as his overlord. He held the province of Fars as his vassal and read the Khutba in Tughril's name. The power of the latter was rapidly extending over the Caliphate, overshadowing that all his contemporaries.

Al-Maliku'r Rahim loses Emirate of Bagdad 1055 A.D. :-

While Al-Maliku'r Rahim was occupied with his brother Fullad Suttan in Fars, his authority in Bagdad was gradually declining. A Turkish general named Arslanu'l Bassasiri seized the supreme power and displaced Al-Maliku'r Rahim. During the Caliphate of Kaim in the words of Sir William Muir, "Hardly a day passed in the ^{unfortunate Capital without tumult & bloodshed between the} opposing factions still embittered by religious hatred. Frequently the city was left without a ruler, the Buyid, though styled 'King of kings', being often obliged to fly for safety from his capital." Instead of actively resisting the rebellion of Bassasiri the foolish Al-Maliku'r Rahim concerned himself with the invading of Fars to chastise his brother Fullad Suttan for paying homage to a foreigner.

Invades Fars, 1055 A.D. :-

Having collected a force, Al-Maliku'r Rahim invaded Fars. When he appeared before Shiraz Fullad Suttan fled towards Firuzbad some sixty miles to the south east of Shiraz. Meeting no opposition, Al-Maliku'r Rahim made himself master of the whole

province of Fars, but he wished to be in touch with ~~the~~ events at Bagdad, he appointed a deputy to represent him in Shiraz while he himself went to Wasit.

Tughril Beg marches on Bagdad, 1055 A.D. :-

While these events were taking place, the Turkish general Bassasiri wished to supplant the Fatamid Caliph Muntasir. At this moment the Caliph received a message from Tughril Beg, who had overrun Armenia, Syria, and Persia, stating that he wished to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and with this design he wanted to pass through Bagdad. He assured the Caliph of his pacific intentions and obedience to his authority should permission for his pilgrimage be accorded to him. The Turkish and the Daylamite soldiery were greatly opposed to this suggestion of allowing him free passage through Bagdad but the Caliph himself desired to win the friendship of Tughril and he accordingly gave him his sanction.

Tughril Beg enters Bagdad December, 1055 A.D. :-

On the 17th December, 1055 A.D., Tughril entered the beautiful metropolis of the Caliphate where he was cordially received by the Caliph and the Buyid mayor Al-Maliku'r Rahim. Once having entered Bagdad, Tughril was in no haste to depart from its attractions. He caused Bassasiri to be put to death. The Caliph granted Tughril robes of office and had his name read in the Khutba and conferred on him the honorific title of Sultan. Two crowns were placed on Tughril's head to symbolise his victory over the Persians and the Arabs, of the East and West.

End of Al-Maliku'r Rahim 1055 A.D. :-

After he had bestowed these honours on his guest, the Caliph became very anxious that Tughril and his wild warriors should leave the city. Unfortunately at this juncture a general riot of the populace of Bagdad against Tughril's hordes occurred, which gave him a pretext to cast Al-Maliku'r Rahim into prison on the plea that he was the instigator and accomplice of the rioters. He was then sent to the fortress of Tabarik near Ray where he ultimately died. His Daylamite soldiers were disbanded and thus ended the Buyid rule which had lasted for more than a century.

Character of Al-Maliku'r Rahim :-

Al-Maliku'r Rahim, the ill starred Buyid king who, with his strange mixture of obstinacy and weakness, had definitely turned the loyalty of his Daylamite and Turkish soldiers into an active hostility and made the large and influential Turkish party in Bagdad actively plot to depose him and replace him by one of their own generals. He was unable to resist these plots and counterplots at a time when treachery was rife every where. With Al-Maliku'r Rahim's death perished the Buyid house, and its place was taken by the Seljuks.

The Last of the Buyids :-

Abu Ali Kay Khwaraq bin Abu Salimjar Haraban was the last member of the Buyid house who survived. Filled with rage, he held the town of Harabanjan in Persia as a vassal of the Seljukian monarch Alp Arslan. He died in 1094 A.D. and with his death the name of the Buyid house.

Abu Mansur Fullad Suttan bin Abu Kalinjir 1048-56 A.D.

His turbulent reign in Fars :-

After the retreat of Al-Maliku'r Rahim to Ahwaz in 1048 A.D. Fullad Suttan, who had retired to Firuzabad came out from hiding and made himself master of Fars again, expelling the deputy of his brother. After the capture of Al-Maliku'r Rahim his brother Abu Sa'id resumed the struggle with Fullad Suttan in which he lost his life.

About 1055 A.D. at the instigation of his mother, Fullad Suttan made his vizier "Sahib'i Adal" (the Just ruler) prisoner, and later executed. This official had discharged his duties in the time of Fullad Suttan's father very honestly and his murder caused widespread indignation.

Fazal bin Hasan rebels against Fullad Suttan 1056 A.D. :-

Fazal bin Hasan popularly called Fadlwiahi, the commander of the army was a friend of the murdered Vizier and he soon rebelled against Fullad Suttan's authority, and imprisoned him in one of his own castles where he ultimately died. The rebel soon hastened to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Seljuks, from whom he obtained the patent of Fars.

The Last of the Buyids :-

Abu Ali Key Khusrau bin Abu Kalinjir Murzban was the last member of the Buyid house who survived Fullad Suttan forty years and held the town of Nawabanjan in Fars as a vassal of the Seljukian monarch Alp Arslan. He died in 1094 A.D. and with him sank the name of the Buyid house.

Chapter XXIV. Administration.

Character :-

Persia took over entire from the Caliphate its constitution. The administrative machinery had been set on a very stable basis and was conducted on definite lines. The King was the emblem of virtue, piety, bravery and the personification of wisdom. He, being "The shadow of God", was the fountain of all power. Thus the theory of the divine right of kings, introduced by the Abbasides, prevailed under the Samanids in Persia and Persian historians call them "Commanders of the Faithful" just as they did the Caliphs. The form of government was pure autocracy, and even when the Caliph Mamun (813-33 A.D.) formed a state council to replace absolutism by constitutionalism, the will of sovereign played the most prominent part.

