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CONTINUATION OF

THE EXPERIENCES OF THE NATIONS

BY

ABU SHUJA' RUDHRAWARI,

Vizier of Muqtadi,

AND

HILAL B. MUHASSIN

Vizier's Secretary in Baghdad,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ARABIC

BY

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

REIGNS OF *TA'I'* AND QADIR.

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CONTINUATION OF THE EXPERIENCES OF THE NATIONS.

Account of the affairs of 'Adud al-daulah on his expedition to the Jabal.

He started at the head of his army on Saturday 3 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (June 19, 980) having in his company ABU 'ABD ALLAH *H*USAIN B. SA'DAN to see to the execution of orders and to muster of the forces; when he was half-way between *H*ulwan and Qarmisin he was attacked by his former malady, and visitors were excluded in a way which caused alarming rumours. Presently his health improved and he appeared in public and rode to Qarmisin. Here he was met by the sons of *H*asanawaihi, who had previously sent to offer their allegiance through the mediation of Abu Nasr Khwashadhah, who however had not counted on their all being willing to present themselves in person.

Account of the arrest of some of the sons of H*asanawaihi and the favours bestowed on others.*

They were brought to the camp and seated in a marquee behind the pavilion, guarded by Dailemite staff-officers and others of the mounted retainers. Bedouins, Kurds, Infantry and Cavalry were posted round the camp and outside the town to prevent any of them or their followers escaping. 'Abd al-Raziq, Abu'l-'Ala, Abu 'Adnan, and Bakhtiyar (sons of *H*asanawaihi) were arrested, with their clerks, dependents, and the chief of their Kurdish followers; Badr, 'Asim and 'Abd al-Malik were summoned to 'Adud al-daulah's presence, where he addressed them in such language as

he thought proper, and promised them his patronage; they were then conveyed to the store, where Badr was invested with the *qaba*, the sword and the golden belt, mounted on a horse with a gold saddle, and appointed chieftain of the Barzikani Kurds, and those who went with them. 'Asim and 'Abd al-Malik were each invested with the satin *durra'ah* and the sword with straps, and mounted on horses with gilt saddles. The Kurds who were under arrest were all put to the sword and their dwellings with the contents plundered. Abu'l-Wafa *T*ahir b. (**10**) Mohammed was despatched to the fort Sarmaj, which he stormed, seizing the treasures of *H*asanawaihi which it contained.

YEAR 370.

'A*d*ud al-daulah now proceeded to Nahawand, where he halted. Here he appointed provincial governors, and eagerly collected what was to be got; it being his intention to give Hamadhan and Nahawand to Muayyid al-daulah while annexing Dinawar, Qarmisin and what went with them to 'Iraq. In *S*afar (began Aug. 16, 980) he moved from Nahawand to Hamadhan where he occupied the palace of Fakhr al-daulah.

Account of the arrival of the Sa*h*ib *Isma'il b. 'Abbad.*

In this month the *Sa*hib Isma'il b. 'Abbad arrived representing Muayyid al-daulah, but also on his own account. 'A*d*ud al-daulah went out to a distance from the town to meet him, treated him with the highest distinction, and ordered his chief clerks and followers to pay him every respect. They carried out this order, and indeed during his stay paid him a succession of visits, whereas he had not to ride to any one of them. The object of 'A*d*ud al-daulah herein was to conciliate (**11**) Muayyid al-daulah and to allay the apprehensions of the *Sa*hib.

Letters arrived from Muayyid al-daulah wherein he complained of the long absence of the *Sahib* and the disorder in his affairs which that absence occasioned. '*Ad*ud al-daulah had therefore to commence arranging with them the revenue of Hamadhan and Nahawand. ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. AL-HAITHAM was entrusted with the task of drawing up an estimate.

Account of an estimate wherein the amount was conjecturally over-estimated.

He commenced his estimate with the formula : *Amount of Revenue of—— Districts.* After the details of the amounts of silver of good assay to be obtained from one source and another came the formula : *The following amount is required for expenditure.* He then added a fourth, calculating that the actual revenue would come to more than his estimate. He forwarded the document with Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf, Abu'l-Wafa *T*ahir b. Mohammed, and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Sa'dan to the *Sahib* Isma'il b. 'Abbad, who ordered Mohammed b. al-Haitham to present himself with them, and explain each section to him. He complied, and after exhaustive examination the estimate was accepted with the addition over and above what the facts warranted.

Account of 'Adud al-daulah's return to Baghdad.

'*Ad*ud al-daulah took up his quarters outside Hamadhan in Rabi'ii (began Oct. 14, 980) meaning to return to Baghdad. He bestowed splendid robes of honour on the *Sahib*, mounted him on a horse with a gold saddle, made up for him a complete equipment in a marquee contiguous with his own tents, wherein he escorted him to his seat. He also bestowed on him splendid estates in various districts of Fars. He also sent with him various compliments for Muayyid al-daulah, for whose service he further despatched a number of troops who had deserted to him from Fakhr al-daulah.

Account of the subsequent careers of Hasanawaihi's *children, and the suicidal effects of their mutual jealousies.*

When Badr returned with the distinction of the sword and belt, this vexed and alarmed 'Asim (**12**) who after a short delay deserted to the Kurds who were still at war, throwing off his allegiance and defying Badr. Abu' l-Fadl Muzaffar b. Mahmud[1] was sent against him at the head of a force of Dailemite troops (*auliya*). He defeated 'Asim and took him prisoner. He was brought into Hamadhan mounted on a camel in a satin *durra'ah*. Nothing was ever heard of him afterwards, and Badr held sole possession of the titles of minister and chamberlain. He put to death all Hasanawaihi's other children.

In this year a report came that Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Mihman had captured and put to death the man known as Saidawi (the man from Sidon).

Account of a successful expedient employed in capturing Saidawi *and bringing him to his death.*

This person was a brigand in the region Saqy al-Furat. Abu 'Ali Ibn Mihman succeeded in capturing him by suborning certain vagrants to enter his band ostensibly. When they had gained his confidence they seized him and carried him off captive to Kufah, where Abu 'Ali put him to death. He proceeded to send his head to Baghdad, where it was paraded.

In this year a report arrived from Abu 'Ali Hasan b. 'Ali Tamimi that Ward the Byzantine had been arrested.

Account of the reason for this.

When the Byzantine Emperor Romanus died, it happened that the Domesticus Nicephorus, a man of political ability and energy, had gone on an expedition into Islamic territory, where he did damage; on his return, as he approached Constantinople, he learned of Romanus's

[1] Probably this should be Abu'l-Fath Muzaffar b. Mohammed.

death. The chief officers of the army gathered to him and said: The Emperor has passed away, leaving two sons who are too young to be of any use; no-one but you is qualified to act for them as governor of the empire. We regard it (**13**) as in the interest of the empire and its inhabitants that you should undertake this. He at first declined, but after renewed application assented. Presenting himself to the princes he paid them homage, and represented himself as their chamberlain and deputy; presently he donned the crown, and married their mother. Later on he gave her cause of offence.

Account of a scheme whereby this woman succeeded in putting to death the incautious Emperor.

Putting herself into communication with the son of Zimisces, she urged him to murder Nicephorus and establish himself as ruler in his place. The plot was arranged; he, accompanied by ten [1] of his intimate associates, came secretly to the Palace where she with Nicephorus resided, and she admitted him by night. Nicephorus was in the habit of sitting up most of the night, attending to business, and reading chronicles. At the door of the chamber wherein he retired to rest two eunuchs were stationed. When the son of Zimisces had got inside the palace, he and his party made for this place, put the eunuchs to death, made their way to Nicephorus and murdered him. There was a hue and cry; then the facts became known, and the son of Zimisces became master of affairs, and proceeded to arrest Leo, brother of Nicephorus, and Ward, son of Leo.

He had Leo blinded, and Ward conveyed to a fortress in the sea, where he was confined.[2] He then marched to the Syrian provinces, where he performed various

[1] Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 98, mentions five.

[2] Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 103, says that Leo was exiled to Lesbos, and his second son, Bardas Phocas (Ward) received orders not to leave Amasia. The blinding of Leo took place after the revolt of Bardas.

exploits, and advanced to Tripoli, which, encountering resistance from the inhabitants, he besieged.[1]

Now the mother of the two princes had a brother who was a eunuch, and had held the vizierate of the empire from the days of the Emperor Romanus. His name was Barkmos.[2] He is said to have secretly introduced poison into the emperor's food or drink. The son of Zimisces feeling its effects in his body started homewards to Constantinople,[3] but died on the way. Barkmos became master of affairs.

Ward son of Munir [4] was one of the chief commanders, and at the time resident in one of (**14**) the provinces.[5] Aspiring to the chief power, he collected forces, enlisted Moslems from the frontiers, and entered into correspondence with Abu Taghlib Ibn *H*amdan, with whom he formed a political and matrimonial alliance. The two Emperors sent against him army after army, which he successively routed; his power steadily increased; he marched to Constantinople.[6] The Emperors, finding the emergency serious, released Wardis son of Leo,[7] took him into favour, bade him swear that he would be loyal, and sent him at the head of a vast force to meet Ward. A series of engagements ensued, wherein they each displayed

[1] See Schlumberger, *Epopée* i. 299

[2] The person meant is Basil, grand chamberlain. Gfrörer, Byzantinische Geschichten, ii. 498, says he was the son of Romanus Lecapenus by a Bulgarian concubine, "*une captive Scythe*" (Schlumberger, i. 340) known in consequence as Basil the Bastard. The word in the text stands for *Parakoimomenos*, Keeper of the bedchamber. See the description of him in Schlumberger, *Epopée*, i. 6 foll.

[3] According to Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 139, his illness and consequent return journey had commenced before he encountered Basil. Schlumberger, i. 314, exculpates Basil.

[4] According to Schlumberger, *l.c.* 47, he was son of the Patricius Nicetas Scleros. Perhaps *Munir* stands for the title "Illustrious."

[5] "In the army of Asia" Schlumberger, i. 343, who says he was degraded from the rank of Commander in Chief to that of Duke of Mesopotamia.

[6] *i.e.*, as far as the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus.

[7] Bardas Phocas, nephew of Nicephorus, who since the unsuccessful rising of 970 and 971 had been a prisoner in Chios.

eminent courage ; they even fought a duel and belaboured each other with bludgeons till their helmets fell off their heads.[1] Ward was defeated and entered Islamic territory ; with his defeated troops he came within a parasang of Miyyafariqin, where Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. 'Ali Tamimi the Chamberlain was at the time. From here he despatched his brother[2] on a mission to 'A*d*ud al-daulah, who received him kindly, gave him a written promise of safety, and sent him back with a fair promise of aid.

He was followed by an envoy from the Byzantine Emperor who was to plead with 'A*d*ud al-daulah and succeeded in making him incline to the side of the Emperor, against Ward. 'A*d*ud al-daulah decided to arrange for the arrest of the latter, and wrote to Abu 'Ali Tamimi to devise means for compassing this. After an interchange of messages on the subject of a meeting Abu 'Ali went out to him, arrested him, his brother, his son and a number of his followers, brought them to Miyyafariqin and then sent them to Baghdad.

Sound plan proposed by Ward's followers to him but neglected by him in his self-will.

Before the arrest of Ward his chief followers assembled in his presence and told him that they saw no likelihood of their negotiations with A*d*ud al-daulah ending in the latter's furnishing effective aid. Messages, they said, have been interchanged between him and the two Byzantine Emperors about us, and it is quite likely that they may tempt him to surrender us. Our right course is to look after our own interests, to avoid deception, and, leaving this place, return to Byzantine territory, peacefully if (**15**) we can, or if we must fight, doing our utmost, with the prospect of winning, or else leaving the

[1] This duel is described by Gfrörer, ii. 578, where Phocas fights with a battle-axe. Lebeau-Brosset's *masse d'armes* agrees with the above. Schlumberger, i. 423, uses the same phrase.

[2] Constantine.

world with honour unimpaired. He replied that this proposal was worthless, that he had a high opinion of '*Ad*ud al-daulah, and that it would be improper after approaching him to retire before they had made trial of him. When he resisted their proposals and abandoned them, many of them abandoned him, and departed.

Ward with his brother and son remained, and were kept in confinement till they were released by *S*amsam al-daulah at the end of his days, as we hope to record presently.

Account of the proceedings of Fakhr al-daulah.

When he reached Qazwin after his expulsion from Hamadhan he retreated thence to the Dailemite country, and came to Hausam where he abode for a period. Messages were interchanged between him and Qabus b. Washmagir, and the two entered into a solemn engagement, of which the motive was their common hostility to '*Ad*ud al-daulah and Muayyid al-daulah. He then proceeded to Khorasan to solicit its ruler's aid.

YEAR 371.[1]

'*Ad*ud al-daulah had despatched Abu Nasr Khurshid to Qabus with a conciliatory message; he brought back a reply ostensibly harsh, though intrinsically gentle.[2] '*Ad*ud al-daulah now asked *Ta*'i' to appoint Muayyid al-daulah Abu Mansur governor of the districts of Jurjan and Tabaristan, and send him the deed of appointment, the banner and the imperial robes. The Caliph assented. At an audience held in Mu*h*arram of this year he despatched Abu *H*arb Ziyar b. Shahraguyah to Muayyid al-daulah with a large escort, with whom was joined Abu Nasr Khwashadhah with the treasurers and keepers of the clothing and armour stores. The two came to Muayyid

[1] Began July 7, 981.

[2] The author of the Ta'rikh Yamini (i. 108, Cairo, 1286) gives the substance of this reply, which however is defiant.

al-daulah when he was encamped outside Rayy and conveyed to him the imperial robes (**16**) which he donned. He then mounted and started at the head of his army. When they reached Astrabad, at a distance of ten parasangs from Tabaristan, Qabus who was there had dug a trench outside, into which he had introduced water, and on which he had erected towers wherein archers were stationed. His intention was to hold out, but at the same time he did not neglect to make preparations for an engagement, should one be necessary. Muayyid al-daulah halted at a distance of some parasangs from the town by some water which he found. He then sent a force to invade and take possession of Tabaristan, which had been evacuated by Qabus, who had been gathering troops and assembling them round him with the utmost energy.

Pickets were sent out by both armies; Qabus would not move from his place, and Muayyid al-daulah refrained from advancing any nearer for fear water should fail. The armies remained in this situation for some days.

Account of an irregularly conducted campaign which resulted in a satisfactory understanding.

Muayyid al-daulah kept on thinking of expedients till he learned of the existence of a *wadi* outside the town, into which the rainwater collected in the rainy season; if certain conduits in the neighbourhood were dammed and their waters allowed to flow into this *wadi*, he could encamp there. He with some of his staff accompanied by a few retainers rode off to inspect the place; ordering the skirmishing parties to keep still that day while posting guards on the hill. Scarcely however had he left the camp when the Dailemites in defiance of his orders started an offensive, and were met by the army of Qabus equally matched. There was a fierce engagement, and Muayyid al-daulah hearing of it was exceedingly vexed, and despatched a number of chamberlains

and sergeants. They found their orders could no longer be accepted, and Muayyid al-daulah accordingly returned to his camp. The fight accordingly continued till the approach of sunset.

Account of an error committed by Qabus in withdrawing his followers after Muayyid al-daulah's troops had displayed weakness.

Qabus now withdrew his followers and Muayyid al-daulah returned to his camp after suffering greater (17) casualties in killed and wounded than had been suffered by Qabus. Muayyid al-daulah then despatched Badr b. *H*asanawaihi with a large force of Turks and Kurds to secure the hill which separated the parties, fearing lest Qabus might pursue, and indeed had he done so he would have done great damage and gained his object. Muayyid al-daulah was compelled to wait a week till his followers had recovered themselves, after which he had the water diverted into the *wadi*. He then moved and established himself there. After four days' preparation he commenced an offensive with his whole army. There was an engagement ; Muayyid al-daulah's right charged and routed Qabus's left, containing the latter's picked troops. Qabus himself took to flight ; he passed through the town and went out at the other end. His right however under his brother Jirkas held out for two hours after the rout of Qabus, for being behind a thicket they were unaware of the situation. When Jirkas learned of his brother's flight, he also fled to join him. Muayyid al-daulah sent a troop of horse from his army in pursuit. Qabus left the direct road and proceeded along a line of fortresses with the intention of entering one of them if he found himself hotly pressed. Ultimately he reached Nisabur and there rejoined Fakhr al-daulah.

When Muayyid al-daulah had taken Astrabad, he settled its affairs and leaving one of his followers there proceeded to Jurjan, where he established himself. He

sent Abu Nasr Khwashadhah to the court of Baghdad with despatches. Khwashadhah reached the capital in Ramadan (began Feb. 28, 982) bringing some relatives of Qabus with his chief followers as prisoners. 'Adud al-daulah paid him no attention, and displayed ill-will. He proceeded to despatch Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Mohammed to Jurjan.

Account of some treacherous advice which led to a reverse.

It was the practice of Abu Nasr Khwashadhah when he was sent to Rayy and, as he approached it, was met by the Sahib (**18**) Isma'il b. 'Abbad, to dismount at sight of him. When on this occasion he went on the expedition with Ziyar, he wished Ziyar to do as he did, lest Ziyar's refraining therefrom should indicate superiority in station to himself. When Ziyar by way of consultation asked him what he thought should be done by way of compliment to the Sahib when he met him, Khwashadhah replied: You know best; only 'Adud al-daulah holds him in high esteem and wants him to be humoured. What I propose to do is to dismount. If you do so, he is very likely to do the same.—Khwashadhah thus induced Ziyar to dismount before Isma'il b. 'Abbad when the latter came out to meet him; Isma'il however did not dismount, nor was he a man who would deign to do so. Khwashadhah had deceived Ziyar in order to gain his end. 'Adud al-daulah, hearing what had occurred, was very angry, only concealed his annoyance, being anxious that nothing on the subject should reach the Sahib which was calculated to offend him. But when Khwashadhah arrived, 'Adud al-daulah, harbouring this feeling on the subject, treated him disdainfully, and after a time had him arrested and sent to one of the fortresses in Fars.

The following fine verses were composed by Qabus after his defeat.

Ask him who taunts us with the vicissitudes of fortune: Has fortune ever thwarted any but men of worth?
Look at the sea; do not carcases float on its surface, while pearls lie deep on its bottom?
If the hands of trouble have fastened upon us and injury befallen us from a succession of its blows,
Well, there are countless stars in the heavens, but only the sun and moon suffer eclipse.

In this year the Qa*d*i Abu 'Ali Mu*h*assin b. 'Ali Tanukhi fell into disfavour, was told to remain in his residence and was dismissed from his appointments.

(**19**) *Account of the reason for this.*

Tanukhi had been with 'A*d*ud al-daulah in Hamadhan. It happened that one day he went to visit his friend Abu Bakr Ibn Shahuyah accompanied by Abu 'Ali Ha'im. They sat talking in a marquee, while Abu 'Ali Ha'im was at its door. Ibn Shahuyah said to Tanukhi: Qa*d*i, you had better make up your mind to remain in this place the whole winter.—Why, he asked. Ibn Shahuyah replied: Because 'A*d*ud al-daulah is planning the arrest of Isma'il b. 'Abbad (who had come to his court).—Tanukhi parted from him, and as they came away Abu 'Ali Ha'im said to him: I heard your conversation, and this is a matter which you must keep to yourself, and not blurt out to anyone, least of all Abu'l-Fa*d*l Ibn Abi A*h*mad Shirazi.—Tanukhi promised that he would be careful. He returned to his tent, where he was visited by the persons who were in the habit of attending him and sharing his meals. Among these was Abu'l-Fa*d*l Ibn Abi A*h*mad Shirazi. He asked the qa*d*i why he appeared to be distracted.

Careless revelation of a secret with disastrous results.

Tanukhi relaxed and said to him: Do not you know that his majesty is staying here and has made up his mind to—the Sa*h*ib? This is an indication that the journey will be prolonged.—Abu'l-Fa*d*l Shirazi asked him where he had been that day. With Abu Bakr Ibn

Shahuyah, he replied.—The man then wrote a note to 'Adud al-daulah in which he said: I have been with Tanukhi, who told me thus and thus, which he stated he had heard from an absolutely trustworthy source; I knew that he had been with Abu Bakr Ibn Shahuyah. This story may have a foundation, only if the secret gets abroad, your plans will be ruined.—When 'Adud al-daulah perused the note, he was severely perplexed and rising from a banquet which he was giving to the Dailemites in the saffron-plantations angrily (**20**) summoned Tanukhi, and told him that he had heard certain things about him. Tanukhi blushed, and was presently confronted with the informer Abu'l-Fadl, who questioned him; he however denied the charge. Ibn Shahuyah was then produced, and asked about the story, and he too denied it. Then Abu 'Ali Ha'im was asked what he had heard, and declared that he had been outside the marquee, and had understood nothing. He was stretched on the ground and given two hundred lashes; being allowed to rise he shook his clothes, and said: God bless you abundantly!—'Adud al-daulah, hearing of this, ordered a fresh hundred lashes to be administered. The plan[1] was abandoned. Tanukhi returned to his tent having fully expected to be arrested. For a time he kept soliciting admission at 'Adud al-daulah's court and met with rebuffs; presently however he was partially readmitted into favour.

After a time they returned to Baghdad, and one day Tanukhi was seen by 'Adud al-daulah in fine clothes riding a mule with a heavily-mounted saddle. The prince asked him whence he had got the mule. He replied that it with its saddle was a present from the Sahib, who had also given him twenty articles of wearing apparel and 7,000 dirhems. Not much, said the prince, considering your deserts!—Tanukhi understood that the prince suspected him of circulating the rumour.

[1] *i.e.*, of arresting Ibn 'Abbad. The sense is not quite clear.

On his return to Baghdad 'A*d*ud al-daulah was told that *Ṭ*a'i' disliked his daughter and deprived her of conjugal rights. He was distressed and bade Tanukhi go and tell the Caliph that the bride's mother desired an increase of the Caliph's favour to her. Tanukhi went home to put on court dress.

Account of an unlucky coincidence.

Tanukhi happened to slip on his return to his house, and sprained his foot. He sent to 'A*d*ud al-daulah to convey his excuse, which the prince did not accept. A man whom he sent to enquire what had occurred saw some smart attendants and a fine mare. Returning to 'A*d*ud al-daulah he asserted that Tanukhi was malingering; for, he said, I saw in what condition he was, and he was (**21**) receiving numerous visitors.—This renewed 'A*d*ud al-daulah's resentment. He sent an order that he must stay in his house, never leave it, and receive no visitors. An exception was afterwards made in favour of some few friends for whom he solicited permission. He remained in disfavour till 'A*d*ud al-daulah's death.

In this year ABU ISḤAQ IBRAHIM B. HILAL the Sabian, who had been put in confinement in 367 was released.

Account of the cause for his confinement and subsequent release.

When 'A*d*ud al-daulah was in Fars Ibrahim had served him as correspondent and poet, as well as looking after occasional interests of the prince in the capital. The prince had accepted his services, and sent him presents of money on most of the occasions when he was out of office. When the prince came to Baghdad in A.H. 364 Ibrahim became so closely associated with him that he was afraid to remain after the prince's retirement. 'A*d*ud al-daulah endeavoured to secure him by mentioning him in the convention drawn up between him and 'Izz al-daulah Bakhtiyar

with 'Umdat al-daulah Ibrahim his brother; in the oath which they swore it was stipulated that Ibrahim Sabi's life and property should be secure. When 'Adud al-daulah again invaded, Ibrahim feeling himself unsafe went into hiding; until Abu Mohammed Ibn Ma'ruf mediated, and obtained promises of safety for him from Bakhtiyar and Ibn Baqiyyah. He emerged from his concealment and was left alone for a time, but presently arrested at the instigation of Ibn al-Sarraj, who set the two against him. He remained in confinement till the overthrow of Ibn al-Sarraj.[1]

Account of a remarkable coincidence attending the release of Ibrahim and the ruin of Ibn al-Sarraj.

In the *Experiences of the Nations* above it has been explained how Ibn al-Sarraj came to be arrested at the time of (**22**) Ibn Baqiyyah's recovery from the illness which nearly proved fatal. When he was arrested, the fetter was transferred from the foot of Ibrahim to his. Ibrahim now returned to his employment in the service of Bakhtiyar, and composed during the struggle between Bakhtiyar and 'Adud al-daulah letters which defamed the latter, thus provoking his resentment. When 'Adud al-daulah ultimately arrived and reached Wasit, Ibrahim revealed his alarm to Abu Sa'd Bahram b. Ardashir, who served as message-bearer and negotiator, requesting him to make mention of him, to plead his cause, and to obtain a promise of safety for him, on which he could repose. He also wrote a letter for Bahram to deliver. Bahram did all this, and obtained a reply to the letter, wherein 'Adud al-daulah guaranteed him safety. 'Adud al-daulah now entered Baghdad, and retained Ibrahim in his post. When he reached Mausil, he wrote to Abu'l-Qasim Mutahhar b. 'Abdallah [2] ordering the arrest of Ibrahim, which Mutahhar most reluctantly carried out.

[1] See ii. 358.

[2] He had been left in charge at Baghdad, ii. 381.

Account of the reason for this.

When the accounts and letters which were found in the fortresses of Abu Taghlib were brought into the bureau for inspection, there were among them numerous epistles from Bakhtiyar to Abu Taghlib in the hand of Ibrahim Sabi. These were brought to 'Adud al-daulah. When he perused them they rekindled his resentment, so that he wrote thence ordering his arrest. Ibrahim remained in confinement whence he endeavoured to mollify 'Adud al-daulah by his odes till Abu'l-Qasim Mutahhar received orders from the latter to proceed to the Marsh.[1] Mutahhar requested then that Ibrahim might be released and that he might be allowed to appoint him as his deputy in the capital; so careful was Mutahhar of Ibrahim's interests. 'Adud al-daulah replied: With regard to his pardon I accept your intercession, and grant it, though I have refused pardon for minor offences committed by my own people (meaning the Dailemites) (**23**) and the descendants of our Prophet (meaning Abu'l-Hasan Mohammed b. 'Umar[2] and Abu Ahmad Musawi).[3] Still we set his service against the injuries which he has done us, and, offended as we are, we undertake to keep faith in his case. But as for your making him your representative at our court—how could we possibly transfer him from his plight under our frown to the administration of the vizierate? Still we have a plan for him and in the immediate future. So transmit to him from your own stores some raiment and a sum of money, and command him to write a book about our glories.—Mutahhar carried out these instructions, and Ibrahim composed the work called *Al-Taji* (The Book of the Crown)[4] dealing with the Dailemite dynasty. After completing a section Ibrahim brought it to 'Adud al-

[1] See ii. 409.

[2] He was arrested and sent to Fars, ii. 412.

[3] See ii. 399.

[4] *i.e.*, work dedicated to Taj al-Millah, one of 'Adud al-daulah's titles.

daulah for perusal, correction, addition and omission. When it was completed according to 'Adud al-daulah's design, a fair copy was made and the whole work placed in the princes' library.

It is a work original in structure, and excellently composed; for Ibrahim was one of those masters of eloquence who never stumble or miss. I find the latter part in such close agreement with the end of the *Experiences of the Nations* that even the phraseology is similar in the Epilogue,[1] and the two works terminate at the same point. The book is in existence, and its perusal will serve instead of a description.

The charger's appearance is trial enough.

It is surprising that 'Adud al-daulah, the well-conducted, just administrator, should have ruined Ibrahim, who had served him in old times, with whose fidelity he had previously been acquainted, and on whom he afterwards bestowed a solemn promise of pardon. If what he resented was as stated in the Chronicle[2] the style of the letters composed by Ibrahim in Bakhtiyar's name, it was improper for a sovereign to feel resentment without due reason, and to violate a pardon without cause. Supposing that 'Adud al-daulah had ordered him to do what Bakhtiyar ordered, could Ibrahim, his subject, have disobeyed? God Almighty says: *Save him who is forced, and whose heart continueth stedfast* (**24**) *in the faith.*[3] Possibly the true cause was concealed, or 'Adud al-daulah miscalculated. Individuals pass away, but repute remains. A poet says:

Even so time carries mankind away, while their homes and traces remain.

It would have been truer to say *while their fame and*

[1] Probably the eulogy on 'Adud al-daulah with which the work of Miskawaihi terminates. Fragments of the *Taji* are to be found in the *Yatimah* and the *Ta'rikh Yamini*. The discovery of the whole work would be very desirable.

[2] *i.e.*, Hilal's.

[3] Surah xvi. 108. The context deals with persons who incur punishment.

repute remain ! For the homes perish and the traces disappear, whereas fame survives and repute is handed down. Still 'A*d*ud al-daulah spared him in his confinement, and renewed his favour by releasing him, and would have recommenced a series of benefits,

Had fate but a few nights vouchsafed.

I have found another account of the reason for his release. This is that 'A*d*ud al-daulah relented after he had been long imprisoned, and that Abu'l-Rayyan and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Sa'dan charged themselves with procuring his release; 'A*d*ud al-daulah's illness then prevented his enquiring into his case and showing his forgiveness by the bestowal of favours. I have recorded my own opinion.

In this year there arrived an envoy from Nu*h* b. Mansur, ruler of Khorasan, called Abu'l-Ghana'im. 'A*d*ud al-daulah's sons with the rest of the army went out to meet him, and the highest honours were paid him.

In this year Abu'l-Ghana'im took out with him Na*s*r b. *H*usain with the qa*d*is Abu Mohammed Jahrami, Abu 'Uqbah, Abu Mohammed Ibn 'Uqbah and Salim to Abu'l-Ghana'im,[1] to call his attention to his designs and performances, among other things to complain of his harbouring Fakhr al-daulah and Qabus. If he meant to abide loyally by the treaty which had been made between their predecessors, it was his duty to surrender them both directly to Muayyid al-daulah (**25**), who will transmit to you the money of the agreement in advance as usual.[2] But if you prefer the institution of a new agreement, cancelling the former, and treating your harbouring the bad son (meaning Fakhr al-daulah) and Qabus as a set-off for the payment, we are prepared to sell you them for the sum at which you price them, and time will show which of the two has made the better bargain. If Abu'l-

[1] Probably Abu'l-Qasim, *i.e.*, Nu*h* b. Mansur, is meant.

[2] The treaty to which reference is made is probably that of ii. 311, where there is no mention of such payment.

'Abbas[1] asserts that he means to address us on the subject of Qabus and that there was no occasion for haste in his counter-intercession, we reply: You and Abu'l-*H*usain 'Utbi admit then that this person is one of our people, who has given us offence and deserves punishment, and that you are interceding on his behalf. Now it is well known that the convention involved Jurjan, Tabaristan, and other places, such as Qūnis with Damaghan and Kirman. Now there is no reason why the intercession of either party (ourselves and your master) . . . .[2]

Further we say in reply: There was no occasion for haste in the matter of Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Simjur,[3] for whom we undertook to intercede; if however it was our duty, then this is your duty. But if you were on the look-out for some imputation, such is no course for wise diplomatists, nor are we people on whom such can be laid.[4] If you elect to have a fresh treaty, wherein you agree to expel the Bad Son and Qabus, allowing them to go where they like in God's earth, only to leave your country, we accept. If you request us to agree to their remaining in your country, we also accept, on condition that they go to Bukhara, and that their followers disperse; indeed even if they be not dismissed they will disperse of their own accord. If you request us to grant them a pardon enabling them to re-enter our fold, thereby annulling the former convention and anticipating the resumption of peace, we are prepared to do this out of respect for your eminent master, but on condition that the two present themselves at our court, and that our treatment of them

[1] *H*usam al-daulah Abu'l-'Abbas Tash, chamberlain of Nu*h*. b. Mansur. 'Utbi was his vizier.

[2] There is evidently a lacuna here.

[3] Above, ii. 103, another cause is assigned for the release of this person; perhaps the occasion is different, see p. 27 below.

[4] The sense is obscure. Apparently he means: if your delay in approaching us on the subject of Qabus was in the hope of trumping up some charge justifying the action of Qabus, etc.

be of our free choice, and absolute disposal without stipulation of any sort; and they will be the gainers thereby. If you prefer to treat their retention with you (**26**) as the price for which we have to give an equivalent then we present you with these two favourites of fortune, and a renewal of the subsidy which you receive from us; for you will want it for what the two will cost you, and more. You had however better not give them. If you befriend them, you will lose both them and the money, and will get no good out of them. If you fail to befriend them, they will leave you with animosity in their hearts and return to us without your involving us in any obligation on their account. Their parting from you will be in the style which becomes them for the destination whither their deceptive fortune is sending them.

We warned Qabus not to receive the Bad Son or harbour him. You must have heard, we said, what befell Abu Taghlib Ibn *H*amdan when he received the unlucky Bakhtiyar, and have seen the result. If it be desirable, then you will see the outcome of your conduct and the Bad Son will see the outcome of his.

You have now seen these two (Qabus and "the Bad Son") suitably rewarded, thank God, and they are both with you. You know best how you will treat them. If peace be settled at Nisabur, then let him[1] proceed to Bukhara to give the necessary pledges and ratify our arrangements in the presence of the judges, witnesses, court-officials, captains, warriors, and provincial grandees. If he prefers accomplishing the purpose for which our three judges are proceeding from our court,[2] then, after asking God's blessing, let him accomplish it. When he returns to Nisabur,[3] he can ratify the peace there with the attestations of the grandees. If however he think it proper that the attestation to the signature

[1] Abu'l-'Abbas Tash.

[2] The surrender of the two?

[3] This seems to imply that Abu'l-'Abbas was to bring them to Baghdad himself.

of Abu'l-'Abbas be made on the copy of the treaty of which the renewal is to be undertaken in Bukhara, or that his signature be taken there, it may be done.[1]

'Adud al-daulah had been hesitating about letting Abu'l-Ghana'im go, telling him that the people had broken faith and committed an unfriendly act, and that there was no room left for lenient measures after they had harboured Fakhr al-daulah and Qabus. Further in the matter of Ibn Simjur they had previously behaved in a way which indicated unfriendly feelings. Abu'l-Ghana'im kept on applying to him and showing him letters which reached him indicating (27) a desire for mutual agreement till the prince gave him permission to proceed as has been described above, accepting his pleas.

Story of Ibn Simjur and the reason for the Samanids' grievance against him.

He was a man who had been trained by experience and taught by events. Seeing the Dailemite dynasty which was at its commencement spreading like wildfire he tried to repair the rents, but inclined to gentle measures and a policy of non-interference. The Samanids supposed him to be insincere and to favour some other power. Busybodies sowed dissension and ill-feeling till his position was untenable. A trustworthy informant told me how an eminent personage of our time used the following illustration for some object of his own : Ibn Simjur was, he said, like an outwork to the Samanid empire, concealing their weak points and covering their defects. All the revenue that came into his hands was spent by him on the needs and defences of the country. When they sent to demand money of him, and trumped up charges of sayings and doings, he replied : *I may tell you that I am*

[1] Abu'l-'Abbas was at this time in Nisabur, whereas Bukhara was the Samanid capital. The last sentence apparently provides for the case wherein peace is made at the capital, without Abu'l-'Abbas proceeding thither. Either then his signature may be appended by commission in Bukhara, or it may be attached in Nisabur to a document which is to be sent to Bukhara.

like a curtain spread over the doorway of a ruined dwelling; you had better leave it hanging as it is, for if you lift it, the ruinous condition will show. They would not accept this advice, but the fact was as he averred.—We now return to the course of events.

(28) YEAR 372.[1]

In this year the Chamberlain Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd was sent with Qaratakin to reinforce Muayyid al-daulah on the arrival of Fakhr al-daulah and Qabus with the armies of Khorasan.

Account of these proceedings.

It has already been recorded how Fakhr al-daulah and Qabus met in Nisabur. Fakhr al-daulah went off to take refuge with the ruler of Khorasan and solicit his aid, and remained with him till a force was despatched with him together with a number of officers of the highest rank. The party proceeded till they reached the gate of Khorasan, where Muayyid al-daulah was. An engagement took place between the parties which lasted several days without decisive result. Then dissension arose between the Khorasan armies, so Fakhr al-daulah and Qabus fled discomfited back to Nisabur.[2]

In this year 'Aḍud al-daulah's son Abu'l-Fawaris went out from Baghdad to Kirman where he was to reside as governor, at a distance from the capital, where the illness of 'Aḍud al-daulah had become serious.

In this year Abu Isḥaq Mohammed b. 'Abdallah b. Mohammed b. Shahram arrived accompanied by an envoy from the Byzantine Emperor.

[1] Began June 26, 982.

[2] The *Ta'rikh Yamini* mentions these dissensions, but does not explain them further.

Account of the negotiations between 'Adud al-daulah and the Byzantine Emperor with which this embassy was connected.[1]

The reason for this embassy was the arrival, previously recorded, of Ward in Islamic territory. The Byzantine Emperor in alarm (**29**) sent an ambassador to 'Adud al-daulah to deal with the matter. Abu Bakr Mohammed b. al-Tayyib Ash'ari (known as Ibn al-Baqilani) was sent with the reply and returned accompanied by an envoy named Ibn Qunus. He was sent back accompanied by Abu Ishaq Ibn Shahram. He claimed from the Byzantine Emperor a number of fortresses. With him there arrived an envoy named Nicephorus the Kanikleios (inkstand-keeper), bringing a handsome present.

Extracts from a memoir found in the writing of Ibn Shahram, indicating astuteness, prudence and firmness on his part.

It runs thus: On reaching Kharshanah, I learnt that the Domesticus (*i.e.*, Bardas Phocas) had left Constantinople and had begun his preparations, and that with him was an envoy from Halab known as Ibn Mamak, and Kulaib, father-in-law to Abu Salih al-Sadid. Kulaib was one of Bardas's partisans and was among the rebels who had been amnestied and settled on Byzantine territory after being mulcted in a fine. The Byzantines bethought themselves of fining him after the example of others, and confiscating the estates which had been granted him when he contrived the surrender to them of the fortress of Barzuya,[2] but he found the means

[1] This section and the following were translated and annotated by Mr. Amedrz, in the J.R.A.S. for October, 1914.

[2] This was in the course of Zimisces' final campaign in Syria, A.H. 364 Yahya's account of the surrender, and of Kulaib's nomination as "Basilicus," *i.e.*, Governor of Antioch (p. 146, i. 5), is quoted *Epopée*, i. 299. Kulaib had lately surrendered both Antioch and himself to Scleros, who had made him Governor of Malatya (p. 147, l. 18; p. 148, l. 6; *Epopée*, i. 376, 377). Barzuya had been taken from the Byzantines by Saif al-daulah in A.H. 337 (*Un Empereur byzantin*, p. 132, n. 1). H.F.A.

of gaining over the Chamberlain [1] and the Domesticus, and managed to procure for the Byzantine ruler undertakings as regards Halab and elsewhere which sufficed to ward off imminent danger, together with an offer to secure immediate payment of what was attributable to the land-tax on Halab and *Hims*, since it was his relative (who had promised) and he would not oppose him: on this ground he was let off. With the envoy from Halab nothing was settled, but a claim was made for arrears of land-tax for past years.

On the Domesticus arriving at a place which was off the post route Ibn Qunus and I proceeded to join him. He proved to be young and self-satisfied, and averse to completing the truce on various grounds; one being that he could dispense with its necessity for the moment and that it would prejudice his repute; another that the Byzantine ruler was eager for it, "and we are in fear of mischief from him"; and thirdly his own personal hopes and wishes. But at the same time he showed (**30**) us courtesy and did accept the proposed peace with an expression of thanks.

He then inquired the object of my coming, and I fully informed him. Ibn Qunus drew his attention to the stipulated terms, on which he said: Were the chiefs to succeed in getting us to cede to them amicably the districts and fortresses they ask, each one of them would set about scheming to avoid the necessity of keeping a force of men and of making money payments. I replied that where policy was backed by force and ability it was a proof of nobility of character, and should be met by compliance. But what about Halab? he asked: it is no part of your (*i.e.*, 'Adud al-daulah's) territory, and its ruler has no regard for you; his envoy here and

[1] This was the eunuch Basil who had declared himself in favour of Nicephorus Phocas, and on his success had replaced Bringas as chief adviser, remaining so until his dismissal by Basil in A.H. 375 (A.D. 985) (*Yahya*, p. 165, l. 13, and *Epopée*, i. 573). H F.A.

Kulaib are tendering us its land-tax and asking for our protection. And as for the fortresses, they were taken in the time of my uncle Nicephorus [1] and of other sovereigns, and we are not at liberty to relinquish them, so if you can make any other proposal, do so, otherwise spare yourself the long journey." I replied: "If you have your Sovereign's order for my departure I will go, but if you say this from yourself only, then the Sovereign ought to hear my own words and I his reply, so as to return with authentic information." And he permitted my going on.

So I proceeded to Constantinople and made my entry after I had been met and most courteously escorted by court officials. I was honourably lodged in the palace of the Kanikleios Nicephorus (the envoy come with me) who stood in favour with the Sovereign. Next I was summoned to the presence of the Chamberlain (*i.e.*, the eunuch Basil), who said: "We are acquainted with the correspondence which bears on your message, but state your views." Thereupon I produced the actual agreement, which he inspected and then said: Was not the question of relinquishing the land-tax on Abu Taghlib's [2] territory, both past and future, settled with al-Baqilani in accordance with your wishes, and did he not assent to our terms as to restoring the fortresses we had taken, and as to the arrest of Ward? Your master accepted this agreement and complied with our wishes, for you have his ratification of the truce under his own hand. I said that (**31**) al-Baqilani had not come to any arrangement at all; he replied that he had not left until he had settled the terms of agreement, of which the ratification under the hand of his sovereign was to be forwarded, and that he had previously produced his letter approving the whole of the stipulations. Accordingly I was driven to find some device in order to meet this position.

[1] The speaker was son of Leo Phocas, brother of Nicephorus.

[2] Son and successor of Nasir al-daulah at Mausil.

The excellent idea which occurred to Ibn Shahram for rebutting his adversary's case.

I said this: Ibn al-Baqilani came to no agreement with you; it was Ibn Qunus who made this compact and took a copy of it in the Greek language. At this the Chamberlain broke out, and asked Ibn Qunus Who has authorised this? to which he answered that neither he nor Ibn al-Baqilani had settled anything, and I withdrew.

A few days later the Chamberlain summoned me and resumed reading the agreement. He paused at a point where it spoke of "what might be settled with Ibn Shahram on the basis of what was contained in the third copy," and said that this was the one copy, but where were the other two? On referring to this passage I saw the blunder that had been committed in letting this stand, and said: The meaning of the passage is that the agreement was to be in triplicate, one copy to remain with the Byzantine ruler, one to be in Halab, and the third in the capital (Baghdad).—This Ibn Qunus traversed, saying that his instructions had been to note down the exact sense of the agreement, and the Chamberlain said that this copy was the ruling one; that the second copy referred to giving up the fortresses, whilst the third omitted all mention of Halab; that the agreement had been signed on the terms agreed upon with Ibn al-Baqilani, and the sole object in sending this copy was to procure the sovereign's hand and seal thereto. To which I said: This cannot be so; my instructions are merely what I have stated as regards Halab and the fortresses, in accordance with the agreement which you have seen. He replied: Were Ward (*i.e.*, Scleros) here in force and you had made us all prisoners, he could not ask for more than you are asking; how then when he is a prisoner!

Ibn Shahram's well-directed rejoinder.

I replied: Your supposed case of Ward being here in force

is of no weight, for you are well aware that (**32**) when Abu Taghlib, who is not on a par with the lowest of 'Adud al-Daulah's followers, assisted Ward he foiled the Byzantine sovereigns for seven years; how would it be, then, were 'Adud al-daulah to assist him with his army? Ward, although a prisoner in our hands, is not exposed, as your captives are, to mutilation; his presence in the capital is the best security for us, for we have not made a captive of him. Had we done so, he might have fretted at our putting him off, despaired of us, become estranged, and gone away; but at present he is acting with us and is reassured by the pomp and security he witnesses at the capital. We hold, in truth, all the strings.

My words impressed and nonplussed him greatly, for he knew them to be true, and he said: What you ask cannot be granted; we will ratify, if you will, what was agreed on with al-Baqilani—else, depart. I replied: If you wish me to depart without having had a hearing from the Sovereign I will do so.—To this he said that he spoke for the Sovereign, but that he would ask an audience for me.

And in a few days time I was summoned and attended. The Byzantine Sovereign (Basil) caused what had passed to be repeated to him in my presence, and said: You have come on a reprehensible errand; your envoy came and procured our consent to certain terms, which included the restoring of the fortresses taken during the revolt; you are now asking to have ceded other fortresses which were taken by my predecessors. Either consent to what was originally stipulated or go in peace.—I replied: But al-Baqilani agreed on nothing, for, as for the document he brought, you deprived us under its terms of half our territory; how can we admit such a thing against ourselves? Of these fortresses in Diyar Bakr none are held by you; now Diyar Bakr belongs to us: all you can do is to dispute it, and you do not know

what will be the issue of the struggle.—Here the Chamberlain interposed, saying: This envoy is skilled in controversy and can make up a fine story: death is better for us than submission to these terms: let him return to his master.—The Sovereign then rose, and I withdrew.

(**33**) When I had spent two months in Constantinople I was summoned by the Chamberlain. He had with him the Marshal,[1] father of the Domesticus, who had been blinded, and a number of patricians besides, and we discussed the question of the fortresses. They offered to cede the land-tax of *Hisn* Kaifa (held by Abu Taghlib's mother, who received the tax), to which I replied: And I, in turn will cede you the land-tax of Samand[2];—and on their asking what I meant I said: It is only the extreme limits that are specified in an agreement so as to make it clear that all within the limits is comprised in the peace; *Hisn* Kaifa is five days' journey short of Amid: how come you to name it?

The dispute as to Halab went on until the Marshal said: If the ruler of Halab pays over the land-tax to us, we shall know that your statements were not justified, and that he prefers us to you.—I answered: And what assurance have I that you will not induce his secretary and father-in-law Kulaib to make you some payment to be adduced as proof? For, short of fraud, I know the thing to be out of the question.—And thereupon I went away.

Next I was summoned by the Sovereign. By this time the Halab land-tax had arrived, and I found their earlier tone altered in vehemence and arbitrariness, for

[1] Curopalate, "Maréchal du Palais Sacré, titre très considérable à fonctions mal connues" (Schlumberger, *Un Empereur byzantin*, p. 361). He was Leo Phocas, blinded for his connivance in the revolt of his son Bardas against John Zimisces, but the mutilation in this case was intentionally carried out in a merciful fashion: see *Epopée*, i. 66 H.F.A.

[2] A place of no consequence, mentioned in a poem of Mutanabbi.

they said: Here is the Halab land-tax come in, and its ruler has asked us to share with him that of *H*arran and Saruj, and to aid him against you and other powers. And I said: Your receipt of the land-tax I know to be a trick, for 'A*d*ud al-daulah did not imagine that you would regard it as lawful to act as you have acted, or he would have sent an army to stop yours. And as for your story about Halab's ruler, I am better informed as to his views, and all you have been told about him is untrue; the overlordship of Halab is in 'A*d*ud al-daulah.[1]—They asked me whether I had any other suggestion, and on my replying No, said that I might take leave of the Sovereign and depart with my escort. I said I would forthwith do this, and I turned towards the Sovereign to take my leave of him.

Ibn Shahram's sound resolve in this predicament.

He continues: I considered the position, perceiving that the Chamberlain, the Marshal, and the rest of them (**34**) were averse to the proposed peace (the military men being apprehensive that their swords would not be required, and that their stipends would be reduced, as was the way at Byzantium when peace was made), and the only way left to me was to gain over and conciliate the Sovereign, so I said to him: Will your Majesty consider 'A*d*ud al-daulah's conduct towards you in not assisting your enemy and in not attacking your territory during the time you were occupied with those in revolt against you? For you know that if you satisfy him by himself, he being the Monarch of Islam, well and good, but, failing this, you will have to satisfy thousands of your partisans, and their consent is uncertain; and if you fail to procure it you may have to satisfy 'A*d*ud al-daulah later on. You are to know, too, that all those around

[1] Sa'd al-daulah, the son of Saif al-daulah, had tendered his submission to 'A*d*ud al-daulah on his arrival in Baghdad, and had included his name in the "Prayer" after that of the Caliph (Yahya, p. 157, l 18). H.F.A.

him are averse to the proposed peace; he alone is in its favour, and he is able to give effect to his pleasure, for no one ventures to dispute it. You I perceive to be in favour of peace with him, but it may be that your wish is not furthered by those around you. He was moved by my speech, and his expression showed his concern at my being aware of the opposition of his advisers, and he rose and I departed.

Now, the person appointed to watch me was the most confidential adviser of the Sovereign and the one who imposed the purple signature on his behalf, and was privy to all his official acts, Nicephorus, the Kanikleios, who had accompanied me as envoy, and I asked him to withdraw with me, and he did so.

The arrangement come to by Ibn Shahram with the Sovereign's confidential adviser, whereby he effected his purpose.

When we were alone together I spoke thus: I wish you to convey a communication from me to the Sovereign. My stay here has been protracted, so inform me of his final resolve: if he meets my wishes, well and good; if not, there is no occasion for me to remain any longer. And I made the Kanikleios a complimentary present from what I had brought with me, with fair promises on behalf of 'Adud al-daulah. My communication was this: Your Majesty's first care should be to guard your person, next your sovereignty, and next your partisans. You should not trust one whose interest it is to do you prejudice, for it is Abu Taghlib's aid against you (**35**) which has brought about what has taken place in your dominions; what, then, will happen if 'Adud al-daulah joins forces against your Majesty? The conclusion of peace between yourself and the first of men and ruler of Islam is not, I see, to the taste of your advisers. Now a man fails to realize only that of which he has had no experience, and you have had seven years' experience of revolt against yourself

and your rule. Moreover, the continuance of the State does not imply your continued existence, for the Byzantines are indifferent as to who is Emperor over them (the text here is corrupt). This is on the assumption that 'Adud al-daulah does not move in person. I give you good advice, knowing as I do my master's leaning and regard towards you; consider therefore my words and act as you may deem best.—Nicephorus on his return said: The answer is that Things are as you say, but it is not in my power to resist the general body, who already regard me as their betrayer and undoer. Nevertheless I shall carry the matter through and act so far as I am able.

By a fortunate coincidence the Chamberlain (the eunuch Basil) now fell seriously ill and was unable to go out. My correspondence with the Sovereign went on, and he gave me audience on successive days and conversed with me in person, the Kanikleios assisting me owing to his hatred and jealousy of the Chamberlain, until the peace was agreed to in accordance with all the stipulations in the agreement, any attempts to have Halab excluded not being assented to. On my pressing this point rigorously and saying: Without Halab this cannot go through, he said: Give up insisting, for we will not cede more than what we have ceded, nor will we evacuate territory whose revenue we receive, except under duress. But I will send a letter by you to my friend your Sovereign, for I know his noble nature, and that once he knows the truth he will not deviate from it.—He then told those near to remove, and said to me secretly from all: Tell your Sovereign that I truly desire his goodwill, but that I must have proof of it. If you wish us to transfer to you the Halab land-tax, or that I should leave you to collect it on the terms of Ibn *H*amdan being ousted from Halab, perform what you promised by the mouth of Ibn Qunus (**36**) *(alluding to the surrender of Ward)*. I said: I have not heard of this and was not present

thereat, but I think the performance unlikely. This he resented, and said: Give up this delayng, for there remains nothing more for you to argue with me. He then ordered the replies to be drawn up, and I wrote mine and attended to take my leave.

A fortunate occurrence for Ibn Shahram.

Afraid lest fate should, as happens in such cases, bring about the death of the man whose surrender they required so that we should gain nothing and the peace would involve all our territory to the Euphrates and the territory of Bad exclusive of the loss of Halab, I said: You know that I am a servant under orders and not a sovereign, and that I must not go beyond the instruction which I have faithfully reported to you. And as for your stipulations about Halab I swear to you that I heard nothing on this head at Baghdad. But is your Majesty prepared to consider a plan which has occurred to me as being the right one for him to adopt?—What is that he asked.—I said: To draw up a treaty of peace between us to include all our territory from *Hims* to Bad's district without any mention of the person you demand or of any one else. This you will swear to on your religion, sign with your hand, and seal with your seal in my presence. Your envoy will convey it to the capital with me, when either it will be ratified, or your envoy will bring it back. I was asked And will you give a similar written undertaking?—Yes, I said, on your handing in the terms I require.—But you, he replied, will mention in your document the man's surrender?—I replied: I cannot mention what is outside my authority.—Then, said he, I will have two agreements prepared, one of them for what lies beyond the Euphrates and Bad's territory, the other dealing with *Hims* and Halab as stipulated; then, if your Sovereign chooses what extends beyond the Euphrates on the terms of his removing Ward, he can take it, or if he prefer the other he can give effect to his

preference.—I suggested the agreement being drawn up without any mention of this question, to which he said: You then put it into writing, for I will not give anything written without receiving the like.—Then let your interpreter, I said (**37**) make a copy of my words, and should 'A*d*ud al-daulah accede to your proposals, they can be copied out in his presence and be signed by him;—and this he agreed to. On this footing the terms were put into writing and a peace was made for ten years. When this was finished I said: Do not put your envoy on the footing of a mere courier, but inform him of what you wish him to do in pursuance of this agreement we have come to, and in accordance with what he himself knows, and ratify whatever he may ratify.—To this he assented, and it was so specified in the document.

The Chamberlain, on coming out after his recovery, was highly incensed at several matters: one being the intimacy of the Kanikleios with his master; another the conclusion of the business in his absence; and a third the question of Halab and *H*ims and the promises made to him by Kulaib.

Words by which the Byzantine Sovereign assuaged the Chamberlain's feelings.

According to the report of some of the courtiers he spoke thus: There is no one about me, as you know, Chamberlain, who has your affection for me or holds your place in my esteem, for you are nearest me in lineage and in affinity;[1] the rest, as the envoy said, are indifferent as to whether it be I or someone else who is emperor. You must safeguard both our lives and not heed what the Marshal (Leo Phocas) may say, nor trust to him or to his advice. For you know Ibrahim's story about him and his son (Bardas), how they harboured treachery to

[1] Basil, the eunuch, was natural son of Romanus Lecapenus, whose daughter Helen was wife to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the grandfather of the Emperor Basil.

our rule and intended deceit towards us.—I asked my informant who Ibrahim was, and he said: An envoy from the Domesticus to yourselves; he it was who disclosed faithfully to the Sovereign that the Domesticus (*i.e.* Bardas) had sent him to you (Moslems) to ask you to assist him in rebelling.

The Chamberlain accepted the Sovereign's statement, and on his sending for me I noticed in him a tone and familiarity with me quite other than before, whilst at the same time his looks gave evidence of his disapproval of the terms agreed on. This Kanikleios was named envoy with me (**38**) after he had declined the office, but the Sovereign finding no one else equally trust-worthy put pressure on him, and the Chamberlain aided him, saying: You and I are the two most important personages at Court, and one of us must go.—And so zealous was he in the matter that I attributed it to a desire that he should be at a distance, and to jealousy at the intimate footing he saw he was on with the Sovereign.

This, concisely, is the sense of the words used by Ibn Shahram. At this moment 'Adud al-daulah was in ill-health, and access to him was forbidden, and he ordered a statement of what had happened to be laid before him. This illness was that which proved fatal to 'Adud al-daulah, and after his death the Byzantine envoy had an audience of Samsam al-daulah and handed over the presents and settled the business he had come on. Two agreements were drawn up, the one being the agreement come to with Ibn Shahram on the footing of its being a complete and permanent one, the other the earlier agreement made with Nicephorus.[1]

The agreement come to as regards Ward, his brother, and his son.

The result of deliberations was that Nicephorus was to remain at Baghdad, and was to send an envoy of his own

[1] *i.e.*, when he was at Baghdad as envoy from Basil after the flight of Sclerus to Moslem territory. H.F.A.

with one coming from the capital (Baghdad) to take the Sovereign's signature and seal for Ward's (*i.e.*, Scleros') brother and son, with a safe-conduct and a guarantee assuring them his favour and restoration to their former offices and fortunes. And that on this being sent they were then to be conducted to the Byzantine Sovereign by Nicephorus, whilst Ward (Scleros) himself was to remain in Moslem territory, and was to be prevented from approaching Byzantine territory with a view to mischief. And that, when the fair treatment of the other two in accordance with the undertaking had become manifest, then Ward too should be sent after them in the course of the third year following on the above undertaking, on terms no less satisfactory than in the case of his brother and son. And that the sum paid as tribute for *H*ims and Halab by Ibn *H*amdan to the Byzantine Sovereign should, as from the sending of Ward to Byzantium, be paid into the treasury of *S*amsam al-daulah, and that if Ibn *H*amdan delayed making the payment, the Byzantine Sovereign was to compel him and thus spare *S*amsam al-daulah the necessity of sending a force against him. And that an equivalent should be assigned as against Bad's territory for the complimentary presents he used to make to the Byzantine Sovereign, on the understanding that the latter was not to assist Bad nor to protect him if he took refuge with the Byzantines. Both agreements were sent off together and both were ratified.

Later took place what shall be told with regard to the release of Ward from his confinement.

(**39**) On 8 Shawwal of this year (March 26, 983) '*A*dud al-daulah died, but the fact was concealed.

On 9 Shawwal Abu'l-Rayyan was arrested. A bundle of papers was taken from his pocket, among them one which contained the verses

O thou who trustest fortune, deceived by her strokes; gently, for I am well acquainted with her ways.

O thou who triumphest, think twice; for many a triumphant one has in the end received a crushing blow.

When Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Sa'dan perused it, he bade his chamberlain go and ask Abu'l-Rayyan about it. He did so and was told that it was a paper sent him by Abu'l-Wafa *T*ahir b. Mohammed at the time of his arrest.[1] I am not, he said, a versifier myself, but I can state that these were old verses of Abu'l-Wafa.

We will now select some points in the character of '*A*dud al-daulah and record them here at the close of his career, as this will interfere least with the arrangement of the work.

Characteristics of 'Adud al-daulah.

He was a sovereign of perfect understanding, transcendent worth, an excellent administrator, generally successful, rarely failing. Greatly respected, far-sighted, clear-minded, sound in his measures, a lover of virtue, a hater of vice. Supremely munificent where bounty was proper, as close-fisted as a miser where it was desirable to withhold. The most serious difficulties became easy in his hands. He used to say according to current report that the surface of the earth was too narrow to hold (**40**) two sovereigns.

His self-discipline and partition of his time.

Early in the morning he would take his bath. After leaving it and dressing himself he would perform the prescribed orison. He would then receive his ministers and members of his staff. Of these Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf would take his seat in his presence and place his inkstand before him. His vizier Abu'l-Qasim Mu*t*ahhar b. 'Abdallah would then receive permission to enter—or any one who subsequently filled his place—and would be asked what he had done in the matter of

[1] His arrest is recorded in an extract given in the note on the text of p. 10 above.

previous orders; he would then inform the prince of fresh occurrences, ask his permission for various measures and receive his instructions with regard to his line of action. The same course would be pursued with Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. 'Umarah and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Sa'dan the Marshals of the Dailemites and Turks (with Arabs and Kurds) respectively. As the day advanced, he would ask about the arrival of the posts, for which there was a fixed time of day which they were expected to observe. If they were late, there was a terrible disturbance, and inquiries were instituted into the cause of the delay. If it was something obviously excusable, the excuse was accepted; if it was due to a preventable cause, such cause was removed; if the postal officials were to blame, they were punished. One of the carriers narrated how once an officer was told by his wife that some rice had just been cooked and he might as well stay and eat it before proceeding. He waited just the time it took him to eat, and the post was delayed that amount of time. More than three thousand lashes were in consequence inflicted on the carriers and postal officials between Shiraz and Baghdad. It should be observed that the post came from Shiraz in seven days, and fruit and flowers came perfectly fresh from the districts of Fars and Khuzistan.

It is said that one of the humbler officials of the court sent home by post some dinars wrapped in a piece of linen; such was a common custom. They never reached their destination. The matter came to the knowledge of 'Adud al-daulah. He instituted a strict inquiry, and ultimately when the guilty postman was discovered (41) the prince ordered his hand to be amputated.

When the post arrived the seals were broken and the bags opened, and the letters taken out in the prince's presence. He would select such as were addressed to his throne, and despatch the rest to the post-office, whence

they would be distributed to their addressees. He would then read the letters one by one, and toss them to Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al-'Aziz. When he had finished their perusal, Abu'l-Qasim would read them to him afresh, and receive instructions about the reply to be inserted under each section; such as the prince thought fit would then be communicated to Mutahhar b. 'Abdallah (or his substitute) with a note-book which the prince kept always before him for the insertion of memoranda. After the conclusion of this business he would ask about his repast, which when the appointed time came, he would order to be served. He would eat heartily, with the physician in attendance standing over him, whom he would interrogate about the advantages and disadvantages of various foods. He would then wash his hands and repose. On waking he would perform the ceremonial washing and perform the middle orison. He would then proceed to the drinking room, where he would take his seat, when his companions and entertainers would present themselves.

Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al-'Aziz would now arrive, squat according to custom in his presence, and lay before him the replies written by himself or the clerks to the letters which had arrived. The prince would occasionally suggest additions or omissions; the letters would then be corrected accordingly, be sealed, and placed in their portfolio, and then conveyed to the post-office, whence they would be despatched at the right time. When 'Abd al-'Aziz was away on some business or stayed at home, and a professional clerk was required, the clerk in attendance would be summoned, told to sit before the prince and receive or take down his orders. All the time the prince would be drinking and hearing music, asking about the songs and the narratives necessary for understanding them. This would continue till the first part of the night was passed, when the prince would retire to his couch.

On ceremonial days he would show himself to the Dailemite troops (*auliya*) whom he would receive with welcome and friendliness, overlaid with grave (42) dignity. To every suitor he would give the reply, affirmative or negative, which policy demanded. At midday the people would disperse, while the heads of bureaux with their clerks remained till sunset. On ordinary days things proceeded as described.

It is said that one day he took a fancy to a slave-girl which caused him to spend a long time with her and prevented him from attending to certain business. When he endeavoured to attend to it on the morrow he found it had increased in difficulty, and he could not easily make up for the lost time. His passion for the girl caused him to prolong his interview with her on a second occasion and his affairs were at a yet worse deadlock. As he contemplated the situation he found the source of trouble to be continual, so summoning his eunuch Shukr he bade him take and drown the slave-girl. Shukr took her, but out of regard for his master's well-known passion for her, spared her, and did her no harm. After a few days the prince said to him : Shukr, we were too hasty in the matter of that girl, we had better have waited.—Your majesty, he replied, I have waited, fearing you might repent after she had gone, so I spared her.—He was told to bring her back to her place, which he did. 'Adud al-daulah began again to spend his time with her and devote himself to her. The detriment in his affairs reappeared, so he summoned Shukr and commanded him to drown her. The gratification of a lust, he said, is no equivalent for the abandonment of the world and its maladministration.—So she was drowned and done away with.

I found this story in the History which I am excerpting, just as I have written it. It is an oft told tale, narrated of various sovereigns. God only knows which form is true.

(**43**) He managed his household most carefully, looking after details connected with the stores, kitchens, allowances and salaries as minutely as after great affairs of state. He would expend no dirhem improperly, nor withhold from any one his due.

With regard to his army management, it is recorded that their pay was issued punctually and without intermission in its dispensation. He increased the number of army clerks and persons attached to them to help him in dealing with them. Every day the pay-drum was beaten, and those officers to whom the call applied presented themselves with their followers in excellent order, and received their pay. All supplementary payments were forbidden except after victories or on occasions when policy called for conciliation. It is said that *T*ughan the Chamberlain (the most eminent of the Turks under '*Ad*ud al-daulah), when sent on a frontier expedition, sent to solicit of the prince a supplementary ration of ten *ratls* of bread. The prince declined, and transmitted 5,000 dirhems as a present, with the message: *This is the value for many years of the extra which you desire; if we had assented to your demand, it would have opened a door which we should never have been able to close.*

Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. 'Umarah the Marshal told the following story: '*Ad*ud al-daulah, he said, was visited by a Dailemite, whose name he gave, belonging to a distinguished family in Dailaman. He paid the man high honour, gave him a robe, and mounted him on a horse with a golden saddle.

It happened that he was invited by one of his relatives in the capital who was an officer, and of a liberal disposition, and saw there a luxury and display which struck his imagination, and made his own establishment seem inadequate. Summoning a clerk whom '*Ad*ud al-daulah had appointed for his service, he said: I was invited by

my cousin, and observed that he wore a *farajiyyah* [1] (overmantle) and a coat of a sort which he proceeded to describe. I want you to buy me the like.—The clerk told him that they would require a larger sum than they could at the time afford. The Dailemite told him to take the gold saddle and pawn it. The clerk went to 'Adud al-daulah (**44**) and told him what had happened. The prince summoned me (Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Umarah the Marshal) and said to me: I want the officer who invited the Dailemite from Dailaman.—I summoned the man, and told the prince of his arrival. He bade me go and talk to the man as follows: *Not content with pride in your personal fortune, and devoting to luxury the time which you should give to your military duties, you must needs endeavour to corrupt our army, by giving banquets and displaying your magnificence. You are now commissioned to proceed to the town of ——, so make your preparations and be off.* He said: When I made this communication to the man, he kissed the ground and endeavoured to excuse himself, being nearly dead with alarm; he then departed to prepare for his expedition. After this the prince ordered the Dailemite who had come from Dailaman to be brought, and when he came the prince had a plain carpet spread with a sofa of the same description and three ragged cushions. He himself put on a threadbare *jubbah* and a turban of Merv [2] and took his seat. When the Dailemite was introduced the prince did not at first attend to him, leaving him time to notice the furniture and his own attire. After asking him how he was and setting him at his ease, he said: My friend, I observe that you are staring at my furniture and clothes, and probably asking yourself how the sovereign of the world comes to be satisfied with these. I assure you that

[1] "Over it is worn an outer garment of white, with an opening down the front, and generally embroidered. This is called the *fahrajia*." E. Ashmead-Bartlett, *The Passing of the Shereefian Empire*, 1910, p. 236.

[2] Said to be of thin material.

dignity and glory are to be found in principles and conduct, in exploits of statesmanship and strategy; fine clothes, luxury and ease are for women and hermaphrodites. When a man comes into my presence elaborately arrayed, I suppose him to be idle and unemployed; when one comes simply and carelessly attired, I suppose him to be a man of spirit and purpose.—After conversing with the man for a little longer, he dismissed him. When the clerk came back, 'A*d*ud al-daulah said to him: What happened after your employer's departure?—He said: When he came away from his interview with your majesty, he asked me about the coat and the material for the overmantle which he had instructed me to buy, and when I produced them bade me restore them to (**45**) the dealer and get back the saddle, which I was to restore to its place. 'A*d*ud al-daulah smiled.

The following was told by Abu Nasr Khwashadhah: There were in al-Qasr a number of retainers whose monthly pay was transmitted to them from the Treasury in the capital. Once when there were three days before the end of the month, I was summoned by the prince and told to order the Treasurer to disburse a certain number of dirhems and give them to Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Sa'dan for transmission to the Sergeant of the Retainers at al-Qasr. I said I would do this, but forgot. Four days later he questioned me about the matter and I apologized for my forgetfulness, but he rebuked me vehemently. I said: The new month began yesterday, and the sum shall be transmitted at once; there is no occasion for so much anxiety.—He said: Your ignorance of the serious character of your mistake is more disastrous than the negligence which you have displayed. Cannot you see that if we give out their pay to the men when the month has still one day to run—we are their benefactors? Whereas, if we let the month run out and another commence, they present themselves to their marshal and remind him, and he has

to make them a promise, then they come again on the following day, and he has to apologise, then on the third day, and by this time they become clamorous in their demands, so that we lose all gratitude, and they all self-restraint, and we lose more than we gain.

Possibly 'Adud al-daulah was thinking of what is to be found in the life of Mu'tasim.[1] Assuredly there can be no objection to imitation of or discipleship to the Hashimites, the most veracious in speech, the most honourable in achievement and the most noble in pedigree among mankind. Mountains are they for steadfastness, oceans of knowledge, banners of guidance; supreme in things spiritual and temporal, champions in war and debate, fit occupants of the throne and of the pulpit. Munificence cannot surpass their bounties, and the darkness is expelled by their rays. Among them Mu'tasim was (like his name) infallible.

Story that is told of his army-management.

It is said that there was a force in Damascus, which demanded of the governor the maintenance which was their due and complained to him (**46**) of poverty and want. He pleaded that the money in his possession was required for transmission to the capital, and that he could not venture to take any of it; he would however find some sources for them later. Under stress of need they appropriated some of it for their own pay, and the governor sent information of this to the capital by post.

Mu'tasim was about to start on a military expedition, but stopped to write a reply, which was as follows: *I am no true son of Rashid, or, if they fail to restore that money immediately on receipt of this order, I shall direct my forces against them and make them harvest for the steel.* This reply was forwarded by the speediest mode to the governor, who summoned the troops, and read it out to

[1] Tabari, iii. 1184, tells stories wherein Mu'tasim is vexed by the dilatoriness of his vizier in paying gratuities which had been promised.

them. Looking at each other they said: *This is Mu'tasim; he does what he says.* They immediately started restoring what they had taken, and in the twinkling of an eye it was all got together as though it had never been removed. They asked the governor to apologize for them, and describe the situation which had justified what would otherwise have been inexcusable. The governor wrote to the capital in this sense. Mu'tasim ordered a reply to be written wherein the governor was blamed and shown to have been in the wrong, having committed a political error in weakening the loyalty of the troops by delaying their pay after it had become due. He warned the governor against repetition of the act, and ordered the full payment of all arrears due to them with an advance as a reward for their obedience.

We now return to our selections from the Chronicle.

The following was told by 'Ali b. 'Umarah: One of the Turkish (*sic*) staff-officers entered the Army Bureau bringing a draft which he wished to be made out, and told the clerk to make it out. The clerk said that he was engaged on a statement which the sovereign had demanded, and had no time to make out the draft that day. The officer took the statement out of the clerk's hand, and laying it on the ground said to him: You are to do my business first.—The secret-service man immediately sent a note about this, and before the clerk had finished making out the draft I was summoned by 'Adud al-daulah who said to me: A certain Dailemite [1] has been behaving in the manner recorded, and you are to proceed to (47) your office, demand that draft of your clerk, and have it burned in your presence. You are then to order that Dailemite to be dragged by the foot from the place where he is to the Public Gate, and give him in charge to a

[1] This must be right, and the statement that the man was a Turk erroneous, as 'Ali b. 'Umarah was "marshal of the Dailemites."

sergeant who shall see that he quits this city to-night for Dailaman.—I carried out these orders, and he issued a command that in future the accounts of the army should all be made up in the hands of the officials.[1]

It is stated that he would not permit complaints to be brought against Asfar b. Karduyah, or allow his clerks to be summoned to appear in courts of justice, on any matter wherein he (Asfar) was concerned. This was to confer honour on Asfar. When one of the cultivators brought a complaint against Asfar on the matter of an assessment to the prince, the latter wrote on the back: *My brother Abu Zuhair is not the man to behave in this way, and the complaint against him is false.* The paper was then transmitted to Asfar, who saw that justice was done to the cultivator.

It is narrated that one of the Cultivators said: In 'Adud al-daulah's time my estate was included in the fief of Asfar b. Karduyah, whose dishonesty was notorious. Now 'Adud al-daulah had forbidden all resistance to the actions of Asfar and of Ziyar b. Shahraguyah. I suffered a series of disasters, and could not make enough to pay the land-tax; I ran in debt to Asfar for 3,600 dirhems, for which he imprisoned me, ill-treated me, and put me in fetters. He appropriated my tenancy,[2] (**48**) and I remained in his custody seven months. My warder treated me kindly, and, knowing that I could not run away with the fetter on my leg, used to ask me to take his place when the gate was empty at midday, when he would go home and attend to his own affairs. After that he would return. I got so despondent and desperate with my misery that I preferred death to life. One day when the warder had departed and the gate was empty, I ventured to hobble out with my fetters. Asfar was

[1] The meaning seems to be that the preparation of the drafts should be done entirely by the clerks, so that such an incident as that which has been described could not recur.

[2] This seems to be the sense.

lodging in the palace of Sa'id b. Makhlad in Raiḥan Street; it was summer time, and there was a drought. I kept to the bank of the Tigris till I reached the parade-ground beneath the palace of 'Aḍud al-daulah. The people who saw me on the way were either shocked, supposing me to be an escaped lunatic, or else recognised me and knew that I was a fugitive. When I halted in the parade-ground, I saw the curtains spread,[1] and 'Aḍud al-daulah standing on the balcony, though I did not know that it was he, and close to him was his bedmaker 'Ali b. Bisharah. I called out appealingly, and 'Ali b. Bisharah immediately made a sign to me to be silent and come to the garden gate. I did so; he came out and asked me who I was and what was my story. I explained my case and the wrong done me by Asfar. He told me to sit with the porters and went away; presently he returned and bade me enter, saying: His majesty was standing when you came, and it was he who saw you. When you see him, kiss the ground before him, and pronounce many blessings upon him.—I went hobbling along in my fetters till I approached him in the place where I had first seen him. I felt terribly frightened and alarmed; however I kissed the ground repeatedly, pronounced a number of benedictions, shed tears and held my tongue. He said to 'Ali b. Bisharah: Bid him explain his case.—I said: I am too terrified to have control over my tongue.—He said: Do not be afraid, speak.—I said: Asfar has seized my estate and made demands upon me which I am ununable to satisfy, and has now kept me in fetters for seven (**49**) months.—He was silent for a little while, then he said to me; Go back to Abu Zuhair's house, and tell him that you have come to us and explained your case to us and that I have ordered you to go back to him. I said: Your majesty, I am afraid of him (I admit, a foolish thing to say). He said: Do not be afraid, for I am behind

[1] Perhaps "the awning stretched out."

you. So go back, and you will see the result.—I kissed the ground and departed, dragging myself along, and hobbling in my fetters. When I had reached Abu Zuhair's gate, the warder had come back, and not finding me, had sent the grooms and retainers to search for me. Abu Zuhair, hearing about me, had administered a hundred lashes to the warder, and things were in the wildest confusion. When the retainers saw me, they cried out: Here he is! They asked me whither I had gone. I said: I have been to his majesty 'Adud al-daulah, who gave me an audience. I complained of my treatment, and he ordered me to return to the Commander, which I have done.—When the retainers heard this, they repeated it to Asfar, who sent for me. He asked me where I had been. Commander, I said, in my despondency, my patience being exhausted, I went to the king's gate, and found him standing on the balcony, with the Ustadh 'Ali b. Bisharah before him. After invoking blessings upon him, I stated my complaint, was received by him, told him my story, and was ordered by him to return to you. I told him I was afraid to return, but he bade me do so, saying that he was behind me. So I have come.—Asfar said: Then you must be punished. He then ordered my fetters to be removed, presented me with a turban, some clothes, and a hundred dirhems, and said: Go away with your escort.—I said: My estate!—He said: Go off to it, manage it, and do not try in the future to evade payment of the tax.—I blessed him, left his presence, and proceeded directly to the balcony of 'Adud al-daulah, and in a loud voice invoked a blessing on him. A eunuch approached the balcony and signalled to me to come to the door, where the eunuch met me and asked me who I was. I told him I was the prisoner who shortly before had been in his majesty's presence. He bade me come back. 'Ali b. Bisharah then came out and led me in. I saw his majesty sitting on the threshold of the house which he

(**50**) had built on the Tigris, with retainers near him. I kissed the ground and invoked a blessing on him. He asked how matters had gone. I told him, at the same time showing him the clothes and the dirhems which Asfar had bestowed upon me. He bade 'Ali b. Bisharah approach, and whispered to him something which I did not hear. Then he asked me how much I owed Asfar (Abu Zuhair). I replied: 3,600 dirhems.—He said: We will pay them on your account that they may no longer stand against you in his books, while he will thus be recompensed for his civility to you.—I kissed the ground and invoked a blessing. 'Ali b. Bisharah taking me by the hand led me to the treasury, whence he took 3,600 dirhems in a purse. Summoning one of the sergeants on duty he said to him: Go off with this person and convey this purse to Abu Zuhair Asfar, and say to him: *These are dirhems which we are transmitting to you by way of recompense for your treatment of this person, and do you enter them in your books in his name.*—I left the place with the sergeant carrying the purse; we got to Abu Zuhair's palace, and were admitted to see him. When the sergeant placed the purse before him and delivered the message, he stood up, then kissed the ground three times, and said: I am a poor slave, and this is my master's money. He gave the bearer and myself each 500 dirhems and we departed.

Now these two anecdotes afford illustration of ingenuity and resourcefulness; only interference with justice in the case of a subject, however eminent, is highly impolitic, and involves a principle which may prove disastrous. In our time we have seen the late sovereign of Islam '*Ad*ud al-daulah ALPARSLAN, who had a mightier army than the Buwaihid prince, following a more satisfactory line of policy. And where was there a king who could strike like him, or was as terrible as he? We shall here confine ourselves to one anecdote out of many which we hope to record when we come to his times.

(51) *Anecdote illustrating the maintenance of discipline.*

It is stated that a favourite slave of Sanglu took a melon belonging to one of the cultivators off the high-road without asking his leave. The late monarch Alparslan heard of it; he summoned the slave, who hid himself, hoping that the king's wrath might cool down, and that he might pardon him, or else in punishing the offence confine himself to the scourge in lieu of the sword. Sanglu was summoned to his majesty's presence, and the king swore that if he did not produce the slave, discipline would be maintained on his person instead of the slave's. Sanglu was at the time army-commander, having under him the picked troops, and was a powerful and inaccessible personage, being the most energetic and ferocious of the Turks. He was so overcome by fear that the utmost he could do was to hasten to produce the slave; when he was produced, he was severed with the sword, and the cavalry were made to pass between the two portions according to a practice followed in their executions. Probably there was an inner motive in this scheme; the slave had probably committed some previous offence deserving the death-penalty, which had been followed by this minor offence, for which chastisement would have been sufficient. The late Alparslan ordered the execution on account of the capital offence which had earned it, but let it appear that the execution was for the conspicuous minor offence, therein imitating an act recorded of the Caliph Mu'ta*d*id which I have found in some books. Once on a progress he received a complaint from one of the subjects against a soldier, similar to the story of the melon. He ordered the man to be brought, had him dragged off to prison, and ordered him to be kept there till he (the Caliph) returned to his capital, and gave further orders about him. The day after, when the people rose in the morning they saw a man impaled, and began to talk about the execution and

impalement of the culprit of the day before. One of Mu'ta*d*id's courtiers [1] came to him, and when his saloon was empty, said to him: Commander of the Faithful, chastisement without impalement would have been sufficient (**52**) for the offence committed. He said to me: Do you know the man?—I said I did. He bade me go to the prison and see. When the courtier entered the prison he found the man in fetters but living. He returned and told the Caliph that he had found the man alive. Mu'ta*d*id said: I merely told them to bring out another malefactor, a brigand who had robbed and murdered, and deserved impalement, and he is the person whom you have seen impaled. I am pretending to the public that the impaled man is the culprit of yesterday in order to put fear into their hearts, but I have not really transgressed any divine ordinance.—Mu'ta*d*id enjoyed the divine guidance, and a statesman whose astuteness is proverbial needs no defence.

I have been informed that one of the rulers of Egypt in whose time crime was rampant executed men in great numbers, going beyond those fixed penalties which are prescribed by the sacred code. Crime, however, increased, and his affairs were at a deadlock. He was advised to follow the Code, and summoning an expert jurist, requested his counsel and sentence. The prisoners were all brought before him, and their careers recounted to him; and the jurist proceeded to give sentence in each case in accordance with the commands of God. The ruler carried these sentences out justly without increase or diminution, and adopted the same excellent system in the case of further malefactors whom he caught. Only a short time elapsed before his affairs were in good order, crime had ceased and the country was secure. The creature then may not take greater precautions for the good of the community than what the Almighty Creator has enjoined.

[1] Ibn *H*amdun (Abu Mohammed 'Abdallah). See Yaqut's Irshad, i. 158

The policy pursued by this Turkish (Seljuq) dynasty is truly admirable. There was a commissioner for Appeals called the *Emir Dad* (Prince of Justice), who used to sit to hear appeals, with an expert assessor, to whom he would refer for opinions and sentences; he would then execute what the Code prescribed over soldiers and civilians. Now any creature of God whom God has appointed ruler and endowed with the necessary gifts,[1] if his conduct do not restrain his nearest relatives, and his majesty do not overawe his most obstinate subjects, must be credited with one of (**53**) two things, either natural iniquity or personal incompetence, neither of them commendable. 'Adud al-daulah Ibn Buwaihi was too accomplished a sovereign to be liable to the suspicion of either; perhaps then he conceded this privilege to Asfar and Ziyar, if the story be true, out of a desire to conciliate them momentarily, with the intention of applying afterwards some comprehensive remedy. For he was deep, and had a store of patience for dealing with every trouble. He was one of those sovereigns in whose conduct of affairs no flaw can be found, and whose careers are free from all reproach.

We now return from our digression. The following was narrated by Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Hilal the Sabian: When 'Adud al-daulah made his second entry, I went out to Mada'in to meet him, and paid my respects. Being afraid lest the Turks in their disorderly entry should attack my house on the river-bank,[2] as I was one of the members of Bakhtiyar's court, I asked him to send some one to guard it. He sent one of the inferior sergeants with me, so I started home accompanied by this officer, who spent the greater part of the day on his own business. It happened that one of the higher commanders invaded the house, and his followers began to deposit their pack-

[1] Some words are lost in the original, but the above appears to be the sense intended.

[2] It had belonged to 'Ubaidallah b. Qasim,

ages, make their beds, and tie their horses. They ordered us to clear out. We began to despair of our dwellings. My retainers went in search of the sergeant, who when he appeared saluted the commander, kissed his hand and stationed himself in front of him. The commander began to talk to him, and then asked him why he had come. He said that he had been sent by the sovereign to guard that house against attacks. The commander said: The owner is one of Bakhtiyar's court-clerks, so what has he to do with our prince?—The man said: He has been in the prince's service, and is held in esteem by him.—Ibrahim proceeded: The sergeant had not finished his sentence before the Dailemite stood up, flung away the chair on which he had been sitting, and told his retainers to remove their things. He rode away at once, followed by them. I have never seen greater awe than that which he inspired.

(**54**) *His proceedings as guardian of public safety.*

He protected the country from all malefactors, guarded the roads from brigandage, and was feared by the inhabitants of both town and country. A famous exploit of his in this field was his putting to death Dawud b. Mus'ab, chieftain and ruler of the Banu' Uqail, through Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Bahili.

Account of the stratagem whereby Dawud b. Mus'ab was put to death.

'*A*dud al-daulah, it is recorded, despatched Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Bahili on an embassy to Dawud, bidding him enter his allegiance, and come to Baghdad; the envoy had an escort of twenty *H*amdanids, and had instructions to assault Dawud if he were found unguarded. When the envoy reached him in the neighbourhood of Sinjar, he communicated the message with which he had been charged, and advised him to submit. Dawud replied that he was ready to submit, but that to appear

at the sovereign's gate was not agreeable to his practice. The envoy repeatedly returned to the charge, but Dawud consistently assented to the one and refused the other. Ibn al-Bahili now decided to assault him, and instructed a bedmaker who was with him to carry this out. He sought for a suitable time, and found it at the hour when the camels, oxen and sheep came home in the evening. There was much shouting then, men and women being occupied with bringing their camels and cattle to their sheds and milking them. The envoy decided to carry out his intention at that time. On a certain evening he sought permission to visit Dawud, and presented himself, accompanied by his bedmaker, to whom he had communicated his plan. He instructed this servant to hold Dawud when the room was empty (save for the three); he was to signal with his eye when the time came. He brought a sharp knife with him in his pocket. The camels and other stock came home, and the settlement resounded with their cries and the shouting of the people. After a brief conversation he signalled to the bedmaker, who sprang upon Dawud and seized his hands. Ibn al-Bahili struck him on the chest with his knife, and repeated his blows till he had struck a vital place. He then left the room quietly and deliberately, followed by the bedmaker, and made (**55**) for the open country, where there were no tents, as though on a private need. He had a couple of horses in readiness for himself and the bedmaker; they mounted them, and rode away slowly till they had got deep into the country, when they left the Mausil road at a gallop, and plunged into the Barqa'id road; from there they descended to the Tigris, and embarked in a boat. After a time Dawud's followers entered his chamber, where they found him lying dead. They could not find Ibn al-Bahili, who must, they knew, have been the murderer. Some of their riders followed his track to Mausil but failed to discover him. So they seized their *H*amdanid escort and murdered them in cold blood.

After some years Ibn al-Bahili was murdered by the Banu 'Uqail in Kufah. There is a saying *Every slayer is to be slain*, but that is the slighter penalty; the Qur'an and the Tradition of the Prophet threaten the murderer with punishment more exemplary, more terrible and more enduring in the next world. Let us implore God for health and forgiveness in this world and the next.

Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Isa Hiti narrated as follows: I had been sent to Hit to settle the revenue of that place and of Anbar, both of them farmed by Abu'l-'Ala *H*usain b. Mohammed Iskafi. One day we received a letter from '*A*dud al-daulah ordering us to enquire for an 'Uqailite Bedouin who had appropriated some minerals, and to ascertain his name and condition. I summoned the boatmen and asked them about the matter, but they knew nothing of it; I wrote to this effect, but received an order to make more careful search. In consequence I kept on making inquiries and interrogating individuals till at last I was told by a boatman that a certain 'Uqailite had stopped one of the mineral barges that was ascending the river and had demanded of one of the bricklayers a piece of cement which he took by force from his bosom. That was all that had occurred. We proceeded to demand this Bedouin of Musayyib b. Rafi', and when he asked us what we wanted from him, informed him that the sovereign was searching for him. Now (Abu'l-*H*asan al-Hiti continued) (**56**) I was on good terms with Musayyib, so when he adjured me to explain the situation to him I did so. He went away perplexed; he was absent for two days, after which he returned bringing a number of members of the family of the man who was being sought, and of his cousins; they requested us to leave him alone and it was finally arranged between us that they should make good his robbery. I (said Abu'l-*H*asan) did not myself venture to communicate this to '*A*dud al-daulah, but Abu'l-'Ala wrote about it, and supposed that his words would be effective. Pres-

ently, however, there came a reply disapproving of his acceptance of the money and leading the people to suppose that they would be pardoned; the object being to put a stop to brigandage. Among the expressions used to Abu'l-'Ala was: *Had it not been a first offence, we should have sent some one to put you straight.* A letter came to me too ordering me to search for the Bedouin and to demand his surrender of Musayyib, while holding out hopes of a pardon to him and his cousins if they surrendered him. Once more then I told Musayyib and his friends to produce the man. They did so, and surrendered him. I had him confined, and wrote to say that I had secured him. A letter arrived bidding me demand of him the piece of cement which he had taken. When he produced it he was to be strangled in the place from which he had taken it and impaled. I carried these instructions out. A message presently came from 'Adud al-daulah to Musayyib and the 'Uqailite chieftains as follows: *Unless the chief among you become responsible for the less, and guarantee their good behaviour, maintaining the roads and stopping the sources of mischief, we shall dismiss you from our territories.* Fear caused them to cross to the Syrian bank and retire deep into the desert.