The Amirs and the Caliph :-

The ruler was the head of the state and was in theory responsible to God alone. Although the Caliphs from Bagdad persistently regarded the Tahirids and the Samanids as mere "Amirs" (governors), or even only "Amils" (Revenue Officers), within their own provinces, they were actually princes. In the event of a disputed succession to a throne or to a governorship the rival claimants submitted their claims to the judgment of the Caliph and requested investiture from him. The diploma was scarcely more than a formal recognition of a *Fait accompli*, for almost

invariably it was given to the victorious combatant and simply made legitimate his title. The Caliph as head of a great church represented both the divine government and the temporal sovereign of a commonwealth.

Vizier under the Caliphs of Bagdad :-

Under the Abbasides there were two groups of Viziers (1) "Vizaritu't Tafwiz", or those Viziers who were endowed with absolute power, and the (2) "Vizaritu't Tanfiz", or the ministers whose power was strictly defined. The first exercised unrestricted authority in all state matters while the latter occupied a much less exalted position. The Viziers were supposed to be fully acquainted with all the details concerning the administration, taxation, and local provincial affairs. When the Caliphs lost their temporal power the office of the Vizier was superseded by that of Amiru'l Umra or chief noble. Later on the Buyids bestowed this title on their ministers. There are instances when the office of Vizier was conferred on non-Muslims. The Christian Vizier named Nasr bin Haroun held this dignity under the Buyid prince Adudu'd Dola.

The office of the governor :-

Under the Abbasides, the governors of the provinces were faced with the intricate problem of forming a state in which the distinctions and inequalities existing between the Arabs and the members of other races would disappear. In Khurasan this task was one of peculiar difficulty and the situation required delicate handling owing to the existence of internal dissension and external danger. In order to achieve unity it was necessary to introduce

a stronger administration and a stricter system of justice whilst still in accordance with the Sassanid tradition to unify disorderly factions, to establish order and finally to assume the offensive against the incursions of Turkomans, who frequently found allies in the rebellious deputy governors. In order to impose Muslim rule on the entire country and to free the state from internal and external danger, it seemed politic that the provincial governors, removable at the Caliph's will, should be replaced by hereditary rulers belonging to the local aristocracy who understood local affairs. The inevitable result of this policy, however was that the governors became practically independent and aimed at personal aggrandisement and consulted only their own interests. The Viceroy of Khurasan, who received the title of "Sipa Salar" (Commander-in-Chief) from the Bagdad government, also ruled over Transoxania. The Samanids who ruled from Bukhara consulted the military commander on the appointment of the state officials, and other civil functionaries.

Government Organisation :-

The form of government was bureaucratic on the model of the institutions existing at Bagdad, under the rule of the Caliph. Thus the Samanids established the various offices at Bukhara which we find in Bagdad, with little modifications. In the governmental organisation of the state, there were two main administrative departments: (1) The "Dargah" (Palace) and (2) The "Diwan" (Chancery). The Samanids, following the example of the Caliphs of Bagdad, established a royal guard, usually composed of Turkish slaves. Such a guard existed under Ismail, the founder of the

Samanid house (892-907 A.D.) The officials connected with the Dargah were less influential at this period than in later times. The Captains of the guards and the members of the local aristocracy often performed the military duties connected with the Dargah. The "Sahibu'l Haras" (Captain of the Watch) was another important office in the palace. Originally the services of this official resembled that of the "Sahibu'ash Sharat" who was also commander of the town. In the writings of Tabri and other historians the word "Haras" and "Sharat" are used interchangeably but at the Caliph's court there was no connection between them. The importance of the office of captain of the guard is seen in the fact that it was filled by the most distinguished and influential members of the Tahirid and Safarid families. The illustrious Abdullah bin Tahir (828-44 A.D.) occupied this dignified office in Bagdad. Nazimu'l Mulk, in his treatise on the art of government states that 50 lictors (Chubadar) always attended the Sahibu'l Haras, twenty of whom bore gold maces, twenty who carried silver maces, and ten others who held wooden wands of office.

In addition to these state functionaries, there were numerous minor officials Cup-bearers, Table-dressers, etc., The chief offices in the palace were reserved for members of the ruling family but to the rest Turkish slaves were usually appointed as a reward for good services. The "Chief Hajib" was the controller of the personal estate of the ruler or the king. It was degrading for a Chief Hajib to be relegated to the position of a governor. This office was indistinguishable from that of

the Hajib under Abbasides. The Hajib was the Lord Chamberlain, president of various Boards, chief Qazi, chief of the guards, head of the Secretariat, etc., The Haijb, under the Abbasides and Samanids presented ambassadors, princes, and nobles to the Caliph and Amir. He ranked next to the Vizier. The "Vakil", another important official, managed the affairs of the court. Gardizi has mentioned this office in connection with those of Amirs and Viziers. The Vakil was the governor's legal adviser and attorney, and represented him in all his affairs and administered his personal property and demesne.

The Vizier of Chief Khwaja under the Samanids :-

Under the dynastic rulers, more especially under the Samanids, the Vizier, or "Khwaja'i Buzurg", (The Chief Khwaja) was the head of the bureaucratic system. His office, corresponding with that of the Vizier at Bagdad, was symbolized by an inkstand. In the Samanid period the viziers were drawn from the Jayhani, Bal'ami and Utbi families. At this time the office did not tend to become hereditary one, though members of the same family often succeeded each other in this office. After the fall of a vizier the power passed into the hands of his political opponents.

The provincial Viziers :-

The Samanids, who ruled their kingdom from Bukhara, appointed the provincial viziers themselves. They were called "Hakims", or "Kuth^hudas" (Landlords). With the growing power of bureaucracy these officers began to be appointed by the governors

themselves. The Ghaznavids similarly nominated the provincial Viziers, who were sometimes designated "Khwaja" to differentiate them from the "Khwaja'i Buzurg" (prime minister) who resided at capital with the sovereign.

The treasurer (Mustawfi) :-

Sometimes the term "Khazin" or "Khazinadar" is substituted for "Mustawfi". The treasurer was assisted by "Hussab" or accountants. This office was analogous to the "Diwanu'l Kharaj" or the Central Bureau of Revenue under the Abbasides. The division of state finances into three departments as under the Safarids, was not adopted by the Samanids. According to Nizamu'l Mulk the division of the exchequer into two branches at Bagdad i.e. (1) The treasury for ordinary expenditure, and (2) that for exceptional expenditure, was imitated by the Samanids but there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the Samanids really used this method.

The Diwan ("Mainstay of the State") or Amidu'd Mulk :-

This office was identical with the Abbasid "Diwanu'r Rasil" or "Diwanu'l Insha" or the Diwan of Official Documents. The head of this Diwan was called the "Khwaja'i Amid." He drafted the imperial mandates and political documents and after they had been approved by the Amir, sealed them and in some instances he revised and corrected them. He attended the public audiences and recorded the judgments of the Amir. This official directed a staff composed of the best educated and most efficient men in the kingdom.

The "Sahibu'ash Sharat" or the Captain of Guard :-

Under the Abbasides the Sahibu'ash Sharat was the Chief of the Police. This office was occupied by Tahir, the founder of the Tahirid house, in Bagdad before obtaining the viceroyalty of Khurasan in 820 A.D. from the Caliph Mamun. The Police force was quite distinct from the municipal guards: they were the guardians of the peace and protectors of the interests of the people. The Commissary of Police at Bagdad was equal in rank to a governor, and in subsequent times, the Sahibu'ash Sharat acquired the dignity of Vizier.

The diwan of Postmaster (Sahib'i Barid)" :-

Under the Abbasides the Sahib'i Barid (The Postmaster) was the head of the postal department. Not only did he perform the duty of despatching the imperial mails, but he was also the Caliph's secret agent and sent him detailed reports on the condition of the provinces, the working of the administration, and the attitude of the local authorities. In Persia the mail was transported by means of mule and horse riders, while in Arabia and Syria camels were used for the purpose. When travelling in the provinces, governors and troops rested at these postal stages: they corresponded almost exactly to the "Daks" in India, and each such stage was a "Sarai." The cost of feeding the animals, of purchasing new ones, and providing the wages of the postmen was met by the Central treasury. Postal directories giving the names of all the stations and information as to their distances from one another were kept in the central government office. In urgent

cases carrier pigeons were also used. Ibn Khurdabih, Maqdasi, Ibn Hawkal and Mas'udi the Arab geographers of the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., compiled their treatises from these lists, as their main authority.

In general the postal service was not controlled by the provincial governors. It was not only the medium of communications but also an intelligence bureau. In the Samanid period ^{when the Central Government was still strong it was possible} to send to the Capital reports criticising the actions of the governor of Khurasan, but in the Ghaznavid period the governor began to usurp authority over the officers in the postal department and often induced them to draft reports in accordance with their wishes.

The "Diwan of Mushrif" (controller) :-

One of the chief duties of the Mushrif was the supervision and inspection of all that went in the *Palace* and the issuing of a report on it. He had various representatives in each town. His duties were similar to those of the treasurer. Each of these officials compiled reports concerning the condition of court property and had control of that portion of the revenue allotted for the maintenance of the court.

The diwan of the private domains of the ruler :-

The Diwan of the private domains of the ruler resembled that of the Abbasid "Diwan'ad Diya" or the Diwan of the demesnes. Under the Samanids the duties of ^{this} office were discharged by the Wakil.

The Diwan of Municipal Police ("Muhtasib") :-

The "Muhtasib" was the head of the Municipal Police.

He combined the functions of public censor and superintendent of Markets. He preserved order in the thoroughfares and bazaars, summoned delinquents and disturbers of the peace, saw that the Police officers executed orders, examined weights and measures and saw that bye laws were observed. The "Muhtasib" was invariably a Turkish slave or eunuch whose impartiality was unquestioned and who was feared by all, and this office was not infrequently bestowed on men of high education in the Samanid period. Readers of the works of the famous Persian poets, Omar Khayyam, Hafiz, and Sadi may realise the thoroughness with which this official performed his duties. They will recall how men holding carousal were afraid that the "Muhtasib" might appear in the tavern and put an end to their revelry.

The Diwan of Awqaf :-

Under the Samanids the office of Awqaf was abolished and the duties of this office were performed by the Qazi.

The Ustadu'd Dar (Intendant of the Palace) :-

The Ustadu'r Dar or Intendant of the Palace was one of the most important officials. The Amiru'l Umra or the chief Noble was sometimes the Ustadu'r Dar, and even the Buyid princes assumed this title. After the decline of the dynasty however the Ustadu'd Dar sank to the position of a mere "Maitre d'Hotel."

The Diwan of Qazi :-

Turning to the Judicature, we find that the "Qazi of Qazis" was the head of the judicial system and occupied a position

similar to that held by the "Mobad of Mobads" (High priests) under the Sassanids. He decided all questions concerning the rights of Muslims, while legal problems concerning non-Muslims were referred to their own religious leaders. In every city there was a Qazi and in the more important towns there were "Naibs" (deputies) as well. Magistrates, called "Sahib Muzalim", administered criminal justice. The practice of submitting the more complicated and difficult legal questions and appeals to the ruler himself or to his Vizier or other representative prevailed during the time of the Samanids and Ghaznavids.

Ecclesiastical Offices :-

In Transoxania teachers were called "Dinashmand" or "Wise men". The "Khatib" or preacher was exclusively an ecclesiastical office. Formerly the Caliph had preached in Mosques at Bggdad, but in the Samanid period this practice was discontinued in Persia, where the people were unacquainted with Arabic, since even the Turkish rulers had become Persianised. There were a few exceptions to this rule in cases where the governor was a competent linguist and was able to perform the functions of the "Wali" (governor) as well as Khatib. Even the ruler sometimes sought the advice of Khatibs with regard to state affairs.

The office of the Ra'is :-

In each and every village existed a Ra'is, who was the head of the village. In its origin this office was hereditary. The Ra'ises were generally selected from amongst the local influential families, regard being paid to their social status, and to the possession of landed property. They were considered to

represent the interest of the village and were the medium between the ruler and the subject. In the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. this office did not include the duties of municipal Police, as they do in the present day in Persia. This office corresponds with that of Lumbardar and Zaildar in India.