It is surprising that so able a ruler as 'Adud al-daulah should have held out hopes of pardon to the hunted man if he came forward and to his tribesmen if they produced him, and then broken his promise after his surrender. God says (Surah v. 38): *Save those who repent before they are in thy power; so know that God is forgiving, merciful.* Now the man's coming forward in the hope of pardon before he was in their power was a case of "repentance"; violation of the offer of pardon after it had been made was shameful, if (57) what is stated in this narrative be true.

One of his ingenious expedients is what we have found recorded, though not in the History. 'Adud al-daulah

sent certain bales of goods to Meccah by certain merchants or pilgrims. Passing on their way by a Bedouin tribe, they were raided by these people. The victim of the robbery told them that the bales belonged to the sovereign 'Adud al-daulah. The Bedouins only jeered at his name. The victim returned to 'Adud al-daulah's court and reported the affair. He ordered a great quantity of poisoned confectionery to be prepared, and again despatched the men who had been robbed, with merchandise containing among other things the poisoned confectionery. He bade them get in the way of the tribe and when attacked by them inform them that the goods and the confectionery were a present from 'Adud al-daulah to the poor of Meccah. So soon as their goods had been seized they were to come back. They obeyed these instructions; they met the tribesmen who took their goods. They consumed the confectionery and died of the poison.

If this story be true, the expedient is one which would be rejected by any man of piety and any powerful prince. The religious man would look upon it as a horrible crime; the prince would regard it as a confession of incapacity to take reprisals. It involves the punishment of the innocent, since how could any one be sure that among the eaters there would not be the women and children and innocent guests of the tribe? God says: *No soul shall bear another's burden.* Ibn 'Abbas[1] was once asked for an opinion on the question whether the children of pagans should be slain; he replied: *If you have the knowledge about them which al-Khidr had about the lad whom he slew,*[2] *then slay them.* He thus forced on him the conclusion that it was unlawful to slay such of them as had not yet reached years of discretion.

[1] Cousin of the Prophet, eponymus of the 'Abbasid dynasty, and interpreter of the Qur'an.

[2] Surah, xviii. 79. The companion of Moses killed a lad, and explained that the lad was likely if he grew up to display a criminal disposition.

A remarkable expedient of his, which is an oft told tale, is one whereby he entrapped a part of the Qufs and Baluchee nation, when he plunged deep into Kirman to clear the country of them.[1] He was informed that the dwellings of some of them were behind a mountain, and only accessible by a pass in which a small party might resist a vast army. Unable to get at them by force he bethought him of a wile. He sent a message to the effect that he was not going to leave them alone unless he received tribute. They replied that they had no money to give him. He said: You are hunters, and I want a dog for each tent. They thought little of this, so he sent an agent to number their tents and take a corresponding number of dogs from them. Now it is natural to the dog to fling himself on his master, to wag his tail about him, rub himself against him, and get so accustomed to his house that he will return to it from a distance of many leagues. 'Adud al-daulah ordered rings of white naphtha to be attached to their necks, that the dogs should be assembled at the pass, and the naphtha should then be put on fire. The dogs were to be simultaneously let go, and the army was to follow them. The scheme was carried out; the dogs rushed on, and the people, knowing that the army was on the march against them, hastened to meet them in the pass. There each dog sought refuge with his master from the burning fire, and as he rubbed himself against the man, the fire spread to him. The people evacuated the pass, pursued by the dogs, and also attacked by the fire, by which a number of them were burned. The dogs flung themselves on the tents, which were quitted by their owners, who were pursued by the army, and by them put to the sword till they were exterminated.

As for the terror that he inspired in the hearts of his subjects:—he forbade the carrying of arms in the capital

[1] Above, II. 299-301.

by all save police officers or members of the paid infantry on duty. Any other person found carrying arms was arrested, imprisoned and fined. He also forbade the striking by one man of another or the stretching out of the hand by one man against another; whoever did this (**59**) was arrested and punished with imprisonment or fine.

So men's hands were restrained. The Author of the History says: I remember how at the time when my grandfather Abu Is*h*aq [1] was in prison there was in Aban Street on the Eastern side of Baghdad a man from Shiraz dressed in rags, who played the jester, and used to amuse us when he sat with us. One day he was sitting with us at my father's gate, when among the company there was a man known as Ibn Mawatah, son of one of our neighbours, belonging to the Witness class. A vendor of pomegranates passed by; Ibn Mawatah called him, and endeavoured to bargain with him. Words passed between them in consequence of which Ibn Mawatah raised his hand and cuffed the dealer. The man from Shiraz laid his hand on Ibn Mawatah's sleeve, and bade him come to the king's palace. For what purpose? asked Ibn Mawatah.—I shall inform him, he replied, of the cuff you have administered to the huckster, who will receive satisfaction from you, after which you will be treated as public discipline requires.—I assure you Ibn Mawatah was near dying with fright and despair. My father began to implore the man from Shiraz to relent, and the huckster when he saw what was happening declared that he forgave the offence. The Shirazi however said: Suppose you give up your right, yet you must give the Sultan his. He went on to say to my father: I cannot relent, for this affair has by now got to the court, and if I were to withdraw I should be guilty of an offence which would cause my ruin and the withdrawal of my means of livelihood, as I receive a

[1] Ibrahim the Sabian, grandfather of Hilal, whose chronicle was excerpted by Abu Shuja'.

grant from the sovereign for the communication of affairs of this sort. Ultimately my father and Ibn Mawatah both kissed the man's hand before he would release Ibn Mawatah, but he said: You and I have got into danger from which I pray God may deliver us. After this we were in great awe of the man from Shiraz.

• The school-teachers were instructed to ask the soldiers' children about their fathers' affairs and management of their homes, and send written reports to the post-office. For this they received regular allowances.

(**60**) *Account of a subtle expedient whereby the subjects in a distant region were inspired with awe.*

One of 'Adud al-daulah's spies who returned from Cairo informed him among other things that he had gone to an old confectioner in Lamp Street, and handed him a dirhem of that prince's coinage (*Taji*) to pay for something which he was buying. The man returned the coin, and a dispute ensued wherein the confectioner abused the spy and the prince who had ordered the coin to be struck. The spy took pains to ascertain the confectioner's name and reported it. The following is the narrative of the confectioner, Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. Mohammed of Mausil: One night when I was in my residence, there was a knock at my door from a sergeant accompanied by a torch-bearer. I went out in great alarm. The sergeant told me that I was wanted by Ibn Mi*h*man. I went with him, and when I came into his presence, I found with him one of 'Adud al-daulah's bedmakers; he said to me: His majesty has been asking for a skilful artist, and you have been nominated to him. He ordered that you should be brought to the palace, so go with the bedmaker thither.—I expressed my acquiescence. We embarked in one of the service barges, which was ready in the creek, went down stream and then up to the palace. He bade me stay in the court and went in himself. Presently he came out, and took me to the

chamber at the back of the Green Dome. There was 'A*d*ud al-daulah seated and Shukr standing. When I saw him, I kissed the ground several times, and then his majesty said: You have been alarmed, but there is no harm intended, and you have been summoned only for good.—I kissed the ground again. He proceeded: We find it necessary to employ you on business which will require your proceeding to Egypt, and we have ordered a sum to be disbursed to you which you can leave for your family; you may take it from Abu'l-Thana (Shukr).—I said I acquiesced. He proceeded: Go away and see to your business, and hand the money over to your wife; do not think of keeping any of it yourself, as you will not need it on your journey.—Shukr brought out twenty dinars which he gave me; I took them home, explained the situation to my family and gave them such instructions as I thought proper. At the end of the following day (**61**) some one came to summon me, and I went with him to the palace. I was brought into the presence of 'A*d*ud al-daulah between twilight and dark. He said to me: You are to start at once with a person in whose charge we put you for Cairo. Arrived there you are to go to the gate of the Mosque, and there enquire for Munir the white eunuch, a well-known dealer in fattened fowl there. When you see him, say to him: *Your friend salutes you.* He will rise from his place, and start for his house, whither you are to follow him. When you enter, remove your travelling clothes and put on those which he gives you. Take from him anything that you require, and then proceed to Lamp Street. There you will see an old confectioner, whose name I give you as well as that whereby he is usually known; make sure that it is the man. Sit with him, tell him your occupation and skill in confectionery. Find some means of getting employment under him immediately, and be easy in the matter of wages. If he invites you to his house, go with him. When you have been in his employ a fortnight or

more, and people know you and the fame of your skill has gone abroad, hire a shop in front of his, and purchase all the plant you require ; you are to demand the money for this from the eunuch Munir. The confectioner's customers will come over to you, his business will be at a standstill, and he will ask if he may be your partner. When he makes this proposal you are to accept it, and maintain the partnership for a month. You are then to profess homesickness for Baghdad, and your family who are there, describe the place to him, magnify the possibilities of earning money there, tempt him to migrate thither, and be lavish of promises. If he plead that he has a wife and children, say to him : I have got some dinars which I will give you to leave for their maintenance during your absence.—You are to tell him that you are ready to do this owing to your desire for his society, and that when you and he reach Baghdad you will entertain him in your house, give him a place in your shop, and assign him a good share in the profit which your own capital brings in. If after his experience he likes to stay, he can do so ; if he prefers returning to Cairo, you will furnish him with what is necessary for the journey from 'Iraq home to his people. Do your best to (62) bring him with you to our court, and so render a service which will have advantageous results for you. Take from Munir what you need for yourself and the man, keep the affair secret, and see that you are the victim of no plot. On your return journey pass by Mausil.—On hearing all this, I expressed acquiescence and the hope that God would give me the ability for the task of which I had been thought worthy. Shukr now took me by the hand and led me to a place where my clothes were removed and a lined garment was put on me ; twenty dinars were given me as journey-money. Shukr then called a Bedouin named *H*assan who was seated in the court, and put me in his charge, saying : This is the man ; protect him and conduct him whither you know.—The

Bedouin took me by the hand, we descended and embarked in one of the service barges, whence we got out at the Khorasan Gate. We walked to the front of the Mosque, where we found four camels and two Bedouins. We all four mounted, and travelled on till we reached Cairo; having taken 27 nights. The Arabs deposited me there and my guard said to me: Depart under God's protection, and give a token of your arrival. I said: The token is that his majesty said to me: *You are to take on your return the Mausil road.* I assure you they never asked me who I was or what my errand.

I went up to the gate of the Mosque. There was the eunuch. I saluted him, and said what I had been instructed to say. He bade me welcome, took me immediately to his residence, removed my clothes and gave me a clean outfit of his own. My relations with the man described by 'Adud al-daulah proceeded during my stay in Cairo just as the prince had forecast them; he might have been with us there. I flattered the confectioner, held out hopes to him and made him promises till he agreed to come away. I then returned to the eunuch, bade him farewell, removed the clothes which he had given me, put on the lined garment in which I had arrived, obtained the journey-money, and started (**63**) accompanied by the old confectioner. We journeyed from station to station till we reached Mausil where I had relations with whom we put up. We then hired post-camels and journeyed on till we reached Baghdad, where we alighted at my house, to wash, and pray before crossing.[1] Before I had settled down a sergeant came from the palace to summon me and my companion. I was surprised at this, but the intelligence officer had already announced our arrival. I hurried off with the old man, we crossed to the palace, and sat down in a place there till 'Adud al-daulah was free. I was brought

[1] Mausil being on the W. side of the river, as they had ridden it would be necessary for them to cross to the E bank, where the palace was.

before him with the old man, who was in a state of consternation; he was threatening me with the divine vengeance while I did my best to assuage him. I indeed felt very sorry for him. I was taken to a place where Shukr was, the clothes which I had on were removed and I noticed that they were being taken to 'Adud al-daulah. I was given the clothes which I had removed when I started, and then with the old man I was ushered into the presence of 'Adud al-daulah. He asked me how things had proceeded. I replied: As your majesty forecast.—Then he said to the old man: Are you —— son of —— the confectioner?—He said he was. 'Adud al-daulah said: You need not be afraid even if you have injured yourself, and involved yourself in a journey from home by thoughtless words and deeds.—The old man burst into a passion of weeping. The prince left him alone for a little, and then said: My friend, say you chose to return the dirhem which we had struck and did not care to take it from the stranger who was standing by you; yet why must you revile him and the prince who had ordered it to be struck? Were it not that we might incur some guilt and reproach by chastising you and assaulting you, when you are old and a stranger, with perhaps people at home expecting you and maintained by you, we should have ordered that you be admonished. As it is, we remit your offence for the sake of your family at home, and order the expense of your home journey to be paid you. Only take care that the offence does not recur, and talk at home about our pardon and your offence, and our kindness (**64**) to you.—The old man burst into tears and nearly died; he had no tongue to reply with. We departed, and Shukr gave me twenty dinars which he bade me spend on anything I wanted. He also gave some dinars to the old man. I took the latter to my residence, treated him with honour, and hired a mount for him in a caravan that was proceeding to Mausil. It was said that when the old man returned

to Cairo he was talked about and the story spread there. If a stranger came and sat with the people of the town they would cry out: Beware! People refrained from mentioning 'A*d*ud al-daulah.

*H*usain the confectioner added that in the lined garment which he put on there were letters of whose existence he was unaware till after his return.

As for his strict observation of regulations under all circumstances, it may be stated that he relied in all matters exclusively on the competent, that he did not yield to influence so as to favour the incompetent, and that he permitted the office-holders, whether his relations or not, no personal gratification in the matters committed to their charge respectively. In this way he had everything in perfect order and control. ABU MOHAMMED *H*ASAN IBN ABI'L-FARAJ B. MASLAMAH the Witness recounted how ABU'L-'ABBAS MOHAMMED B. NA*S*R B. A*H*MAD B. MUKRAM the Witness wanted the evidence of his son ABU YA'LA MOHAMMED to be accepted; now ABU 'UMAR MOHAMMED B. 'ABDALLAH B. AYYUB Q*AT*TAN was the husband of his daughter and on intimate terms with Abu Zuhair Asfar b. Karduyah. Abu'l-'Abbas said to Abu 'Umar: I am aware of your objection to my son Abu Ya'la owing to traits in his character of which you disapprove. I am anxious that his testimony should be accepted, and I have started obtaining signatures certifying his qualifications. Now this is a matter which is in your hand, and if you assist me it will proceed. If there is a hitch, it will be through you.—Abu 'Umar assured him that he would do all that was possible. Abu'l-'Abbas proceeded: Abu Zuhair the Commander is willing to listen to you and rarely opposes you; if he were to talk to 'A*d*ud (**65**) al-daulah about the business now that the signatures have been got he would meet with no opposition. I should like you to make this the chief petition which

you address to him.—Abu 'Umar undertook to do it. So I proceeded (said Abu 'Umar) to visit Asfar and addressed him as follows: Commander, I have done you service which gives me certain claims upon you, and I have now a request in which my dignity in the city is involved, and I regard its gratification as the realization of my hopes from you.—He asked me what it was. I said: Abu'l-'Abbas wants the testimony of his son accepted, and he appeals to you through me to speak to 'Adud al-daulah on the matter.—Asfar replied that he would do this, but that it was usual for him to approach his majesty through some trustworthy agent when he wanted anything. The man to whom he referred was summoned, received full instructions, and went off. Presently he returned and said: His majesty asks how you come to approach him on such business as this.—Abu 'Umar said: Asfar summoned me to hear the reply. I said: Commander, I am certain that Abu'l-'Abbas will not be satisfied with this result, and will imagine that I have been insufficiently urgent in asking you, knowing as he does how I stand with you and how you stand with his majesty, who refuses you nothing that is great, and is unlikely to refuse you something small.—He said: I am not in the habit of repeating a request, still in this case I will do so after some days.—A short time elapsed, and the same messenger was again employed, repeated the demand, and brought back the same reply.—I did not conceal my surprise and chagrin. A few days passed, and Asfar, seeing me despondent, said to me: Abu 'Umar, I have made up my mind to pay a visit at the palace to-morrow.—Coming into 'Adud al-daulah's presence he stood for a time then said: I have sent two messages to your majesty on the subject of Abu Ya'la Ibn Mukram, and the reply has been an order to refrain. My dignity is involved in the accomplishment of this design, and the people who have asked me are in anxiety and expectation. If there is a hitch, my dignity with

them and the people generally is compromised.—'*Ad*ud al-daulah laughed and said: Abu Zuhair, what have you to do with an application of this sort or with testimony and Witnesses? The applications that concern you are for increases of pay or bestowal of commissions, (**66**) in particular promotions; as for the acceptance of testimony, neither you nor I have anything to do with it; it is the Judges' concern. When they find in any person the qualifications which justify the acceptance of his testimony, they accept it without orders and without influence being brought to bear upon them or us. If you will allege what I have been saying as your excuse to your petitioner, he will acknowledge its justice.—Asfar went away with this reply and communicated it to Abu 'Umar, and efforts to get Abu Ya'la's testimony accepted were stopped till '*Ad*ud al-daulah's death.

As for what has been recorded of his benefactions and works of charity with further evidences of forethought and kindliness;—at the commencement of the financial year he used to devote a considerable sum in charity, and write instructions to the provincial finance-ministers to hand these sums over to the judges and leading men to distribute among the indigent. ABU NASR KHWASHADHAH stated that on one occasion '*Ad*ud al-daulah gave him an order intended to be for 30,000 dirhems to be bestowed in alms, with directions that the sum should be disbursed and distributed in the usual way. By mistake he wrote *Thirty talents to be paid by the Treasury in Alms*. I took the document back to him, pointing out that the proper sum was 30,000 dirhems, whereas the order was for 30 talents. He asked to see it, and then said that he would not go back. So I disbursed the sum which was expended in charity.[1]

In many of his notes and the observations which he used to write on his astrologers' reports there were to

[1] The talent at this time probably equalled 10,000 dirhems.

be seen the words: *If such and such an event occurs we vow that we will do so and so and devote so many dirhems to charity* in many places. He never conceived a plan or experienced joy or anxiety, but he uttered a vow. On joyous occasions that the joy might be full; in times of anxiety that it might evanesce. This practice was based on sound religious conviction and faith in the future life.

When clerks and officials who were unemployed complained of distress or he got to know of it, he would (67) make them remittances in the form of advances for which they would not afterwards be accountable when they were again employed. Those who were in employment used to obtain from ABU YA'LA SULAIMAN B. *H*ASAN inspector of dates and goods in Basrah advances on the moneys allocated to their salaries, for the purchase of dates, etc., at advanced prices. The applicant was glad of the accommodation and ability to procure what he wanted; while the person who granted it was glad of the increase in price, which went to the sovereign. When 'A*d*ud al-daulah died, both the employed and unemployed owed large sums thus advanced.

On the other hand, the following story told by Abu Nasr Khwashadhah illustrates his caution. The Persian New Year approached, and 'A*d*ud al-daulah wanted to have a *qaba* of *siglaton* [1] cut out for him, to wear at the reception on that day. He bade me (sa:d Abu Nasr) fetch from the store a fabric suitable for a *qaba*. I went there, selected a fine material of the usual sort, and brought it to hir. . When I set it before him, he looked at it, then too it up and flung it at me, saying: That is not the sort I wanted.—I supposed that he did not think it good enough, and wanted something superior So I went back and produced from another locker something richer, and brought it to him. When his eye fell on it,

[1] A silk fabric interwoven with gold.

he exclaimed : Blindhearted man, not this.—I remained bewildered, not knowing what to do. I returned to he store, where Abu Nasr Bundar asked me why I looked so perplexed, and why I had taken two fabrics and brought them back. When I explained the situation to him, he laughed and said : If you had only told me, I should have saved you this perplexity.—He rose and opened a case containing *siglaton* fabrics of ordinary quality worth five dinars apiece. Taking one out he flung it before me and bade me carry it to *'Adud* al-daulah, who, he said, would be pleased with it. I did so ; when I had put it before him, and he had looked at it, felt it with his hand and turned it over, he said : This is all right.—He ordered it to be cut out and made up, and wore it on the day of that season. Afterwards he gave it to one of the Dailemites.

(**68**) As for his love of learning and encouragement of savants ;—he used to bestow the highest honours on men of learning, lavish gifts upon them, and promote them in his court and ministry. He used to put all sorts of questions to them and discuss with them various worthy topics. The best men in every line were gathered in his court, and the sweetest fruits of all sorts were picked for him. Splendid works on the most various sciences were composed in his time, such as *The Argument for the Seven Readings*, a work of unrivalled value and celebrity [1] ; *The Elucidation* on grammar, a treatise which though small in bulk outdoes bulky volumes on its subject in force of expression and technical skill. Abu *Ta*lib *Ah*mad b. Bakr 'Abdi in his commentary on this work states that *'Ad*ud al-daulah was jealous of the possession of it and wanted to monopolize the perusal of it. When a man succeeded by an expedient in making a copy of it for himself, *'Ad*ud al-daulah ordered his hand to be amputated : such value did the prince set upon

[1] A commentary on the work of Ibn Mujahid by *H*asan b. A*h*mad Farisi, the author of the following work also.

the work and so deeply attached was he to it. Intercession was made for this man and he was pardoned. Another of these works is the *'Adudi Kunas* (Encyclopaedia) of Medicine, which was composed in his time and is clearer, better arranged and more complete than any other.[1] Other treatises on mathematics and mechanics might be mentioned.

As for the noble monuments erected by him: In Fars and Khuzistan he raised many new buildings which still remain to attract (**69**) the gazer or whose fame reaches the hearer. He turned his attention to improvements in Baghdad, and recreated the city after its destruction, and renewed its youth after decrepitude. He caused the sources of industry to flow after they had been dried up, and obtained new currents of wealth after the stream had ceased. Even in these days we can see with our eyes some of his performance in the rebuilding of the city and the erection of the hospital with the numerous trust funds which he instituted for it and the plant of all sorts, including drugs which he had brought to it from all regions. He constructed dams at great expense, with machinery attached and persons in charge, instructed to look after them night and day, and to take the utmost care at times of high flood, heavy rains and violent gales. It is stated that when Mutahhar b. 'Abdallah dammed the breach in the Sahliyyah canal he appointed Ibrahim called Agharr (the man with the "blaze") to look after the work with orders to maintain the elevation of the dam till flood-time was over. The following was Ibrahim's story: I spent a long time over this dam with my workmen and endured long suffering. I had a house at Nahrawan Bridge at no great distance, but durst not leave the dam to visit it or to take a bath, for fear lest the intelligence officer at Nahrawan Bridge should send word about me. After this had been going on a long time one night a gale blew, accompanied by a

[1] By 'Ali b. 'Abbas Majusi.

rain storm. I entered the dome that had been built on the dam to take shelter from the gale and rain; we tried to light a lamp, but the violence of the gale did not permit it. I was disgusted and impatient, and felt tempted to rise and walk in the dark to Nahrawan Bridge, spend the night in my house, and return to my post in the morning. While I was in this state and had made up my mind to take the step, I heard a voice at the door of the dome, and bade my slave see who it was. He went out and returned to say that it was a man on a camel and that he had made the beast kneel by us. The man (70) then came in and saluted. I returned his salute, and bade the slave light a lamp. He struck a light, and brought it in the form of a torch. I saw that the caller was a Bedouin attached to the service of 'Adud al-daulah, who had come from Baghdad. I asked him what he wanted. He said: I was summoned just now by the *Ustadh* Shukr, who had come from his majesty's presence, and told me that his majesty desired me to mount a fast camel, go to the Sahliyyah Dam, enter the dome on the back of the place that catches the wind, and if I found Ibrahim Agharr there, I was to tell him that he would be rewarded by his majesty for his service and long endurance. And I was to give him this purse, containing a thousand dirhems for him to spend on himself. If however I failed to find him, and he should have gone to his house at Nahrawan Bridge, then I was to seek him out, spring upon him in his house, take his head and bring it.—The man deposited the purse in front of me, saying: Praise God for what you have been saved.—He started back immediately, and I was left in amazement, and determined not to enter Nahrawan Bridge.

Account of his arrangements for the education of his children, and the management of his palace in Fars during his absence.

Certain memoranda of his have been found containing directions addressed to his dependents which indicate

loftiness of aim and skill of plan in the education of his children and the division of their time between exercises of intelligence and courage, and between earnest and play. They enjoin moderation in both their enjoyment and their avoidance of each other's society; and attention to the character of their confidants and associates. For moral qualities are infectious and contagious. Care was taken that during his absence from Fars in 'Iraq and elsewhere his household in Fars should be normally and regularly administered, and that though absent in the body, he should be present in authority: like the sun, whose light radiates in the world though its body be far away. A little about his conduct will suggest a great deal, and so we can avoid prolixity, having indeed undertaken to be concise.

(71) We will now record some of the transactions included by the Author of the History among 'Adud al-daulah's meritorious deeds, though they resemble the contrary. We have separated them, since there is a difference between good and bad, darkness and light, shade and glow.

Account of the new duties imposed by 'Adud al-daulah.

He made an increase of ten per cent. on paper to the calculations of acreage, and made this a regular practice which has continued all over the Sawad to our time.[1] He invented various taxes that had not previously existed, and duties previously unknown. He interfered with all mills, seizing their profits and only allowing their owners a fraction of them. Great complaints arose from this towards the end of his reign. *God changes not what is in men until they change what is in themselves* (Surah xiii. 12). Samsam al-daulah abolished this tax after his time, permitting the owners to retain the profits. 'Adud al-daulah established a bureau of Pasturage and

[1] It appears from a story in the Table-talk that this practice was no invention of 'Adud al-daulah.

Prescribed Alms,[1] with special officials, clerks and collectors. More than a million dirhems in the year were thus obtained from the districts of the Sawad. He interfered with the Trust-funds of the Sawad, for which he appointed Inspectors and Controllers ; while the beneficiaries of these funds were allowed a fixed wage, a great amount was raised thereby which was appropriated and afterwards expended in fiefs.[2] He imposed duties on all sales in the markets of horses, asses, and camels ; he increased earlier duties on imports and exports ; he instituted monopolies of manufactures[3] of ice and silk, of which the manufacture and sale had previously been free to every one.

Possibly the Author of the History in adducing these among 'A*d*ud al-daulah's merits had his eye on cleverness in tapping sources of taxation. There is however no good in wealth which is disreputable and injurious to its owner's hopes of salvation. Money collected from such sources is a collection for dispersion, and the liquor drunk f om (72) such founts is " a draught of pus " (Surah xiv. 19). There is a tradition of the Prophet : *Whoso institutes a good practice shall have the reward thereof and of all who act thereby unto the day of Resurrection ; and whoso institutes a bad practice shall have the guilt thereof and the guilt of all who do thereafter unto the day of Resurrection.*

Stories of excessive parsimony unsuited for a sovereign.

The following was narrated by Abu 'Ali Ibn Makkikha (" the Lowly "), Chief of the Stores Bureau : One day, when I found 'A*d*ud al-daulah in a good humour

[1] *i e.*, the percentage on various forms of produce which is prescribed in the Tradition.

[2] The plan of securing property for descendants by settling it on a religious establishment is familiar. 'A*d*ud al-daulah apparently claimed the lands thus left for the state, while permitting the heirs some small benefit.

[3] This seems to imply the artificial production of ice.

and unusually friendly, I mentioned to him the increase in the charges which I had to meet, and the inadequacy of my means. He said to me: Is not your monthly pay so much? And is not so much allowed you for clothing in the two seasons?—I assented. And what you require (he continued) for your household expenditure, charges, slaves, horses, is so much; why then do you ask for an increase? Every day you get your food with Abu Mansur Nasr b. Harun.[1]—I kissed the ground and backed out. To think of his reckoning up against me the food I ate at Abu Mansur's table!

The same Abu 'Ali narrates how one day 'Adud al-daulah saw in his possession a mule with a heavy iron saddle. The prince left him alone for a time, then arrested him and demanded money of him. Among the other trappings which he offered for sale was a satin outfit. 'Adud al-daulah hearing about it sent for it that he might see it and make an allowance for the sum at which it was priced. Abu 'Ali said: I had given fifteen hundred di hems for it; 'Adud al-daulah ordered that twelve hundred should be allowed for it. I observed that fifteen hundred had been paid for it and that I regarded it as worth more than that. He was angered by this reflexion and ordered a eunuch to give me a suit that was greatly inferior though it resembled the other. I could say nothing (73) on the subject, but was anxious that for the suit substituted twelve hundred dirhems should be allowed. He said: I do not want his suit. The utmost I could do was to settle the suit that had been handed to me for 900 dirhems.[2]

Abu'l-Hasan Rustam b. Ahmad narrates as follows: I was appointed by 'Adud al-daulah clerk to Abu Ja'far Hajjaj b. Hurmuz when he arrived from Dailaman. I

[1] Christian vizier.

[2] This story is not told very clearly. Apparently the prince substituted an inferior suit for the narrator's, making no allowance for the difference in value, and then compelled the narrator to raise money on the inferior article.

was ordered to make out a memorandum of the amount required for his daily expenditure and monthly charges. I drew it up, and when I showed the memorandum it contained a *ratl's* weight of wax every night. The prince stopped his reading there, and reduced the amount, while he made additions in some headings. He said: A *ratl* of wax a night is extravagance; a *ratl's* weight per week is sufficient, and the bedmaker should be instructed to leave the wax in its vessel. A lamp containing a receptacle with two wicks should be put before him, and if an important visitor comes this should be removed and the vessel with the wax be brought and kindled; when the visitor goes, it should be removed and the lamp replaced.—I expressed acquiescence, and it was done.

Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali Ibn Abi 'Ali narrates as follows: '*Ad*ud al-daulah had an overmantle (*farajiyyah*) of *siglaton* lined with *qamaqim*[1] which he used to wear frequently on the road between Baghdad and Hamadhan. One of the Dailemites was set on asking for it, and constantly did so, but only received promises from '*Ad*ud al-daulah who always put him off. Finally the man became so importunate that he came up to the prince in a procession and said: Your majesty has long been promising me this *farajiyyah* and I beg that to-day there be fulfilment.—'*Ad*ud al-daulah was angry, but said: Yes. The stirrup-holders were walking at his stirrups, A*h*mad Ibn Abi *H*afs at the right, Ibn Faris at the left. Letting fall the sleeves of the *farajiyyah*, he whispered to them to come up close, and tear away the lining from the outside and hand it to the leader of the procession. They did so, '*Ad*ud al-daulah dismounted, the Dailemite approached to remind the prince, and the garment was immediately handed to him single, *i.e.*, unlined. The man was amazed, took it, and made no further demands.

[1] This material appears to be unknown, except from this passage: it is presently explained as camel's fur.

(**74**) When the prince was alone he summoned the two stirrup-holders and addressed them thus: I am well aware that you are censorious and I fancy I hear you say to each other: What a mean man this Sultan is! One of his courtiers has been asking him for a fur, for an age; he puts the man off, and when he makes up his mind to give it, he orders something to be done, because he cannot bring himself to part with the lining!—The two kissed the ground before him, and said: "There is no god but God!" Your majesty must not imagine such a thing of us.—He said: Oh, but it is so, and you are to know that we have in our possession enough robes of *siglaton* to bestow on the whole army if we chose to do so. But this camel's fur lining is rare, and only a few pieces are brought to us in the year from distant countries outside our dominions. If we had given the lining of this *farajiyyah* to that Dailemite, we should have been raising him to a rank which he does not deserve, as he is too humble to receive a lined cloak. To-morrow he would be asking for something nobler still, a *jubbah* with fur lining, and the number of these which we possess in our stores would be distributed among a few persons.

Aristotle in his famous treatise[1] says: Among monarchs there is the monarch who is liberal to himself and to his subjects; the monarch who is miserly to both; the monarch who is liberal to himself and miserly to his subjects; and the monarch who is miserly to himself and liberal to his subjects. The most excellent is the first; the next is the monarch who is miserly to himself and liberal to his subjects.—'Adud al-daulah was of this latter type. It becomes the noble character better to aim at the highest type, to aspire at the furthest goal. Possibly one of my readers may ask whether I could not have "folded up this carpet" or "cut the painter," having suppressed so many anecdotes? I might have done so; my object however is a good and useful one.

[1] Probably a spurious work on politics.

It is that those who reflect on this, on the fine stories and noble deeds, may find pleasure therein and have their ambition roused thereby to great performance, to the acquisition of lasting fame and good repute; and when they come to the stories told at the end (**75**) they may find such a "fly in the ointment" as will be a warning to them not to neglect any portion of their character which requires discipline, but rather to refine it like gold. "Happy is he who is disciplined by example," and perfection is rare in every sphere of life; there is a verse

That thou and I may be safe from the saying of the slanderer "Thou art safe": [1] and is any living human safe?

Account of the death of 'Adud al-daulah, whom God pardon.

He died aged forty-nine years and some months, and the illness of which he died is well known. His schemes and hopes were not commensurate with many such terms of years; but the obscurity of man's appointed end is what causes him to occupy himself with false hopes. There is a fine saying of Zaid b. 'Adi:

Nothing is spared by the fates save the face of the faithful Creator.

This 'Adud al-daulah was so proud of his sound intellect and so astute; and our 'Adud al-daulah Alparslan, so proud of his courage! Learn hence that man has no possession of his own, and that the kingdom is God's—the One, the Almighty!

We shall now record certain sentences that were uttered at the death of 'Adud al-daulah, forcible as aphorisms and impressive as homilies. Abu *Hayyan* Tau*hidi* in his treatise *Zulfah* (Nearness to God) narrates as follows: When the death of 'Adud al-daulah was ascertained, we were in the house of Abu Sulaiman Sijistani. There were present Qumisi, Nushajani, Abu'l-Qasim "Saturn's Slave," Ibn al-Miqdad, 'Aru*di*, Andalusi, and Saimari. They began to recollect the ten famous

[1] Like Juvenal's *Antoni gladios poterat contemnere.*

sayings uttered by (76) the philosophers at the death of Alexander. ANDALUSI said: If this assembly of yours were to utter similar sayings before dispersing, they would form a memorial of you.

ABU SULAIMAN said: An excellent suggestion! I for my part say: 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 lost his soul.

SAIMARI said: This is the sleep of one who wakes for this world, and the waking of one who dreams thereof!

NUSHAJANI said: Never have I seen stupidity or wisdom to resemble his. He thought he was weaving when he was undoing, and that he was gaining when he was incurring debt!

'ARUDI said: Had he taken warning in his lifetime he would not be a warning at his death.

ANDALUSI said: Whoso mounts its stairs (*i.e.*, the world's) goes downwards, and whoso descends them goes upwards.

QUMISI said: He who takes the world in earnest is taken by her for a jest; and whoso jestingly discards her is taken by her in earnest. Think to what a depth this man has fallen! Methinks some ascetic who dies on one of these days and is buried in the Shuniziyyah[1] Cemetery bears a lighter load and has more helpers than this man, who has left the world to take care of itself and depar ed from it without mount or provision for his journey.

SATURN'S SLAVE said: This man relied always on his shrewdness and might. But the source of his might overcame him and took away his supplies.

IBN MIQDAD said: Truly mighty is the water that quenched this fire, and fierce the gale that shook down this column!

[1] Cemetery of Baghdad.

ABU SULAIMAN said: I have nothing better to say on this subject than the words I heard uttered by the Preacher Abu Isma'il Hashimi in the Friday sermon when he announced *'Adud* al-daulah's death from the pulpit: How couldst thou overlook the wiles of this thing till thou didst succumb to them, and why didst thou not take to thyself a shield to guard thee? What hast thou accomplished with thy goods and slaves and retainers (77) and army, with thy stored wealth and thy keen wit? Why didst thou not make a friend of Him who set thee on the throne, and bestow all on Him, from the talent to the mite? Whence did they get at thee, thou so brave and cautious? How couldst thou give any hold over thee, thou so strong and daring? Who can have conspired to hurt thee, or brought his chest down upon thy sovereignty? He knew thy weakness who designed thy fall, and they little knew thee who thought thee mighty! Nay, He made thee king who ruined thee with sovereignty and He dethroned thee who designed thy doom! Truly thou art a warning to all that will be warned, and a sign to all that have eyes to see! May God lighten the earth upon thee, and forgive thee by His mercy, remove thy spirit to the upper heights, and show us from thy heirs such bounty and justice as will cause blessings upon thee and praises to ascend from our lips! Verily He is able to do this, and His knowledge extendeth thereunto.[1]

Account of the proceedings at the accession of Samsam al-daulah.

'Adud al-daulah's luck was unfailing, even in his death. Important as that event was, it was concealed owing to his prearranged plan, to the respect which he had inspired in men's minds, and to his choice as associates of expert statesmen, worthy to be kings' ministers

[1] A critic cited in the note thinks the difference between these epitaphs and those on Alexander is as great as that between the two autocrats.

exclusively. So when he expired the fact was concealed. The prince ABU KALIJAR MARZUBAN was summoned to the palace (**78**) as though by 'Adud al-daulah's behest. When he appeared, he was told that he had been appointed heir to the throne, and that he was to make his brother ABU'L-HUSAIN AHMAD son of 'Adud al-daulah his deputy governor of the districts of Fars. Letters were written in 'Adud al-daulah s name and despatched according to custom to the different regions, containing the above information and further news of the arrest of ABU'L-RAYYAN HAMD B. MOHAMMED, with censure of his conduct, and the summoning to the capital of ABU MANSUR NASR B. HARUN to take his place in the administration. With each of these letters there was issued a copy of the oath of allegiance to be taken by all governors, officers, and the subordinates and troops under them. The Caliph Ta'i' received a message on the same subject with a request that he would have a deed drafted in favour of the heir-apparent to be accompanied by robes of honour, titles, and the banner; and the confirmation of his appointment by 'Adud al-daulah to be his deputy. The Caliph assented, gave him the title SAMSAM AL-DAULAH (Scimitar of the Empire) with the further honours of the deed, the banner and the imperial robes. Samsam al-daulah held a public reception at which the deed was recited in his presence and he received congratulations on his new honours. Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Sa'dan undertook the financial administration which had been conducted by Abu'l-Rayyan, and the concealment of 'Adud al-daulah's death was kept up till Samsam al-daulah's position was secured.

At this time the tax on mills and grinding establishments was abolished, and the old duties re-established.

At this time too Abu'l-Husain Ahmad and Abu Tahir Firozshah sons of 'Adud al-daulah received robes of honour, being despatched to Shiraz and its depen-

dencies; Abu'l-Fat*h* Nasr b. al-Fa*d*l (brother of Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah) was sent out with them to act as his brother's deputy in looking after them.

(79) *Account of their subsequent fortunes.*

When Samsam al-daulah became supreme, he arrested the prince Abu'l-*H*usain in the palace in Baghdad, and put him in custody; his mother being the daughter of the king of the Dailemites,[1] who were a powerful body, determined to come to the palace disguised, when the Dailemites were assembled there, and having got inside to implore their aid in assaulting Samsam al-daulah and rescuing her son from his hands. Samsam al-daulah learning of this design, sent her a civil message, wherein he promised to release her son, and make him governor of Fars, instructing him to hasten thither before SHARAF AL-DAULAH ABU'L-FAWARIS could get there, and providing him with all requirements. He proceeded to Ahwaz, where at the time ABU'L-FARAJ MANSUR B. KHUSRAH was governor. Arrived there Abu'l-*H*usain demanded of this governor money, wearing apparel and other things, which the latter publicly refused, but secretly supplied, being in fear of Samsam al-daulah. A friendly relation was thus established between the two, and it was arranged that in the event of Abu'l-*H*usain succeeding, this governor should be his vizier. Abu'l-Faraj advised him to hasten to Arrajan, but if on his arrival there he should learn that Sharaf al-daulah had got before him to Shiraz, Abu'l-*H*usain should retrace his steps to Ahwaz. Reaching Arrajan he learned that Sharaf al-daulah was already in Shiraz, so he retraced his steps to Ahwaz; there he employed Abu'l-Faraj as his minister and openly rebelled, assuming the sovereignty with the title TAJ AL-DAULAH (Crown of the Empire), and causing public prayer to be pronounced in his name.

[1] His name is said to have been Manadhar son of Justan.

Samsam al-daulah, learning of these doings, sent against him the Chamberlain ABU'L-HASAN 'ALI B. DAB'ASH at the head of a great army. The prince Abu'l-Husain appealed to ABU'L-A'AZZ DUBAIS B. 'AFIF ASADI to meet him. They met outside Qurqub, and an engagement ensued, which resulted in the rout and capture of Ibn Dab'ash, who was conveyed to (**80**) Ahwaz and paraded there. The prince Abu'l-Husain gained possession of all the treasure stored in Ahwaz and the citadel of Ramhurmuz, which he proceeded to distribute among his followers. He devoted his energies to the mustering of an army, offering inducements to those who would join him, inducements which won large numbers of men. Proceeding to Basrah he gained possession of the place and installed there his brother Abu Tahir Firozshah, on whom he bestowed the title DIYA AL-DAULAH (Light of the Empire). His affairs went well for three years, after which he retreated to Ispahan, when he was arrested by Sharaf al-daulah, and conveyed to a fortress in one of the dependencies of Shiraz.

In this year Sharaf al-daulah Abu'l-Fawaris Shirzil moved from Kirman[1] to Shiraz, and made himself supreme there.

Account of this matter.

When 'Adud al-daulah died, news were sent by certain members of the court to Kirman; and as soon as Sharaf al-daulah heard thereof, he proceeded secretly to Shiraz.

Account of the wise concealment of a project till it had been accomplished.

When he reached Istakhr, he sent Ibrahim Dailamsafar on in front, with orders to hasten, to conceal his project, and arrest Abu Mansur Nasr b. Harun.[2] Ibrahim

[1] Where he had been appointed governor, above ii. 253.

[2] Sole vizier of 'Adud al-daulah; the author should have explained how he came to be in Shiraz.

carried these orders out; entering Abu Mansur's palace when the people there were off guard, he arrested Abu Mansur whom he found in his council-chamber. Placing him in confinement, he said to the Dailemites: Here is Abu'l-Fawaris, so go out to do him homage. He was met by the army, entered the city and established himself there. He proceeded to announce the death of *'Adud* al-daulah, and to hold a reception for condolence; he then took the oath of allegiance from his officers, on whom he bestowed the customary accession-gift.

Thus deal the days with those who live therein; one man's disaster is another man's profit. [1]

(**81**) He proceeded to release from custody KURTAKIN B. JUSTAN, whom he appointed Commander-in-Chief (Ispahsalar); he also released the Sharifs Abu'l-*Hasan* Mohammed b. 'Umar,[2] Abu *Ah*mad Musawi,[3] and his brother Abu 'Abdallah; he further released the qa*d*i Abu Mohammed Ibn Ma'ruf [4] and Abu Nasr Khwashadhah,[5] who had been long confined and whose hopes of deliverance were faint. But just as troubles assail from unexpected points, so deliverance comes whence it is not awaited. The examination of Abu Mansur Ibn Harun (for the extortion of money) was put into the hands of the Chamberlain Shabushti,[6] who went to the length of placing on his chest a vessel containing coals, of which he died.

Account of a strange coincidence.

This Abu Mansur Ibn Harun had an aversion to Shabushti when he held office, and used to keep him at a distance, declaring that he disliked the man without knowing why. When ultimately he perished by

[1] Verse of Mutanabbi.

[2] For his arrest see above, ii. 412.

[3] See above, ii. 399.

[4] Above, ii. 399.

[5] For his arrest see iii. 18.

[6] If he is the same person as the Chamberlain of Mardawij (i. 301) and Washmagir (i. 401), he must have been an old man at this time.

Shabushti's hand, it was clear that there had been a mysterious reason for this dislike.