Ranks in the army :-

The various stages in the career of a Turkish slave at the Samanid court have been thus described by Nizamu'l Mulk:- "The first year he served as a groom and was strictly prohibited from riding a horse. He wore clothes made of Zandani cloth (being so called as it was manufactured in the village of Zandan near Bukhara). The second year the Hajib gave him an Arab horse and a harness. The following year he was presented with a belt called a "Qarachur" and during the fourth and fifth years he received better clothings, a snaffle, a saddle and a club. In the sixth year he wore full dress uniform. Altogether he had to spend four or five years in preparation for joining the ranks. The "Wathiq Bashi" (commander of the tent) wore as his official uniform a black felt cap embroidered with silver and Ganji clothing. He was a non-commissioned officer and resembled a Sergeant in the British army. He gradually rose to be a "Khyl Bashi" (section Commander) a rank which equalled to that of a Second Lieutenant. From that of section commander he rose to be an "Hajib" or Captain. The Chief Hajib, perhaps the greatest dignitary in the kingdom, was at the head of the court establishment.

The title of Sultan :-

The word "Sultan" in its original significance implied 'authority' and in particular it connoted an independent prince who acknowledge the authority of the Caliph by lip service. The Sultan wielded much more power than an Amir. A gilded jewelled crown and a double girdle were conferred on a Sultan. This title seems to have been temporarily disused until the rise of Buyids, on whom it was again bestowed. The inauguration was the occasion for a display of great pomp. The future Sultan was presented with his royal robes and the insignia of his office, a crown, a collar, a bracelet and a sword. Then the Caliph gave him two banners which symbolised the civil and military power, one ornamented with silver as was the custom among the nobles, and the other with gold similar to those given to the successor designate of the Caliph. The Diploma was read out in the presence of the assembled multitude, after which the Sultan kissed the Caliph's hand. The title of Sultan was not, however, bestowed exclusively on Buyid princes, it was given to Tughril Beg, Malik Shat, etc. Once conferred, the title became practically hereditary in the family of the recipient, although as a matter of form, each successor to the title applied to the Caliph for investiture. The often disputed question as to whether Mahmud of Ghazna actually received this title from the Caliph or not is still an open question. It is alleged by very many authors that Mahmud was called "Sultan" by his court historians and panegyrists and that he was designated by the title of "Amir" in official

correspondence, and that his son and successor Masud was also designated by the title of Amir. The holder of this view also challenges the validity of this title on the Fatimids in Egypt, (996 - 1021 A.D.)

The nomination of a successor :-

Before we close this chapter it is worth while noting the mode of nominating a successor. We have seen that the Samanids and the Buyids occasionally nominated their successors in their lifetime. For such a function, the grandees of the kingdom, including the civil and military officers and the Qazis were called upon to take the oath of allegiance to the heir. It was technically called "Bait". The civil and military dignitaries placed their hands in those of the prince and swore loyalty and fidelity. For such a ceremonial the ruler sat enthroned, surrounded by courtiers, while the prince of the royal blood approached the throne and took the oath. This having been done, the vizier and the nobles round the throne repeated the same oath. The whole ceremony was regarded as a high religious sacrament. Then prayers were offered for the heir in the Mosques. After all this the heir designate was considered the legitimate successor, and only the formal confirmation of the Caliph was necessary to complete the nomination. The usual Diploma of the Caliph, accompanied by a "Tashrif" (Honour), often a turban and sword, ended the ordination.

Chapter XXV. Economics.

Land : Grant of fiefs :-

In judging the progress of a nation it is necessary to examine its economic condition, especially the land which is the chief source of revenue to a state. The land was divided into "Diwani" or "State Property" and "Arbabi" or the land owned by private individuals. As a general rule the Samanids paid the civil and military officials in money, "Bastagani", and seldom gave them territorial grants of land. Occasionally we see that exceptions to this rule were made when fiefs were bestowed on Generals who had done signal service on the field. These fiefs were of two kinds, the "Qatia", or hereditary fief, and the "Tù'ma", or life fief. For instance the Simjurids who were given the territory of Quhistan and Khwarzam-Shah under the Ghaznavids held hereditary fiefs.

How the land was irrigated :-

It is impossible to state with any accuracy the size of an average farm; there are, however, various sources of information concerning the methods of irrigation used in Persia. The whole of Persia was traversed by canals constructed in conjunction with the more important rivers. The marvellous fertility of Fars, Media, and Khuzistan was due to the strict economy of this water supply. The trunk canals drained their surplus water through a number of transverse canals and watered

the outlying districts, while some streams descending from the mountains in northern Persia flowed down as far as the desert by a series of loop canals. For the purposes of revenue the land was divided into two divisions, wet or "Faryab" and dry or "Baksh". Wet lands were watered by these canals, rivers, springs, etc., while the dry land, which consisted largely of desert, produced date groves.

In the wet districts oxen were used for ploughing and each estate was assessed according to the number of the oxen and ploughs required for its cultivation. The land of the village was divided into various strips or tracts according to its position and one plough was considered necessary for each strip. The occasional taxes called "Imdadi" or reliefs varied in amount at the caprice of the ruler. Dry lands were as a general rule the property of the state, and any cultivator who risked his fortune in farming them gave the state a fixed sum if he received a crop. If his crop failed he had to pay nothing. The farmers received little assistance from the state.

Distribution of water :-

Water was essential for the cultivation of the land. In districts which possessed an abundant water supply the cultivator could take it as much as he required, in other regions, however, where the wells were the only source of supply, it was necessary to distribute the water and restrict its use. The water was divided amongst the cultivators by means of a system which regulated the supply of water allowed to each cultivator and the hours during

which it was transmitted. This system, called "Tasht and Taq", was very primitive; the space of time was measured by a floating copper bowl with a needle hole in its bottom in a large vessel of water, the duration of Tasht ending as the bowl sank. The supervision of this arrangement was entrusted to the landlord or "Arbab", who appointed a bailiff to put it into effect. The landlord received payment in grain for the execution of this duty and the villagers were obliged to supply him with gratuitous or free labour called "Khadmitgana."

Coinage :-

The Muslim coins lack the artistic beauty of those used by the Greeks and Romans, for Islam forbade the drawing of images. Their fascination lies in their exquisite designs. The declaration of the faith, "There is no God but God and Mohammad is his prophet" is inscribed on one side of every coin, and sometimes there are quotations from the Quran. On some coins is found a short genealogical tree of the family of the ruling prince. For sometime after the death of Mohammad the Arabs used the Roman Denarius which the Persians called the "Dinar". The Caliph Ali was the first to introduce Muslim coinage. Their respective weights of 65 and 43 grains served as standards to the Arabs. The Abbasides retained the coinage issued by the Ommeyyades.

Dynastic coinage :-

In the 9th century A.D., with the rise of semi-independent dynasties in Persia, the local governors minted their own coins.

The Tahirids, Safarids, Samanids, Ghaznavids, and Buyids adopted a silver coinage. They struck coins in imitation of those issued by their Abbaside suzerains. These dynasties retained the name of the reigning Caliph on their coins. Under the Safarids, Ahwaz in Khuzistan was the chief minting centre. During the Samanid period Shash, Balkh, Bukhara and Samarqand were the chief minting places. In Cairo, a gold coin was struck in 997 A.D. which bore the name of Hajib Bektouzun, underneath which was inscribed the words "Al Maliku'l Mushdad" or "The king fortified". The Buyids established their mints at Shiraz, Basra, Ahwaz, and Medinatu'l Islam. Under the Ghaznavids coins of Sabuktigin and Alaptigin were struck at Farwan.

Weight of the coins :-

As a general rule the value and weight of silver and gold coins differed from time to time. These variations, however, were slight and the average weight of a gold coin was 66-67 grain, while the silver Dirhems weighed 45-46 grains and had a diameter of 1" to 1.1". We do not know what measures were employed to test the accuracy of their weight. In Egypt glass weights (some of which have been preserved in the British Museum) were used for this purpose. More silver than gold coins were in circulation.

Debased coinage :-

In the reign of the Caliph Abu Bekr (632 - 34 A.D.) the coinage introduced into the conquered provinces was pure silver. In the 8th century A.D. this issue had almost disappeared. The

Transoxanians begged their governor Ghitrif bin Ata to mint money which should not get out of their province but should serve exclusively for local usage. Because of the high price of the silver Ghitrif minted coins of an alloy of six metals, gold, silver, lead, tin, iron and copper. These coins bore the name of their inventor and at first their price was very low. Six Ghitrifi dirhems were equal to one dirhem of pure silver, and this was the rate at which they were accepted in official payment of tribute. Shortly after this Ghitrifi coins rose in value until their value was the same as that of the silver dirhems.

According to Nasrhakhi, debased coinage was introduced into Bukhara and Khorezmia in order to keep the money of the province within its confines. According to Maqdasi the Khorezmian dirhem was worth four daniqs, while a silver dirhem was equal to six daniqs. We do not know the value of these debased dirhems in falls (copper coins). Regarding the Khorezmian dirhem three types of alloyed coins were used in the payment of taxes in Transoxania, the Mohammadi, Mussayyabi and Ghitrifi. In 826 - 27 A.D. according to Ibn Khurdadhbih, the taxes in Khorezmia were paid in Khorezmian dirhems, in Shash and in Ilaq tribute was collected in Mussayyabi dirhems; while Ushrusana, Farghana, Sughd, Kish and Nasaf contributed their share of national revenue in Mohammadi dirhems, while Bukhara employed Ghitrifi dirhems for the purpose of taxation. These dirhems remained in circulation in Transoxania and Khurasan until the tenth century A.D. when a legend sprang up

that in former days three brothers Mohammad, Mussayyab, and Ghitrif had seized Transoxāna and had coined money in their own names.

Taxation and tribute :-

According to Tabri, the taxes collected by Abdullah the Tahirid (828 - 44 A.D.) from all the provinces amounted to forty eight million dirhems, but Ibn Khurdadhbih gives quite a different estimate. The last named authority states that Abdullah paid 44,846,000 dirhems thirteen horses, 2000 sheep (valued @ 600,000 dirhems), 1187 pieces of stuff and 1300 pieces of iron. According to another account by Qudama, Abdullah bound himself to give thirty eight million dirhems, and this seems included the price of the slaves, the sheep, and the iron. Ya'qubi on the other hand mentions that the tribute of Khurasan under the Tahirids amounted to forty million dirhems. The revenue of the Safarids was comparatively small compared with that of the Tahirids because their territory did not include Transoxāna.

The taxes under the Samanids amounted to forty five million dirhems, of which Iraq alone contributed thirteen million dirhems. The revenue of Bukhara and its vicinity gave a revenue of 200,000 dirhems. The heaviest expense incurred by the Samanid rulers was the pay of the army and various officials, which absorbed twenty million dirhems annually, five million dirhems being paid every quarter. The revenues of the provinces of Tabristan, Jurjan and Mazendran under the Samanids is unknown but it was probably the same as that of the Tahirid period when it amounted to 6,003,000 dirhems.

Custom duties :-

A customs department similar to that under the Abbasides existed under the dynastic rulers. The customs duties were chiefly collected at the crossing of the Amu Darya and were levied at the rate of 2 dirhems per camel load. The duty payable by a pedestrian differed from that incurred by a mounted rider. The latter usually was charged one dirhem if he carried dutiable material. The customs officers inspected the goods of every individual who crossed or entered the province. For the importation of slaves a special license was required and the cost of such a license varied from 70 to 100 dirhems. No license was needed for the importation of married slave woman.

Building and architecture :-

There were a great deal of buildings during this period. Alaptagin built palaces and planted gardens in the towns he owned, while Utbi mentions that Khalaf, the last of the Safarids, built a magnificent castle at his capital in Seistan on the door of which was written "Let him who has been gladdened by the sight of Paradise but look at these porticoes." Most of these were mosques, caravansaries, and gardens. Sultah Mahmud of Ghazna similarly built very many edifices, especially the Mosque in Ghazna which was an architectural gem of unique splendour.