(82) *Case of delusion by momentary prosperity leading to destruction.*

The reason for Sharaf al-daulah's evil opinion of Nasr b. Harun was that the latter, deluded by his fortune, made no provision for the future. Hence in 'Adud al-daulah's time he thwarted Sharaf al-daulah in his desires and exercised scrutiny over his dependents. Another reason was a feud between Nasr b. Harun and Sharaf al-daulah's associates, who constantly set that prince against the minister and set the worst construction upon his acts. It is bad policy to slight members of the royal household; such conduct has often been the cause of mischief. The death of the vizier Mohammed b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyat at the hands of Mutawakkil was due solely to slights inflicted by this vizier on the Caliph in the days of his brother Wathiq; the story is well known.

In this year ABU'L-FARAJ son of 'Imran b. Shahin assassinated his brother Abu Mohammed, and established himself in his place[1]; he wrote to the capital, offering his homage, and soliciting official installation.

A case of envy instigating to the rupture of family ties.

This Abu'l-Faraj was reckless and violent, and envious of his brother Abu Mohammed's rank. He therefore plotted an assault upon him. It happened that a sister of theirs fell ill; Abu'l-Faraj mentioned this matter to Abu Mohammed and suggested that he should visit her. He agreed and sailed to her dwelling; there however Abu'l-Faraj had posted some men with instructions to assist him. When Abu Mohammed entered, his followers were told to halt, as it was a woman's apartment. Abu'l-

[1] See above, ii. 413.

Faraj walked behind him, carrying his sword according to his wont, and when he got the opportunity drew it and smote his brother. The men whom he had posted then came out and helped him to dispatch his victim. Cries were raised: Abu'l-Faraj came out on the roof and addressed them, saying: *The thing is beyond* (83) *recall, and I promise to be kind to you.* This silenced them; he distributed presents among them, and they accepted him as prince.

In this year HASAN B. BISHR RA'I was killed in Nisibin, where he was governor and finance-minister.

Tale of a career which led to the loss of both worlds.

This Ibn al-Ra'i was an unprincipled scoundrel, the narrative of whose blinding has already been told in *The Experiences of the Nations.*[1] After this event he became governor of Nisibin, where he ill-treated the people, and violated their homes. When rumour spread of first the illness and then the death of 'Adud al-daulah, the populace rioted and made for his palace with the intention of assaulting him. He left the palace in woman's dress, but was pointed out, caught, and put to death with mutilation. His corpse was burned. A Kurd got control of the town, and when news of this arrived, ABU SA'D B. ARDASHIR was despatched to restore order. When he reached Mausil he was detained by the governor Abu'l-Mutarrif, and meanwhile the man who had usurped authority in Nisibin fled thence and attached himself to BAD. Bad had by this time become powerful in Mayyafariqin. Bahram (Abu Sa'd) hastened to attack him, under-estimating his force; and there was a battle which resulted in the rout of Bahram and capture of numerous Dailemites in his troops. He was taunted by Abu'l-Mutarrif, who wrote to the Chamberlain Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd to complain of Bahram; *He has* he wrote *injured the empire and encouraged Bad, and I have*

[1] ii. 377.

made up my mind to write to Bad and show him how mistaken his revolt is. The Chamberlain Sa'd sent a reply containing the words: *I am coming*; "*The sword is a more veracious reporter than the pen.*"[1] When this reply reached Abu'l-Mutarrif, he uttered the verse:

Sharp swords indeed, O Luwayy son of Ghalib; only where is the swordsman?

This rejoinder angered Sa'd, who cherished resentment for it.

(**84**) *Origins of Bad.*

Bad is a sobriquet; he was a *H*umaidi Kurd, named Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. Dushang. He constantly practised brigandage, used to go to the frontiers and raid there, and was of hideous appearance and vast frame. When 'A*d*ud al-daulah came to Mausil, he presented himself at the gate through the mediation of Ziyar b. Shahraguyah, but presently fled.

A case of acute physiognomy.

It is said that after leaving the presence of 'A*d*ud al daulah, he took to headlong flight, and being asked by his followers why he fled, answered that he had seen a man, who, he was convinced, would not spare him when once he was in his power. Immediately after his departure 'A*d*ud al-daulah sought for him and ordered his arrest, saying: This is an enterprising, energetic and treacherous knave, who ought not to be spared.—He was informed that the man had fled. Bad got to the frontiers of Diyar Bakr, where he remained till he made himself mighty. Presently the Chamberlain Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd went out against him, and there came to pass between them what shall be recorded in its place.

YEAR 373.[2]

In this year Samsam al-daulah proceeded to the Caliph's Palace, where he was invested with the seven

[1] Verse of Abu Tammam. [2] Began June 15, 983.

robes, the black turban, bracelets, a collar and a crown; two banners were tied for him, and he was mounted on a horse with a gold saddle, and another led in front of him. A deed was recited, conferring on him supreme power in all countries whitherto the 'Abbasid claim extended. He then returned to his own palace. The oath of allegiance was taken to him afresh, the usual accession money distributed, his name introduced into the Friday prayer, and the coinage altered.

(**85**) In this year the robes of honour belonging to the vizierate were bestowed upon ABU 'ABDALLAH *Husain* B. *Ahmad* B. SA'DAN. He was freehanded, but chary of interviews, and could only be seen by most of his visitors during his descent from the steps of his palace to his barge. In spite of this he rarely disappointed applicants for his bounty; only "a little kindliness of countenance is more heart-winning than a great deal of munificence."[1] He was lavish in allowances and presents, and in assigning pensions and grants. Among dues instituted by him was the exaction of a tithe on all money and rations allocated to officers (*auliya*), clerks and courtiers; at the end of all orders on finance-ministers there was a clause ordering the deduction of this tithe, with arrears, and its expenditure on the monthly pay or wants of the horse-retainers.[2] To his disagreeable manner there was added a general dearness during his administration, whence he became unpopular, stones were flung at his barge, the Dailemites mutinied in consequence of the high prices, and attacked his palace with the view of plundering it. Ultimately *Samsam* al-daulah rode up to the mob and induced them to desist.

In this year Ziyar b. Shahraguyah and the Chamberlain Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd b. Mohammed returned from Jurjan, and the latter was commissioned to proceed to

[1] Ecclesiasticus xviii 15

[2] It is not clear whether he means grooms or cavalry men.

Mausil to attack Bad and repair his error.[1] An army was sent with him, about whose numbers and equipment he took trouble.

Campaign of Sa'd b. Mohammed against Bad.

Sa'd started, and when he got to Mausil arrested the governor Abu'l-Mutarrif, whose quotation of the verse that has been mentioned he resented; he had him confined in Mausil. He then marched to meet Bad, whom he was confident of being able to catch; confidence however is often put to shame. An engagement took place on the Khabur of Husainiyyah, resulting in the rout of Sa'd. Bad got all the Dailemites into his power, capturing some and killing others. He then executed all the prisoners in cold blood, and proceeded to Mausil. Thither the routed Sa'd had arrived before him, to be attacked by the populace, from whom he escaped with his life; he reached Takrit, whence he sent the news to the capital; he was told to (**86**) stop there.

Arrival of Bad in Mausil where he releas d Abu'l-Mutarrif.

When Bad arrived in Mausil he released Abu'l-Mutarrif and appointed him his vizier. His repeated defeats of the imperial armies made him a person of importance; he took possession of the provinces and tapped the sources of revenue. From a Bedouin raider he had become a rebel in the heart of the empire; and there were rumours that he aspired at seizing the royal throne. He became an object of dread, and a source of alarm to Samsam al-daulah and his vizier, diverting their attention from all other concerns. There was no-one left in the capital to whom they could entrust so serious a business except ZIYAR B. SHAHRAGUYAH, who was instructed to proceed against Bad; a robe of honour

[1] Above, p 84, it was Ziyar who mediated for Bad.

was bestowed upon him, and care taken to provide him with sufficient troops properly equipped. Taking with him Shukr at the head of the Turkish retainers, he proceeded to Mausil, being joined by the Chamberlain Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd from Takrit. They engaged Bad in *Safar* of 374 (began July 4, 984). The result was the defeat of Bad, many of whose relations and followers were captured. The arrival of the news allayed the alarm that had been current about him. Presently the prisoners arrived and were paraded.

Account of his career after his rout.

When Bad had been defeated, and Ziyar pitched his tents outside Mausil, Sa'd the Chamberlain proceeded at the head of a large force to the Western side of the Jazirah, whereas Bad reached the extremity of his territory, where he proceeded to collect troops with the view of making for Diyar Bakr. Ibn Sa'dan thought it best to write to SA'D AL-DAULAH IBN *HAMDAN*, offering to surrender Diyar Bakr to him on the terms granted to his father, and requesting him to send his followers thither before Bad got control of the country. Sa'd al-daulah in consequence sent his followers to Mayyafariqin, whence after staying a short time they departed. They had been unable to resist Bad, who took possession (87) of Mayyafariqin and proceeded to Tall Fafan,[1] spreading terror. He then sent proposals for peace. The army with Sa'd were unwilling to engage him, so he tried guile and suborned an assassin to assault him.

Account of a good device if only fate had favoured it.

The assassin, it is said, went by night into Bad's tent, got to his sleeping place, and struck with his sword on Bad's foot supposing it to be his head. Bad cried out, and the man fled, and could not be caught. The wound

[1] According to Yaqut a place below Mayyafariqin, where the Wadi Razm flows into the Tigris.

brought on a dangerous illness, and Sa'd was anxious to utilize the opportunity which it furnished; but his followers would not obey him. Shukr had advanced with his Turks to Nisibin, so that he and Sa'd should be marching simultaneously on the two sides[1]; but his Turkish followers were disorderly. Bad sent an embassy to Ziyar, on whose mercy he threw himself. Ziyar was inclined to peace, yet for fear of Sa'd unwilling to manifest that inclination. He advised Bad to try negotiations with him also. When Sa'd's expedients failed him, when his troubles accumulated and he found that much labour is wasted when fortune frowns, whereas a little succeeds when she smiles, he made peace with Bad, the terms being that Bad was to have Diyar Bakr with half Tur 'Abdin on its West. Sa'd now returned to Mausil, where Ziyar had been staying. The latter now returned to the capital, and Sa'd remained in place of him. The engagement and the peace took place in 374 (began June 4, 984), but the course of the narrative has made it necessary to record them under the events of 373.

In this year Mohammed b. 'Imran[2] was put to death by the Chamberlain Muzaffar b. 'Ali, who installed Abu'l-Ma'ali son of Abu Mohammed Hasan b. 'Imran as Emir, and then assumed the power himself.

(88) *Account of these proceedings.*

We have already recorded how Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Imran put his brother Hasan to death. Having installed himself in his brother's place, he promoted those who had helped him, and neglected the old officers; the promotion of the younger angered the elder. Muzaffar was one of those officers who had distinguished themselves in 'Imran's wars. Conspiring with the Ispahsalar (Commander in Chief) of the army, named Ibn al-Sha'rani, they thus addressed the senior

[1] Of the Jazirat Ibn 'Umar. [2] See above, p. 82.

officers: This person has violated his fraternal obligations, yet we put up with it, in spite of our duty to his brother and his father. Not contented with this crime, he has started degrading us and promoting the basest among us. Most likely he will proceed next to ruin us and repudiate our rights.—They all agreed in execrating his rule; Muzaffar promised Ibn al-Sha'rani to put the prince to death while Ibn al-Sha'rani promised to keep the army in order.

A foolhardy act whose author escaped by a coincidence.

Presently Abu'l-Faraj moved from his official residence to a new building which he had erected, and Muzaffar, learning of this, visited him in this place. Asked by Abu'l-Faraj, when he saw him, what had brought him, he replied that learning of the Emir's expedition he was anxious to be of service. Someone came in to present a letter to Abu'l-Faraj, and when he had taken it and was engaged in its perusal, Muzaffar drew his sword, sprang on him and struck him. The officials who were in the Emir's presence rushed on Muzaffar with their swords, but he kept them off like a furious camel, and repeated his blows on Abu'l-Faraj till he had dispatched him, having himself received a wound in the hand and several blows on the edge of his sword. Descending in his *warjiyyah* [1] to Mansurah, where was the Emir's palace, he brought out Abu'l-Ma'ali son of *H*asan b. 'Imran, a lad of tender years, and installed him as Emir, while satisfying the army. So quickly did Abu'l-Faraj fall after his brother; he overthrew (89) his brother, and presently was overthrown himself. Selling his prospects in the next world for this, he lost them both. Thus is every slayer slain and every traitor betrayed:

Be as thou wilt, as thou dealest so shall men deal with thee.

To resume. When Muzaffar had perpetrated this act, he made a display of boldness, and being advised to

[1] Probably the name of a boat.

obtain assurances from the army by imposing oaths, replied: My assurance is my sword; I sheathe it from those who are loyal. I draw it against those who are disloyal.—He wrote to the capital, recounting how he had avenged Abu Mohammed and restored the government to his son. He solicited official investiture, and sent an envoy to obtain an oath from Samsam al-daulah in favour of the new Emir and himself. All his requests were granted, and Muzaffar began to practise terrorism, and put to death Ibn al-Sha'rani with more than ten officers who had assisted him on the same day. As the days passed, and Muzaffar managed affairs, Abu'l-Ma'ali being a helpless and incapable infant, the former was tempted to assume the Emirate and monopolize the title as well as the reality.

Scheme devised by Muzaffar for public adoption of the title Emir.

He made his clerk write a letter in the Sultan's name addressed to himself, entrusting him with the administration. He then made him get a foreign courier, and place the letter in his hands with instructions to appear with this letter at a crowded saloon, with his face and clothes covered with dust, as though from a journey; the orders were given, and on the following day when the people were assembled this courtier presented himself got up as arranged, and delivered the letter to Muzaffar. The latter took it, kissed it, and handed it to his clerk, who read it. Muzaffar made a show of delight at the communication and immediately bade Abu'l-Ma'ali go off to his mother. He now proclaimed himself Emir, summoned the army and took an oath from them (having previously put to death all of whom he was in fear so that there was no-one left from whom he had anything to apprehend), and assumed the title AL-MUWAFFAQ (the divinely aided). Changing his method he now adopted (**90**) a policy of conciliation.

His beneficent measures.

Having succeeded in his enterprise, he directed his subjects into the path of justice, dealt leniently with them, restrained his hand from bloodshed, and substituted gentleness and mercy for his former harshness and cruelty. Estates that had been seized by 'Imran and his son were restored by him to their owners; he supplied Abu'l-Ma'ali and his mother with an adequate allowance, and allowed them to remain in their palace a long time, after which he ordered them to quit; they moved to Wasit, and he continued to send their allowance regularly, distant as they were. After some length of time he appointed as his successor ABU'L-*HASAN* 'ALI B. NASR, who at a later time received the title MUHADHDHIB AL-DAULAH, but at that time the title The Chosen Emir, to be succeeded by ABU'L-*HASAN* 'ALI B. JA'FAR. They were sons of two of his sisters.

This year news came of the death of Muayyid al-daulah in Jurjan. Samsam al-daulah held a reception for visits of condolence, and the Caliph *Ta'i'* was one of the visitors.

Account of the manner of Muayyid al-daulah's death and subsequent events till the establishment of Fakhr al-daulah in the Emirate after him.

When, as has been recorded,[1] the armies which had been brought by Fakhr al-daulah and Qabus had withdrawn, Muayyid al-daulah established himself in Jurjan which he made his resid nce. With him ABU'L-*HASAN* 'ALI B. KAMAH remained. Reports continually arrived of the severe illness of 'Adud al-daulah, of the appointment of Samsam al-daulah to be his successor in the sovereignty, of the oath of allegiance to him being administered to the army, and of the distribution of money to the troops in the capital. The army in Jurjan

[1] Above p, 28.

mutinied, removed their tents outside the town, and demanded increased pay and a *douccur*. Ziyar b. Shahraguyah and *H*asan b. Ibrahim [1] negotiated with them and succeeded in quieting them and inducing them to return. Ziyar and his (**91**) associates then requested leave to proceed to Baghdad; Muayyid al-daulah, who was anxious that they should stay, tried to dissuade them, but unsuccessfully, as they were homesick, and besides affected by the proceedings of Samsam al-daulah, as stated. Muayyid al-daulah accordingly paid them their due and gave them permission to return, which they gratefully accepted.

Plans of Muayyid al-daulah for seizing the sovereignty, with which fate interfered.

When Muayyid al-daulah learned of 'A*d*ud al-daulah's death, he aspired to take his place as ruler of the empire. He had sent ABU 'ALI QASIM to Fars as the bearer of a message to the prince Abu'l-Fawaris (Sharaf al-daulah) son of 'A*d*ud al-daulah, and received a letter from this Abu 'Ali reporting that prayer was being offered for him (Muayyid al-daulah) throughout Fars, and that his name was being inscribed on the dinars and dirhems. Abu Nasr Khwashadhah came from Fars accompanied by a messenger from the prince Abu'l-Fawaris and stayed with Muayyid al-daulah some days, after which he returned with a reply. Muayyid al-daulah then sent fair promises to his brother Fakhr al-daulah, offering him the government of Jurjan and such supplies of money as he might require; Fakhr al-daulah however placed no reliance on his words and remained where he was. In the meantime there came the order which cannot be disobeyed, the call that cannot be kept out; and he had to obey humbly the command of the Ruler and respond hastily to the call of the Summoner. This is God's decree for first and last, His will with those that

[1] See ii., 121.

have gone before and those that are to follow. God says: *He hath counted them and numbered them accurately, and each one of them shall come to Him separately on the Resurrection Day* (Surah lxxxiii. 94).

Sound counsel of the Sahib Ibn 'Abbad.

When Muayyid al-daulah was attacked by *angina pectoris*, the *Sahib* said to him: If the Prince of princes were to appoint as his successor some one in whom the army will have confidence till such time as God in His mercy will restore his health and enable him to administer his dominions, it would be a harmless precaution.—He replied: I have no time to think of that, for when a man (**92**) is brought to my present state a kingdom has no value for him. Do what you think best.—Presently he was dying, and the *Sahib* said to him: Repent, sir, of all wherein you have been implicated, and resign all goods which you are not clear that you have honestly acquired, resolving if God restore you to health to dispose of them righteously, giving back anything which you know to have been unjustly seized and which you are able to restore.—Muayyid al-daulah acted accordingly even in minute detail, and then expired. Possibly in these instructions the *Sahib* imitated the advice given by Ibn Abi Du'ad to the Caliph Wathiq according to the story; only in the latter case word was followed by deed at once.

An edifying anecdote in encouragement of beneficence.

It is stated that when Wathiq was sick of his last illness there were at the time in his prison a number of clerks and finance-ministers undergoing torture from their inquisitors. Ibn Abi Du'ad presented himself in the Caliph's chamber, and asked how he felt. The Caliph complained of his sufferings. Ibn Abi Du'ad said: Commander of the Faithful, in your prison there are a number of men, with large families dependent on

them, undergoing torture and privation. If you will release them, I might hope for your deliverance from this trouble.—The Caliph told him he had spoken well, and released them. Next morning Ibn Abi Du'ad presented himself as usual, and Wathiq told him that he had felt some alleviation the previous day. Ibn Abi Du'ad said: God guide the Commander of the Faithful aright! Yesterday thousands of hands were raised in blessing which had before been raised in imprecation on him. Now the released men have come back to miserable abodes, starving families and ruined affairs. If the estates seized from them were returned and the fortunes taken from them restored, the blessings would be more copious and the Caliph's reward greater. Wathiq thereupon ordered the estates to be surrendered to them and the property taken from them to be returned. The order was issued through Ibn Abi Du'ad (**93**) who saw it completely executed in the same day, and so God gave life to many persons through him. Wathiq's span was accomplished, and he passed away with the merit of this act for his company. Ibn Abi Du'ad is also immortalized by this exploit. We now resume.

Plans of Ibn 'Abbad after the death of Muayyid al-daulah.

He wrote off at once to Fakhr al-daulah, advising him to hasten, sending his brother and some intimate friends to receive from this prince an oath of fidelity. The *Sahib* then set about putting affairs in order, and assigning pay to the troops; in order to prevent dissension and remove discord for the moment he installed ABU'L-'ABBAS KHUSRFIROZ son of Rukn al-daulah as Emir; the people however wrote severally or in twos to signify their allegiance to Fakhr al-daulah, who was at that time in the neighbourhood of Nisabur, in very distressed circumstances.

Fakhr al-daulah had despatched NASR B. *HASAN* B. FIRUZAN to the ruler of Bukhara with certain leading

officers sent by Qabus at the time when the two (Fakhr al-daulah and Qabus) were summoned by the ruler of Bukhara, owing to a dispute which had arisen between him and his cousin 'ABD AL-MALIK [1] after the defeat of his armies at the gate of Jurjan. Fakhr al-daulah apologised for neither of them appearing in person, and despatched the followers who have been mentioned. When he received Ibn 'Abbad's letter, followed by a series from the chief officers of the army, he started forthwith. Qabus, hearing of this, sent to him to say there was a mutual concern on which he wished to talk to him. He replied that he had commenced his journey and could not go back after advancing; write to me, he said, about anything you want.—He proceeded by forced marches to Jurjan.

(**94**) *Account of the arrival of Fakhr al-daulah in Jurjan and his establishing himself in the prince's palace.*

When news came of the approaching arrival of Fakhr al-daulah in Jurjan, the *Sa*hib Ibn 'Abbad said to the army: I only imposed allegiance on you to Abu'l-'Abbas Khusrfiroz as the deputy of his brother Fakhr al-daulah, so now make haste to meet him and do him honour. They accordingly commissioned ABU'L-*H*USAIN MOHAMMED B. 'ALI B. QASIM the Marshal to obtain assurances for them all; this person went to meet Fakhr al-daulah, condole with him on his brother's death, and congratulate him on his accession, as well as obtain assurances for the officers. Fakhr al-daulah received him with honour and accepted his demands. After him the others hastened in groups to offer their service, and were favourably received. He was then met by the *Sa*hib Ibn 'Abbad with the prince Khusrfiroz, and the chief commanders. He was welcomed by Fakhr al-daulah, who paid him the very highest honour. He

[1] The name 'Abd al-Malik was held by two Samanid princes, neither of whom can be identified with this person.

halted outside the town in the place where Muayyid al-daulah had encamped when fighting with the army of Khorasan, and the next day entered the city. Allegiance and loyalty were there sworn to him and he was installed as Emir.

Thus does fortune shift from state to state, and whirl its victims from depth to height; both misery and prosperity are doomed to end.

A proposal whereby Ibn 'Abbad tested the intentions of Fakhr al-daulah.

When Fakhr al-daulah had been successfully installed the *Sahib* said to him: Since God has now accomplished your hopes and mine for you, I may claim your assent to what I desire, viz. to be permitted to stay in my house, quit the affairs of the army and devote myself to religious exercises.—Fakhr al-daulah replied: You must not talk like this, *Sahib*; I only want the sovereignty for your sake, nor can my affairs be kept straight except by you. If you decline public business, I decline it too (**95**) and retire.—The *Sahib* kissed the ground in sign of gratitude, and said: It is yours to command.—He was subsequently invested with the robes of the vizierate, and received therewith from Fakhr al-daulah honours never before conferred on a vizier.

Fakhr al-daulah and the *Sahib* next decided to seize the person of 'Ali b. Kamah and confiscate his goods and territories. Knowing that he was too powerful for them to attack, they resorted to guile.

A successful device for getting 'Ali b. Kamah out of the way.

They agreed to suborn a cupbearer of his to poison him. So they got at this man and arranged the business. It so happened that 'Ali b. Kamah was giving a banquet to which he invited a large company, making elaborate

arrangements; he asked both Fakhr al-daulah and the *Sahib* to attend and they promised to do so. They sent to the cupbearer bidding him do what had been arranged on that day, and provided him with deadly poison. 'Ali b. Kamah entered his wine-store to sample and select liquors, and the cupbearer injected the poison into one of the samples. 'Ali b. Kamah immediately felt out of sorts, entered a room and flung himself down; a covering was thrown over him. Fakhr al-daulah, learning of this, put off his visit; the other guests were entertained with food and drink, and 'Ali b. Kamah was left undisturbed by his friends, who supposed him to be asleep and did not venture to wake him. The following day finding that there had been no change they entered his room and discovered that he was dead. Fakhr al-daulah sent officers to take possession of his house, seize his stores, take control of his forts and administer his territories. 'Ali b. Kamah had sons, but they could make no terms with Fakhr al-daulah.

We are not so much surprised at Fakhr al-daulah poisoning this man as we are at the *Sahib* taking a hand therein, he having just before as we have recounted, solicited leave to stay at home and devote himself to religious exercises!

In this year ABU NASR SHAHRISALAR son of Muayyid al-daulah came to Fakhr al-daulah's court and was honourably received.

(96) *Account of the reason for this.*

Abu Nasr was in Ispahan as the deputy of his father Muayyid al-daulah in the management of his household. Learning of his father's death he hurried off to Jurjan with such escort as he could muster. Hearing on the road of the installation of Fakhr al-daulah in the Emirate he halted and wrote soliciting permission to complete

his journey to Fakhr al-daulah's court. Receiving a kindly and affectionate reply, with orders to complete his journey, he did so and came on to Jurjan where he was most honourably received.

Abu 'Ali Qasim b. 'Ali b. Qasim returned from Fars whither, as stated above,[1] he had been sent by Muayyid al-daulah, bringing the money that was to be transmitted. Fakhr al-daulah despatched ABU'L-QASIM 'ALAWI the qadi as envoy to Sharaf al-daulah son of 'Adud al-daulah, and himself remained in Jurjan collecting money and storing it in fortresses till the arrival of Tashi[2] on his flight from Khorasan. This person was installed as governor in Jurjan with the right to collect its revenues by Fakhr al-daulah, who himself retired to Rayy. Tashi remained in Jurjan till his death, which was ascribed by some to poison.

In this year the Turks in Baghdad mutinied, and went off in the direction of Shiraz, some of their number having previously departed and got to Fars. Ziyar b. Shahraguyah rode out after them and induced most of them to return; he captured Abu Mansur Ibn Abi'l-Hasan the Inspector, who had fled away, and whose son was with Sharaf al-daulah, not having been arrested. Ziyar brought this man back after he had sustained a wound in self-defence, and put him in confinement. He was maternal uncle to the children of 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf,[3] who, when he heard of his nightly flight, feared lest Ibn Sa'dan should calumniate him to Samsam al-daulah and poison the prince's mind against him by making him responsible for the man's flight. He thought it best to anticipate his enemy by asserting his innocence in the matter.

[1] p. 91.

[2] Husam al-daulah Abu'l-'Abbas Tash; fuller details are given by the *Ta'rikh Yamini*, copied in Wilken's *Historia Samanidarum*, p. 97.

[3] Adud al-daulah's minister, above, p. 40.

(97) *A wise scheme whereby 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf secured himself against a danger that he apprehended.*

Early in the morning which followed that night he betook himself to the palace, seated himself in the vestibule and waited for *Samsam* al-daulah to rise, and the Chamberlain 'Ali Ibn Abi 'Ali to appear. When the Chamberlain, who was his friend, appeared, he told him what was in his mind, and asked him to solicit a private audience for him before any one else. The Chamberlain went and informed *Samsam* al-daulah of his presence, and the audience was granted. When 'Abd al-'Aziz entered, he kissed the ground, shed copious tears, and said: I have served your majesty and '*Adud* al-daulah, and have always shown fidelity and loyalty.—He proceeded to swear with the divorce of his wife, Abu Mansur's sister, as the sanction, that he had neither known of this person's intended flight nor been taken into his counsels. *Samsam* al-daulah was satisfied with this assurance, and addressed him in a way which calmed his apprehensions. He withdrew, with his fears allayed. The following day Ibn Sa'dan presented himself and alluded to 'Abd al-'Aziz in connexion with Abu Mansur's flight casually; *Samsam* al-daulah however declined to entertain the suggestion and told him that 'Abd al-'Aziz was guiltless of the matter and had no connexion with it.—Ibn Sa'dan went no further, but the enmity between the two was increased, and 'Abd al-'Aziz tried hard to ruin Ibn Sa'dan and ultimately got him arrested and secured his place for himself as we hope presently to record.

YEAR 374.[1]

In this year imperial robes of honour, a deed of investiture, a banner and an additional title were bestowed by the Caliph *Ta'i'* on Fakhr al-daulah, and delivered to his envoy ABU'L-'ALA *HASAN* B. MOHAMMED B. SAHLUYAH.

[1] Began June 4, 984.

(98) *Account of the proceedings that led to this.*

After the death of Muayyid al-daulah and the establishment of Fakhr al-daulah in his place Ibn Sa'dan endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between him and Samsam al-daulah. He wrote to the *Sahib* Ibn-'Abbad and the negotiations which ensued resulted in Abu'l-'Ala Ibn Sahluyah being employed as commissioner to settle matters and obtain the imperial robes for Fakhr al-daulah. He was received with extraordinary honours by Ibn Sa'dan who furnished him with entertainment and transmitted to him sums which went beyond what his rank entitled him to. During his stay there was continuous correspondence which ostensibly implied such partnership between the two forces in all plans and arrangements as would renew the system of complete agreement which had existed between the brothers 'Imad, Mu'izz and Rukn al-daulah. The *Sahib* applied himself so earnestly to assure this state of things that no operation or deliberation took place at Fakhr al-daulah's court, but he communicated it, and he invariably sent sincere advice on every matter which he believed to be to Samsam al-daulah's interest.

Among the matters whereof a full account was written by the *Sahib* to the capital was the arrival of ABU SA'ID AHMAD B. SHABIB, commander of the army of Khwarizm, as envoy from the prince of Khorasan, conveying the most courteous messages; also letters from Abu'l-'Abbas Tash full of the most effusive assurances of affection; and that conversations were being conducted with the envoy with regard to peace, of which the first condition was to be submission to the Caliphate (a religious obligation and a qualification for worldly success), then that none of these countries should be ceded to them, and that they should neither by word or deed aid and abet Qabus b. Washmagir, who should be sent back to Bukhara and given a post in the most distant regions;

that they should be restricted to the sum offered which might be regarded as (99) a subsidy furnished them by the Commander of the Faithful for the defence of the frontier entrusted to them. He added that ABU SA'D *S*ALI*H* B. 'ABDALLAH had been sent out with the envoy who was returning, and that when the negotiations were completed and the treaty ratified, a copy in accordance with its terms should be sent to the capital as the close connexion between the two courts demanded.

Among the counsels and suggestions which the letters enunciated was that the Emir Abu'l-*H*usain [1] should be conciliated and induced to be loyal; and it was stated that Fakhr al-daulah had already written to him and taken the preliminary steps in this direction; if it were desired that he should undertake the final steps, he was quite willing to do so. He (Abu'l-*H*usain) had inscribed the name of Fakhr al-daulah on dinars and dirhems, and had written from Basrah to the effect that he had had his sovereignty proclaimed as he had proclaimed it in Ahwaz; he would not be likely to transgress or exceed what was assigned him, and that the best plan was co-operation, mutual support, and avoidance of discord and dissension.—Such suggestions could only spring from a desire to further *S*amsam al-daulah's interests to unite varying fancies in his favour and to win back to him lost affections.[2]

When Ibn Sahluyah's stay was prolonged, Fakhr al-daulah and the *Sa*hib became suspicious, and letters containing remonstrances came to Ibn Sa'dan. The cause of the delay was the affair of Bad, the dimensions which this danger had assumed, and Ibn Sa'dan's consequent distraction from all other business that required his attention. When the news of Bad's defeat arrived, and the affair had reached the satisfactory conclusion

[1] Son of '*A*dud al-daulah, see II 456.

[2] This somewhat obscure passage implies that Fakhr al-daulah was inclined to let Abu'l-*H*usain acknowledge the suzerainty of *S*amsam al-daulah.

that has been recorded, Ibn Sa'dan was freer, and the Caliph *Ṭa'i'* was approached on the subject of sending imperial robes afresh to Fakhr al-daulah. He assented. He held one of the usual receptions, at which the ambassador Ibn Sahluyah presented himself, and the seven robes were produced with the black turban, the sword, the collar, the bracelet, the banner and the two horses with gold saddles, and the deed was read (**100**) appointing him (Fakhr al-daulah) to the government of the provinces which were in his possession; to his former title was added that of FALAK AL-UMMAH (Orb of the Nation). All this was delivered to Ibn Sahluyah. ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED BI. MUSA the Treasurer was associated with him, and the two proceeded to Jurjan, where they delivered the things. They then returned, Ibn Sahluyah remaining as Fakhr al-daulah's representative in the capital till the end of Samsam al-daulah's time.

In this year there arrived a despatch from ABU BAKR MOHAMMED B. SHAHUYAH containing the welcome tidings that Samsam al-daulah had been proclaimed in Oman.

Proceedings in Oman till it returned to Sharaf al-daulah's allegiance.

The governor there at the time was ABU JA'FAR USTADHHURMUZ B. *HASAN*, for Sharaf al-daulah. Ibn Shahuyah left no stone unturned till he got him to venture, and made him swerve from his partiality to Sharaf al-daulah, and indeed his bias was in favour of the authorities of the capital, where his son ABU 'ALI *HASAN* was. He accordingly brought the officers and civilians in Oman into submission to Samsam al-daulah, and had prayer offered for him from the pulpits of those regions. When the information reached Baghdad, pleasure was displayed, Samsam al-daulah held a reception for congratulation, and the usual letters announcing good tidings were despatched to the provincial governors.

A deed of appointment to the governorship of Oman was sent to Ustadhhurmuz with robes of honour and presents. His son Abu 'Ali *H*asan was summoned, and promoted from a sergeant (*naqib*) to a chamberlain (h*ajib*).

When Sharaf al-daulah learned of the defection of Ustadhhurmuz, he sent Abu Nasr Khwashadhah against him at the head of a vast army of picked men. An engagement took place, which resulted in the victory of Abu Nasr and his capture of Ustadhhurmuz, who was put in confinement while Abu Nasr got possession of his troops and supplies. Abu Nasr, having succeeded in this enterprise, appointed governors (**101**) and garrisons for Oman, and then returned to Fars, taking with him Ustadhhurmuz, who was paraded there. A heavy fine was then imposed upon him and he was removed to a fortress where it was to be exacted from him.

In this year Sharaf al-daulah released Abu Mansur Mohammed b. *H*asan b. *Sali*h*an*, Abu'l-Qasim 'Ala b. *H*asan, and his brother Abu'l-*H*asan the Inspector; of the three he appointed Abu Mansur vizier, and committed public affairs to his charge.

Story of their confinement and release, and how Abu Mansur came to be entrusted with the vizierate.

When Sharaf al-daulah came to Shiraz, he arrested Nasr b. Harun, as previously narrated.[1] He proceeded to appoint ABU'L-QASIM AL-'ALA B. *H*ASAN vizier. The new vizier reduced the allowances of the courtiers and staff, and these poisoned the mind of Sharaf al-daulah against him, and his brother Abu'l-*H*asan the Inspector, against whom indeed Sharaf al-daulah already harboured a grudge. After a short time he arrested the two together with ABU MANSUR MOHAMMED B. *H*ASAN B. *SALIH*AN, and ordered them to be conveyed to a fortress. He entrusted the administration to Abu Mohammed 'Ali

[1] Above p. 80.

b 'Abbas b. Fasanjas and Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi,[1] who was recommended by the former owing to the friendship which they had formerly made in Baghdad. The former after remaining in office was arrested. The three mentioned above were then released, and Abu Mansur was entrusted with the vizierate. Accident caused him to be secured in the post.

Account of a fortunate coincidence which secured his position.

Abu Mohammed Ibn 'Umar[2] stated that Sharaf al-daulah despatched an envoy to the Qarma*t*ians, who, after his return (**102**) from his expedition, being asked concerning the state of affairs, said among other things: The Qarma*t*ians asked me about his majesty, and I described the excellence of his statecraft and his virtuous conduct.—They said: It is a sign of his wise statecraft to appoint three viziers in one year without reason.—This saying sank deep into Sharaf al-daulah's mind, and in consequence he interfered with none of Abu Mansur's measures, and he remained in his service till his death.

Abu'l-*H*asan the Inspector was sent on a mission to Jurjan and died there. Abu'l-Qasim 'Ala remained in his house till Sharaf al-daulah's expedition to Ahwaz, when he accompanied him, as shall be mentioned in its place.

In this year Ibn Sa'dan was arrested with his dependents, as also was Abu Sa'd Bahram with Ibn Shahuyah and all their associates. Affairs were administered for a time by 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf.

YEAR 375.[3]

In this year 'Abd al 'Aziz b. Yusuf and ABU'L-*H*ASAN AHMAD B. MOHAMMED BARMUYAH were associated in the

[1] The former of these was banished to Samarra, ii. 218. The latter's release was recorded above, iii. 81.

[2] Probably a mistake for Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed, as above.

[3] Began May 24, 985.

vizierate and the executive; both received robes of honour.

Account of the fortunes of this joint vizierate.

These two persons were united by firm and unclouded affection, lived near each other and attended each other's receptions They were constantly engaged with one another either in converse or in deliberation.

On the death of 'Ali b. *Aḥ*mad 'Umani, secretary to Samsam al daulah's mother, Ibn Sa'dan tried to secure the appointment for his father Abu Nasr. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf counterplotted owing to the enmity between them.

(**103**) *Wise caution administered by 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf to Samsam al-daulah against tutelage.*

He pointed out that Ibn Sa'dan had obtained control of the prince's affairs, with possession of his stores; if he succeeds in installing his father in the household of the queen-mother, we (he said) shall be under his tutelage. Now here is Ibn Barmuyah, who was in 'A*d*ud al-daulah's service, and is truer-hearted, purer-minded and fitter for the service of women, being a eunuch, castrated by Ibn Alyas, and purchased by 'A*d*ud al-daulah from the Baloochees by whom he had been captured.—This suggestion weighed with Samsam al-daulah, who accordingly appointed Ibn Barmuyah secretary to his mother. When at a later period 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf became minister, he appointed as his deputies Abu Sa'd Firuzabadi and Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. Haitham. Ibn Barmuyah was angered at being passed over, after expecting that he would be put in control of affairs owing to his relations with the minister; for a time he maintained his association as before, but presently abandoned him, and would pass by his gate without entering. Aided by the queen-mother he endeavoured to secure the ministry for himself. This

offended 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf, and the two became resolute opponents.

A foolish suggestion made to Samsam al-daulah by his mother and carried out by him.

She advised him to institute a joint vizierate of the two, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf and Ibn Barmuyah, and he assented. The former was approached on the subject, and declined. The queen-mother however persevered, and negotiations ensued, which resulted in his being forced to acquiesce. Robes of honour were bestowed on the two, they were given equal rank and sat on the same bench, that placed for the vizier. (**104**) It was settled that in the headings of their joint letters the name of 'Abd al-'Aziz should have precedence. This however was not carried out, and Ibn Barmuyah obtained the upper hand by his personal ability, the queen-mother's support, and the fear which he inspired. The Government was therefore enfeebled through this bad counsel. Indeed when women interfere in politics, an unhealthy state of affairs results, disintegration begins and success departs. When they control affairs, the consequences are disastrous; the edifice is ruined. When they have a voice in the council, wrong measures are adopted. Destruction hastens upon the state as fast as a torrent descending.

'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf was of course angered by this and at the conduct of the queen-mother in supporting Ibn Barmuyah against him; and finding Ibn Barmuyah a fiercer enemy than Ibn Shahraguyah,[1] resolved to oust Samsam al-daulah from the sovereignty. He won over Asfar b. Karduyah to his plot.

Progress of Asfar's revolt.

There were certain secrets between Samsam al-daulah and Ziyar b. Shahraguyah with which 'Abd al-'Aziz b.

[1] See above p. 96.

Yusu' had become acquainted by his initiation into the ministry; these he divulged to Asfar, whom some of the revelations so alarmed that they shook his loyalty. A plot was devised between them, and with them there conspired the Muzaffar Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ubaidallah b. Mohammed b. *H*amdawaihi and Abu Mansur A*h*mad b. 'Ubaidallah Shirazi, at that time secretary to *Ta'i'*. Samsam al-daulah was suffering from a dangerous illness, and Asfar took the opportunity to instruct the officers of the army as well as the rank and file to dethrone him and appoint the prince ABU NASR (at the time fifteen years old) deputy to his brother Sharaf al-daulah. He promised the troops various benefits and obtained from them guarantees (in the shape of oaths). The revolt began by his keeping away from the palace and practising concealment.[1] (**105**) Mollifying and conciliatory messages were repeatedly sent by Samsam al-daulah, but they had no other effect than to irritate and alienate him still further. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf, Ibn Barmayah, and Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Umarah the Marshal brought him even kindlier messages than the preceding, but when they came he declined to meet them, arrested them, mustered his troops, brought forward the prince Abu Nasr, and issued the watchword of Sharaf al-daulah. He then released 'Abd al-'Aziz, whose arrest had been by collusion with him, and the two agreed to arrange and administer affairs. The Muzaffar Ibn *H*amdawaihi and Abu Mansur Shirazi undertook to obtain the allegiance of the army.

When Samsam al-daulah heard the news, he had recovered from his illness, but was sore perplexed. He collected his household retainers, and sent to *Ta'i'* to solicit a visit; the Caliph however declined, excusing himself.

[1] This seems to be the sense.

A sound idea coupled with a lucky coincidence, resulting in a victory for Samsam al-daulah.

Finding the crisis acute, he appealed to FULAD B. MANADHAR, to whom he made lavish offers. This person had been one of the conspirators, but had recoiled from the idea of becoming a follower of Asfar after having been his equal in rank.[1] It was fortunate that evening came on and night spread its screen; for had Asfar gone against Samsam al-daulah at the moment when he manifested his intentions, he would have taken him undefended. Asfar however thought the prince could not possibly escape him, and events were preordained. By morning Fulad had deserted them and gone over to Samsam al-daulah's side. Presenting himself at the palace he obtained assurances and secured a deed bestowing on him everything that he asked; he on the other side undertaking to defend Samsam al-daulah's throne and do him faithful service. Samsam al-daulah was thus joined by Fulad (**106**) and his relatives, paternal and maternal, who formed his cavalry and infantry, with his numerous and vigorous personal retainers. He opened his treasury and armoury, paid them sums down and made them promises of future munificence. With these Fulad went up to meet the conspirators.

Fulad's skilful strategy.

He embarked in Samsam al-daulah's *zabzab*, and took his seat on the prince's chair in his compartment. Over his head were the prince's insignia, while behind and in front were *zabzabs* and barges. The people therefore supposed that Samsam al-daulah had come out himself. He made his troops advance in a parallel line on the bank; when he got to the island at Suq Yaḥya, he found his few cavalry were fighting with Asfar's Dailemites, and holding out against them. Dis-

[1] This is probably what the writer meant.

embarking, he deployed his troops and slowly advanced till he came into collision with the opposing force, who thinking that it was *Samsam* al-daulah beneath the insignia, broke rank. Asfar from his balcony seeing them retreat, felt certain of defeat, mounted his horse,[1] and fled away, followed by many of his relatives and partisans, among them 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf. Abu'l-*Hasan* Ibn 'Umarah the Marshal got off with a wound. The prince Abu Nasr was caught, and brought to *Samsam* al-daulah, who, knowing that he was innocent, had pity on him, did not upbraid him, but ordered him to be confined and treated with kindness. He was confined in the Treasury, where he received every attention. The houses of the Turks and Dailemites who had joined in the conspiracy and those of their followers and associates were plundered.

The night before this defeat Ibn Sa'dan was put to death.

Plot contrived by 'Abd al-'Aziz against Ibn Sa'dan resulting in his death.

When Asfar arrested 'Abd al-'Aziz, Ibn Barmuyah and Ibn 'Umarah (**107**), the first of these seized the opportunity to send a message to *Samsam* al-daulah, to irritate him against Ibn Sa'dan and suggest to him that what had happened was of his scheming, and that from his prison he might devise any mischief. *Samsam* al-daulah's thoughts had anticipated these suspicions, and *Ahmad* b *Hafs* the Equerry,[2] who was an enemy of Ibn Sa'dan, embittered the prince still further against him. The prince therefore ordered Ibn Sa'dan to be put to death, and with him Abu Sa'd Bahram, who had been his deputy during his administration, was executed

[1] Or "embarked."

[2] Probably the same as the person mentioned above, p. 73.

so as to make a clean sweep. Abu Mansur[1] was put to death also to annoy 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf. God Almighty says: *Beware of sedition which may afflict not only those of you who do wrong* (Surah viii. 25). Abu Bakr Ibn Shahuyah was in custody, but escaped through a lucky coincidence.

Remarkable coincidence whereby Ibn Shahuyah escaped execution.

He was confined in a cell contiguous with that wherein the others were imprisoned, only its entrance was behind that of theirs, so that it remained closed when the other was opened. No attention being paid him, he remained concealed. Afterwards when the crisis was passed, he was released. Abu'l-Rayyan *H*amd b. Mohammed was released from confinement,[2] and entrusted with the vizierate, while ABU'L-*H*ASAN 'ALI B. *T*AHIR was made Secretary to the Queen-mother; letters conveying the good news were written to Fakhr al-daulah and all the provinces, and the two brothers of 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf, his clerks and dependents, were arrested. The Muzaffar Ibn *H*amdawaihi and Abu Mansur Shirazi[3] had fled from Asfar's residence on the day of the rout; they were caught and fines were inflicted on them.

The Caliph *T*a'i' bestowed a robe of honour on Samsam al-daulah, with fresh distinctions and decorations; handsome robes were also bestowed on Abu Nasr Fulad b Manadhar, who, after he had been made to swear that he would be true and faithful, received the title *Ispahsalar* (Commander in Chief).

Asfar b. Karduyah, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf and their followers retired to Ahwaz in disorder.

[1] See above, p. 96. [2] See above, p. 78.
[3] Above, p. 104.

(**108**) *Account of what happened to these two and the Turks after they had left Baghdad.*

They departed from Baghdad to the Nahrawan Bridge, and proceeded to Ahwaz; arrived there they were met by the prince Abu'l-*Husain*,[1] who invited them to remain. The Turks pretended to acquiesce, though secretly they had other views; one day when they were not noticed they went off. SABUR B. KARDUYAH was ordered by Abu'l-*Husain* to pursue and bring them back; riding after them he overtook them at the Arbaq Bridge, but was unable to cope with them; a skirmish ensued, wherein they discharged missiles, and after hitting some of his followers proceeded on their way. He returned. Asfar b. Karduyah remained in Ahwaz, where he was treated with honour; his brother Sabur was the leader (*za'im*) of the army, only Asfar was promoted above him owing to his seniority in age and high ability. He remained in this condition till the advance of Sharaf al-daulah from Fars, when he was sent by the prince Abu'l-*Husain* to take charge of 'Askar Mukram, at the head of 500 Dailemites. When Sharaf al-daulah reached Ahwaz, Asfar visited him, but was put into arrest by him, and conveyed to a fortress in Fars, where he remained till Sharaf al-daulah's death, when he was released simultaneously with *Samsam* al-daulah. He remained in Fars for a time and then departed to Rayy. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf was protected by Mansur b. Khusrah,[2] who treated him with distinction in acknowledgment of a previous service. 'Abd al-'Aziz rewarded his kindness by treacherous designs, and aspired to usurp his place. He made the suggestion to a person on whose help he counted; Mansur b. Khusrah, perceiving this, took the precaution of obtaining sworn promises from the prince Abu'l-*Husain* and his mother that he should be retained in his ministry, and not displaced. He also

[1] Son of '*Adud* al-daulah; above, p. 99.

[2] Governor of Ahwaz, above, p. 79.

succeeded in changing the prince Abu'l-*H*usain's sentiments towards 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf, and ousting him from the position wherein he had placed him on his first arrival, so that recourse was no longer had to his opinion on any subject. " The reward for an ill turn is a similar ill turn, and the (**109**) fault is with him who starts." He endured this treatment till the arrival of Sharaf al-daulah, when he was arrested together with Asfar and sent to the same fortress, whence he was released after Sharaf al-daulah's death.

In this year Is*h*aq and Ja'far of Hajar, two of the six Qarma*t*ians called *The Sayyids* (Lords), came and took possession of Kufah, where they had prayer offered in Sharaf al-daulah's name. Great alarm in consequence was felt in Baghdad, owing to the terror which these people inspired, their dauntless valour, and their formidable character which had caused many a monarch to make friends of them; indeed '*A*dud al-daulah and Bakhtiyar before him had assigned them fiefs in Wasit and Saqy al-Furat. Their requests were regularly granted and their requirements carried out. Ibn Shahuyah their representative lived in the capital like a vizier, obtained audiences of the sovereigns, who fell in with his ideas, while the grandees were afraid of him, put up with his arrogance, and obeyed his commands—for no reason except his relations with these people.

Further doings of the Qarmatians Ishaq and Ja'far.

When news came of their having seized Kufah, Abu'l-Rayyan (the vizier) commenced by addressing them a courteous letter, containing mild remonstrance, and inviting them to peace and friendship, while offering them what they were endeavouring to obtain. He relied on Ibn Shahuyah as mediator, having already released him from confinement and endeavoured to make up to him by bounties and honours for what he had

suffered. The Qarma*t*ians' reply was evasive, and the arrest of Ibn Shahuyah was made a ground for severe reprehension. They then went on sending their followers into more and more districts and collecting the revenue on their own account till patience was exhausted. One of their chief officers called ABU QAIS *H*ASAN B. AL-MUNDHIR, with a number of men, entered Jami'ain; against him the Chamberlain Abu'l-Fa*d*l Muzaffar b. Ma*h*mud was sent from Baghdad (**110**) at the head of a number of Dailemites, Turks and Arabs. Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Za'faran was despatched to Ibrahim b. Mar*h* the 'Uqailite to get him to move with some of his tribe. The Chamberlain Abu'l-Fa*d*l got to Babil Bridge and found the enemy facing him. They proceeded to bridge the Euphrates, and by the time the bridge was completed Ibrahim and Ibn Za'faran arrived and got on to the same terrain as the Qarma*t*ians; a skirmish ensued; the bridge was finished, and the light Turkish riders with the Dailemite cavalry crossed, and joined in a united charge with Ibrahim and his followers. The result was the rout of the Qarma*t*ians, and the capture of their leader Abu Qais with a number of his officers. Ibrahim b. Mar*h* hurried up and decapitated him owing to a private feud. The routed forces retired to Kufah. A messenger was sent to Baghdad, where there were demonstrations of joy.

Doings of the two Qarmatians after the death of their officer Abu Qais.

When the defeated forces got back, they were moved by pride, of which the sense with the Qarma*t*ians is strong, and equipped a force of which they gave the command to one of their most trusted officers named IBN AL-JA*H*ISH; they sent with him a mass of men and munitions. News of this reaching Baghdad the Chamberlain ABU MUZA*H*IM BACHKAM was sent out at the head of various regiments. The Qarma*t*ians were west

of Jami'ain. The Chamberlain crossed over, and engaged them in a combat which resulted in the death of Ibn al-Jahish and the capture of many Qarmatian officers, with the plunder of their camp and baggage. Such of them as escaped took refuge in Kufah. The two Qarmatian leaders with such men as were left them now retreated. Abu Muzahim entered Kufah, and pursued them as far as Qadisiyyah, but not overtaking them, returned to the former place.

The disturbance was now at an end, and therewith the reputation of the Qarmatians, and the terror which they had inspired in men's breasts. Every community has a term of prosperity up to which it progresses; retrogression then begins with declension and transition; except in the case of religious prosperity, for that follows a line of progression, and when it separates from the (**111**) perishing world passes into the world that endures.

In this year Ward the Byzantine and his fellow-captives were released by the intervention of Ziyar b. Shahraguyah.

Account of the release of Ward and his departure to the Byzantine country.

We have recorded his arrest in the days of 'Adud al-daulah.[1] He remained in confinement till this time. Ziyar negotiated for his release and spoke to Samsam al-daulah recommending that he be conciliated[2]; conditions were drawn up to be imposed on both parties, and guarantees taken for their faithful observance. It was stipulated that he should acknowledge the favour shown him by Samsam al-daulah, and should be the enemy of his enemies and the friend of his friends, whether of the same or a different religion; that he should release all Moslems, whether they were pining in captivity or beleaguered; that he should help them to return to their

[1] Above, p. 14. [2] See Lebeau-Brosset, xiv. 172.

own country, and should protect their lives, property, women and children, whatever their rank. That he should not send an army to any frontier, or treacherously permit any of his followers to do the like. That he should surrender seven Byzantine fortresses with their suburbs and fields in a state of cultivation and without removal of the inhabitants; and that for the remainder of his life he should perform all that had been stipulated and settled with him. In his favour it was stipulated that he should be released, and protected against assault, together with his companions till they had got with the presents given them outside the empire of (**112**) Samsam al-daulah; and that the ordinary practice be observed in the case of the surrendered fortresses of protecting the inhabitants and permitting them to retain their possessions and their rights, and of respecting their customs in the operations and arrangements connected with the revenue. The same assurances were got from his brother Constantine and his son Romanus, and contracts to this effect were written out on rolls for the ratification of which the Caliph *Ta'i'*s leave was solicited; he gave it, and ordered the strictest attention to be paid to the wording. When drafting had been satisfactorily settled Ward was released, money and raiment were brought to him, and Samsam al-daulah held a reception for the purpose of meeting him.

Account of the ceremonial at Samsam al-daulah's reception of Ward.

The Author of the History writes: I well remember Samsam al-daulah sitting for Ward to meet him, have audience of him, render homage and return thanks. It was winter, and the palace with its saloons was filled with costly carpeting, with curtains of woven silk suspended over the doorways, and the cavalry retainers standing in handsome uniform with coloured *qabas* in two rows in front of his dais. This had been set up in

the golden *sedile* (sitting-room), of which the doors opened out on the garden, and part of the court. Behind these rows stretched the Dailemite troops, in similar attire, as far as the Tigris. Ward with his son and his brother crossed the river in a *zabzab* which had been sent for them; they then walked between the rows to the presence of Samsam al-daulah before whom there were golden braziers containing blazing sticks. As Ward approached he bowed his head slightly and kissed the prince's hand. A chair with a cushion was placed for him and he sat down thereon. Samsam al-daulah proceeded to make civil inquiries, and he invoked a blessing on the prince and thanked him in Greek, the conversation being conducted through an interpreter. He spoke to the following effect: Your majesty has treated me with kindness which I do not deserve, and has laid under obligation a man who is conscious of it. I hope that God may help me to maintain my loyalty and to requite your services.—He then rose; (**113**) the chamberlains and attendants walked in front of him as they had done when he entered, and he crossed in the *zabzab* to his residence.

Account of the fortunes of Ward after his departure from Baghdad.

As he proceeded in the direction of his country he conciliated many of the Bedouins, to whom he offered high pay and gratuities. He proceeded on his way till he halted at Malatia, where Kulaib was governor for the two Byzantine Emperors. He was an associate of Ward, as has already been mentioned in the report found in the writing of Ibn Shahram.[1] He loyally surrendered his stores to Ward, thereby (**114**) putting him again at the head of a powerful party. He proposed

[1] Above, p. 29. Lebeau here (xiv. 174) tells a foolish story about the release of Bardas, obviously modelled on the earlier exploit of Manuel in the reign of Theophilus. In the text a lengthy account of the sequel is quoted from Yaḥya b. Sa'id Antaki, which is similar to what is given by Lebeau.

to march against Wardis son of Leo making a show of hostility; messages however passed between them resulting in an agreement on the basis that Constantinople and the adjoining lands on the same side of the straits should go to Wardis son of Leo, whereas the lands on the other side should be assigned to Ward. After interchange of oaths they agreed to meet, and the two proceeded to the rendezvous. When Wardis son of Leo got him in his power he arrested him.

(**115**) *Treacherous arrest of Ward by Wardis son of Leo, and his subsequently kindly release by the same.*

Ward had obtained the most satisfactory guarantees, but it occurred to Wardis son of Leo that this was a chance not to be missed, so he broke faith, arrested him and sent him to a fortress. When he came to reflect, he perceived that he had perpetrated an outrage which would brand him for ever as a traitor, prevent every one from making a contract with him in the future, and would alienate all his friends. He therefore made amends by speedily releasing him,[1] apologising to him, and renewing their covenant. So they returned to their co operation and set aside whatever might lead to dispute. Wardis thereupon departed, and encamped in front of (**116**) Constantinople, making war on the two Emperors, Basil and Constantine. Opinion was in his favour, and he was joined by the troops and civilians. The two Emperors were left with few followers, entrenched in their city and its fortifications.

Expedient whereby the two Emperors restored their fallen fortunes.

Reduced to weakness the two Emperors sent to solicit aid from the king of the Russians; he demanded their sister's hand in marriage but she refused to surrender

[1] Lebeau's authorities (xiv. 179) ascribe the release to the wife of Phocas after the latter's death.

herself to a bridegroom of a different religion; correspondence ensued which resulted in the Russian king adopting Christianity. The alliance was then contracted and the princess was given him.[1] He sent a number of his followers to assist them, men of strength and courage. When this reinforcement had reached Constantinople, they crossed the strait in ships to meet Wardis, who despised their appearance and ironically asked how they thus ventured themselves. No sooner however had they reached the shore and got on the same terrain with the enemy than a battle commenced wherein the Russians proved themselves superior, and put Wardis to death.[2] His forces were dispersed, and the emperors (**117**) once more found themselves firmly installed, and their government which had been tottering renewed its strength. They sent a conciliatory message to Ward, and confirmed him in his lieutenancy. In this he remained undisturbed for some time, but presently died, some say of poison.

Basil prospered in his empire and displayed political ability, sound judgment and strength of mind. For thirty-five years he kept up the war against the Bulgarians, in which numerous engagements were fought; ultimately he conquered them, taking possession of their lands whence he expelled the greater number of them, settling Byzantines instead.[3] He was famed for his justice and affection for Moslems, and I imagine that his long life[4] and reign were due to his keeping his hands off their territory and his kindly treatment of such of them as came into his.

In this year Samsam al-daulah proposed to impose a duty of ten per cent. on the price of silken and cotton clothes manufactured in Baghdad.

[1] The Russian king's name was Volodomir, and that of the princess Anne.

[2] The manner of the death of Bardas Phocas was uncertain; Lebeau, xiv. 178, records different opinions.

[3] The year 1018 is the date referred to. Lebeau, xiv 215.

[4] This was probably the author's meaning.

Reason for this proposal.

ABU'L-FATH RAZI had represented the amount to be got from this duty as very large, and offered to procure a million (**118**) dirhems thence every year. There was a meeting held in the Mosque of Mansur, and they decided to prevent the Friday worship, while there were riots in the other cities. They were in consequence relieved from the new impost.

In this year ABU'L-'ABBAS IBN SABUR the Collector died under the tortures whereby demands made upon him were being enforced. It is said that an opinion was demanded of the Jurist ABU BAKR KHWARIZMI on a question of the following nature: *Is a man who is undergoing torture and has already sufficient to make him think little of dying justified in putting himself out of his misery?* In answer the Jurist wrote: *Such an act is neither lawful nor justified, and his endurance of his troubles is calculated to multiply his ultimate reward and atone for his sins.* When the bearer of this reply had departed, one of those present said to the Jurist's son Zuhair: This is the question of the Collector Ibn Sabur. Abu Bakr bade them recall the bearer. Being recalled he was asked about it and stated that it was Ibn Sabur's question. Abu Bakr said to the man: Tell him that whether he puts an end to himself or spares himself, his destination would in either case be Hell and his end ruin.

In this year there were continuous reports of an expedition of Sharaf al-daulah from Fars in the direction of 'Iraq. ABU 'ABDALLAH MOHAMMED B. 'ALI B. KHALAF was sent out to negotiate terms of peace with him; a despatch was received from him from Shiraz, stating that he had found Sharaf al-daulah there, had communicated his message and been received with such favour as indicated that Sharaf al-daulah's intentions were good. He was promised a courteous send-off, and

an envoy was attached to him to settle the terms of peace and goodwill.

After this Abu'l-Rayyan *H*amd b. Mohammed was arrested with his associates and dependents.

Account of the reason for this.

ABU'L-*H*ASAN 'ALI B. *T*AHIR had got control over the affairs of the mother of *S*amsam al-daulah from his position as her secretary. He was all-powerful with her and with *S*amsam al-daulah as being her minister. (**119**) It has already been observed [1] that women's usurpation of political power is ruinous to an empire; their contradictory measures ultimately cause disaffection and disaster. This 'Ali b. *T*ahir and his cousin Abu 'Abdallah had become suspicious of Abu'l-Rayyan and slandered him to *S*amsam al-daulah, being abetted by the queen-mother. They charged him with being in favour with Sharaf al-daulah, and asserted that the mission of Ibn Khalaf was for the purpose of bringing about an arrangement between the two. They kept up their intrigues till Abu'l-Rayyan was arrested.

Account of what happened to Abu'l-Rayyan.

Presenting himself at the palace according to custom he began to discharge his ordinary duties. Curiously enough he missed his signet on this occasion, and did not know how it had slipped off his finger; he looked for it, but was unable to find it. He was then summoned to the presence of *S*amsam al-daulah, was removed to the store-room, and put under arrest. His vizierate on this occasion lasted seven months and some days. 'Ali b. *T*ahir and his cousin Abu 'Abdallah assumed control of affairs, and gave the original orders, appointing ABU'L-FATH IBN FARIS and ABU 'ABDALLAH IBN AL-HAITHAM to see to details. They used to present

[1] Above, p. 104.

themselves in an elegant chamber in the palace, and sign orders for the issue of moneys, the delivery of drafts, and the demand for payments. Things went on in this fashion till the fall of *Samsam* al-daulah.

Immediately after the arrest of Abu'l-Rayyan Abu Nasr Khwashadhah arrived on a mission accompanied by Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Khalaf, and was received with honour by *Samsam* al-daulah with his ministers and officers.

Account of this mission.

Abu Nasr Khwashahdah, 'Ala b. *Ḥ*asan,[1] and most of Sharaf al-daulah's (**120**) courtiers preferred to remain in Fars, which was their native land, and where their families and their fortunes were. Now it is instinctive with mankind to love their native land and to like to remain among their families and friends. On the other hand, Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi used to recommend Sharaf al-daulah to invade 'Iraq. With this plan they would not agree, asserting that his object was to return to his own home, and get back to his own city, property and fortune. They declared that '*Aḍ*ud al-daulah from the time when he had abandoned Fars for 'Iraq had had no peace nor quiet. Sharaf al-daulah was in the habit of paying attention to these representations, and wanted to stay in Shiraz; naturally, as he had been born and reared there; it was, as has been said,

> The land where my amulets were hung upon me, and the first soil that touched my skin.

For this reason the counsel of this party prevailed with him, and he was inclined to accept it with favour. Only when he received letters from *Samsam* al-daulah and his mother, and Abu'l-Rayyan, offering homage and obedience, and consenting to proclaim his sovereignty and to accept the outward rank of lieutenancy for him, this notion appealed to him, and Abu Nasr Khwashadhah was despatched as envoy for the establishing of

[1] Sharaf al-daulah's vizier, above, p. 101.

this principle. A memoir was also given him containing a demand for imperial robes, a title, the introduction of his name into public prayer, the despatch of the prince Abu Nasr with due honours,[1] and certain requirements in the way of machines, furniture, and slaves, male and female. He had meant to be satisfied with this; but when he got to Ahwaz, and the world flung herself into his arms, and the countries presented him with the keys of their locks, he changed his mind, and resolved to make 'Iraq and Baghdad his destination. We hope to give an account of this in the right place.

Account of the expedition of Sharaf al daulah from Fars, his seizure of Ahwaz, and its evacuation by the prince Abu'l-Husain.

When Sharaf al-daulah resolved on advancing from Fars, he wrote a courteous letter to the prince Abu'l-*H*usain (**121**), offering to confirm him in the possession of the territories which he ruled, and informing him that his (Sharaf al-daulah's) objective was Baghdad, and his purpose the release of the prince Abu Nasr his brother; and that he would on his passage through Abu'l-*H*usain's dominions do nothing which could injure or annoy him. The prince Abu'l-*H*usain gave no credence to these professions, and harboured fraternal suspicion of his intentions. It happened that his mother, a princess, daughter of the Dailemite king Manadhar,[2] died about this time. She was a woman of great importance, and had been in correspondence with Sharaf al-daulah, whom she honoured, whereas he esteemed her for her high lineage, and paid her court owing to the reverence felt for her by the Dailemite communities. After her demise Sabur b. Karduyah got at the ear of the prince Abu'l-*H*usain, and persuaded him to abandon this course.

[1] See above, p. 106. [2] See above, p. 79.

The Counsel given by Sabur to the prince Abu'l-Husain at this crisis.

The letters, he said, which you are receiving are deceitful, and if you let yourself be deceived, you are quite likely to find yourself entrapped and made prisoner. His advance from Fars is with the intention of seizing all the countries, and making himself master of all who either resist or obey. He means to begin with you. Why should we not make armed resistance, as we have armies and supplies quite adequate for the purpose?—Abu'l-*H*usain listened to this advice, and made active preparations for an armed conflict. Whilst he was thus engaged, he received intelligence of the arrival of Qaratakin Jahshiyari at Arrajan in Sharaf al-daulah's van; presently Sharaf al-daulah came to Arrajan, and Qaratakin proceeded to Ramhurmuz. The prince Abu'l-*H*usain came out to the Arbaq bridge, and sent Asfar b. Karduyah to defend 'Askar Mukram. The Dailemites began to desert to Sharaf al-daulah and there was much dissension among the prince Abu'l-*H*usain's troops. The Turkish retainers seceded and uttered the cry of Sharaf al-daulah. (**122**) The prince Abu'l-*H*usain, Sabur b. Karduyah, and Mansur b. Khusrah [1] came near being taken and surrendered. Abu'l-*H*usain, bewildered and at a loss, went off to the Jabal, and retired in quest of a refuge; he sent to Sabur b. Karduyah bidding him join him, which he succeeded in doing after some adventures, and Mansur b. Khusrah also joined the party. One of his household retainers also followed him, and the party made for Fakhr al-daulah's court and arrived in Ispahan. Hence he wrote to Fakhr al-daulah, who was at the time in Jurjan, complaining of what had befallen him and soliciting his aid. Fakhr al-daulah wrote a reply wherein he made a promise which he did not afterwards perform, and professions of friendliness which proved insincere. He

[1] Above, p. 108.

however bade the Inspector in Ispahan give the prince an allowance of about 100,000 dirhems a month, and during his sojourn there some relics of his Dailemite force rejoined him. He became convinced of the evil designs of Fakhr al-daulah, but saw no way of dealing with the situation, and went wrong.

The mistaken scheme whereby he involved himself in ruin.

In his despair, he falsely alleged to the officials in Ispahan that he had been in correspondence with Sharaf al-daulah, which had resulted in his agreeing to acknowledge his sovereignty and to enroll himself among his (Sharaf al-daulah's) helpers; he proceeded to tamper with some of the troops stationed there and aimed at making himself master of the town. The person in charge of these regions was ABU'L-'ABBAS *AHMAD* B. IBRAHIM *DABBI*, who, hearing of this, without delay attacked Abu'l-*Husain*'s palace at the head of a large force, and assailed him; his mob took to flight, and he with Mansur b. Khusrah was arrested; both were confined in government house. Mansur was executed the same day, and the prince Abu'l-*Husain* put in irons and conveyed to Rayy. After a short period of imprisonment there he was transferred to a fortress in the (**123**) Dailemite country, where he remained many years. When Fakhr al-daulah was suffering from the illness of which he died, men were sent to put him (Abu'l-*Husain*) to death. He was a writer of verses and two are recorded which he composed when in prison:

Suppose fortune were to make amends for her injuries, to become my benefactress, and release me from prison:
Yet who will restore to me the lost days of my youth, and the time of my life passed in captivity?

Sharaf al-daulah advanced from Arrajan and entered Ahwaz, where preparation had been made for him. He proceeded to release those of his followers who had been imprisoned by Abu'l-*Husain*, and arrested

Asfar, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf, and Ispahan b. 'Ali b. Kamah, who had come with him; he sent 'Ala b. *H*asan to Basrah to arrest the prince Abu *T*ahir, son of '*Ad*ud al-daulah (Firozshah) with his staff; 'Ala b. *H*asan effected this, and came back after settling the affairs of Basrah. He was then sent home to Shiraz to remain there. Sharaf al-daulah sent for Mohammed b. *H*asan b. Sali*h*an, and placed the management of affairs under SABUR B. ARDASHIR till his arrival. He then resolved to proceed to 'Iraq.

News arrived this year of the death of Muayyid al-daulah's son, and Samsam al-daulah held a reception for condolence, and was visited by the Caliph *T*a'i'.

The author of the History says: I well remember *T*a'i' on his throne which was set up on the deck of a h*udaidi*; he had on a black robe, a black turban of Rusafah work, with a canopy over his head, and in front of him his chamberlains and men clad in black, while round the vessel were the Ansar,[1] Quran-readers, and officials in *zabzabs*. When he had got to the waterway of the royal palace at the Maidan Gate, Samsam al-daulah (**124**) descended, kissed the ground before him, and saw him depart after expressions of condolence and gratitude had been interchanged between them.

YEAR 376.[2]

In this year negotiations took place with Abu Nasr Khwashadhah with reference to fulfilment of the promises made and the settlement of all on a firm basis. All the demands contained in his memoir[3] received assent except the surrender of the prince Abu Nasr; that was put off till there should be no further doubt about peace.

Settlement made with Khwashadhah on the subject.

The terms of peace were divided into three headings;

[1] See i. 235. [2] Began May 13, 986. [3] Above, p. 120.

a portion that concerned both parties, and two portions concerning each party separately. The common section involved friendly feeling, such as left no mischiefmaker any chance of disturbing their relations, and that if either party were assailed by an enemy, they should jointly and unitedly resist; that each should abstain from encroaching on the territory of the other, from holding it out as a prize to their armies, and removing any landmarks; that neither should harbour fugitives from the other's dominions, deserters or rebels.

With regard to the rights obtained by Sharaf al-daulah: they were that *Samsam* al-daulah should in addressing him observe the respect due to his seniority and higher rank, should undertake to obey him to the extent which his duty required and should cause prayer to be offered in his name from the pulpits of Baghdad and the rest of his dominions, seeing that Sharaf al-daulah's name should be mentioned after the Caliph's and before his own.

With regard to the rights secured by *Samsam* al-daulah, they were that Sharaf al-daulah should keep his hands off all the dominions and boundaries of the former, and restrain his followers from encroaching upon them; and in every matter wherein he called for the assistance of Sharaf al-daulah, the latter should treat him as an (**125**) elder brother should treat a younger.

The Treaty commenced with a declaration that both parties were agreed in fear of God and loyalty to the Caliph *Ta*'i', and determined to obey his injunction to them to be of one mind according to the conditions recorded. Two copies were drawn up, of which one terminated with an oath pronounced by *Samsam* al-daulah contingently on a similar oath being uttered by Sharaf al-daulah.

When the document had been drafted the Caliph *Ta*'i' held a reception at which the nobles, judges, Wit-

ness s, and chief followers of Samsam al-daulah were present, as also Abu Nasr Khwashadhah. His letter to Sharaf al-daulah wa-Zain al-millah (Ornament of the Religion) was read out, containing the conferment of the second of those titles, and investiture[1]; and a complete set of robes of honour with a banner were delivered. Abu'l-Qasim 'ALI B. *HASAN* ZAINABI the Hashimite and *AHMAD* B. NASR 'ABBASI the Chamberlain and DA'I the Chamberlain were commissioned to convey the messages to Sharaf al-daulah on the part of the Caliph, whereas Abu 'Ali Ibn Mi*h*man was commissioned on the part of Samsam al-daulah to convey a courteous message, with expressions of humility, solicitation to peace, willingness to obey and to befriend, and an appeal to fraternal affection. The delegation departed on these terms.

Among the papers left by ABU'L-*HASAN* IBN *HAJIB* AL-NU'MAN was another copy similar to that of which an account has been given, with an oath attached to it and a' the end the statement that Sharaf al-daulah had taken it; that he undertook the obligations, called God to witness, and swore the oath dictated therein. On the back of this document there is the following in the writing of Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man:

In the Name, etc. The content of the agreement written on the obverse of this deed was ratified in the presence of our lord, etc. al-Ta'i' lillah, Commander of the Faithful, etc., who has ascertained that Sharaf al-daulah (**126**) *wa-Zain al-millah Abu'l-Fawaris, whom God support unceasingly, undertakes on behalf of Samsam al-daulah wa-Shams al-millah Abu Kalijar, client of the Commander of the Faithful, what follows herein after having stipulated the like for himself from him; our lord, the Commander of the Faithful, has prescribed this to them both, and united them in loyalty and service to himself, and put an end to*

[1] With the title Prince of princes.

all discord between them hereby. And he hath commanded this deed to be composed in order to ensure their agreement and to compel their faithful performance ; and hath deigned to set at the top a mark with his holy hand and at the end the sacred seal of the Prophet. God is the help of our lord the Commander of the Faithful unto that which they have undertaken and resolved. Written by 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Aziz in the sacred presence and by his lofty permission. Praise to God, the praise of the grateful. The sign written by *Ta'i'* was : *The kingdom is of God alone.* Legend of the seal in red lead (or rather musk and ambergris) : *al-Ta'i' lillah.*

Fortunes of the deputation to Sharaf al-daulah.

The whole party proceeded to Wasit, where Qaratakin Jahshiyari was governor ; he received them with due honour and saw that they were adequately entertained. Abu 'Ali Ibn Mihman proceeded thence by land ; a letter arrived after his departure ordering Qaratakin to arrest him, and convey him to Ahwaz ; Qaratakin accordingly mounted with a party of retainers in pursuit, and came up with him in Badhibin, where he had halted. Qaratakin arrested him with all his followers who were being taken to Sharaf al-daulah, brought him back to Wasit, and put him in confinement there. Presently he had him and his followers conveyed by the Basrah route. Abu Nasr Khwashadhah proceeded by water to Basrah with the Caliph's commissioners, and continued his journey thence to Sharaf al-daulah's court. He found the prince's disposition had changed from that wherein he had left him, and that the subservience (**127**) of events to his will had caused him to shift his intentions. Mohammed b. 'Umar [1] had his ear and bent him to his will, so that Khwashadhah could say nothing except in support of the scheme which he recommended.

[1] See above, p. 120.

The governors and finance-ministers had come to Sharaf al-daulah from all the district towns in 'Iraq, the lead being taken by Abu 'Ali Tamimi from Wasit, who was followed by Abu 'Abdallah Ibn al-*Tayyib* from Nahrawanat, and Abu Mohammed *Hasan* b. Mohammed b. Mukram from Kufah. Indeed the different orders of officials sought the court of Sharaf al-daulah "from every deep defile" (Surah xxii. 28); and he received visits from the Dailemites and Turks, troop by troop, division by division. The mission of Qaratakin Jahshiyari to Wasit in the van was after the arrival of Abu 'Abdallah Ibn al-*Tayyib*, who was attached to him as administrator of the town and its dependencies, and to provide for the expenses of Qaratakin and his men. Ibn al-*Tayyib* spread his wing over the districts and stretched out his hand to the revenues. When Ibn Mukram came to Ahwaz there was much talk of the sums taken by Ibn al-*Tayyib* from Nahrawanat on the occasion of his leaving, and from Wasit on that of his arrival. Ibn Mukram was sent to arrest him and administer Wasit.

Scheme for the arrest of Ibn al-Tayyib and concealment of it until it was carried out.

Ibn Mukram was sent from Ahwaz ostensibly to arrange for establishing stores of provisions for Sharaf al-daulah and his armies between Ahwaz and Wasit; he had secret orders to administer Wasit and arrest Ibn al-*Tayyib* and his brothers. Letters secret and open were put into his hands on these matters. Reaching Wasit he met Qaratakin and instructed him about his mission, and then arrested the lot, absent and present, on the same day, by a plan which he had contrived; having previously despatched emissaries to deal with all those who had incurred their displeasure, at times and in a manner which he had fixed. He thought it best to deal with Ibn al-*Tayyib* (**128**) in a spirit of moderation and friendliness; he therefore gave him credit for all

the money found in his possession in the sum demanded of him, whereas in dealing with his brothers he made a certain show of severity, which he afterwards changed into leniency when he came to exact payment. Being aware that offices in the Sultan's service are loans, he acted with leniency, gentleness and amiability. " Verily whoso doeth good, doth it unto himself, and who doeth evil doth it unto himself " ; the loan in either case shall be returned, and the days wherein it stayeth with him to whom it is lent are numbered. And whatever path a man treadeth, he shall only prosper therein by guidance from God.

Advance of Sharaf al-daulah from Ahwaz after affairs in Wasit had been made straight.

He proceeded thither at the head of vast armies magnificently equipped ; his accoutrements and equipments of all sorts for his expedition were of the finest sort ever seen. It is stated that his private camels were 13,000 head, while those of his troops were yet more numerous ; 1,800 grooms and servants looked after the horses ; and the rest was on a corresponding scale suitable to an opulent monarch.—These are the words of the Author of the History, who thinks this a great amount ; had he witnessed this victorious dynasty (the Seljuqs), and been privileged to see its sovereign, its retainers, maintainers, munitions, men, equipment, and wealth, he would have known that what he thought so great might rather have been accounted little, and would have confessed that a puddle cannot be compared with the sea.

When Sharaf al-daulah had established himself in Wasit, Qaratakin proceeded to Dair 'Aqul, and when affairs in Baghdad grew desperate, the prince Abu Nasr son of 'Adud al-daulah was sent to Sharaf al-daulah's court with a private retainer. Samsam al-daulah's affairs went from bad to worse, and steadily deteriorated.

The Dailemites mutinied and surrounded his palace, demanding their pay and throwing aside caution ; SALAR SURKH raised the cry of Sharaf al-daulah, and the mob (**129**) started a riot of their own, broke open the police prison, and released the prisoners. It was evident that the power of *S*amsam al-daulah was about to dissolve, and his officers, courtiers, administrators and agents kept deserting to Sharaf al-daulah's court in Ahwaz and Wasit without shame or hesitation.

When *S*amsam al-daulah with his mother and Ziyar b. Shahraguyah and Fulad b. Manadhar saw the state whereinto their affairs had got, they deliberated on them together.

Sound counsel offered on this occasion by Ziyar to Samsam *al-daulah, on which the other did not act.*

He suggested an expedition to 'Ukbara ; thereby they would be able to tell who were with them and who against them, and separate the two. He asserted that the Jilites were all sincere adherents of theirs, and that they would certainly be joined by some others. If, he proceeded, we find that our numbers are large and our force formidable, such as can give a good account of itself in an engagement, we will pay out such money as we have to the troops. If, on the other hand, we are unequal to a conflict, we shall go the whole way to Mausil, where we shall be joined by Abu'l-Ḳasim Sa'd the Chamberlain [1] with some of his forces, and gain strength and numbers. There will be large numbers of Dailemites and Turks with Sharaf al-daulah, between whom there will be constant rivalry and jealousy, which will lead to discord ; and they will have before them in you a sovereign on whom they can fix their hopes and direct their gaze. And then fortune has whims, and there is fate, and one thing comes after another.

[1] Above, p. 87.

Another wise suggestion made by Fulad, which also was not accepted.

He said: The right plan is to proceed to Qarmisin and enter the territory of Badr b. *H*asanawaihi. Enter into correspondence with Fakhr al-daulah (who by the plans of Ibn 'Abbad was on good terms with *S*amsam al-daulah), solicit troops from him, and proceed *via* Ispahan to (**130**) Fars and take possession thereof. There is one further point: where will be Sharaf al-daulah's stores? There is no one in those regions to resist or oppose us and if we once invade them Sharaf al-daulah will have no footing in 'Iraq, all his schemes will be upset, and his plans dissolved. He will have to accept such terms as *S*amsam al-daulah offers.

*S*amsam al-daulah favoured the plan of Ziyar, which was to go up stream, and arrangements were commenced for carrying it out; presently he changed his mind.

Mistake committed by Samsam *al-daulah, who of his own choice surrendered to Sharaf al-daulah.*

Finding the breach had widened and his embarrassment increase, he lost nerve and patience; and indeed whenever a monarch lacks serenity in adversity, patience in affliction, and perseverance under trials, he is on the verge of a collapse. *S*amsam al-daulah made up his mind to give the whole thing up, and betake himself to Sharaf al-daulah. He embarked in his *zabzab*, following his own counsel, without calculation of the consequences, and entering upon a path of which he had not ascertained the exit. When he got under the balcony of Ziyar, he came up to the house-front and ordered him to be summoned. Ziyar came down to him, supposing that he was proceeding up the river to his palace, but seeing no sign of such an intention, he said: Whither away, sir?—He said: To my brother.—He said: What, have you changed your ideas about our plan?

—He said: Yes.—Ziyar said: Do not do it. Royalty has no ties,[1] and the matter is serious; kings do not trouble about family affection, or regard the rights of relatives. There is danger in surrendering yourself, and belief in good intentions on such occasions is delusion. Think again, and consider well.—He said: I can think of no sound plan for myself except what I have resolved upon.—Ziyar said: God grant that you may be right.—Then Samsam al-daulah said to him: But what do you intend yourself?—He said: If you, being who you are, are satisfied with this, I do not wish to stand apart, nor are my fears greater (**131**) than yours.—He said to him: With regard to you, I do not advise you to lay your hand in Sharaf al-daulah's.—He bade Ziyar farewell, and proceeded downstream. When he approached Sharaf al-daulah's camp, which had been pitched in Nahr Sabus, he sent some one to solicit admission for him. Abu Nasr Khwashadhah came out in a *zabzab*, approached that of Samsam al-daulah, paid his respects, and then said: His majesty sends inquiries about the prince, and praise be to God who has put into his mind this plan whereby he will compass his desire.—He proceeded to the water-way, where a horse had been sent for him. He rode it and dismounted at the tent of Sharaf al-daulah, who was standing awaiting him, with his staff and his courtiers in front of him, and indeed the army had been excited by the intelligence. When Samsam al-daulah came up to him, he kissed the ground three times before him, then approached and kissed his hand. Sharaf al-daulah asked him how he had fared on his voyage, and commended his plan of coming. Samsam in his reply expressed his gratitude, displaying therein his strength of mind. When he had been standing for a little Sharaf al-daulah said to him: You had better go and change your clothes and rest yourself from your fatigue.—He left Sharaf al-daulah s presence and was

[1] A proverb, of which the explanation is given in what follows.

taken to a tent and hut (*khargah*) which had been pitched for him without an enclosure (*suradiq*) [1]; on the sofa of the hut three cushions had been laid. He entered and sat on two of them, and hung his head like a bewildered man; he now perceived the error which he had committed, and showed the anguish of regret. ABU'L-HASAN NIHRIR and ABU BAKR the Baziyar (falconer) were sent to Baghdad to guard the contents of the royal palace, the stores and stables.

Account of the fortunes of Ziyar and Fulad.

When Samsam al-daulah had departed and neither of these had any refuge left, expedients failed them, they could not see their way, and bethought them of following him; they flattered themselves with hope, so clearly was fate against them, so blinded were their minds, so unconscious of destiny's intentions. Their good genius departed on the heels of Samsam al-daulah,[2] and the two flung themselves into danger. Ziyar was arrested shortly after his arrival and put to death. Fulad was conveyed to the fortress Nahr (?). Abu 'Ali Tamimi (**132**) proceeded from Dair 'Aqul to Baghdad after Samsam al-daulah's departure, and entering the city quieted the inhabitants. In Ramadan (began Jan. 4, 987) Sharaf al-daulah arrived and established himself in the Shafi'i.[3] 19,000 Dailemites, partly men who had been stationed in Baghdad, partly men who had arrived with him, were assembled in his army; and 3,000 Turkish retainers. The Dailemites treated the Turks with disdain and a brawl arose between them.

Dispute between the Dailemites and Turks.

The Dailemites were proud of their numbers and puffed up with their power. A dispute occurred between

[1] Such an enclosing tent was usual with sovereigns.
[2] This appears to be the sense intended.
[3] See above, ii. 182.

certain members of the two parties about a house and a stable, and this led to serious trouble :

Fire is struck between two sticks, and words are the beginning of war.

The Dailemites gathered in the race-course, and the retainers mounted their horses, and a battle ensued wherein the Dailemites were the victors. It is said that they mentioned Samsam al-daulah's name and had thoughts of rescuing him.

A coincidence whereby Samsam al-daulah escaped death after having been on the verge of it.

The following was narrated by ABU MANSUR AHMAD B. LAITH : I was told, he said, as follows by Samsam al-daulah : I was, he said, in a hut in the Shafi'i, with nothing between me and Sharaf al-daulah except the felt walls and the canvas of the neighbouring tent. The riot had commenced and my name was mentioned among the Dailemites. I heard Nihrir the Eunuch advising Sharaf al-daulah to put me to death, and saying : We are on the verge of disaster, and what security have we that the Dailemites will not attack us, and rescue him from our hands, in which case he will go to the throne and we into captivity ?—Sharaf al-daulah was resisting him and those who supported him ; and when things grew worse, a retainer with a sword was stationed at the door of the hut wherein I was, with instructions, I fancy, to slay me if the Dailemites attacked. I was alarmed, started reading the Qur'an which was in my hand, and prayed most earnestly to God for (**133**) deliverance. God vouchsafed it and the Dailemite host was dispersed.

Carelessness on the part of the Dailemites in this engagement which led to their rout and ruin.

The Dailemites had the advantage over the Turks at the commencement of the affair, as the latter retired before them, meaning to get away ; contemptuous of so small a party the Dailemites were prompted by hatred and cupidity to pursue them. Their ranks

became confused, and when Dailemite alignment is disturbed, their weak points are disclosed. The Turks finding space where their horses could move both in front of and behind them, charged them in front and rear, and the tide turned against the Dailemites. Before an hour had passed some 3,000 of them were killed, and the retainers charged into the town, pillaged their houses, seized their goods and put to death all of them whom they overtook. The Dailemites were dispersed; some proceeded to 'Ukbara, some to the Nahrawan Bridge, whereas most took refuge in Sharaf al-daulah's tent.

The wisdom of Ziyar's advice to Samsam al-daulah, that he should proceed to 'Ukbara, now appeared. Had he accepted it, his fortune would have been restored with this rising. Only destiny prevails and men must resign themselves to fate.

On the following day Sharaf al-daulah entered the city, his stirrups surrounded by the suppliant Dailemites, and halted in tents pitched beneath the royal palace. The following morning the Caliph *Ta'i'* sailed in a *hudaidi* to congratulate him on his safety, and Sharaf al-daulah went out to the end of the Elephant House[1] to meet him, and kissed the ground before him. The Caliph then returned to the Palace. Reconciliation of the Turks and Dailemites commenced, which God facilitated; promises were made on both sides, and gifts were interchanged and amity was established. Order was restored as well as could be desired, and this was one of the strongest indications of good fortune.