Masjid or the Mosque :-

Lastly we find that when ever Muslim governors conquered a city they built a Mosque in it. At first a Mosque was not considered a fundamental necessity for the worship of Islam, since

the prophet Mohammad is said to have maintained that every place was suitable for the observance of religious rites and the offering of prayers. After Mohammad's death, his successors erected Mosques as meeting places where they could discuss matters of importance. Under the Abbasides this idea spread rapidly and sectarian or tribal mosques were built for the various sects. Later on the tombs of the saints were converted into mosques supported by voluntary contribution.

Mosque as the centre of education :-

The Mosques soon acquired a much greater importance than they had possessed originally and they became centres of educational activity. Under the Abbaside Regime lanterns, lamps, candles, and other forms of artificial lighting became a part of the necessary equipment. In the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. the curriculum of an ordinary mosque school included studies in Islamic theology such as the Quran and the Sunna, or the personal talk of Mohammad. The larger mosques contained vast libraries and subsequently became famous schools of languages, medicine, astronomy and mathematics as well as of theology. The teacher, called the "Maddaris" used to live in the mosques and lectured daily.

It should be noted that the system of establishing Madrasa originated at a later period under the Seljuks, and Nizamu'l Mulk is credited with being its founder. Madrasa ~~were~~ were rooms set apart for teaching purposes in mosques. In certain cases the Madrasas occupied separate buildings close ^{to} the mosques.

When the Sufi teaching gained ground monasteries were founded in which devout men used to live and give instruction to the students free of charge. In Madrasas no examinations were prescribed and the only certificate of the completion of the study was the "Ijaza" which is still used. The Ijaza is a written testimonial from a teacher to a pupil stating his competence to undertake the teaching profession. The Ijaza was generally granted when the student had written down or transcribed the lectures of his teacher. Its educational value was similar to that of a diploma and students took more than one Ijaza from teachers in order to enable them to teach the various subjects.

The mosque as political and judicial centre of activity :-

Mosques were not only the centres of divine worship but they had a considerable influence on the political condition of the time. In the system of Islam politics and religion are inextricably bound together. All the proclamations relating to state edicts and taxation were announced in the mosques. Councils of war were held in mosques, the booty of the war divided in them, and enemies were cursed from the pulpits. The procedure of the Abbaside Caliphs in regard to the Khutba was followed exactly by the provincial governors, while the two-fold power of the Caliph, who embodied both temporal and spiritual authority, was reflected in the dual character of their office. The mosques further served the purpose of a law court where judges tried cases and legal questions were discussed, while Qazis held their sessions in mosques and heard civil and criminal cases.

The Khutba :-

To the Friday Mosques or "Masjidu'l Juma" was attached special importance since in it the ordinary prayers were distinguished by the reading of the "Khutba" by a general, a governor, or a ruler and in Bagdad by the Caliph. The Khutba contained firstly a passage setting forth the glorification of God, and secondly a formal introduction of the political affairs of the time. The deposition of certain officials was announced, and was government's official organ of expression. If the homage to the successor designate was to be expressed it was mentioned at this juncture. Later on when acclamation by the populace was of little value the Khutba still had its importance. The investiture of the various officials were also read at the proclamation of the Khutba.

The Caliph spoke from the pulpit of the mosque at Bagdad and when he went on pilgrimage to Mecca he used to announce his various acts from pulpits in the Mecca and Medina mosques. In the provinces the governors stood at their respective mosques in the same way as the Caliph stood in Bagdad. The right to promulgate decrees from the pulpit was the exclusive prerogative of the Caliph. It should be noted that the Khutba was not exclusively read after the Friday prayers, for the Caliph or provincial governors could summon people to come to ^{hear} the Khutba on any specified day. When a war was being waged a council of war could be called in a mosque and the enemy was execrated in the Khutba. In short, the Khutba was the medium through which the people expressed their loyalty to the ruler whose name was mentioned in it.

After the name of the Caliph reference was made to the local governor, and according to some authorities, prayers were offered for the heir designate. The Khutba fulfilled the function of the public press in modern days in acquainting men with the chief events of the times. It also possessed a spiritual significance similar to that of the Papal Bulls issued by mediaeval Popes in Europe.

Education in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. :-

Students attending Mosques were given stipends and free lodging and certain allowances. Any one was free to join these institutions. Maqdasi mentions that in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. the teachers in Fars used to lecture from the early hours of the morning until midday and again during the afternoon until sunset. Students were at liberty to select their own teachers and the most efficient teachers were able to get the largest classes. Khurasan, Balkh, Nishapur, Me~~v~~ and Herat were the chief centres of education. Sometimes a "Bimaristan" or a hospital, was attached to the school or mosque and was administered by specially qualified teachers, and as a rule Madrasa contained such hospitals.

Concession to the priestly class :-

During the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. the priestly class enjoyed great privileges, and exercised considerable influence. So great indeed was this on the political life of the people that even the founder of the Samanid house established his rule by the help of the local priesthood. The priests did not pay homage to

to the ruler and were exempt from the obligation of kissing the ground before him. They were not liable to taxation of the landed property attached to the mosques, and other such institutions.

Travel :-

The general principle that some idea of the wealth of a nation can be judged from the number of its citizens who travel in other lands is hardly applicable to Persia of those days. Many Persians used to go from one country to another either in pursuit of knowledge or in search of wealth and even some for adventure, but the journeys were performed on foot and horse and little expense was incurred. There are instances to show that even poor artisans often travelled for the pleasure of travelling. Labour was very cheap in those days. Gardizi records that Yakub, the founder of the Safarid house, while working at his trade used to get 15 dirhems a month, or 7/6.

Standard of living :-

The cost of living was much lower at that time than in later periods. In this connection it is interesting to notice that although Islam forbade the use of wine and intoxicating liquors yet members of the aristocracy ignored this prohibition in the middle ages. Laxity with regard to this law was one of the last relics of Zoroastrianism. Wine was drunk at the great festivals to celebrate the coronation or marriage of the sovereign. Intemperance caused the death of the Buyid prince Fakhru'd Dawla. The Persians loved to hold banquets in beautiful gardens and music, both instrumental and vocal, was one of the chief features of these entertainments.

Industry :-

From a study of the exports of Transoxania it is possible to form some idea of the state of her industry and commerce. Tirmidh exported soap and asafoetida, Bukhara was noted for soft fabrics, woven tissues, carpets and copper lamps. Napkins were made in Karmainiya, Khorezmia exported sables, miniver, and fur of the steppe foxes, hares, and goats, wax~~er~~, nuts, honey, cattle, fabric of printed cloth, carpets, blankets, satin for royal robes, almonds, locks, bows and cheese. Paper was manufactured at Samarqand which also produced brass vessels, goblets, tents and stirrups. Isfijab and Farghana were centres of the trade in arms, swords, copper and iron. Bukhara was famous for its mead and melons. Industry was developed under the supervision of Chinese craftsmen. Farghana situated in the vicinity of coal mines, developed an important metal industry and sent her arms to Bagdad.

Trade with the nomads :-

The nomads of the steppes generally traded in furs, skins, cattle and pack animals with the Transoxanianⁱ and Khurasanians. The Prosperity of ~~the~~ Khorezmia largely depended on this trade and so they took an important part in the commercial life of every city of Khurasan. According to Maqdasi, in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. the Khorezmians had a monopoly of trade and many of them followed intellectual pursuits.

Use of snow :-

Whenever a snow fall occurred in northern Persia the people used to collect the snow and send it to the southern areas where it was used by vintners and vendors of drinks.

The state had a monopoly of the snow trade and ^{it} was a source of revenue. The Buyid prince Adudu'd Dola legalised its sale in Fars where the sellers of drinks ("Falouda") constantly used it in their cups.

Markets :-

Markets were usually held on Friday, the Sabbath day of the Muslims in towns, but in villages other days were frequently chosen. Markets were not only useful for trade purposes but they also afforded considerable revenue by way of rent to the state. They were generally held in an open space near the central mosque of the inner and outer towns and occasionally the rents collected from them were given to the mosques and hospitals. According to Maqdasi, Amr the Safarid allotted the rent of the Zaranj markets in Seistan, which amounted to 1000 dirhems a day, to these charitable institutions. After the business of the day was over, wrestling matches took place in the market-place, the results of which were recorded by a man with a rope in which he made knots for every victor. In Tabristan and Gilan, where there was no segregation of sexes, these markets were the important meeting places of young folks and consequently weddings not infrequently followed the market day. Whenever a marriage had been arranged the future bridegroom interviewed his fiancée seven times in private then both were tattooed and the ceremony was performed.

Condition of the masses :-

The condition of the peasantry and working people was fairly prosperous during this period since the rule of the Samnids

and Ghaznavids guaranteed the security of the country from external foes. These rulers endeavoured to raise the standard of living of the poorer classes and in proportion to diminish the power and wealth of the rich, who constituted a menace to their government. Among the Shia rulers of Tabristan must be mentioned Hasan bin Ali Utrawush who put into practice his socialistic principles to such an extent that he did away with the rights of owners of estates and has been accused by the Persian historians of destroying the family organisation which had come down to them from pre-historic times. Maqdasi, who travelled in Tabristan in the tenth century A.D. stated that in the Caspian provinces of Tabristan and Jurjan it was considered a breach of etiquette to sell bread. The same author remarks that any one who heeded bread could get it free at any home.

Chapter XXVI. Conclusion.

Persia as a very great nation and a world power 600 B.C. 641 A.D.

We have seen that at the dawn of our historic period in the sixth century B.C. that Persia was a very great power, producing great generals and men of letters. At least as early as 1000 B.C. there was an established religion, Zoroastrianism. During this period, when the vast tracts of Europe were covered with impenetrable forests, Persia was the seat of a great civilisation which has been carried on without a lapse to the present day. On the cliffs at Istakhar, the Capital of ancient Persia, there are legends engraved similar to those left by Pharaohs, the Greeks and the Romans. They had a great national language called "Pehelvi". Further, at the epoch, when the Persian Empire had attained its apogee and greatest extent, Persians regarded themselves as freemen and all non-Persians as slaves. Every one knows the name of Cyrus the Great and Darius, who many a time waged war successfully against the Greece and Rome.

The decline and defeat by Alexander the Great :-

Then in the fourth century B.C. we find Persia conquered by Alexander the Great and coming under Macedonian rule in 330 B.C. As Alexander left no heir, civil war broke out and Persia was divided between two dynasties and then broke up with the ^{whole} of the near and middle east into a number of small kingdoms under Greek dynasties which gradually became nationalised. In 171 B.C. Mithridates I raised Persia from a kingdom to a world power as the

Parthian Empire and made his capital at Ctesiphon defeating the Yueh-chis who had invaded Bactria. This period (171 B.C. - 226 A.D.) is a period of constant wars with the Romans.

The rise again :-

The national spirit of the Achaemenids paved the way for the foundation of the Sassanian dynasty by Ardeshir Babagan in 226 A.D. This dynasty lasted for 400 years, and in the succeeding five centuries the Persians retained their pride in their old tradition. The Sassanids became so powerful that Shapur I captured the Roman Emperor Valerian. Bahram and Khusrau Nushirwan were the famous monarchs of this dynasty. Persian civilization under the Sassanians reached a climax in organisation and national growth.

The Islamic conquest :-

Now we come to another period of decline and submergence and one in which Persian character seems to have suffered a tremendous change, owing to its adoption of a totally new religion, and it is with her rise from this state that we have tried to chronicle in this volume. A monarchy like that of Persia, when enervated by luxury, distracted by internal division, exhausted by foreign wars, decayed and tottering to its fall, was ill calculated to resist invasion by the enthusiastic Muslims of Arabia. Yezidgerd III, the last of the Sassanian monarchs, as we have seen, was finally defeated in 641 A.D. and lost the kingdom to the Muslims.