(134) *Reception held by Sharaf al-daulah for congratulations, and Samsam al-daulah's fortunes in confinement.*

On the Day of Fastbreaking (Feb. 3, 987) Sharaf al-daulah held a public reception, at which the different orders presented themselves. Samsam al-daulah came

[1] See above, ii. 21.

to it, and kissed the ground before him, after which he stood on the right side of the throne; he was followed by the prince Abu Nasr son of 'Aḍud al-daulah, who did the like, and also stood. Poets appeared and recited odes; one of them who made an oblique reference to Samsam al-daulah met with disapproval from Sharaf al-daulah, who rose and left the room. Nothing more was heard of Samsam al-daulah after his standing on this occasion till a report was circulated that he had been conveyed to Fars (Shiraz) and confined in the citadel. We hope presently to record how he was blinded and afterwards replaced on his throne in Fars.

When Sharaf al-daulah had established himself in Baghdad, he made inquiries about Abu'l-Rayyan,[1] and it was ascertained that he was dead, having been buried in his fetters in the house of the Chamberlain ABU'L-HAIJA 'UQBAH B. 'ATTAB, to whom after his arrest he had been surrendered with orders that he should be put to death, which were carried out. He was exhumed and given to his family.

In this year news arrived of the death of Abu'l-Qasim Muzaffar b. 'Ali surnamed the Muwaffaq, emir of the Marsh,[2] and the instalment of Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Nasr in his place in accordance with the testament of the former, as recorded above. He wrote to Shara fal-daulah offering allegiance and service, and soliciting investiture, a title, and robes of honour. All his requests were granted, and he received the title MUHADHDHIB (reformer) at first, to which afterwards AL-DAULAH (of the empire) was added.

Establishment of "Muhadhdhib al-daulah" in the emirate of the Marsh.

On the death of Muzaffar Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Nasr set himself up in his place. Now Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Ja'far[3] excelled him in many qualities, liberality,

[1] Above, p. 118. [2] Above, p. 89. [3] Above, p. 90.

courage, and lineage; (**135**) but he gave the other the first place and himself took the second by virtue of the will of Muzaffar and the terms which he had imposed upon them. But though he allowed the other the first place, he regarded himself as a partner in both the government and the revenues, and was spared by 'Ali b. Nasr, who befriended him, and assigned him numerous regions and handsome allowances, with sole use of the revenues of the former. Things went on in this way till the death of 'Ali b. Ja'far when 'Ali b. Nasr withhrew all that had been under his control except his genuine possessions, which he allowed his children to retain. This Muhadhdhib al-daulah proceeded with his excellent conduct to the highest point; he became mighty and famous; men in fear sought his protection and he accorded it; persons in distress appealed to him and he readily bestowed his bounty upon them. He pursued with all men a course of justice and equity, and the Marsh became a fortress for all who resorted thither from the provinces. Great men made it their home, and erected in it their dwellings and their palaces. Poets and other seekers of gifts came from all regions to his gate and received honourable entertainment and handsome rewards. The provincial monarchs entered into correspondence and mutual friendship with him. Baha al-daulah gave him his daughter and had her conveyed to his court, sought and obtained his help on numerous occasions, and asked and received loans from him. Prayer was offered for him from the pulpits of Wasit and Basrah, with their dependencies; and the world directed towards him the reins of her favour. The days crowned the poll of his glories by causing the Caliph Qadir of blessed memory to dwell under his protection. This merit doubled his estimation and became the cause of his earning encomia. Had it not been for the nobility of his soul neither the Marsh nor its Emir would have been eulogised:

The soul of 'Isam hath ennobled 'Isam and taught him how to charge and how to advance.[1]

Such is the result of righteous dealing. It raises its doer to heights whither his hopes had not aspired, nor his thoughts ascended. (**136**) Happy is he who sends good works before him to the next world, and leaves behind him fair fame in this. We hope to record the stages in his career in their places.

Account of the beneficial actions whereon Sharaf al-daulah engaged when established in Baghdad.

To the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar restoration was made of all his possessions and estates in all parts, and fresh marks of favour were bestowed upon him; new estates were added to the old and the sources of his income multiplied. The land-tax paid by him on his properties came to two and a half million dirhems yearly, transmitted by him to the Sultan's office. The vastness of his wealth and the quantity of his produce may be imagined.

The estates of the Sharif Abu A*h*mad *H*usain Musawi also were restored; Ibn Ma'ruf was confirmed in the office of Judge of Judges. The rights of all clerks and public officials were respected, and stipends with rations regularly furnished them. Fines were abolished and the occasions for them removed. The informers' path was blocked and avenues to it closed.

Curious coincidence indicating his good intentions and resulting in the cessation of annoyance.

The major-domo ABU'L-FADL B. *H*ATIM the Mazdian narrates how he had handed to Sharaf al-daulah a scroll containing an information. The prince read it, rolled it up, left it on his cushioned chair, and went out of the room. He forgot about it, and remembered it after some days, when he said to me: Abu'l-Fadl, go to that room and search for a scroll which I left there.—I went to the

[1] Proverbial verse, used of self-made men.

place, but could not find it; I asked about it, but could ascertain nothing. I returned and told the prince this. He was vexed and urged me to search; so I left him feeling troubled by his agitation which I had noticed. (**137**) I summoned all the attendants and bedmakers of the plaace, absent or present, threatened severely and came near imposing penalties. Meanwhile a bedmaker appeared bringing a scrap of paper, who said that he had found the gazelles by the cushions and that most of the scroll had been eaten, but the scrap which he produced remained. I went off to Sharaf al-daulah, repeated to him the story of the bedmaker, and showed him the scrap that had been found. When he regarded it, his trouble vanished, and he said: This is a fragment of the scroll, which I meant to destroy utterly, so that no-one might get to know of it. As the gazelle has saved us the trouble, clearly God would have men spared annoyance and may His curse be on mischief and mischief-makers.

Now consider tales of goodness, how agreeable a subject they form! And listen to stories of justice; how pleasing they are to the ear! And contrast with them their contraries, evil and injustice; you will find their aspect hideous and their sound displeasing. Blessed is he who trains his ear and his eye to discriminate between them and is led by God to choose the better and follow its track!

ABU *NASR* SABUR B. ARDASHIR managed the finance and the contracts and plunged his hands into the fiefs confiscated from the Dailemites. He continued to see to public business and its execution till the arrival of Abu Mansur Mohammed b. *Hasan* b. *Salihan*, as shall be presently recorded.

YEAR 377.

In this year the emir[1] Abu Mansur arrived and the

[1] Probably this should be "the vizier."

people went out in a mass as far as Mada'in to meet him, while Sharaf al-daulah went out to meet him at Shafi'i; he entered the city with the highest honours. Things were brought by him into perfect order; he urged the provincial governors to attend to improvements, and compelled them to look after cultivation. Finding prices excessive and food unprocurable, he arranged for transport of crops from Fars by sea, and endeavoured to import them from all countries. Sabur b. Ardashir went into hiding for a time, but presently a pardon was procured for him from Abu Mansur through the mediation of ABU BAKR FARRASH (the Bedmaker).

(**138**) *Some traits of his character and methods.*

His chief trait was beneficence, attachment to justice, and orthodoxy; whenever he heard the call to prayer he would leave all his business and quit his room to discharge the obligation; he would afterwards return to his occupation.

The Author of the History observes: We have never seen a vizier who governed so many countries as he. For the empire of Sharaf al-daulah embraced all between the frontier of Kirman lengthwise to Diyar Rabi'ah and Diyar Bakr, and breadthwise to A*h*sa, Raqqah, Ra*h*bah and *H*ulwan.[1] He had marts and agencies in Nisabur, on which his drafts in payments on contracts would be accepted, and once when some household goods were brought him, to be supplied to some of the troops and attendants, he drew for the cost half on Oman and half on Mausil.

On this we observe: What would our author have said had he lived to our time and beheld this victorious dynasty (the Seljuqs), whose armies career through all quarters of the globe, carrying out their sovereign's orders, entering the waters of the Gulf as they do those

[1] By length and breadth the author means the longer and shorter measurements respectively.

of the Jaxartes whose raiders are at this moment in Jifar [1] approaching the waters of the Nile? And how many a vast country stretches in length and breadth between these three waters! The orders of his vizier are executed in all of them, positive and negative alike. By his wisdom and counsel the peoples throughout them are in tranquillity; all are kept in awe by his control and repression. Where is one who draws drafts on Mausil and Oman when compared with one who can draw on the provinces of Syria and the extremities of Khorasan? There is a vast difference between them:

You show me Suha [2] and I show you the moon!

Moreover, what glory is there in a bill drawn on a commercial house being accepted in enemies' country? If this is to be considered a source of pride, then the merchants are more powerful than the viziers in East and West; as they draw bills for vast sums on their correspondents and they are taken more readily than (**139** tribute and land-tax.[3] Real glory lies in enforcing laws in countries which the sword has subjected to the pen, and a dominion is that over the conquest whereof blood has dripped from the blade, after which ink has flowed over the leaves in the assignation of its revenues. This is not the place to dilate on these glories; only we shall take such opportunities as occur to furnish detailed evidence of the superiority of our age, in accordance with what was said in the preface, so that our assertions may be supported by demonstration. The best statements are those which truth accompanies and adorns, the worst those which falsehood contaminates and disgraces.

To resume: In this year Qaratakin Jahshiyari was commissioned to fight Badr b. *H*asanawaihi. Splendid robes were conferred upon him with golden sword and

[1] Name according to Yaqut for the desert which separates Palestine from Egypt.

[2] A small star in the Great Bear group.

[3] The author doubtless means paper allocations of either.

belt, and Sharaf al-daulah went out to his camp to bid him farewell.

Fortunes of Qaratakin on this expedition.

Sharaf al-daulah was incensed against Badr b. *Ha*sanawaihi owing to the latter's preferring Fakhr al-daulah to himself; when therefore he was firmly established and the restive were inclined to obedience, he began to form plans for dealing with Badr. As the arrogance of Qaratakin was passing all bounds, Sharaf al-daulah resolved to send him on this expedition, so that either he might subdue Badr and gratify the prince's spite against him, or he might be rid of Qaratakin and have no further trouble from him. He despatched a considerable force with Qaratakin and ample supplies. Badr, being aware of his difficulties, made preparations and mustered troops. The armies met in the valley at Qarmisin.

Stratagem of Badr which succeeded against Qaratakin and his army owing to their want of caution.

When the action commenced, Badr took to flight and got out of sight. Qaratakin and his army supposed that he (**140**) was in headlong flight. They dismounted and dispersed amongst their tents. After a very short time Badr counterattacked with such violence that they had no time to gather and make ready; and he effected a terrible slaughter besides making himself master of everything that was in their camp. Qaratakin barely escaped with his life with a handful of retainers; he returned in two days to Nahrawan Bridge, whither the fugitives arrived singly. Some supplies were transmitted to him from Baghdad, and he went home. Badr after this became master of the Jabal districts and the contiguous region, and grew powerful.

Subsequent fortune of Qaratakin; his impolicy and its results, with his ultimate execution.

We have already explained Sharaf al-daulah's senti-

ments

ments about him, occasioned by his excessive arrogance, the presumption of his clerks and associates, and the resorting to his gate of all who aspired to power. When he returned after his defeat, the dissatisfaction of Sharaf al-daulah was increased, while the highhandedness of Qaratakin was redoubled. The latter instigated the retainers to assault the vizier Ibn *Sali*ḥan in the royal palace, and taunt him with having caused their defeat by keeping back their pay, arms and reinforcements. They were mollified and kept off him, and a successful attempt was made to effect a reconciliation between Qaratakin and the vizier. Sharaf al-daulah was secretly incensed at this ; for a time he hid this in his bosom, and abstained from taking action, as he was deliberating what course he should adopt. After a few days he arrested Qaratakin, who was put in fetters, and executed the same day. Men were sent to his house to arrest his associates and clerks, and seize their papers and effects. The retainers first thought of mutinying in consequence, but when his death had been ascertained and their chiefs had been placated, the humbler among them followed their example, and kept quiet.

(**141**) Of their number *T*ughan the Chamberlain was promoted to fill Qaratakin's place. After this they adhered to the straight path and were filled with respect and awe.

Presumption on the part of subjects towards a sovereign is a most serious error, however great the services which they may have previously rendered or the obligations which they may have imposed. Such conduct presages ruin and destruction. A person who presumes on his influence with a sovereign is like one who bestrides a lion ; one moment he is mighty and exalted, and the next he is on the ground crushed between his claws. Assuredly such an attitude is most dangerous and most likely to end in disaster. The

tale of Qaratakin is sufficient for a warning and an example.

When things had got settled, a reception was held at which the nobles, judges and Witnesses were present, covenants were renewed between the Caliph *Ṭ*a'i' and Sharaf al-daulah, and it was agreed that the latter should proceed to the former's Palace.

Account of the proceedings at the reception of Sharaf al-daulah by the Caliph.

Sharaf al-daulah embarked in his barge after arches had been erected in his honour on the bank of the Tigris, and the houses on both banks had been decorated elaborately. The Caliph held a public reception, at which he bestowed upon him Sultanic robes, with a crown, bracelets and a collar; with his own hand the Caliph tied for him two banners, one black and one white; and his deed of appointment was read out in his presence. After leaving the Caliph's presence he went to see his sister who was married to the Caliph, and stayed with her till the afternoon, when he returned to his own palace; the people had been expecting him all the time. When the banner was lifted, it tore and a piece blew away. He regarded this as a bad omen, but the Caliph told him that, as the wind had carried away a portion of it, what was presaged was that he should reign wherever the wind blew.

(**142**) One of the notables who presented themselves with Sharaf al-daulah was Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed b. A*ḥ*mad. When the Caliph saw him, he said:

Welcome to the dear visitors, who have left us lonely when they had so long kept us company.

The visitor kissed the ground, expressed his gratitude and invoked a blessing.

In this year news arrived of the death of Sa'd the Chamberlain in Mausil.[1]

[1] See above, p. 129.

Account of the fortunes of Sa'd after Ziyar's departure from Mausil till his death.

When Ziyar wished to depart, he left Sa'd in charge of war and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Asad as minister of *kharaj*. The two however could not agree and were on bad terms. When Sharaf al-daulah went to Baghdad, he wrote to Sa'd confirming him in his appointment as governor, meaning to allay his apprehensions, while all the time he intended to substitute for him ABU 'ALI TAMIMI in accordance with a promise formerly made him; only this plan was frustrated by Abu 'Ali's death. Sharaf al-daulah, learning of the disagreement between Sa'd and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Asad, ordered the latter to be summoned, and his nephew to be appointed as his deputy. Sa'd wrote stating that the arrears of the troops were doubled, and that they were clamouring for their accumulated claims. Sharaf al-daulah referred him in his reply to certain arrears of taxation of Mausil and its dependencies according to a statement of Ibn Asad made in the capital. Abu Sa'd *H*asan b. 'Abdallah Firuzabadi was sent out to him with orders to negotiate with the Dailemites for the remission of the whole or the bulk of their arrears. When Abu Sa'd reached *H*asba he pitched his tent there, and declined to accept the presents which Sa'd sent him.

Account of Abu Sa'd's error in returning Sa'd's presents, and a successful scheme of the latter against the former.

Abu Sa'd's plan of refusing Sa'd's gifts was unwise, (**143**) for it excited Sa'd's suspicion, and made him suppose that Abu Sa'd's conduct was dictated by a determination to do him mischief. Now the Dailemites favoured Sa'd and were obedient to him. He set them against Abu Sa'd and secretly instructed them to assault him. They mutinied and sent a message to Sa'd wherein they said: You have repeatedly promised that some

one should come from the capital to inquire into our case, and have postponed fulfilment. At last this man has come, but we see no prospect of our expectations being reali ed; we have been informed that his purpose in coming to us is to make us abandon our property and induce us to remit the arrears. To this we shall by no means assent.—Sa'd gave them a reply ostensibly intended to quiet them, and meanwhile sent a message to Abu Sa'd in which he said: If they send to you, your proper course will be to be civil without showing weakness, and to be inexorable without giving offence.—When the Dailemite representatives entered Abu Sa'd's presence, he answered them harshly, and they assaulted him, and wanted to kill him. He fled, flung himself into the Tigris, was rescued by a boat, being wounded, and crossed over to the Eastern bank where he remained till the tumult was appeased. He was then brought back by Sa'd the Chamberlain, who lodged him in his palace and ordered his wounds to be attended to. After some days Sa'd the Chamberlain fell ill and expired; some asserted that Abu Sa'd Firuzabadi suborned one of his attendants to poison him. After his death Abu Sa'd appeared in public, seized his goods and took charge of affairs till he was joined by an official from the capital, who co-operated with him in collecting the estate of the deceased, and then carried it off.

Abu Nasr Khwashadhah was now despatched to Mausil to protect its territory and maintain its integrity.

The death of Sa'd the Chamberlain renewed the desire of Bad b. Dushang to seize the region. He proceeded to Tur 'Abdin,[1] a mountain overlooking Nisibin.

Account of the operations of Abu Nasr against Bad during the advance of the former from Mausil.

When Abu Nasr Khwashadhah learned the news, necessity compelled him to advance to Nisibin to repel

[1] This had been assigned to Bad by the last agreement, above, p. 87.

Bad. (**144**) He wrote to the capital for reinforcements, and some were sent, which however were insufficient. Fearing that he would fare in his campaign against Bad as Abu Sa'd Bahram [1] and Abu'l-Qasim Sa'd [2] had fared, he summoned the Banu 'Uqail and offered them friendship, and depended upon them in his war against Bad. They were more lightly mounted and swifter in their movements than the Kurds whose horses were slow and whose equipment was heavy.

Account of Khwashadhah's plan of dividing up the land in fiefs when his sources of revenue failed.

The vizier Abu Mansur Ibn Salihan was in the habit of opposing him owing to a brawl that had taken place between them; he therefore put him off and amused him with promises; ultimately the sum which he transmitted after repeated promises was 300,000 dirhems, a wholly inadequate amount for such an undertaking. Khwashadhah had been promising his followers the arrival of this money, but when he learned its amount he thought best to conceal the matter, fearing lest if it were known his men in despair should disperse, and he might be attacked by Bad and shamefully routed. He bethought him therefore of distributing the lands in fief to the Arabs, his idea being that the territories were faced by a powerful enemy, and if they were bestowed on these Arabs the latter would for the moment defend them as a man defends his household. If the government were victorious it would be easier to withdraw them from the hands of the Arabs than from Bad's. So an Arab would draw up a petition requesting as a fief a certain waste, which might be a splendid estate, and it would be formally assigned to him without any official description or inquiry into its productive power. Khwashadhah's clerk made vast sums as secret profit on these transactions.

[1] Above, p 83. [2] Above, p 85.

Account of a device whereby Bad dazzled and frightened those who were facing him.

He would post cattle on the mountain tops with some infantry among them flashing their swords; seen at a distance they were supposed to be men, and the army would not venture to climb (**145**) up to them. It came to pass that a brother of Bad went down and fought with some of the Arabs, and was killed. His death made a deep impression on Bad, whose position deteriorated. Meanwhile the news of Sharaf al-daulah's death reached Khwashadhah, who concealed it, and then returned to Mausil where he held public condolence. Bad and his followers were now free, and he took possession of *Ṭ*ur 'Abdin which he incorporated in Diyar Bakr. He did not however venture into the open country for fear of the Arabs; so while he was master of the mountain the Banu 'Uqail and Numair occupied the plain. Khwashadhah was occupied with setting his affairs in order and renewing the war with Bad when the two sons of Nasir al-daulah, Ibrahim [1] and Abu 'Abdallah *Ḥ*usain,[2] came to Mausil.

We shall presently record what happened to them.

YEAR 378.[3]

In this year the eunuch Shukr was arrested in his place of concealment, and brought to Sharaf al-daulah's presence; and Abu Mansur A*ḥ*mad b. 'Ubaidallah b. Marzuban Shirazi [4] was arrested on his account.

Account of this affair.

Shukr had in 'A*ḍ*ud al-daulah's time committed acts which had offended Sharaf al-daulah, and had undertaken to remove him from Baghdad to Kirman.[5] He

[1] See ii. 401. [2] See ii. 392.
[3] Began April 21, 988 [4] See above, p. 104.
[5] Above, p 28.

stood by *Samsam* al-daulah, thereby incurring Sharaf al-daulah's resentment. When *Samsam* al-daulah fell and his cause became desperate, Shukr took alarm. To Abu Mansur Shirazi, who was his confidential friend, he said: Sharaf al-daulah is in luck, and I think it will be best for me to take the precaution of going into hiding. I will then devise some plan for getting out of the city. Do you then prepare some place for me in your house where I may take refuge.—Abu Mansur replied: Your arrival in my house will not be concealed owing to the number of my visitors; still I will select some place for you therein.—On the night whereon *Samsam* al-daulah went off to (**146**) Sharaf al-daulah Shukr sent to Abu Mansur for some one who should convey him to the place which he had prepared for him. Abu Mansur sent his wife, daughter of Abu'l-*Husain* Ibn Muqlah. Shukr embarked in a *sumariyyah*, and went upstream to the Bridge as though his destination were 'Ukbara. He then transshipped into another *sumariyyah* with the woman, putting on a pair of shoes and a woman's garment which he had brought with him; she took him to the house of the Jurist Abu Bakr Mohammed b. Musa Khwarizmi, where he stayed for a short time. He was perceived, and moved to the house of a cloth-merchant, one Ibn Harun in the Ra*h*bat Khaqan, in whom Abu Mansur had confidence.

Wise plan suggested by the cloth-merchant and at first accepted by Shukr, but afterwards rejected.

He said to Shukr: *Ustadh*, both your fortune and mine depend on your concealing the fact that I am in attendance upon you, so let no fourth party in addition to yourself, me and my wife be admitted to the secret. —He assented. The man continued to serve him, but after a time Shukr sent to Abu Mansur to say that there was an Abyssinian slave-girl of his in whom he had confidence, whom he wished to attend upon him. Abu

Mansur replied that he could not answer for the consequences. Shukr repeated the request till it was agreed that she should be brought. This was done, and she stayed with him. The girl however had a love-affair and used to take food and other things from the house and bring them to the place whither her passion called her. Very often she stayed away for a long time, and Shukr, growing weary of her behaviour, forbade her to go out; but she disobeyed.

Shukr's ruinous mistake.

Not satisfied with the error which he had committed in divulging his secret to an unsuitable person, for indeed a proverb warns us against making confidantes of slave-girls, he committed the second blunder of losing patience at the wrong time. One day, when seriously vexed with her, he threw a *humaidi* [1] at her, striking her face. She left the house (**147**) in an angry mood, and proceeding to the gate of Sharaf al-daulah declared that she had an important declaration to make. Asked what it was, she said she would not reveal it to any one but himself. She was admitted into the palace, and confronted with a high official, whom she informed of Shukr's whereabouts. Certain officers were then appointed with the minister of public security to go and arrest him. The woman said: There has been a quarrel between us, so he may have taken alarm and moved, so commence with the house of Abu Mansur Shirazi. They did so: suddenly when Abu Mansur was seated in his house with his family, he was surprised and arrested; his apartments and chambers were searched, but Shukr was not found. They proceeded to the dwelling of the cloth-merchant, which they surprised, and there they found Shukr. The two were brought into the presence of Sharaf al-daulah, but Shukr was begged for by Niẖrir before his arrival, and was granted him, and taken by

[1] Probably some sort of stick.

him to his house where he was well treated. Presently when the season of the pilgrimage arrived he requested Nihrir to obtain permission for him to perform it. This was accorded, and he started; he then changed his direction from Meccah to Cairo, where he was received by the ruler. Abu Mansur Shirazi was confined, but Ibn Salihan devised a plan for his release.

Clever scheme devised by the vizier Ibn Salihan for the release of Abu Mansur Shirazi.

He said to Sharaf al-daulah: He is a man who has been in charge of the Estates' Bureau, against whom there are various entries; I will take him to the Bureau and demand an account from him of what he owes.— Abu Mansur was delivered to the vizier, who removed him to an apartment in the neighbourhood of his palace, and treated him kindly. After some months he succeeded in securing his release.

Nothing else was found among the events of this year containing any record of statesmanship.

YEAR 379.[1]

In this year the Caliph *Ta*'i' sent his secretary 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn *Ha*jib al-Nu'man (**148**) to the dwelling of Qadir (afterwards Caliph), who was then a prince, with a view of arresting him. God however hid him.

Account of the cause and progress of this affair.

When Ishaq son of Muqtadir and father of Qadir died, a dispute about an estate arose between the last and his sister Aminah daughter of Mu'jibah and lasted long. *Ta*'i' was attacked by an illness which was nigh proving fatal, but from which he recovered. Aminah brought a charge against her brother before *Ta*'i' of having started assuming the Caliphate during his illness. *Ta*'i', supposing the charge to be true, was displeased

[1] Began April 11, 989.

with him and sent 'Ali Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man and Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Abi Tammam Zainabi the 'Abbasid to arrest him. They went upstream to his residence in the *T*ahiri *H*arim.

The following was narrated by the qa*d*i Abu'l-Qasim Tanukhi on the authority of *S*afiyyah daughter of 'Abd al-*S*amad son of Qahir: I was, she said, in the house of the prince Abu'l-'Abbas (meaning Qadir), on the day whereon it was raided by the persons sent by *T*a'i'. On the morning of that day he had collected his womenfolk, among whom I was. He said to us: I saw in my dream yesterday as it were a man reading out to me *Those to whom the people said: Verily the folk have gathered for you and fear them, they said: God is sufficient for us, and a good trustee is He* (Surah iii. 167). So I was afraid that some one might be searching for me.—He was talking in this way when the *zabzab* of Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man was seen to be approaching the steps of his residence. He cried out: *We are God's*; this visit is alarming, following on that dream.—The people came up from the *zabzab*, and we hurried behind the doors. They said to him: You are summoned by the Commander of the Faithful.—He said: I obey. (**149**) He rose up. Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man said to him: Whither away?—He said: To dress myself suitably for meeting the Caliph.—The former laid his hand on Qadir's sleeve and would have stopped him; we however came out, and rescued him from his hand. He descended to a cellar in his residence and we stood in front of Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man till he had got into safety, when the people returned to *T*a'i', and told him what had happened.

After this Qadir secretly retired to the Marsh, where he stayed with Muhadhdhib al-daulah till he was appointed Caliph. When he came to the throne he took for his motto *God is sufficient for us and a good trustee is He*, which, owing to the dream he regarded as auspicious.

After telling this story we would observe that when God makes choice of a man, He manifests miraculous signs in his favour and indicates His choice by signs and indications. Further if He chooses him for some matter He facilitates his access thereto and rescues him from any mischief of which he may be in fear. He makes his outcome prosperous. God says in his perfect Revelation : *God shall deliver those who fear and shall set them in their place of safety ; evil shall not touch them neither shall they be grieved* (Surah xxxix. 62).

In this year Mohammed the Bedmaker was sent out to blind Samsam al-daulah.

Account of the procedure in this matter.

Nihrir the Eunuch had been urging Sharaf al-daulah to put Samsam al-daulah to death telling him that the man was a sovereign who had sat upon the throne, and no-one could be sure against events ; meanwhile so long as he was alive Sharaf al-daulah's power was in danger. Sharaf al-daulah rejected this advice, only when he fell ill and his life was in danger, Nihrir became importunate, and said : If you do not approve of putting him to death, then at least let him be blinded.—Mohammed the Bedmaker was sent to carry out this operation and was given a preparation which he was ordered to insert in the prince's eyes for three days, tying them up. The Bedmaker proceeded, but before his arrival Sharaf al-daulah was dead. The bedmaker got to Siraf ; Samsam al-daulah was confined in a fortress which was one of its dependencies. The governor of Siraf was (**150**) a Jew named Ruzbah ;[1] the Bedmaker told the governor his errand. The governor said : The authority for this operation comes to an end with Sharaf al-daulah's death, so I have no right to put him in your power without first informing the Inspector Abu'l-Qasim 'Ala b. Hasan.[2] So he wrote to ask his per-

[1] More correctly Roz-bih, doubtless in Hebrev Yom-Tob.

[2] We last heard of him in Basrah, p. 128.

mission, and a reply came that the Bedmaker should be given power to accomplish his errand. He proceeded to the fortress and treated *S*amsam al-daulah's eyes with the preparation which he had brought, and the prince lost his sight.

A case wherein indiscreet communicativeness brought disaster on the person guilty thereof.

Among the persons in charge of *S*amsam al-daulah was a bedmaker named Bundar, who through long association had got to be on intimate terms with him. One day, by way of showing sympathy he asked him: How is your majesty?—He replied thoughtlessly: A little of my sight remains, as I can see through that window.—Bundar repeated what he had said to Mohammed and the two agreed to cut away his eyes with a lancet. When *S*amsam al-daulah once again became monarch in Fars, Bundar was anxious to resume his service. *S*amsam al-daulah ordered him to be one of the holders of the servants' horses, at a distance from himself. Bundar asked whether such a post was what he had merited by his long service and association. His question was repeated to *S*amsam al-daulah, who asked whether it was not enough that his life should be spared, so that he must needs be so presumptuous. The story came to the ears of the prince Abu *Ṭ*ahir, who learning the whole business, ordered Bundar to be taken and impaled, which was done. *S*amsam al-daulah used to say that the person who had really blinded him was 'Ala b. *H*asan, who had executed against him the order of a sovereign who was dead. When 'Ala was arrested *S*amsam al-daulah confronted him with this charge, but afterwards pardoned him. Mohammed the Bedmaker got to Baghdad. When 'Amid al-Juyush Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Ustadhhurmuz went to 'Iraq[1] he said that he wanted to relieve his mind by putting Mohammed to

[1] As governor in 392, infra p. 437.

death and punishing him for his wickedness. Mohammed fled to Egypt where he stayed till the death of 'Amid al-Juyush.

In this year Sharaf al-daulah died and the prince Abu Nasr became monarch in his place.

(151) *Account of the illness of Sharaf al-daulah and the succession of the prince Abu Nasr.*

Sharaf al-daulah fell ill of his last illness, which was a form of dropsy. When it became severe he commissioned his son Abu 'Ali to go to Fars to represent him, and he was sent out with his mother and a number of his women-folk, and great stores of money and munitions were sent with him; a number of eminent Turks were attached to him. Immediately after the departure of his son his illness became acute, and hope gave way to despair. The chief Dailemites (*auliya*) assembled and sent to solicit the appointment of the prince Abu Nasr as his deputy till he recovered from his illness. He assented, and the prince Abu Nasr was summoned by messenger to appear; he declined, alleging anxiety and consternation. It was agreed that the announcement of his appointment as deputy should be made on the following day, and the people gathered to the royal palace for the purpose. Some of the officers and court-officials brought claims for their pay and urged them with vehemence, so that the assembly was dissolved without anything being settled. Sharaf al-daulah was overtaken by his fate and expired. His death was concealed for one night; by morning most people knew what had happened. The army assembled, and demanded accession-money from Abu Nasr. There was a debate on the subject of their pay and the amount distributed to each of them. Abu Nasr undertook to speak to them himself; he assured them that there was no money in the Treasury to satisfy them all, but promised to break up all the vessels and plate there to be coined into gold and silver

pieces, which should be paid out to them. When evening came on they retired to their residences, without having arrived at any decision. When the next morning they went to the palace they found the prince already in mourning and holding a reception for condolence. So they refrained from addressing him.

The coffin of Sharaf al-daulah was brought out, and Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi came forward to pray over him. The corpse was then taken to the Martyrium in Kufah.

Sharaf al-daulah's residence in Baghdad lasted (**152**) two years, eight months and some days. He lived 28 years and five months. Then " the writing reached its term " (Surah ii. 236) and he was hastily summoned by the Caller, was stripped by fate of the two garments of sovereignty and youth, was snatched away from his attendants and followers, and went away in his prime whether to happiness or to misery, by the path which every creature must tread and wherein there is no difference between king and commoner. Maybe it is the commoner whose back is more lightly burdened and whose pace is quicker through those billows. Plague upon a dwelling whose denizens are of this style and a tree whose branches bring forth such fruit ! How misguided is he who takes this dwelling for his home and finds the fruit of such a tree to his taste ! Blessed is he who cuts short his hopes in this world and adjusts his conduct to the next ! God says : *This present life is only a temporary enjoyment, whereas the life to come is the mansion of continuance* (Surah xl. 42).

Negotiations proceeded between the prince Abu Nasr and the Caliph *Ta'i'* which resulted in each party swearing loyalty and friendship to the other, and the following day *Ta'i'* sailed to pay the prince a visit of condolence.

Account of the Caliph's voyage of condolence.

Th barge was brought up to the Stair-gate, its deck being carpeted with *dab qi*, while above it there was red embroidered satin, whereas the saloon was carpeted with yellow satin and covered with embroidered *dabiqi*. The minor Turkish retainers stood round the saloon with swords and belts, and Sharaf al-daulah's Turkish and home-born chamberlains arrived in *zabzabs*, clad in black with swords and belts. They were all standing up in their *zabzabs*. Large numbers of boats containing private people collected. The Caliph *Ta'i'* proceeded from his palace mounted on a *Sinabi* horse with light trappings and a red (terra cotta coloured) saddle, and clad in a black *qaba* of silken web with a turban of silken stuff (*khazz*) over a *rusafiyyah*;[1] he wore his sword and in front of him were five horses with satin cloths over their saddles (**153**). He went down to his barge and sat in the saloon on a throne over the embroidery. This was contrary to the practice of the Caliphs, who were in the habit of sitting on the deck of a *harraqah*, with a barge saloon in front.[2] It is said that he did this because he had recently been ill and wished the traces of his illness remaining on his visage to be concealed.

In front of him stood his secretary 'Ali b. 'Abd ...iz, his eunuch Duja, and his chamberlain 'Abbas. ...barge proceeded to the royal palace in Mukharrim, and ...he prince Abu Nasr came down girt with a garment of T... baristan. In front of and around him were Daile-mite and Turks as far as the water-way whither the barge had come. He kissed the ground. 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'A...ziz mounted to the prince Abu Nasr and conveyed the r... message of condolence, when the prince kissed the grou... nd a second time, and returned thanks and blessings.

[1] A... sort of tall bonnet.

[2] T... he meaning of this is not very clear, and could only be explained if we had accu... ate descriptions of these craft.

'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Aziz returned to the presence Caliph to convey the thanks and blessings, an back again to Abu Nasr to bid him farewell on the (behalf, and to convey the Caliph's thanks and ble He kissed the ground a third time. The barg departed down stream as it had come, and the prin Nasr returned to his palace.

Five days later the prince Abu Nasr sailed Caliph's palace, and was invested with the Si robes and received the title BAHA AL-DAULAH WA AL-MILLAH (Pride of the Empire and Light of the munity). The deed of his appointment was read his presence. A horse with gold trappings was pre to him and another similarly adorned led in front The army proceeded round him as far as the Sha siyyah Gate under arches that had been erected then entered his barge and descended to the royal

Measures taken by Baha al-daulah upon his assun of the sovereignty.

He confirmed Abu Mansur Ibn Salih*a*n in the viz and the heads of the bureaux and others in their v appointments. Presently he dismissed Abu Sa'd al-Khayya*t* from the Bureau of Literary Compositi spite of his competence, and entrusted it to A *H*asan 'Ali b. Mohammed Kaukabi the Mu'allim structor). The Caliph bestowed a robe of hono this person, (**154**) called him by his *kunyah* and gav the title AL-KAFI (the Competent). The robe of h was a *durra'ah* of *dabiqi*, with a turban of silver th he was mounted on a horse with trappings. N the eunuch and Abu Nasr 'Ibn Ka'b were arre confined, and afterwards put to death. The rui the former was brought about by *H*usain the Bedm that of the latter by Abu'l-*H*asan Kaukabi.

Account of these events.

Baha al-daulah was greatly attached to Nih*r*ir

loud in his praises. When Sharaf al-daulah died, he desired Nihrir to serve him as he had served Sharaf al-daulah, only Nihrir refused, and made a show of becoming an ascetic. Baha al-daulah tried hard to persuade him, employing as negotiators the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar and the vizier Abu Mansur Ibn Salihan, and speaking to him personally as well. But all was to no effect.

Account of the obstinacy displayed by Nihrir, which had disastrous results for him.

Men of prudence and powerful intellect constantly warn against riding the steed of obstinacy which constantly stumbles and shies, throwing its rider into the abyss of destruction. Abu Nasr Husain b. Hasan known as The Excellent Ustadh narrated as follows: I was standing, he said, before Baha al-daulah, who was addressing Nihrir and saying to him: Do not spurn me when I am so desirous of you; I will give you the post which you had before.—Nihrir kissed the ground and begged to be excused, till finally Baha al-daulah said to him in Persian with streaming eyes: Do it for God's sake!—Nihrir however was resolute in obdurateness of a sort which no sovereign should have to meet. He left the monarch's presence, and after a short time there entered Husain the Bedmaker, who said that Nihrir had been demanding 20,000 dirhems from the Treasury. Baha al-daulah bade him transmit them to him.

(155) *Account of a scheme whereby Husain the Bedmaker alienated Baha al-daulah from Nihrir so that he ordered him to be arrested.*

When the dirhems had been transmitted to Nihrir Husain returned and said: I have found out that he meant to fly to-night and has taken the dirhems and put them into purses for journey-money.—Baha al-daulah was alarmed by this, and kept awake the whole nigh-

watching him and sending bedmaker after bedmaker to his dwelling to find out what he was doing, till morning came; there was no truth in what *H*usain the Bedmaker had asserted, his sole purpose being to irritate the monarch against Ni*h*rir. After this a number of people fell foul of Baha al-daulah, especially Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn 'Amr, who appears to have been an enemy of Ni*h*rir. Your majesty, they said, you have gone to a length in flattering this eunuch which will cause a scandal, while he has resisted you with a pertinacity which is not justified by his rank.—They kept on using this and similar language till they had poisoned his mind against Ni*h*rir and increased his irritation against him. After a few days Ni*h*rir presented himself accompanied by his intimate friend ABU NASR IBN KA'B, when Mohammed b. 'Umar, the vizier Abu Mansur Ibn Sali*h*an, and Abu Sa'd Ibn al-Khayya*t* were assembled in the chamber. Baha al-daulah gave permission for his arrest. Abu Nasr seeing the signs of displeasure and disapproval asked me by a motion of his hand what the matter was. I signalled to him to stand up, which he did; he was followed by Abu Sa'd Ibn al-Khayya*t*, who took Ibn Ka'b to the Treasury, where he was put into confinement Mohammed b. 'Umar was left with Ni*h*rir, and said to him: Fellow, you have gone too far in your arrogance. Who are you and what is your rank that you should refuse to serve this mighty king?—He proceeded to use some rude language, and Ni*h*rir maintained silence. But when there was too much of it, he raised his head and said: Sharif, where was this language in the days of my patron, when a smile from me was the highest of your hopes? Now when I am in this plight, your employment of such expressions is an abuse of power.[1] (**156**) How can I be blamed for quitting the world after a master who purchased me for a thousand dirhems, and then promoted me till I was served by you instead of serving you and

[1] This seems to be the sense.

was needed by you instead of needing you ?—Ibn 'Umar was angry and went away. Taking Nihrir by the hand I made him sit on the bedding on the ground, and he said to me : I want you to bring me a Qur'an and to tell his majesty that my refusal is only my fatal ill-luck. Tell him that I have served both him and his brother and thereby have earned some rights. I therefore beg that I be not surrendered to an enemy who will gratify his spite upon me, and that his majesty himself order what is to be done to me.—I reported his words to Baha al-daulah, who bade me return and bring him his Qur'an and say to him : This is the fruit of your contumacy ; to whom do you wish to be surrendered ?—I took him the Qur'an and reported the monarch's words ; he said —to Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj.—I went back to Baha al-daulah and told him ; the people present objected, but Baha al-daulah would not listen to them, and ordered him to be conveyed to *H*ajjaj.—The order was carried out.

Fresh scheme devised by Husain *the Bedmaker, whereby he succeeded in putting* Nihrir *to death.*

After some days *H*usain came and said to Baha al-daulah : Your majesty, I am informed from a trustworthy source that Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj intends to present himself to-morrow to make a request to you on the subject of Nihrir ; if you assent you will be released from an enemy from whom you cannot be safe after your treatment of him ; you are aware how he is obeyed by the Turks, and if you refuse him you will have offended Abu Ja'far in addition to having offended Nihrir.—Baha al-daulah said : What counsel do you offer ?—He said : Anticipate him by removing Nihrir from his house—Where then, he asked, shall he be conveyed ? —He said to my house, where there will be no danger from such a man.—Baha al-daulah thereupon ordered someone to be sent to take him ; he was removed and confined in a chamber. Some days later it happened

that Bahā' al-daulah left his room at the end (**157**) of the day. *H*usain the Bedmaker was whispering to his brother, with his back turned to the place whence Baha al-daulah had come, so that *H*usain did not see him till warned by his brother, when he turned towards the monarch. Baha al-daulah noticing the signs of embarrassment on his face asked him what he was about.—Your majesty, he said, my brother has been telling me that a number of Sharaf al-daulah's old retainers passed by my house, and were seen by Ni*h*rir from his chamber; he called out to them *I am Nihrir; break into the house and release me!*—The persons in charge of him were afraid he might be wrested from their hands, so they put him to death.—Plague upon you, what are you saying? asked the monarch.—What your majesty is hearing, replied *H*usain.—Baha al-daulah was greatly concerned by this news, and presently learned that the story told him by *H*usain was false, and that he had himself ordered the persons in charge to put Ni*h*rir to death. Baha al-daulah kept his sentiments to himself and did not reveal them to *H*usain.

Account of the mode wherein Abu Nasr Ibn Ka'b met his death.

Abu'l-*H*asan Kaukabi had removed him to his house, and taken money from him. When Ni*h*rir was killed, he was afraid that what he had received from him might come to light.—Abu Nasr known as the Excellent Ustadh narrated as follows: I was seated, he said, one day with Kaukabi, when a retainer of the Treasury came and whispered something to him which I did not hear. He then went back. Kaukabi said to me: Do you know what we were talking about?—I said I did not. He said: Ibn Ka'b has twice been given poison and it has been ineffective; a third dose has been administered and all it effected was a swelling on his face.—I was bewildered by what he said. The next day he asked me if I knew

what had happened to Ibn Ka'b. I said I did not. He said: The poison was no good, we had to assist it with the sword.—And he laughed.

Record of a marvellous requital containing a warning and example.

When the Bedmaker and Kaukabi committed these outrages, God Almighty speedily avenged them. The Bedmaker was confined in the house of Nihrir and shortly after put to death; Kaukabi (**158**) was repeatedly given poison as a mode of execution, and as it failed to work he was strangled with a curtain cord. A Turk who was present slashed him with his knife. Consider this terrible, this holy requital, measure for measure!

Be as thou wilt, thou shalt be dealt with as thou dealest.

And if this be the case in this world where God usually gives respite before requital, what, think you, will it be in the next, wherein God weighs every atom? Ah, how miserable the fate of the wrongdoer; fool and wretch that he is, does he suppose that he has wronged some one else? Nay, nay; he has wronged himself. Does he not know that the Judge is just, and the judgement final? Why then did he not prepare for his inquest an answer on the day whereof God says: *The day whereon the man shall see what his hands have sent before, and the unbeliever shall say: Ah me, would that I were dust!* (Surah lxxviii. 41).

At this time a dispute arose between the Dailemites and Turks which roused old resentments in their breasts and brought about the renewal of ancient struggles. The Dailemites entrenched themselves in the streets; the affair became serious and fighting went on for days till Baha al-daulah went out to the camp of the Turks and pitched his tent amongst them, as they were the stronger and besides the more loyal party. He put matters right, and negotiated with the Dailemites while mollifying the Turks till "the war laid down its burdens" (Surah

lxvii. 5), and peace was made. The Turks then returned to the town, the two parties embraced, gave each other presents, and interchanged oaths. The Turks increased in power and had the predominance, whilst the Dailemites weakened after this encounter, split up, and slunk away by every path.