The great force of Islam on Oriental imagination :-

The Islamic conquest effected a great revolution in Persia where it replaced Zoroastrianism by Islam. Islam was accepted

partly because it commended itself to the Persian intellect as a more congenial faith than any other, partly because the doctrines of Mohammad prevailed as soon as they were promulgated on account of their noble and sublime tenets. The ardent minds of the Persians received with delight doctrines which at once elevated the soul and fired the imagination and gratified their spiritual aspirations. Prof. Noldke has rightly remarked "Hellenism never touched more than the surface of Persian life, but Iran was penetrated to the core by Arabian Religion and Arabian ways."

The Abbasides coming to power was a Persian victory :-

We have seen that the real rise of Persian independence lay in the capture of the Caliphate through the accession of the Abbaside Caliphs. The Abbasides established their capital at Bagdad in 763 A.D. in place of Damscus, from where the Ommeyyads had ruled for 80 years. It was situated on the river Tigris, not far from the old Sassanian capital Ctesiphon in the territory which had long been Persian. Persian civilization was taken up by the Abbasides and Persian ideas were blended with those of Islam. Throughout this period there are two parallel movements, the weaker dynasties maintaining their own because of the weakness of the Caliphate, and secondly Persian control of the Abbasides at Bagdad by which means they dominated the Caliphate. Mansur, was the first Abbaside Caliph to entrust the management of state affairs to Persian slaves and clients, a policy which was carried further by his successors.

The actual temporal independence of the Tahirids :-

Parallel to this was the setting up of a semi-independent kingdom in Khurasan by Tahir Dhul'i Yaminayn, the founder of the Tahirid house, who obtained the governorship of the East, and began to throw off the imperial yoke. The primary result of the unwise policy of the Abbasides in entrusting power to the Turks and foreign mercenaries, and above all by the system of creating feudatory lords, who soon usurped all authority save the nominal, was the growth of feudatory states under the successors of the Caliph Mamun. Previous to that provincial governors were appointed by the Central Power at Bagdad but the succession of the line of Tahir in Khurasan for nearly a century is significant of the change that had taken place.

Independence maintained by the smaller dynasties because of weakness of the Caliphs :-

The rise of the Tahirids was succeeded by other though shorter lived dynasties, the Safarids, the founder of which Yakub bin Lais had even led his forces up to the gate of Bagdad in 879 A.D. The Alid house of Hasan bin Zayd, the founder of the Zaydite Imams in Tabristan (864 - 900 A.D.) similarly shook off the suzerainty of the effete imperial power. The Hasanwayhids in Kurdistan (959 - 1015 A.D.) and the Kakawayhids in Kurdistan (1007 - 1051 A.D.) similarly maintained their own because of the weakness of the Caliphs. The Ziyarids in Jurjan and Tabristan (928 - 1042 A.D.) established a dynasty, noted for producing men of letters and science.

The strong dynasties of the Samanids and the Ghaznavids :-

The Samanids and Ghaznavids, who were more powerful than their predecessors, erected their principalities into kingdoms. Their courts were parallel to that of the Caliphs at Bagdad, whom they imitated in every detail. Nasr II (913 - 42 A.D.) the greatest of the Samanid dynasty, made Persia a splendid centre. Similarly Mahmud of Ghazna raised his kingdom to be a great power. According to some authors they were given the title of Sultan or King, but this claim has been contested by very many authors. Nevertheless their authority was in any case as absolute as that of any of the Sultans in Bagdad. Though they treated the Caliphs withoutward homage, yet the latter were usually but puppets in their hands. The position of the Caliphs at Bagdad was daily declining, and in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. the Caliphate was practically decrepit.

The Buyids actual rulers of Bagdad :-

Sir Denison Ross speaking of the petty dynasties in Persia writes, "While the Samanids and Ghaznavids were ruling over the eastern provinces of Islam, the position of the Bagdad Caliphs, to whom, as has been shown, they gave only lip service, was going from bad to worse, for they had become mere puppets in the hands of a powerful Persian family, the Buyids, who kept them prisoners in the capital and practically divided up what still remained of Persia to the Caliphs among members of their own family. "The Buyids, who were the mayors at Bagdad, Persianised the capital, and even went so far as to try to introduce Shiaism as the state

religion, but these efforts were nipped in the bud.

We thus leave Persia well established :-

These dynasties paved the way for nominal as well as the actual independence, which was declared by the Safavid dynasty in 1502 A.D. Shah Ismail, the founder of this house, having defeated the Turkoman rulers in Western Persia, made Tabriz his capital. Since then Persia has been one of the great nations of the world, not as powerful as she was three or four hundred years ago, but her name is known to all civilized and educated men. Persia has tremendously influenced India through the Mughals and Persian was the court and official language of that great country as late as 1833 A.D.

Birth of literature - a foundation for a nation :-

It was during this period (820 - 1056 A.D.) dealt with in the chronicle that modern Persian literature appears to have taken its birth. It is generally believed that the Persian language became fixed in much the same form as now with its definite traditions, customs and history with the rise of the Safarids (867 - 903 A.D.). The first great Persian poet after the advent of Islam was Rudaki, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century A.D., under the Samanid rulers. Mahmud of Ghazna, attracted men of letters to his court at Ghazna and did much to encourage Persian poetry and art. Biruni, the famous historian wrote his immortal work "Indica" under the Ziyarids (928 - 1042 A.D.) Avicenna born in 980 A.D., who was patronised by the Ziyarids and the Buyids, was one of the greatest sons of Persia and his development of the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato

exercised very great influence on the scholars of the East and the West. His books, translated into Latin, remain standard works.

The Shahnama, or 'The book of the Kings' by Firdausi, the famous court poet of Mahmud of Ghazna, is an imperishable monument to Persian literature. He created an atmosphere by his great epic, which has made Persians take immense pride in their legendary history and attach a separate individuality to themselves which had been merged in that of the Arabs for a time.

The end :-

The period is ended with the year 1056 A.D. when Tughril Beg, the founder of the Seljukian house entered Bagdad triumphantly and also put an end to the Ghaznavid rule in Khurasan. With the entry of the Seljuks, Persian culture received a new impetus, for these uneducated Turks employed the talented Persians for the administration of their Empire and encouraged all forms of literature and art. From the Seljukian house to the rise of the Safavids in the 15th century A.D. there are many ups and downs; the rulers, though foreigners and usurpers established Persia beyond doubt as a great nation of the East.

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