Fortunes of Abu 'Ali after his departure.

As recorded above [1] the prince Abu 'Ali (son of Sharaf al-daulah) departed with his companions, and when they arrived in Wasit news of Sharaf al-daulah became obscure, as the post which brought intelligence stopped. This aroused suspicion; and presently tidings came which made them despair of his life. The prince Abu 'Ali (**159**) proceeded with the Turks by land, whilst the treasures, women and baggage proceeded by stream to Basrah. The rendezvous was Matara. Letters arrived announcing Sharaf al-daulah's death, and ABU SHUJA' BAKRAN B. BALFAWARIS with the chamberlain ABU 'ALI IBN ABI'L-RAYYAN started to bring the party back. The prince Abu 'Ali was advised to hurry to Arrajan, and did so, being accompanied by the most important of the women-folk in litters; he also took with him those who were lightly mounted, while he relied on *Ta*hir b. Zaid, governor of 'Abbadan, to forward the rest of the retinue and baggage by sea to Arrajan. A certain portion of these was actually sent on. Bakran and Ibn Abi'l-Rayyan then arrived and stopped all that had not yet started, stating that they had merely come to comfort them, and to bring the prince Abu 'Ali back to the court of Baha al-daulah his uncle, to obtain his share of Sharaf al-daulah's estate. And they brought the party back from 'Abbadan to Basrah.

Presently there was a mutiny of the Dailemites in Basrah, who clamoured for the accession-money, which there was no means of paying. Bakran took a con-

[1] Above, p 151

siderable amount of the garments and plate in the baggage by way of loan and expended it on them. Then despairing of the prince Abu 'Ali's returning, he appropriated the remainder. The prince Abu 'Ali reached Arrajan where was Abu'l-Qasim Ra*d*i' who had been appointed to represent Sharaf al-daulah there. They were joined by a number of Turks, among whom were officers like Khumartakin *H*imsi, Abu'l-Gharat, Baki and others of their rank. These formed the bulk of the army and they decided to proceed to Fars.

Hasty plan adopted by 'Ala b. Hasan, of which he repented at leisure.

Hearing of the desertions, he was afraid Abu 'Ali might secure the power without (**160**) his having any place therein. He hastily started correspondence with the prince Abu 'Ali and Abu'l-Qasim Ra*d*i', telling them of his plan of uniting the Dailemites in loyalty. Now the person appointed to the fortress where Samsam al-daulah and the prince Abu *T*ahir[1] were confined had released them both, and the same had been done by the governor of the fortress wherein Fulad b. Manadhar had been imprisoned[2]; the three came together in Siraf.[3] The Dailemites agreed to bestow the sovereignty on Samsam al-daulah and Abu *T*ahir, and pronounced their motto, while Fulad looked after the realization of this. 'Ala b. *H*asan now regretted that he had written to the prince Abu 'Ali, knowing that Ra*d*i' by having Abu 'Ali in his control would override him ('Ala b. *H*asan) and monopolize the government so as to exclude him. Accordingly he wrote to Samsam al-daulah, Abu *T*ahir and Fulad, summoning them, making them promises, and holding out hopes. The prince Abu 'Ali proceeded on his way and halted three stages away from Shiraz.

[1] Above, p. 123. [2] Above, p. 131. [3] Supplied from 163, below.

Account of the scheme whereby 'Ala b. Hasan secured the arrest of Radi'.

He selected sixty of the chief Dailemites and instructed them to meet the prince Abu 'Ali and minister to him, and inform him of the loyalty of the Dailemites (*auliya*) to him; they were also to demand of him the arrest of Ra*di*' before entering the town, and the appointment of some one else in his place after the prince had established himself there. 'Ala b. *H*asan promised these officers the fiefs of Ra*di*' in Fars, which were numerous and excited their cupidity. They were therefore earnest in their demand and the prince assented to the arrest of Ra*di*', who was brought to 'Ala b. *H*asan, who sent him to the citadel. Abu 'Ali with the Turks pursued his way to Shiraz and encamped outside.

(**161**) *Account of a plot arranged by 'Ala b. Hasan whereby he produced dissension between the Dailemites and Turks and so compassed his end.*

Summoning a Turkish retainer named ANUSHTAKIN, he cajoled him with the following language: Would you like, he asked him, to be employed in an affair which will lead to your promotion? —He said he would. Then, he said, make an attack on the Dailemites and assassinate two or three of them; then run away: I will afterwards bring you forward and make good my promise. The foolish retainer was cajoled, went off, mounted a garden wall, and shot at two Dailemites who passed below, with missiles which hit vital parts. A brawl arose between Dailemites and Turks; an endeavour was then made to pacify them, and this was effected, though resentments still rankled. 'Ala b. *H*asan now sent to the prince Abu 'Ali and his mother, warning them against the Dailemites, who owing to their attachment to Samsam al-daulah and Abu *T*ahir, might make a sudden assault upon them. The prince Abu 'Ali in consequence left the royal palace secretly by night for the camp of the Turks,

followed by his mother; next morning the Dailemites agreed to commence with Abu 'Ali[1], and get him into their power. Finding they had come out to the camp, they threw off the mask, and attacked the Turks. There were skirmishes for a number of days; presently the Turks departed taking the prince Abu 'Ali with them and proceeded to Fasa. There they found ABU'L-FAḌL IBN ABI MAKTUM, who was governor, and had with him a sum of money ready which he wished to transmit to Shiraz, and some four hundred Dailemites. They sent him a conciliatory message which was effective in securing his favour, and the prince Abu 'Ali appointed him vizier. He distributed his store of money among them, and they besieged the Dailemites stationed there in a house wherein they had taken refuge. When they stormed this house they massacred them all. The Turks strengthened themselves with the spoils which fell into their hands. The prince Abu 'Ali went back with the camp-followers (?) to Arrajan, whilst Baki, with whom were the chief fighting men, proceeded to the gate of Shiraz, whither Samsam al-daulah had already arrived. For a time they remained outside, fighting (**162**) the Dailemites and plundering the country. Then growing weary of their stay they departed to Arrajan.

Account of the impolitic hostility of Ibn Abi Maktum to Baki, which led to his ruin.

Between Ibn Abi Maktum and Baki there was an estrangement in the course of which the former became an implacable enemy. When Baki approached the town he was met by the prince Abu 'Ali, with whom was Ibn Abi Maktum, riding at his side. When he stood still to meet the new arrivals, they came forward and did him homage, only Baki kept aloof. Then one of the Turks went up to Ibn Abi Maktum, and dragged

[1] Probably this means to start hostilities with.

him by the sleeve of his *durra'ah*, and assisted by the others drew him to Baki, who struck off his head. Baki proceeded without delay to the prince Abu 'Ali, but by this time there was a tumult among the people and most of the retinue had gone into hiding. When his eyes fell on the prince, he kissed the ground before him, and made his excuse, saying: Your slaves only ventured to put this man to death owing to their knowledge of his evil intentions towards you and them, and their having learned of his writing to Samsam al-daulah on the subject of surrendering you and them. We are your slaves and bondsmen and our lives and heads are ready to be sacrificed on your account.—The prince Abu 'Ali gave an answer wherein he exhibited satisfaction.

After a short time there arrived ABU 'ALI *HASAN* B. MOHAMMED B. NASR who had been sent by Baha al-daulah bringing fair promises. He had long conversations with the Turks, whom he secretly conciliated, till it was agreed that they should return to Baha al-daulah's court which was at Wasit. When he came near the place he was met with honours and was brought into the presence of Baha al-daulah, who was holding a friendly reception. Baha al-daulah gave him a place of honour, spoke to him in friendly fashion, gave him drink and then after some days had him arrested; he was sent down stream to Basrah and confined there. Baha al-daulah proceeded to Fars. When he returned to 'Iraq, he called for Abu 'Ali, and Abu'l-*Hasan* Kaukabi charged himself with the task of strangling him.

(**163**) *Account of the fortunes of* Samsam al-daulah; *how he was released and became king again in Fars after Sharaf al-daulah's death.*

We have already recorded his release and that of Abu *Tahir* and the arrival of both in Siraf. When the prince Abu 'Ali and the Turks had departed from the gate of Shiraz, 'Ala b. *Hasan* wrote to the two, describing

how he had prepared the way for them, and advising them to proceed at once. They did so and after halting at Daulatabad entered the city. The prince Abu *T*ahir by his energy and courage became supreme, and Fulad b. Manadhar undertook the management of the Dailemites. 'Ala b. *H*asan favoured him and the two cooperated harmoniously. Presently the prince Abu *T*ahir died, it is said, of poison, and Fulad monopolized the administration ; such ill-feeling now arose between him and 'Ala b. *H*asan that he was compelled to abandon Fars and go to Rayy. This shall be recorded in its place.

In this year intelligence came of an expedition of Fakhr al-daulah with a view to annexing the districts of Khuzistan, and in the hope of invading 'Iraq.

Account of the motive which prompted Fakhr al-daulah to aspire to 'Iraq.

The *S*a*h*ib Ibn 'Abbad at all times of his life was attached to Baghdad and anxious to rule there, and watching for opportunities for this. When Sharaf al-daulah died, he aspired to realize his ambition, and believed it was within his reach. He suborned certain persons to put before Fakhr al-daulah the glories of the territories of 'Iraq and assure him that they could easily be conquered. The *S*a*h*ib recoiled from giving counsel plainly in favour of such an enterprise, out of fear of the consequences and to avoid responsibility ; till at last Fakhr al-daulah asked him plainly for his view of the matter which they were discussing. His reply was : It is for the *Shahinshah* (king of kings) to decide ; the splendour of those realms is too well known to be concealed, and your majesty's luck is dominant. If you have any design, I will serve you therein, (**164**) and realize the furthest of your aims. Fakhr al-daulah then determined to invade 'Iraq and advanced to Hamadhan. He was visited by Badr b. *H*asanawaihi, and

stayed there for a time deliberating and designing till it was settled that the *Sahib* with Badr should proceed by the high road, whilst Fakhr al-daulah with the rest of the army should proceed *via* Ahwaz. The *Sahib* advanced for one stage.

Counsel given to Fakhr al-daulah which caused him to recall the Sahib.

He was told that it was a mistake to let the *Sahib* separate from him, as he might easily be approached by the children of *'Adud* al-daulah and go over to their side. Fakhr al-daulah therefore recalled him, and the whole party proceeded to Ahwaz. Now ABU MANSUR IBN 'ALIKA was war-minister in Ahwaz and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Asad minister of *khuraj*, having been appointed by Sharaf al-daulah; after his death Abu'l-*Hasan* Kaukabi wanted to displace Abu Mansur Ibn 'Alika and arrest him. He commissioned for this purpose a brother of the Bedmaker *Husain*; only Abu Mansur, hearing of the design from his friends at the capital, abandoned his house, goods and most of his horses and departed with some of the Arabs to join Fakhr al-daulah. The Dailemites after his departure plundered his effects which were numerous.

Account of a clever scheme of Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Asad, whereby he recovered diplomatically what had been taken.

Collecting the Dailemite officers he told them that the goods and beasts taken were now the property of Baha al-daulah, and that to plunder them was a disloyal act. Either then they must restore what had been taken or they must permit him to resign his office. They knew best what course they should adopt. They told him that the thing had been done by the lower ranks and that it was not in their power to make them disgorge. He however continued negotiations till they undertook to restore what had been pillaged and swore

to co-operate in rescuing it. This undertaking (**165**) they carried out. They then advanced a demand for accession money. Abu 'Abdallah collected a certain amount of revenue and allowed them to retain such of the goods and beasts as had not been restored at a valuation, and thus satisfied them.

The news of Fakhr al-daulah's expedition spread abroad, and there was in consequence ill feeling between the Dailemites and Turks, which led to a battle that lasted some days. After this the Turks and other partisans of Baha al-daulah went off from Ahwaz in the direction of 'Iraq.

Proceedings of Fakhr al-daulah when he had entered Ahwaz and the misconduct which led to his failure and retirement.

The *Sahib* Ibn 'Abbad had gone on in front and taken possession of Ahwaz where he was joined by Fakhr al-daulah after twenty days. He pitched his tents in Baridi's Garden.[1] The army were eagerly expecting gifts and rewards from him, but he did not fulfil their expectations or do in this matter what the circumstances demanded. The Mihrijan festival arrived, and the officers from Khuzistan brought horses as tokens of service, as was usual at that season. He returned them, and commanded them to give the choosers the right to choose what horses they liked for his mounts. Their best horses were taken, and this produced disaffection. He then laid an embargo on their fiefs and forbade them to exercise control over their revenues, even if he did not openly cancel and recall them. During this embargo the revenue officials busily seized what was to be found upon the fiefs, and this caused anger and resentment.

The Dailemite officers who had come with Fakhr al-daulah were also embittered, for whereas their fiefs in Rayy and the districts of the Jabal ranged in value from twenty to thirty thousand dirhems, they found

[1] See i., 345.

those of the officers of Khuzistan (**166**) to range from 200,000 to 300,000 dirhems. This led to much jealousy and heart-burning. An extraordinary coincidence besides was that the Tigris—"to accomplish a purpose which God would have fulfilled"—rose during these days to an unusual height, and swamped the tents, carrying some away. In consequence Fakhr al-daulah departed with his army, as they were bewildered by what they saw, not being accustomed to floods. One told the other that the *Ṣaḥib* had brought them to these regions for no other purpose than to effect their destruction. They became angry and suspicious, authority was shaken and on each face there was evidence of its weakness. News also reached Baghdad of the arrival of Fakhr al-daulah in Ahwaz.

Account of the forces equipped by Baha al-daulah to meet Fakhr al-daulah.

When he learned of Fakhr al-daulah's arrival in Ahwaz he was greatly alarmed and commissioned *Ḥ*usain b. 'Ali the Bedmaker to go on this expedition and carry on the war. He promoted him and bestowed on him the title THE *SAḤIB* by way of annoying Ibn 'Abbad, with robes of honour fit for a man of higher rank. He also sent with him vast supplies of money, munitions and engines. He sent with him Abu Ja'far *Ḥ*ajjaj b. Hurmuz and Alptakin the Eunuch with a mighty host *Ḥ*usain started after Baha al-daulah had gone out to bid him farewell: on his route he played the part of a monarch with his receptions and parades, and was lavish in his expenditure. What had raised him to this rank was in addition to the favour of Baha al-daulah the active support of Abu'l-*Ḥ*asan Kaukabi the Mu'allim which was not due to affection but to the desire to remove him from the capital and be rid of him, as his ascendancy over Baha al-daulah was very great. When he got to Wasit

and after, stories were told about him and Baha al-daulah had reason to change his opinion of him.

(**167**) *The reason for the change in Baha al-daulah's sentiment towards* Husain *the Bedmaker, his arrest, recall from his expedition to Baghdad and execution in the house of Nihrir.*

Abu Nasr known as the Excellent Ustadh narrated: When *H*usain the Bedmaker wished to start, Baha al-daulah said to me: I should like to be present when he rides on his parade and goes out to his camp.—I told him that it was his to command. He went out and stationed himself at the Woodcutter's Gate looking at the road. A number of *H*usain's Turkish retainers passed with swords and belts mounted on horses with fine trappings. He asked me whether those trappings were from the store. I said: Yes; when they were sold he bought them and had them renewed. Afterwards there passed his led beasts, with trappings of gold and other materials, among them a mule with trappings to which Baha al-daulah was attached, and which were sold with the rest and had been acquired by *H*usain.—He said to me: Abu Nasr, is not this my set (which he called by a certain name)?—I said it was. He continued to ask me about one thing and another, and kept saying: When did he procure and collect all these things?—After *H*usain had passed Baha al-daulah returned to his room. I saw his countenance had changed and he was depressed. Entering his chamber he slept till the afternoon and would take no food till the end of the day. Then *H*usain sent a message through me requesting permission for the kettle-drums to be beaten. Baha al-daulah refused, saying it could by no means be allowed. When I took this answer back he was angry, and said: Is it with such treatment that I am expected to expel Fakhr al-daulah after he has got control of the country owing to his stupid behaviour?—A*h*mad the Bedmaker was

present with me and heard what was said. We rose; *Ah*mad got in front of me and informed Baha al-daulah of what had taken place. Presently I arrived, and he asked me about the reply. (**168**) I said: *Ah*mad the Bedmaker was there, and has come into your presence before me, so he may have stated it. He bade me repeat it. I toned it down, but he said: That was not so.—I said: If your majesty knows the truth of the matter, what is the use of my repeating it again?

Reports came in succession of the excesses committed by *H*usain on his route, and Abu'l-*H*asan Kaukabi found the means of putting the worst colour on his proceedings and told tales about him which led to his ruin. One day when he was discussing him, Baha al-daulah said: Send some one to arrest him! Abu'l *H*asan Kaukabi seized the chance, and immediately despatched Abu'l-Fat*h*, brother of Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed b. 'Aliyyan and 'Ali Ibn Abi 'Ali to carry out this order.

Remarkable coincidence through which the matter was concealed from Husain *the Bedmaker till he was arrested.*

The three[1] who departed on this errand related how when they had got to Matara, where *H*usain was, he suspected something, and sent men to search their *zabzabs* and seize the papers which they contained. Owing to their good and his bad luck they had taken the precaution of leaving the written orders for his arrest in a *sumariyyah* which accompanied them, only was separated from their private craft. Hence the searchers found only the letters publicly addressed to him, so that his apprehensions were allayed. They then met *H*ajjaj and Alptakin, communicated to them the private papers and informed the two of their orders. They then went to *H*usain, met him in his pavilion, talked to him for

[1] This suggests that the names given above are corrupted.

a time and when they left, closed the door upon him and put him and his stores under guard. They then brought him in fetters to Basrah, where they delivered him to Bakran Ibn Abi'l-Fawaris and Abu 'Ali Ibn Abi'l-Rayyan.[1] Thence he was conveyed to Baghdad. Baha al-daulah, being exasperated against him, had him confined in the house of Ni*h*rir, and ordered (**169**) his tongue to be torn from the back of his head. He died and was afterwards thrown into the Tigris. Only a short interval had elapsed between the time when he was employed in sweeping and bedmaking and that wherein he received a robe of honour and a still shorter interval between his investiture and his execution.

It is quite natural that a man who rises from the depth to the height, having no contact with the ropes of goodness and no foothold in the paths of righteousness, should fall quickly and precipitately, should have his connexions severed and his joints amputated, should be reduced to ruin and have his fire extinguished. Fire blazes fastest and highest among rushes, but is also most speedily extinguished, it catches in the thick tamarisk more slowly, but then it burns longer and is more durable. It is the result which matters in all cases, and which distinguishes the saved from the lost.

After capturing *H*usain, Baha al-daulah committed the charge of the expedition to Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fa*d*l, who had therein the success which we hope to recount.

Arrangements made by Fakhr al-daulah for equipping an army to be sent to Ahwaz.

When Fakhr al-daulah learned of the approach of Baha al-daulah's host to the territory of Khuzistan, he sent out troops to meet them. His maternal uncle Ibn *H*asan, Shahfiroz, and others led three thousand Dailemites, and Badr b. *H*asanawaihi four thousand

[1] See above, p. 159.

Kurds ; Dubais b. 'Afif Asadi, who had come over to his side, led a large number of Arabs. When the engagement took place, it resulted in the rout of Fakhr al-daulah's followers.

Coincidences which caused the rout of Fakhr al-daulah's host.

No-one would have imagined, supposed or gathered from appearances that Baha al-daulah's army would resist them ; only the help comes from God. Now it so happened that the engagement took place close to some rivers ; (**170**) there was an inundation which covered the fields. Fakhr al-daulah's followers supposed that this was the result of the strategic opening of breaches with the intention of drowning them ; for they had no acquaintance with the natural rising of rivers. Hence they turned their backs and retired to Ahwaz. Some of the higher officers were captured and many of the rank and file deserted. It is asserted that Badr b. *H*asana-waihi stationed himself on an eminence and kept aloof from the engagement, and that Dubais b. 'Afif retired before the battle. Possibly the *Sa*h*i*b was at the bottom of it owing to Fakhr al-daulah's suspicions of him and having recalled him after he had started from Hamadhan on the high road to 'Iraq through fear of his favouring the sons of '*Ad*ud al-daulah. Such conduct is likely to make an impression and make the innocent behave like the guilty. A further cause may be found in Fakhr al-daulah's continual rejection of his advice.

When the defeated army got back to Ahwaz, Fakhr al-daulah was in perplexity and uncertain what course to follow.

Wise plan suggested by the Sahib *which Fakhr al-daulah declined to support.*

The *Sa*h*i*b said to him : Such an occasion as this requires freehandedness. You have been stinting the

troops seriously, given them little to hope from us, and estranged them ; if you will set matters right by liberal and conciliatory measures I undertake before a year is over to repay you many times the amount out of the revenue of these lands.—Fakhr al-daulah did not rise to this ; the utmost he did was to pacify the officers from Khuzistan by taking the embargo off their fiefs ; but this did not affect them, as the revenues of the year had been forfeited by them. Owing to the miserliness which was so prominent a trait in his character Fakhr al daulah could not bring himself to bestow any gratuity; so his followers began to slink away and join Baha al-daulah's forces. Each morning as the sergeants went the rounds of the tents, they found many of them deserted (**171**). The rent grew too wide to be repaired, the disease too hard for the leech.

Even so when the skin comes to pieces through decay and rot, it outwits the tanner.

Fakhr al-daulah found it difficult to remain with his schemes crumbling in his hands and his men dispersing. So he withdrew to Rayy and on his way arrested and put to death many of the officers from that city. Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fa*d*l advanced and entered Ahwaz and made himself master of the province.

Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Asad was arrested by the Dailemites before the Sa*h*ib reached Ahwaz and died in confinement of an illness which befell him. The Sa*h*ib suffered in Ahwaz an illness of which he nearly died ; he recovered and gave away in alms all the contents of his house, money, raiment and furniture ; he then replaced them all.

Saying of the Sahib *in Ahwaz which was remembered against him.*

It is said that some people brought to him a complaint of some injustice which they had suffered, and he wrote on the back of the petition : *They shall experience injustice for a month, and justice for ever.* A queer rescript ! Dare

one overlook injustice for an hour, not to speak of a month? How was he to know but that God might do some new thing before the month was over?

It is said too that he ordered the clerks of the place to draw up a statement of the revenue of each district. This was drawn up and brought to him. He ordered the finance-officers and administrators to be gathered, and the amount produced by each district to be stated and put up to auction among them. The districts were offered to the officials to bid for as goods are offered to traders. This is a queer specimen of administration. It is said, however, that it is not disapproved by the clerks of Rayy and those regions, where their transactions are conducted according to covenants and rules; but we have never heard of such an operation in 'Iraq and the adjoining regions except in early times when the produce of the Sultan's estates was put up to auction between the traders.

Story of a commendable act connected with this subject.

It is stated that one of the viziers—I fancy 'Ali b. 'Isa, but cannot say for certain—collected the traders in his office one year in order to sell them the produce. They had agreed between them to offer low prices; presently however one of them came forward and outbid the others, who made no further advance, in the belief that the vizier would not be satisfied with the guarantee of one out of the whole number, the sum being enormous; however the vizier knocked it down to him. Fearing to lose the contract they made an advance of 10,000 dinars; the vizier however told them that the arrow had been sped, that he was already committed; the produce, he said, belongs to him and the price to us; he has now the option of accepting your addition, or rejecting it. It belongs to him and not to us. They asked the man to accept the addition or to go shares; he accepted the former and assigned the purchase to

them, being quit of all responsibility, and taking home 10,000 dinars.

This proceeding is worthy of high commendation; the loyal observance of contracts, stipulations and promises is politic and diplomatic. Though at first there may be apparent loss, the consequences are most profitable. If the word of a minister cannot be trusted, on what can business be based? Government is a building and veracity a support; in a building each part sustains every other, and if the support be unstable the whole building comes to grief.

To resume: In this year Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al 'Aziz b. Yusuf was released[1] and returned to Baghdad. He had had a narrow escape from ruin.

Procrastination practised by 'Ala b. Hasan in his case which resulted in his deliverance.

As stated above he was confined in the fortress, where he was secretly looked after by 'Ala b. *H*asan. Towards the end of Sharaf al-daulah's time a messenger came with orders (**173**) for his execution. This troubled 'Ala b. *H*asan owing to the ties which bound them, and he delayed execution. Then there came about the death of Sharaf al-daulah and during the interregnum 'Ala b. *H*asan sent some one to release him from prison, and advise him to proceed to 'Iraq. He went to Basrah and asked leave to come to Baghdad which was granted.

In this year Mohammed b. 'Umar 'Alawi and his secretary Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. *H*asan were arrested.

Account of this affair.

The wealth and revenues of Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar had multiplied in the time of Sharaf al-daulah, so much so that when 'Ali b. *T*ahir went to inspect the districts of Saqy al-Furat among other business he made a memoir on the revenues of Mohammed b. 'Umar's

[1] See above, p. 173.

estates, which showed a sum of 20,000,000 dirhems. The Sharif Abu'l-*Hasan*[1] learning of this became angry and suspicious.

Wise plan devised by Mohammed b. 'Umar for placating Sharaf al-daulah.

Summoning the Bedmaker 'Ali b. *Husain* called AL-KHA*TIR* (the Important) he addressed him, when he appeared, as follows: Take the following message from me to his majesty. To no-one am I indebted as I am to your majesty, who released me from prison, gave me my life, restored to me my goods and estates, and added favour upon favour. I am told that Ibn *Tahir* has drawn up a memoir about my estates which he estimates at twenty million dirhems. These estates are yours, from whom they came; I should like to assign one half to the prince Abu 'Ali as a free gift cheerfully bestowed. 'Ali b. *Husain* the Bedmaker repeated the message to Sharaf al-daulah.

(**174**) *Reply of Sharaf al-daulah to the message, indicative of high-mindedness and generosity.*

Sharaf al-daulah's reply was as follows: Tell him: I have heard your message. My opinion of you warrants more than all the favours which you have acknowledged and were your revenues many times more than what you have stated, I should regard them as small in your case. God has secured to you your abundant possessions and Abu 'Ali has no occasion to interfere with your estates. So be quite at ease and without fear.

Assuredly this attitude was noble and exalted, and this language agreeable to hear. These are gifts which God bestows on those of His servants whom He favours. A man does right by divine guidance, not by his own power and endeavour.

When Sharaf al-daulah died and the sovereignty was

[1] *i.e.*, Mohammed b. 'Umar.

transferred to Baha al-daulah, Abu'l-*H*asan the Mu'allim (Kaukabi) got control over affairs, and coveted his wealth. He advised Baha al-daulah to seize his fortune and appropriate his estates. So he was arrested with his bailiffs and clerks, and remained in confinement as will presently be described.

In this year Baha al-daulah ordered the tax on pasturage to be remitted throughout the Sawad.

In this year Abu Nasr Khwashadhah returned from Mausil after the entry of the Banu *H*amdan thither.

Account of the departure of the two Hamdanids *from Baghdad and their fortunes in their war with Khwashadhah.*

When Sharaf al-daulah died, Abu *T*ahir Ibrahim and Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain, descendants of *H*amdan, began to think of proceeding to Mausil; they solicited permission, and obtaining leave, seized (**175**) the opportunity. They journeyed with their whole families. The people in the capital recognizing the mistake that had been committed in letting them go, instructions were sent to Khwashadhah to resist them and send them back. When they reached *H*adithah, a message came to them from Khwashadhah bidding them return thither whence they had come, and threatening them with arrest if they disobeyed and entered the city. They gave a civil reply, undertaking to obey what they were ordered. The messenger returned and they followed on his track till they halted at Dair A'la[1]. The inhabitants of Mausil attacked the Dailemites and Turks, plundered their dwellings, seized their goods and went out to the *H*amdanids in open revolt. Khwashadhah sent such forces as he had to fight them; an engagement took place which lasted till the afternoon, when the government troops were routed, a great many of them being slaughtered or drowned. The rest joined Khwashadhah and

[1] See ii. 206.

took refuge in the government house, wherein he was staying. They were pursued by the *H*amdanids and the populace, against whom the doors were locked. A battle lasted the whole remainder of the day; night then separated the combatants and the *H*amdanids returned to their camp.

Wise plan devised and approved by the Hamdanids *with knowledge of the consequences.*

When this happened and they perceived that the populace would be satisfied with nothing less than the slaughter of the Dailemites, an act which the monarch could not condone: fearing the consequences of such an outrage, they sent the following message that same night to Khwashadhah: We, they said, are the servants of his majesty, and fate has brought about what we did not choose. Such is the hatred of the Dailemites felt by the populace that we have no power to check them; to-morrow they will burn the palace and shed blood. Either then come over to us or be sure that you are bringing about your own destruction.—Khwashadhah perceived that their advice was candid, and came out to them at night. They received him with honour, and then set about dealing with the populace. Summoning their leaders they said to them: If you desire us (**176**) to remain among you, put us in control of your affairs. Do not gratify your vengeance by shedding the blood of the followers of the sovereign; such gratification will produce an incurable disease, and you will receive no pardon or leniency from him. Our advice is that you should restrain the younger among you from slaying, and that these people should be allowed to retire without molestation. The sovereign may then take in good part our enterprise in coming among you.[1] They expressed their readiness to obey. The next morning the populace went to the palace; the two

[1] This seems to be the meaning.

*H*amdanids and the leaders did their utmost to pacify them, and ultimately, after some difficulty, it was agreed that they should spare the lives but pillage the goods; that the soldiers should mount the rooves, and that men of eminence should stand on the steps to prevent the mob from mounting. They then entered the palace and brought out such plunder as they could find. The doors were then locked. For some days the government troops remained imprisoned; ultimately they departed in miserable style in boats to Baghdad; Khwashadhah was released and treated kindly, and departed to Baghdad.

The two *H*amdanids occupied themselves with administration, and were joined by a vast number of the Banu 'Uqail. They had no army save the populace and 30,000 *H*amdani veterans[1].

[1] Probably old retainers of Nasir al-daulah, but the number seems very considerable

YEAR 380.[1]

In this year a battle was fought between Bad and the *H*amdanids Ibrahim and *H*usain and the Banu 'Uqail in the neighbourhood of Mausil.

Account of this battle which resulted in the death of Bad and the rout of his followers.

When Ibrahim and *H*usain, the sons of Nasir al-daulah, had arrived outside Mausil, Bad, despising their weakness, thought he would attack them and take the city from them. Being aware that they had no army other than the populace, he wrote to the people of Mausil endeavouring to win them to his side. Some gave him a favourable answer. He then advanced at the head of 6,000 men (177) of various classes of Kurds, and halted on the Eastern side. The *H*amdanids took alarm, knowing that they could not resist him; they had recourse therefore to the Banu 'Uqail. They sent

[1] Began December 23, 998.

to Abu'l-Dauwad requesting his help, and offering any conditions which he chose to make. He demanded the Jazirah, Nisibin, Balad, and a number of other places, and they assented. When they had agreed on this basis, Abu 'Abdallah Ibn *H*amdan started and brought him with 2,000 horsemen into Balad; a place on the Western bank above Mausil. Crossing the Tigris they came on the ground occupied by Bad, who was unaware of their movements, being occupied with a campaign against Abu *T*ahir and the people of Mausil. One of his scouts brought him intelligence of their having crossed the river, and he was afraid that the forces opposed to him might cross over to where he was, while he was attacked on the rear by Abu 'Abdallah and the Banu 'Uqail. So he ordered his followers to retreat and take refuge in the folds of the hills. This produced confusion as some were hurrying forward, others starting to overtake them, and yet others remaining stedfast in the field facing the foe.

Remarkable coincidence which resulted in the death of Bad after the completion of his term.

Whilst the followers of Bad were in the state of disorder which has been described, his chamberlain 'Abdallah, called "the Horses' Bride," was killed. Bad was afflicted by his loss, and meaning to shift from one horse to another, in the act of transferring his foot from one stirrup to another and springing, fell to the ground with all his weight, and broke his collar-bone. The battle was going on between the opposing forces. After a time his sister's son Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Marwan learned about him. They came to him and told him to lift himself up in order to come up with the cavalry. He told them he could not move and they had best look after themselves. They retired with 500 horse and made for the hills obliquely, and ultimately got safely thither from the plains. The Banu 'Uqail brought

some of the horsemen down, but the Banu Marwan and most of their comrades escaped and proceeded by the foot of the hill to Diyar Bakr. Bad got among a number of corpses while he still had a little life, and was recognized by one of the Banu 'Uqail, who (**178**) decapitated him and brought his head to the *H*amdanids, from whom he received a handsome reward. His trunk was pointed out, and brought to Mausil, where hand and foot were amputated; these were sent to Baghdad, and the trunk was then impaled at the gate of government house in Mausil. This caused excitement among the populace, who declared that he was a man who had fought the infidel, and whose body ought not to be mutilated. In consequence the trunk was taken down, clothed and buried with due rites. The populace after his death displayed curious affection for him, though perhaps no inconsistency should be regarded as curious on the part of a mob; in their case one should be prepared for any contradiction, and indeed under the influence of cupidity they are the boldest of mankind, while they are the most cowardly when under restraint.

Abu 'Ali Ibn Marwan went off to the fortress Kaifa, a mighty stronghold overlooking the Tigris, where was Bad's Dailemite wife.

Stratagem whereby Hasan *b. Marwan obtained possession of the fortress.*

When he arrived at the gate of the fortress he told Bad's wife that he had been despatched by his uncle on important business. She supposed him to be speaking the truth, but when he had mounted and been received by her he informed her of Bad's death. He married her; after putting the fortress in charge of his own followers he descended, and visiting the fortresses one by one settled them all, installing persons in whom he had confidence. He then proceeded to Mayyafariqin. The two *H*amdanids Abu *T*ahir and Abu 'Abdallah started

for Diyar Bakr, hoping to storm the fortresses and carrying with them the head of Bad. They found their plan difficult of execution, as *Hasan* b. Marwan had put them all in a state of defence; they determined instead to engage him in battle, but in the engagement *Hasan* b. Marwan was victorious and the *Hamdanid* Abu 'Abdallah fell as prisoner into his hands.

Account of the kindness shown by Hasan b. Marwan *to his captive Abu 'Abdallah; kindness which was unrequited with disastrous results.*

When *Hasan* b. Marwan took Abu 'Abdallah prisoner, he treated him with kindness and respect, and released him. He joined his brother Abu *Tahir* who was besieging Amid, and advised him to make terms with *Hasan* b. Marwan and retire from Diyar Bakr. Abu *Tahir* would hear of nothing but continuance of the war (**178**) with a numerous host of the Banu 'Uqail and Numair. Abu 'Abdallah was compelled to help him on the principle of "helping your brother whether he be the aggressor or the injured." They advanced against *Hasan* b. Marwan and engaged him, but he was the victor, and defeated the two. Abu 'Abdallah was taken prisoner a second time, and was ill-treated by his captor, who put him into strict confinement wherein he remained a long time, till ultimately the ruler of Egypt wrote in his favour, and he was released through his express mediation. He went to Egypt and was made governor of *Halab* for the ruler. He remained in those regions till his death, and descendants of his are to be found there.

Abu *Tahir* fled and entered Nisibin; he was attacked by Abu'l-Dauwad Mohammed b. Musayyib, who captured him, his son 'Ali and Righfir, prince of the Banu Numair, and put them all to death in cold blood. Mohammed b. Musayyib proceeded to take possession

of Mausil, and its dependencies, and wrote to the Sultan requesting that a Resident be sent from the capital. The Muzaffar Abu'l-Hasan 'Ubaidallah b. Mohammed b. *H*amdawaihi[1] was sent out, during the absence of Baha al-daulah from Baghdad and the vice-royalty of Khwashadhah ; the Muzaffar interfered only with finance and the properties and fiefs owned by himself and Khwashadhah in the neighbourhood. Otherwise the Banu 'Uqail were supreme.

In this year Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. A*h*mad b. Al-Zu*tt*i, minister of public security in Baghdad, was arrested.

His arrest and subsequent fortunes till his death.

This person had exceeded his province as inspector of public security and outraged people so as to leave permanent resentments. In the days of *S*amsam al-daulah after the revolt of Asfar[2] he was energetic in restraining the dependents of 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf, persecuting his women-folk, and annihilating his fortune. He treated them and others most foully. Hence he laid up many stores of resentment against himself (**180**) and there was a conspiracy to ruin him. Baha al-daulah and Kaukabi were told of his great possessions and their cupidity was aroused. So he was arrested and confined in the Treasury, and subjected to scourging repeatedly for some days. Arrangements were commenced for settling what should be done to him, and 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf conspired with Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram to lay snares for his destruction, and suborned Abu'l-Qasim Shirazi to guarantee a vast sum to be obtained from him.

Plot whereby 'Abd al-'Aziz b *Yusuf secured the destruction of Zutti.*

Abu Nasr *H*usain b. *H*asan known as the Excellent

[1] Last heard of above, p 107. [2] Above p 104.

Ustadh says: 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf was the person who worked hardest in the affair of Ibn al-*Zutti*, and told the Mu'allim (Kaukabi) all sorts of things about him which excited his alarm. He said: We are about to wage war and advance to meet an enemy. No-one knows what may occur, and if you spare this man, there is no saying how he may deal with the women-folk and children whom we shall be leaving behind. To get rid of him would be an act of piety towards God and security for the future.—The Mu'allim replied: His majesty has expectations of vast sums to be got from him.—'Abd al-'Aziz said: Doubtless he has great wealth, but he will never willingly give it up, or yield it without a struggle. Abul'-Qasim Shirazi here is ready to offer a million and a half of dirhems for him, and assures us that so long as the man lives the money will not be realized, as those with whom it is deposited are afraid of him.—Shirazi was present and offered the sum with his own tongue.

The Excellent Ustadh proceeds: I said to him: Are you confident that you can realize the sum you offer? He whispered in reply: If I do my best. If I succeed, well and good; if I fail, then I will bring 10,000 dirhems to this fellow's wife (pointing to the Mu'allim) and she will deliver me out of his hand.—We both laughed.

'Abd al-'Aziz gave no rest to the Mu'allim till it was settled that the man should be put to death, and the permission of Baha al-daulah was solicited; (**181**) the money offered for him being paid down, permission was given for the purpose. He was taken over to the West side and his head was conveyed to the Mu'allim who sent it to Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram, who placed it the following day in his vestibule that it might be a public spectacle.

This is a strange story; not indeed that the execution of Ibn al-*Zutti* is strange, as he was a wicked man, and such persons naturally come to bad ends. The marvel

is that the Mu'allim should have had such power over Baha al-daulah and the woman such power over the Mu'allim; power that enabled them to make sport of men and to do as they liked with lives and goods. Such a condition of affairs covers a state with shame and bedecks it with crimes. When God wills the prosperity of a state He cleanses it from such infamies and appoints the best of mankind for its rulers; so long as it lasts it is victorious and its merits are eternized in the scrolls.

After the execution of Ibn al-Zu*l*ti Abu Mohammed *H*asan b. Mukram was selected for the office of Chamberlain and received a robe of honour. He left a favourable mark in this office, as he dealt rigorously with the banditti after their operations had assumed serious proportions. The majesty of the law was restored, order was reinstated, the city became safe and suspects took to flight. Presently he retired from the office and went to Wasit in the Sultan's company.

Account for the reason for this.[1]

The Mu'allim (Kaukabi) was suspicious of the vizier Ibn *S*ali*h*an and only maintained him in office with the intention of allaying the suspicions of 'Ala b. *H*asan and completing the scheme which he was devising for his ruin. When 'Ala b. *H*asan acted as has been described in Fars[2] and there was no further chance of deceiving him, as he had thrown off the mask, the Mu'allim hurried on what he had deferred, and arrested the vizier Ibn *S*ali*h*an; he selected for minister ABU NASR SABUR B. ARDASHIR, who received the robes of the vizierate, while the former vizier Ibn *S*ali*h*an was taken to the Treasury. (**182**) The new vizier Sabur went into his palace.

This is the course of the world; victorious, defeated, appointed, cashiered, selected, rejected, wanted, not wanted! Government appointments are loans certain

[1] Perhaps something is lost. [2] See above p. 163

to be called in, garments certain to be doffed. Happy is he who employs such loans aright, and wears such robes with honour. When the loan is called in, such a man has a store of glory left; when the robe is stripped off he is still clad in a fair garment of praise that is all his own. His works have a prosperous termination and his career is honourably remembered after him.

In this year Baha al-daulah started in the direction of Shiraz after establishing Khwashadhah as his deputy in Baghdad; he bestowed a robe of honour upon him and had an official throne set up for him in the first apartment of the palace and three cushions in the inner apartment. No vizier or minister of the highest rank had ever before been seen sitting in this apartment in this style. A deed of appointment was drawn up for him wherein he was addressed as *Our Sheikh*; he was the first minister on whom this title was conferred. Abu 'Abdallah Ibn *Tahir* was appointed deputy of the vizier Sabur in Baghdad. He and Khwashadhah could not co-operate, and the two were continually at variance till Baha al-daulah returned and arrested both, as shall be recorded in its place.

Fortunes of Baha al-Daulah on this journey.

He departed accompanied by the Mu'allim Abu'l-*Hasan* (Kaukabi) and the vizier Sabur; the former was supreme in great things and small, and controlled the entire administration. After staying some time in Wasit he proceeded and halted in the camp of Abu Ja'far Mansur[1]; he entered Basrah and after seeing the place returned to his camp. Here he received news of the death of his brother Abu *Tahir*, and held a reception for condolence. He then proceeded to Ahwaz, and

[1] The text has Ibn al-*Hajjaj*. It seems clear that this is a mistake and that the place mentioned is that described by Le Strange in *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p 47. See also above, i. 372, ii., 245.

despatched Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl[1] with the van, (**183**) consisting of the greater part of the army who proceeded to Arrajan, which he entered; he stormed and took possession of the citadel, where there were vast stores. When the news reached Baha al-daulah, he proceeded to Arrajan and took up his quarters there. He ordered all the money, etc., in the citadel to be brought down and delivered to his treasurers. There were a million gold dinars, eight million silver dirhems, with jewels, raiment, engines, and weapons, such as kings amass.

Account of what happened to this wealth and how most of it was dispersed.

When the wealth was transferred to Baha al-daulah's stores he was anxious to have it piled in separate heaps for the different sorts in his drinking saloon. It was all of it beautifully arranged and put in charge of guards and treasurers for some days; it was a magnificent sight, only the celebrity of it led to its being dispersed. The Turks and Dailemites mutinied ceaselessly, and the money was paid out to them so that after a short time only 400,000 dinars and 400,000 dirhems were left. These were conveyed to Ahwaz. 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl proceeded from Arrajan to Nubandajan, routed the armies of Samsam al-daulah that there were, and established followers of his own in the districts of Fars. Fulad b. Manadhar then advanced from Shiraz leading Samsam al-daulah's van, and engaged and defeated 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl in Khwabdhan.

Account of this engagement and the stratagem which caused the defeat of Baha al-daulah's army.

When 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl and the Turks faced Fulad and his Dailemites in the valley of Khwabdan with the Bridge[2] between the two parties, some of the

[1] See above, p. 171.

[2] This Bridge is described by Le Strange, l. c. p 265; the name of the river which it crossed is uncertain.

Turks found their way to the camels of the Dailemites and (**184**) lifted them, bringing them back to their camp. The other Turkish retainers seeing them wanted to do the like, and the next morning seventy of the leading men among them crossed the Bridge. The Dailemites had meanwhile cunningly sent out some camels without attendants or guards, and these were lifted by the Turks, who proceeded homewards with them. A shout was then raised and Dailemite and Kurdish horsemen who were in readiness rode in pursuit. When the Turks got to the Bridge they found their way blocked by five hundred Dailemites who had been placed by Fulad behind a neighbouring hill; when the Turks came by with their goods they found them lying in wait on the Bridge, and had no means of crossing. The horsemen overtook them, slew them to a man and sent the heads of the chiefs to Shiraz. This was a serious injury to the army of Baha al-daulah. Fulad proceeded to amuse 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fa*d*l with negotiations, then made a surprise attack and routed him. He retired to Arrajan discomfited. When the news reached Samsam al-daulah, he started from Shiraz.

Prices rose in Arrajan and its dependencies, and there was difficulty in procuring food and provender. Negotiations for peace were started and letters and messages interchanged. Ultimately it was arranged on the understanding that Samsam al-daulah should have Fars and Arrajan, while Baha al-daulah should have Khuzistan and 'Iraq. Each of the monarchs was to have a fief in the territory of the other. Contracts were drawn up and ratified and each swore friendship to the other with a solemn oath, which was by the terms inscribed in two copies. Baha al-daulah then returned to Ahwaz.

Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. 'Ali b. 'Abdan went to represent Samsam al-daulah in the capital, where he also looked after his master's fief in 'Iraq. Abu Sa'd

Bundar (**185**) b. Fairuzan was appointed to represent Baha al-daulah in Fars.

In this year news arrived of the death of Abu'l-Faraj Ya'qub b. Yusuf vizier of the ruler of Egypt who had the title 'Aziz.

Notice of his career and of the fortunes of the Egyptian vizierate after him.

This Abu'l-Faraj was a highspirited and influential man, who obtained control of affairs and served his master faithfully. He won his affection, obtained promotion at his court, and was entrusted with the administration which prospered in his hands. When he fell ill of his last illness, he was visited by his master, who finding him on the brink of despair was affected and said to him : Ya'qub, how I wish you were for sale, so that I might buy you with my kingdom, or that you could be ransomed, and I might ransom you. Is there any desire that you wish me to fulfil ?—Ya'qub wept and kissed his hand, which he placed upon his eyes ; he then said, I have no personal desire, for you are too ready to recognize my claims for me to request you to do this, and too kindly towards my heirs for me to commend them to your care. But what I would say with regard to the concerns of your empire is this : Keep the peace with the Byzantines so long as they maintain it ; be satisfied with recognition in public prayer and the coinage on the part of the *H*amdanids ; spare not Mufarrij b. Daghfal b. Jarra*h*[1] if ever you get him into your power. – The fact that he was leaving this world did not prevent him from giving wise advice to his master, and displaying affection towards him ; and this is the way of faithful friends. He died, and the ruler of Egypt ordered him to be buried in his palace under a dome that he had built for himself. He was present at the funeral, said the prayer over him, and laid

[1] See above, ii. 385.

him with his own hand in the grave. He went home sorrowful at the loss, and had the public offices closed for some days afterwards.

For a time he took into his service Abu 'Abdallah Mausili, and then invested 'Isa, son of Nestorius, with the office. (**186**) This person was a Christian. He administered affairs, amassed money, and favoured the Christians, whom he placed in office, to the exclusion of the Moslem clerks and officials. In Syria he appointed as his deputy a Jew named Manasseh b. Ibrahim b. al-Farrar, who dealt with the Jews as 'Isa dealt with the Christians so that the followers of these two systems came into occupation of all the offices.

A skilful plan which led to the removal of this grievance.

One of the Moslems wrote out a complaint which he gave to a woman whom he induced by the offer of a large sum to place herself in the way of the ruler of Egypt and put the complaint into his hand. Its contents were: *Your majesty: By him who has exalted the Christians through 'Isa son of Nestorius, and the Jews through Manasseh son of al-Farrar (the Deserter), and has humiliated the Moslems through you, I pray you to examine my case.* The ruler of Egypt had a famous mule which, when he rode it, sped like the wind and could not be overtaken. The woman waited for him in a narrow place, when he approached tossed the complaint to him, and went among the people. When the ruler read the complaint he ordered search to be made for the woman, but she could not be found. He returned to his palace perplexed, and summoned his qa*d*i, Abu Ab'dallah Mohammed b. Nu'man, a privy councillor, to ask his advice on the matter. Ibn Nu'man told the prince that he knew best how to deal with the situation. He said: The woman was quite right in her complaint, and I am now roused from my slumber.—He immediately

ordered the arrest of 'Isa son of Nestorius and all the Christian clerks and wrote to Syria ordering the arrest of Manasseh Ibn al-Farrar and all the Jewish officials. He commanded that the bureaux and public posts should be restored to Moslem clerks and that the qadis should be appointed to oversee them throughout the empire.

(187) *Plan whereby 'Isa son of Nestorius achieved his rescue and restoration to office.*

A daughter of 'Aziz called Sitt al-Mulk (Lady of the Kingdom) was greatly cherished by him, and he would refuse her nothing. 'Isa obtained her intercession for his pardon, and transmitted to the Treasury 300,000 dinars. He further wrote to the prince, reminding him of his services and claims to regard. The prince was reconciled and restored him to his former office, but with the condition that he should employ Moslems in his bureaux and posts.

This year after the departure of Baha al-daulah there was an outbreak of brigandage, and respect for authority was suspended ; there was a series of battles between the inhabitants of the different streets and quarters which could not be suppressed. There were numerous fires and property was repeatedly looted, at one time by the bandits, at another by the officials. The ministry of public security changed hands many times, but none of the occupants did any good, and the mischief continued till Baha al-daulah's return.

YEAR 381[1]

In this year the vizier Sabur was arrested in Ahwaz and the administration was carried on by Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf.

[1] Began March 20, 991.

Account of the reason for this.

When Baha al-daulah returned to Ahwaz after making peace, there was a mutiny of Dailemites and Turks who demanded payment. They complained loudly of Abu'l-*H*asan the Mu'allim, Sabur, Abu'l-Fa*d*l Mohammed b. A*h*mad marshal of the Dailemites, and 'Ali b. A*h*mad marshal of the Turks, and made no secret of their dislike of these persons. Negotiations proceeded between them and Baha al-daulah, which resulted in his begging of them the Mu'allim and 'Ali b. A*h*mad, while he gratified them by arresting Sabur and Mohammed b. A*h*mad. He appointed (**188**) 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf to the vizierate and bestowed a robe of honour upon him.

It is wise policy for kings to choose for their staff men of approved conduct and commendable qualities, distinguished for virtue and intellect, of known piety and justice. For neither the public nor the greater part of the army associate with the sovereign ; they only see his ministers ; if the conduct of these be straight, and their actions well-directed, the king is respected by those who are at a distance from him by reason of the integrity of those who are near him. There is a story that Alexander the Great said that when he stormed a city he could tell the worthy from the unworthy citizens before he had experience of them. Asked how, he replied that he found the worthy make friends with the worthy of his own followers, and the unworthy with the unworthy.

It is recorded that the blessed 'Abdallah b. Mas'ud[1] said : Nothing is so good a clue to something else—not even smoke to fire—as a man to the character of his comrade. 'Adi b. Zaid[2] sings :

Ask not about a man, but look at his company ; for men take after their companions.

If the King's ministers be men with whom fault

[1] Theologian, ob. A.H. 32

[2] Pre-Islamic Christian poet.

is found and whose misdeeds are common talk, respect weakens in men's minds, and the army conceive contempt which they feel for him. Soon their thoughts become whisperings which they interchange, presently they become bolder and their whisperings become public utterances; they now express themselves aloud, throw off restraint, and lord it over their sovereign as though they were all-powerful rulers and not humble subjects.

In this year Khalaf b. Aḥmad sent his son 'Amr to Kirman and expelled Timurtash thence.

Account of the doings of Khalaf b. Aḥmad ruler of Sijistan, and his sending his son 'Amr to Kirman. This narrative will include the history of this region after this year.

(**189**) ABU AḤMAD KHALAF B. AḤMAD, known as daughter's son of 'Amr b. Laith Saffar, had visited 'Iraq in the days of Mu'izz al-daulah, and received in the capital imperial robes by way of investiture with the government of Sijistan. With a plausible exterior he had a bad heart, and was very avaricious, employing subtle devices to obtain wealth. He used to say that no subject should possess more than ten dirhems, which were a sufficient store for ordinary wants, and an adequate capital for a trader.

The device whereby Khalaf b. Aḥmad was constantly appropriating his subjects' wealth.

He used to study the affairs of the inhabitants of the country, what they earned, how they traded, their goods and hoards, and when he learned that any of them were amassing wealth he registered their names. He would then go away on a sporting or hunting expedition, appointing one of his followers to act as his deputy with instructions to make these people deliver up the surplus which he supposed to be in their hands. When he was informed that the greater part of the money had been paid up by them, he would return. When they com-

plained to him of the treatment which they had received, he would profess sympathy, and order any of them who were still in confinement to be released, and arrears to be remitted. He would then order his deputy to appear, would overwhelm him with reproofs, and even beat him in their presence, to allay the suspicions which they might harbour. Every Friday he would go to the Mosque in his *tailasan*,[1] would sometimes preach and lead prayer, and would recite traditions ; he could produce an authoritative chain of transmitters, including sheikhs of 'Iraq and Traditionalists of the two Sanctuaries.

When '*Ad*ud al-daulah came to Kirman, he made a truce with him of which the terms were that neither party should invade the territory of the other. They drew up an agreement to that effect (**190**) the contents of which were well known to the Samanid princes and the leading men of Khorasan. During the whole time of '*Ad*ud al-daulah peace was preserevd.

After his death, when Sharaf al-daulah came to the throne, Abu 'Ali *H*usain b. Mohammed the Chamberlain left Kirman and Timurtash became governor, Khalaf was inclined to violate the treaty, but felt unequal to doing this ; after the death of Sharaf al-daulah when Samsam al-daulah became master of Fars and the dispute broke out between him and Baha al-daulah, his cupidity was yet more aroused, and he equipped an expedition under his son 'Amr. Before Timurtash had knowledge of their movements they had established themselves by night in the Forest of Ardashir[2] ; Timurtash with his army was in a place called Turkiyabad, one of the erections of Abu 'Abdallah b. Alyas,[3] and they had with them their goods and produce. The most they could

[1] This means the dress of an ordinary citizen, as appears from an anecdote in the Table-talk

[2] If the text is correct, this would seem to be an etymology of Burdasir or Burdashir which is mentioned below.

[3] Probably he should have said Abu 'Ali whose possession of Kirman was recorded above, i. 350.

do was to quit their dwellings with the goods which they contained, and enter Burdasir with such property as they could carry, to find themselves besieged. 'Amr b. Khalaf took possession of all the region of Kirman except Burdasir, and collected the revenue. Timurtash appealed (?) to Fars.

In the time of Sharaf al-daulah there had been enmity between him and 'Ala b. *H*asan, who now found the opportunity for which he had been watching of dealing with him.

Plan devised by 'Ala b. Hasan for effecting the arrest and afterwards the execution of Timurtash.

He assured Samsam al-daulah that Timurtash was of the party of Baha al-daulah and was quite likely to espouse his cause and cause prayer to be offered in his name. He arranged with Samsam al-daulah to equip a vast host of Dailemites for his assistance, while instructing their leaders to arrest him after entering Burdasir. ABU JA'FAR, chief sergeant of the Dailemites, was sent on the expedition with orders to this effect. He proceeded to Kirman (**191**), and 'Amr b. Khalaf, learning of his arrival in Sirajan, retired to Bamm and Narmasir. Abu Ja'far completed his march to Burdasir, and Timurtash went a long way out to meet him. The two went together to the tents which had been pitched for Abu Ja'far, and when they had reached them Abu Ja'far told Timurtash that there were matters about which they ought to come to an understanding on the subject of the enemy, and they had best see to this before taking any other step. Timurtash accordingly went back to his camp, where Abu Ja'far had posted some Dailemites with a view to his design; when they had dismounted, Abu Ja'far arrested Timurtash and put him in fetters; he then sent to his palace to seize his stores and stables. He was a wealthy man and a vast quantity was found.

Timurtash was conveyed to Shiraz, where 'Ala b. *H*asan imprisoned him and then put him to death.

When he had accomplished the affair of Timurtash Abu Ja'far advanced with his army and the troops stationed in Burdasir with a view to engage 'Amr b. Khalaf.

Account of the defeat of Abu Ja'far.

When the forces met at Darzin which is on a plain, suitable for the movements of cavalry, 'Amr b. Khalaf provided himself with a large force of that description. Abu Ja'far and his followers, finding difficulty in obtaining supplies, fled by night and retired by the Jirift road. The news of this reaching Samsam al-daulah and his ministers alarmed them; presently they agreed to despatch the Chamberlain 'Abbas b. A*h*mad[1] to deal with the emergency, at the head of a large force of different divisions of the army. He accordingly started to conduct the campaign.

Defeat of 'Amr b. Khalaf, resulting in his death.

When 'Abbas b. A*h*mad had come near Sirajan, 'Amr b. Khalaf went out to meet him. An engagement took place at the gate of the town, and fortune went against 'Amr. (**192**) Alptakin, one of his chief commanders, was captured, as was a brother-in-law of Khalaf, called Ibn Amir al-Khail (Son of the Cavalry Commander), with many of the troops from Sijistan. This was in Mu*h*arram, (382; began March 9, 992). 'Amr routed retired to Sijistan with a handful of his followers, and when he came into his father's presence was put in fetters by him, taunted with his incompetence and defeat, imprisoned for some days and then put to death in sight of his father, who undertook the tasks of washing and praying over the corpse which was buried in the citadel.

What, I wonder, can have been his object in putting

[1] Apparently the person mentioned above, p 153, as Chamberlain of Ta'i'.

his own son to death? What excuse can he have had for amputating his own hand? Can he have fancied that he would slake his thirst or repair his weakness by breaking his own arm? Vain hope! He merely increased his weakness and brought on long remorse. He outraged this world and loaded himself with a crime for the other. Woe to the hardhearted! How far they are from the true course, and how near to torment!

Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz came to Fars and was promoted in the service of *Samsam* al-daulah. He negotiated with a view to sending his father Ustadhhurmuz[1] to Kirman, and the matter was arranged. 'Abbas b. *Ahmad* was recalled and Ustadhhurmuz started thither.

Abu Bakr Ibn 'Amr b. Ya'qub, secretary to Ustadhhurmuz, states that when the news of this reached Khalaf he felt unequal to dealing with this army, and perceived that he was hoist with his own petard. He was unable to protect his family, his men being all dispersed and his affairs in confusion. Should Ustadhhurmuz assail him on his own hearth while he was in this plight, he would have him at his mercy. He therefore resorted to trickery.

Plan devised by Khalaf b. Ahmad for making Ustadhhurmuz desist from attacking him.

He composed a letter, which bore no address, wherein he pleaded his case, alleging as his excuse for violating the truce made with *'Adud* al-daulah, the dispute between *Samsam* al-daulah and Baha al-daulah, one of the conditions of the truce being that (**193**) it was to hold good during their two lives and was to be continued with their children after them so long as they were not at variance. His violation of the truce was excused thereby; but he was prepared to accept a renewal of the peace.—He sent this letter by a *Sufi*. When the letter

[1] See above, p. 101.

arrived (says Abu Bakr) I read it out to Ustadhhurmuz and showed him the advantages of peace. He bade me write a reply in the style of the letter, which I did.—Khalaf continued this policy of continual correspondence and negotiation for the renewal of the truce till it was settled, and drawn up in a paper to which witnesses attached their autographs, and which was solemnly sworn and formally agreed. Complimentary gifts and messages continued to be sent and all the while Khalaf was amassing money and collecting troops, and renewing his assurances with the intention of violating them so soon as he was strong enough. He produced a rescript wherein Mu'tadid had assigned the country Kirman in fief to 'Amr b. Laith Saffar, Khalaf's grandfather, and made this his excuse before those provincial sovereigns who were acquainted with the terms of that treaty.[1]

Scheme whereby Khalaf wished to mar the reputation of Ustadhhurmuz.

There was in Sijistan a qadi named Abu Yusuf Bazzaz, of great influence with the people of the country and highly respected; he was treated by them like an *Imam* (high-priest). Khalaf summoned this person and sent him as envoy to Ustadhhurmuz, accompanied by a Sufi named Halabi, ostensibly to keep him company. To this Sufi he handed some poison with instructions to assassinate the qadi therewith in food brought him from the palace of Ustadhhurmuz and after it had been on his table, so that the murder might be attributed to him. He had swift camels posted on the road between Sijistan and Bamm for the use of the Sufi, bidding him run so soon as he had done his task.—Abu Yusuf proceeded on his journey unconscious of these designs and came to Ustadhhurmuz in Bamm. The latter (**194**) received him honourably, heard what he had come to say and

[1] Tabari iii. 2183 says he was assigned "all beyond the river of Balkh" which could not well include Kirman.

promised a reply. The Sufi acted as intermediary between the two, and thereby obtained a footing with Ustadhhurmuz, who made a friend of him. He suggested to Ustadhhurmuz to invite Abu Yusuf to his table, that the latter might witness his magnificence and talk about it in his own country. He accepted this advice and invited Abu Yusuf, who however declined. The Sufi went to him and told him that his refusal would give Ustadhhurmuz offence; and urged him till he accepted and presented himself on one of the nights of Ramadan.[1] The Sufi made up a lot of sweetmeats, some with sugar of Sijistan after the style of those regions, and some with powdered sugar and almonds of the sort in use among the people of Baghdad and put the poison in the latter. When Abu Yusuf came home after breaking his fast with Ustadhhurmuz in the latter's palace, he was asked by the Sufi how he felt and about the hospitality which he had witnessed. Abu Yusuf enumerated dish after dish till he came to the sweetmeats, when he spoke of the excellence of those which had been set on Ustadhhurmuz's table. The Sufi said: I fancy the qadi has not tasted the sort which is prepared by us in 'Iraq; I have made some for him to taste so that he may recognize the superiority of Baghdad to all other places. He then rose and produced the poisoned sweets. Abu Yusuf invited a number of his followers to eat with him, and the Sufi said: This sort we should like to reserve for you; I have made another sort which will do for your friends.—He produced the sweets which he had made in the style of the country, and offered them to the guests, whereas Abu Yusuf ate freely of the poisoned stuff. The Sufi on leaving the house made for the gate of the town, mounted a swift camel that had been prepared, and entered the desert directing himself to Sijistan. Abu Yusuf went to sleep, but before an hour

[1] As it was Ramadan, the qadi would not be able to taste the sweets before sunset.

had passed the poison took effect. He sent for the *Sufi*, who could not be overtaken, and about whom nothing was known. He perceived that there had been treachery.

(**195**) Abu Bakr the Secretary, continues: Then his messenger came to me at midnight to summon me; so I went to him and found him writhing on his bed, and calling on God for vengeance upon Khalaf; he bade me guard what he was leaving behind, and help his friends to convey it to his country and hand it over to his heirs; after an hour he died. Ustadhhurmuz, hearing the news, was alarmed, and thought best to conceal them, while dealing kindly with the friends of Abu Yusuf, whom he sent home laden.

The *Sufi* found his way to Khalaf and told him the news. He arranged with Khalaf to state at the public gathering that Ustadhhurmuz had treacherously made away with Abu Yusuf by poison, and had wished to deal with him (the *Sufi*) in the same style; I therefore (he said) made a hurried escape; he meanwhile in violation of the treaty is meditating an invasion of this country. Khalaf then arranged a meeting of the Judges, Witnesses and prominent nobles and commoners, at which the *Sufi* was introduced and narrated what they had agreed upon; before the *Sufi* had finished his harangue Khalaf broke out into cries and sobs and bewailed the martyred Judge; he then called for volunteers to invade Kirman. He next drew up a record of the proceedings of which he sent copies to the provincial governors, accusing Ustadhhurmuz of treachery and perjury. He then placed his son *Tahir* surnamed Shirbabak at the head of four thousand retainers and five thousand soldiers from Sijistan bidding him invade Kirman.

Praise be unto Him who created vicissitudes, making them good and bad! Think of the effrontery wherewith this person did wrong and spoke false! Do you suppose he could have heard the word of God: (Surah iv. 29)

Now of him who slays a believer on purpose the punishment is Gehenna for ever, and God shall be wroth with him and curse him and prepare for him severe punishment; or (iv. 112) *And whoso shall commit a sin or iniquity and charge an innocent man therewith, shall have laden himself with falsehood and clear iniquity.* Truly man is unjust and ungrateful, and ventures upon (**196**) terrible injustice.

Account of the result of Tahir b. Khalaf's expedition to Kirman.

Tahir marched at the head of his army to Narmasir, where was Shahfiroz, son of the daughter of Malka b. Wandakhurshid, with a number of Dailemite and Jilite nobles, one of whom was Sarahang b. Siyahjik the Jilite, who was related to Ziyar b. Shahraguyah, and a gallant cavalier. The invaders reached the gate of the city at early dawn and the first indication of their arrival was the shout of the Turks. The Dailemites thereupon hastened to a parading-ground in the town, where they collected to debate what they were to do, recognizing that they were not sufficient in numbers to cope with the invader. Whilst they were debating, the men from Sijistan set fire to one of the gates of the town and climbed the wall; thereupon the Dailemites decided to issue from a gate that led to the gardens and plantations and take a road between the two which was too narrow to allow the movements of cavalry.

So they started with this intention; but when they reached the gate, they found the people of Sijistan entering thereby and there was a skirmish wherein Sarahang b. Siyahjik who led the Dailemites struck Maltakin Dawati, one of Ibn Khalaf's commanders, with a lance, which laid him low; he then hit and slew another and then a third; the men of Sijistan then fled routed towards the desert. The Dailemites then removed their families and their goods and hugging the walls of the gardens made for a neighbouring mountain which they ascended and whence they made their way

to Jirift. The cavalry of Khalaf's son did not venture to follow them on that road, and only after their departure did *Ṭ*ahir enter Narmasir. When Ustadhhurmuz heard the news, he was in Bamm ; and there was a vast and valuable store of weapons in the fortress wherein he was.

(**197**) *Account of the steps taken by Ustadhhurmuz when the news reached him.*

He assembled the Dailemites who were there and asked their advice ; they replied that they were unable to face the invader whose force was so vast, especially as they were cut off from the army which was in Narmasir. Our best course, they said, is to take away such of the weapons here as we can carry, and burn the rest in order that the enemy may not get possession of them and use them against us ; we should then march to Jirift and decide there upon our course. He approved of this policy and proceeded to carry it out, advancing by forced marches to Jirift, where he stayed enlisting troops and making ready for battle.

Ibn Khalaf on the other hand marched to Burdasir, which was the key of Kirman ; whoever got possession of it with its citadel, was in firm possession of the province.

Account of the progress of Ibn Khalaf's attack on Burdasir and the result.

The commander of the garrison of Burdasir at the time was Abu Bakr Mohammed, son of *H*asan, a kinsman of Abu'l-Wafa *Ṭ*ahir b. Mohammed ; he vigorously defended the place for three months, when provisions becoming scarce, he wrote to Ustadhhurmuz, informing him of the severity of the siege, and how he must surrender the place unless relieved. This gravely disquieted Ustadhhurmuz, who was afraid that the enemy's plans would succeed. He started from Jirift in the year 384 in the season of winter, and met with great hardships

in the paths which he followed and the risks which he ran; when he approached Burdasir he skirted the mountain until he had got within three parasangs of the citadel, when he marshalled his forces and advanced. His arrival became known to the troops in the citadel, who blew trumpets and beat drums, and made a sortie; meanwhile an engagement commenced between the men of Sijistan and the army of Ustadhhurmuz, which lasted the whole day, Ustadhhurmuz advancing his army to the gate of the town. When he was in sight of it, the men of Sijistan struck their tents, and retreated; the besieged army then amalgamated with the (**198**) forces of Ustadhhurmuz, and the men of Sijistan, fearing their united strength, were afraid to attack them, and after halting for one day withdrew, first lighting camp-fires to make the enemy suppose that they were remaining. Ustadhhurmuz learning in the morning of their withdrawal sent his son Abu Ghalib at the head of some cavalry in pursuit; he pursued rapidly and overtook a number, whom he killed. Ustadhhurmuz proceeded by forced marches to Narmasir, and by the time he reached it *T*ahir b. Khalaf had entered the desert on his way back to Sijistan.

Let us now return to the series of events. In this year Baha al-daulah returned from Ahwaz to Baghdad where he arrested Abu Nasr Khwashadhah and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn *T*ahir.

Account of the reasons for this.

Abu'l-*H*asan the Mu'allim used to expect some service or present every moment, and Abu Nasr's miserly character prevented him from gratifying the Mu'allim; when he was advised to do so he would reply that such conduct was suitable only for one who either drew a stipend or earned a secret profit. In consequence the Mu'allim began to harbour a dislike for him of which every one was aware, and which finally reached Khwash-

adhah, who took alarm and meditated flight from the neighbourhood of Baha al-daulah; and he invited certain Arabs to accompany him. He delayed his project however, and was advised by his associates to conciliate the Mu'allim by a gift. He beat them down to a thousand dinars. They told him the dinars had best be in coin and flung down in Wasit; but he declined the suggestion and instead obtained an order for the sum from one of the Mu'allim's purveyors, and sent it to the Mu'allim. It had not the intended effect, though the Mu'allim accepted it in order not to alarm him; but when the Mu'allim came to Baghdad, he arrested Khwashadhah and simultaneously seized from various places possessions of Khwashadhah worth two million dinars. Some time after he released him.

Consider how this sacrifice to miserliness brought its author near destruction and involved him in dire distress, so that by saving a little he lost a great deal. A liberal man is a better guardian (**199**) of his property than a miser; for the liberal man gives his away either for immediate use or as a store for the future; whereas the miser hoards it either for disaster or for an heir. The former then has the luck, whereas the latter forfeits it. The former earns gratitude and the latter reproach. There is a saying: *Spend your money both in prosperity and adversity; spending it in times of prosperity will not reduce it, whereas hoarding it in times of adversity will not save it.* God Almighty says: *Whoso are saved from their own meanness, such are the prosperous* (Surah lix. 9).

Abu 'Abdallah Ibn *Ta*hir (who also was arrested) was deputy to Abu Nasr Sabur, only he was retained in office when Sabur was arrested in Ahwaz, because he offered the Mu'allim what satisfied him; the sum however was not paid, he being unwilling to offend Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al-'Aziz; so the Mu'allim arrested him, and assessed his fine at an amount which he paid: and he was then released.

In the same year the civil disturbance was allayed, and the bandits were chased, caught and executed; among those who were caught was a man called Ibn Juwamard, one of their chiefs; he had shown mercy in the days of *Samsam al-daulah*, and guarded the bazaars; Baha al-daulah being asked how he should be treated amnestied him. Thus whoso spares is spared, whoso does harm suffers it, and whoso does good receives the like.

In the same year Abu Mansur Fulad b. Manadhar fled from Shiraz.

Account of the reason for the flight of Fulad.

When he became powerful, in Fars, and was too great to be a mere captain, Samsam al-daulah came under his domination, and associated his name with his own in documents of state, *e.g., This is the writing of Samsam al-daulah Shams al-millah Abu Kalijar son of 'Adud al-daulah, Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful, and of his Commander in chief, Najm al-daulah (Star of the Empire) Abu Mansur, freedman of the Commander of* (**200**) *the Faithful*; between him and 'Ala b. *H*asan there was the friendship which has been mentioned above, which then turned into hatred, and of a sort which grew in bitterness as time went on. Fulad determined on the arrest of the other and petitioned to that effect Samsam al-daulah, who assented.

Account of the plot contrived by Fulad against 'Ala b. Hasan and its turning against Fulad himself.

Fulad went to the government house, where 'Ala b. *H*asan was according to his custom; the latter came forward to greet him and do what he wanted and Fulad taking him by the hand walked and talked with him; presently he stopped at the door of a chamber, whereinto he pushed him by the chest; he then locked him in and

appointed persons to guard him. While Fulad was occupied with interviewing the Dailemites and receiving their salutations and discussing their affairs with them, 'Ala b. *H*asan worked away at another door of the chamber into which he had been pushed, which had been nailed up; he succeeded however in opening it, and proceeded thence to the private apartment of Samsam al-daulah, to whom he said: This person has arrested me, his intention being to leave no-one about you to obey your orders, since he aspires to be above the sovereign. Samsam al-daulah asked him what was to be done. "Arrest him at once when he comes here," was the reply, "and I undertake that the army shall say nothing on the subject." He agreed and gave orders to some of the staff to arrest him when he came into the presence of Samsam al-daulah, and to take him into one of the chambers. The conversation was overheard by 'Ali Arzanani, the Courtier, who acted as spy upon Samsam al-daulah for Fulad, and when Fulad appeared, he made a sign with his hand meaning: Back, or you will be arrested.—Fulad in consequence ran back and went home; 'Ala b. *H*asan hurried after him to the middle of the camp where he explained that Fulad was in rebellion, and summoned the soldiers to ride after him and arrest him. Fulad learning the intentions of 'Ala b. *H*asan seized such of his goods as he could load upon camels and made off: he was at first eagerly (**201**) pursued by 'Ala b. *H*asan, who presently gave up the chase, contenting himself with having secured his flight. He distributed the fiefs of Fulad among the Dailemites, and became dominant. Writing to the Kurds he demanded the surrender of Fulad, threatening vengeance if this were not effected; their avarice had already been excited by his wealth, and when to this there was added fear of 'Ala b. *H*asan, they plundered him, and he escaped with his life to Rayy where he remained with Fakhr al-

daulah until his death. 'Ali Arzanani was executed by order of Samsam al-daulah.

In the same year Abu'l-Qasim 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf was arrested with all his followers and dependents; his prefecture of Baghdad had lasted two and a half months. Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. Ahmad Abarquhi was made vizier and decorated.

At this time the Caliph Ta'i' was arrested at a reception held by him in honour of Baha al-daulah.

Account of the reasons for the arrest of al-Ta'i' (may God be pleased with him!)

Abu'l-Hasan the Mu'allim (an evil associate) had been magnifying to Baha al-daulah the possessions of Ta'i' and his treasures, so as to excite his cupidity; he treated as trivial what was really a serious step, and encouraged him to commit a crime. Baha al-daulah accepted his advice, and arrested the Caliph. He got nothing thereby except infamy to all eternity, and had it not been that the benefits of the reign of al-Qadir billah covered over the wickedness of this action, he would have found no excuse for it from God or man. As it was, the merits of this pious and virtuous sovereign restored brightness to the face of religion and greenness to the tree of Islam. We have given no details of the procedure on the day of arrest since they involve no expedient worth recording or act of virtue worth recounting. We confine ourselves to citing some verses of al-Radi Abu'l-Hasan Musawi, who was one of those present and when he perceived that trouble was coming, discreetly (**202**) left the palace; those nobles who remained were subjected to indignities, being stripped of their attire. The poet escaped, and sang:

How wonderful that I should retain my life after it has been attacked by disasters virgin and matron. And that I should have escaped on the Day of the Palace when others succumbed; I however retained some discretion which

saved me. I darted thence swooping like a shooting-star, just as the doors of destruction were closing on me. I was the first to climb that hill; behind me there was mischief which could not be evaded. After the master of the realm had been smiling upon me, each of us affable to the other, I found myself pitying him whom I had envied, truly honour and disgrace are near neighbours. How speedily did that countenance which in prosperity had made me smile change and in adversity make me weep. Never shall I be deceived by a sovereign again; fools are those who enter sovereigns' doors.

We implore God's aid against seditions and catastrophes and beg that He will vouchsafe us complete immunity and a happy end.

CHAPTER II.

CALIPHATE OF AL-QADIR BILLAH.

When Baha al-daulah returned to his palace, whither *Ta*'i' had previously been conveyed, and where he was confined, he proclaimed as Caliph AL-QADIR BILLAH (The Powerful through God) ABU'L-'ABBAS *AHMAD* B. *ISHAQ* B. MUQTADIR (peace be upon them all !) and had his name mentioned throughout the city. He drew up a document in the name of *Ta*'i' wherein the latter abdicated and surrendered his office to Qadir. This was attested by witnesses. The Caliphate of the deposed sovereign had lasted seventeen years, eight months and five days. Ministers of Baha al-daulah went downstream to congratulate Qadir on his accession and to bring him up to Baghdad.

The Dailemites and Turks mutinied, clamouring for the accession-money, and prevented the Caliph's personal name (**203**) being mentioned in the Friday sermon ; the formula used was : *O God, prosper Thy servant and deputy (Caliph) al-Qadir billah,* without mention of the name. Negotiations proceeded between Baha al-daulah and the army, and after satisfying the chief officers he assigned 800 dirhems a head. They were all made to promise allegiance and they agreed to keep quiet and obey. The *khutbah* was then pronounced in the name of *the Commander of the Faithful, al-Qadir billah, Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad* on Friday 3 Ramadan (Nov. 13, 991).

It is stated that before Qadir received intelligence of the sovereignty having come to him he saw a dream.

(**204**) *Account of the dream which Qadir saw.*

The following was told by Hibat Allah b. 'Isa, secretary of Muhadhdhib al-daulah : During the residence of Qadir in the Marsh I used to attend his receptions on

two days of the week, and when I presented myself he assigned me an exalted place, and would not let me kiss his hand when I wanted to do so. One day when I entered I found him attired in an unusual fashion, and I failed to find the respect with which he had habitually treated me. I sat down in a lower place than usual, and he made no (**205**) objection, and when I desired to kiss his hand he held it out for the purpose. The idea occurred to me that perhaps I had made some slip, and if that were so, I should ask him to tell me what it was, when I might either excuse myself in some way, or ask to be forgiven. He answered me with dignity, saying: Listen. Yesterday in a dream I saw this canal of yours (pointing to the *Saliq* [1]) appear to broaden out till it was many times the breadth of the Tigris. I seemed to feel surprise at this, and was walking on its bank, wondering at its size and how it had come about, when I saw the supports of a mighty bridge. I said: Who, I wonder, can have thought of erecting a bridge [2] in this place over such an ocean? I mounted on it and it was a well-constructed pier [3] (**206**), and raising my eyes I saw one like it opposite, and I had no further doubts that they were the supports of a bridge, and I began to look up and down in my astonishment. Whilst I was standing upon it I saw a person who was contemplating me from the other side, who called out to me: A*h*mad, would you like to cross?—I said Yes. He stretched out his hand till it reached me, and he caught me and took me across. I was frightened by what he was doing, and said to him in admiration: Who are you?—'Ali son of Abu *T*alib, he replied; this sovereignty is to come to you, and your tenure of it will be lengthy. Be kind to my descendants and partisans.—The Caliph had scarcely

[1] Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 41, gives this as the name of a town standing on an open lagoon.

[2] The word implies a raised bridge as opposed to a pontoon-bridge such as was usual for wide rivers.

[3] This seems to be the sense.

got to this point in his narration when we heard the cry of the boatmen, and people's voices. We asked what the matter was, and were told that Abu 'Ali Mohammed b. Nasr had arrived with a company. It turned out that they were the persons despatched to bring him, and that his accession to the Caliphate had been determined. I kissed his hand and foot once more, addressed him as Commander of the Faithful and did him homage.

Muhadhdhib al-daulah now performed excellent service to the Caliph on the occasion of his departure, as he had done when he arrived. He furnished him with such sums of money, clothing and utensils as are proper for a Caliph, bestowed on him the barge which he had made for his own use, escorted him part of the way and sent Hibat Allah b. 'Isa to minister to him. When he reached Wasit there was a gathering of attendants there demanding accession-money; negotiations were conducted with them which ended in a promise that they would be treated like their colleagues of Baghdad. When this matter had been settled to their satisfaction, he started, and when he reached Jabbul, Baha al-daulah, the chief Dailemites and the most distinguished of the people came down stream to meet him and do him homage. He entered the Caliph's Palace on the night of Sunday Ramadan 12 (Nov. 22, 991).

Account of Qadir's taking his seat on the throne of the Caliphs.

The day after his arrival in the Palace he held a public reception, was congratulated on his accession and complimentary poems were recited. Among them was an odeby Abu'l-Hasan Musawi called Radi, beginning: (207)

This day, ye sons of 'Abbas, Abu'l-'Abbas has renewed the glory of the Caliphate.

This one's hands have exalted its lofty fabric; the other it was who laid the foundations.

This peak has been kept in store by time from that firm crag.

The whole poem is to be found in his collection. The poet was quite right in his assertion that Qadir renewed the glories of the Caliphate and illuminated its banners, clearing away the troubles of civil war. It has been said that whilst all the sovereigns (God's pleasure rest upon them !) performed exploits that have been recorded and followed paths that have been approved, still there were four among them who had the lion's share ; Saffa*h* arose and " spilled " the blood of the enemy, determined to put an end to misery, and had the glory of inauguration [1] ; Mansur was divinely " aided " when he laid the foundations of empire, taming all that was wild, repairing every breach, straightening out all that was crooked, and putting everything in excellent order for his successors. Mu'ta*d*id " assisted " the empire by his admirable administration and repaired it by his high spirit and lofty mind. He made it strong again after it had become weak and taut after it had been slack. He straightened it after it had been bent, and brought peace after civil war. And then Qadir " had power " such as none other had possessed to look after its interests and followed a path of self-denial and asceticism unknown before. He was in truth the anchorite and the ascetic of the Abbasids, administering both things temporal and things spiritual. He succoured Islam and the Moslems and inaugurated new and sound modes of government which are still in use and still form the basis of procedure. He committed no blunder, and was charged with no omission. His days were long, his records fragrant, (**208**) and his footsteps were followed. The lustre thereof remained with his princely family. May God be satisfied with him as he is with pious sovereigns, and retain his title among his descendants unto the Day of Judgment !

Some of the goods, plate, etc., that had been taken from the Caliphs' palace was restored to Qadir, and secretaries, chamberlains and ministers were assigned him

[1] Saffa*h* was the first of the 'Abbasids.

exclusively from partisans of Baha al-daulah. Presently Qadir restored the ministers of the preceding court to their places. The whole time which he had spent in the Marsh from arrival to departure was two years and eleven months.

The dwelling of the sister of Baha al-daulah who was nominally married to *T*a'i' was guarded against pillage on the day of his arrest. She was presently transferred to a dwelling at the *Sa*hra Quay, where she lived in honour till her death.

In this year news arrived of the death of Sa'd al-daulah Abu'l-Ma'ali son of Saif al-daulah after he had put to death his retainer Bekjur.

Account of the rebellion of Sa'd al-daulah resulting in his death; with some notice of Egyptian affairs connected therewith in this year and the following.

Sa'd al-daulah had a retainer named BEKJUR, whom he favoured and made governor of Raqqah and Ra*h*bah.[1] He appointed as his secretary ABU'L-*H*ASAN 'ALI B. *H*USAIN MAGHRIBI. After retaining his governorship for a considerable period, he became ungrateful, and bethought him of revolting. He seduced some of his colleagues who joined his side. He divulged his plan to his secretary Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi, who advised him to open negotiations with the ruler of Egypt who was called 'Aziz, and attach himself to him. Bekjur accepted the suggestion, and wrote requesting permission to appear at the Egyptian court, which was granted. (**209**) Bekjur accordingly quitted Raqqah after leaving his retainer SALAMAH RASHIQI as his deputy, taking some members of his family as hostages for his loyalty. He was met by a rescript from the ruler of Egypt with a robe of honour, appointing him to the government of Damascus. He took up his quarters in that city which

[1] The author has not stated how these places had again got into the possession of this *H*amdanid. See however above, p 86.

was surrendered to him by the former governor. Finding the younger members of the population in control he attacked them and killed a number, thereby securing his authority. Correspondence took place between him and 'Isa b. Nestorius wherein Bekjur addressed the other in a style less exalted than he had expected, and this led to enmity between the two. 'Isa harboured his grudge and slandered Bekjur, who ceased to correspond with him, and complained of him to the ruler of Egypt; the ruler ordered 'Isa to resume friendly relations, and 'Isa while ostensibly obeying secretly disobeyed. Bekjur, fearing treachery on 'Isa's part, conciliated certain Arab tribes and entered into matrimonial alliances with them. They gladly espoused his cause, and he returned to Raqqah. A letter of remonstrance was written to him by the ruler of Egypt, to which he replied with a courteous apology.

Account of the reason which led Bekjur to undertake an expedition to Halab to fight against his patron.

Bekjur had certain friends in Halab, who wrote to him suggesting that he should seize the government, and assuring him that Sa'd al-daulah was entirely devoted to his pleasures. Misled by their words he wrote to the ruler of Egypt, offering to take Halab for him, and requesting reinforcements and stores. All his requests were granted, and the ruler of Egypt wrote to NAZZAL GHURI, bidding him go to Bekjur whenever he was summoned, without further reference. This Nazzal was a great Maghribi captain, and a special favourite of 'Isa.

(**210**) *Plan devised by 'Isa with Nazzal to keep Bekjur waiting till he was ruined.*

'Isa wrote privately to Nazzal bidding him ostensibly hasten to Bekjur's support, while secretly delaying, so that when Bekjur came to the decisive struggle with his patron (Sa'd al-daulah) he might be too late to save him.

Bekjur started from Raqqah, and wrote to Nazzal, bidding him start from Tripoli so that they might arrive in *H*alab at the same time. Nazzal started, but moved slowly, sending despatches to Bekjur announcing his arrival at each stage, and assuring him that he would reach him speedily. Meanwhilė Sa'd al-daulah had written to Basil [1] the Byzantine magnate, informing him of the rebellion of Bekjur, and requesting him to write to Burji, his governor of Antioch, ordering the governor to march to Sa'd al-daulah's aid whenever he should be summoned. Basil gave the order that had been solicited. On Bekjur's arrival Sa'd al-daulah wrote to summon Burji, who started accordingly. Sa'd al-daulah took the field with his retainers and forces of various kinds, while LU'LU' JARRAHI THE ELDER [2] acted as his Chamberlain; the only Arab tribe with him was 'Amr b. Kilab, consisting of five hundred horsemen, but men of courage; the other Arab tribes were on Bekjur's side.[3] Sa'd al-daulah was well pleased with what he saw of his Chamberlain's troops and their equipment, and dismounted, prayed and sprinkled dust upon his cheeks, supplicating God for victory. Then summoning his secretary he bade him write to Bekjur, endeavouring to work upon his feelings, reminding him of the divine power, and offering him in fief the whole territory from Raqqah to the gate of *H*ims. He was to invite him to lay down his arms and remember his obligations as a former slave.—The messenger proceeded with the missive and when Bekjur saw it, he said: *The reply is what he shall see with his eyes.* The messenger brought back this reply to Sa'd al-daulah with the information that Bekjur was following on his track. Sa'd al-daulah then gave orders, and

[1] The history of these events is given by Schlumberger, *Epopée Byzantine*, ii. 62, foll

[2] *Cf.* above, ii, 228 n. (Arabic text).

[3] The text has been stupidly abridged from that found in Ibn Qalanisi, whence some necessary words have been supplied in the translation.

the two armies approached each other, the lines were formed and skirmishing commenced.

(**211**) *Account of an act of generosity which was rewarded by securing to Sa'd al-daulah his sovereignty; and of miserliness which brought upon Bekjur the loss of his life.*

When one of Sa'd al-daulah's horsemen returned to him with a wound from lance or sword he received a robe of honour and a present. When on the other hand one of Bekjur's followers returned to him in a similar condition, he being miserly ordered the man's name to be written down so that his case might be considered another time. Sa'd al-daulah had moreover written to the Arabs who were with Bekjur, offering them not only amnesty but alluring promises; and when these letters got into their hands they turned upon Bekjur's baggage and plundered it, and then deserted to Sa'd al-daulah.

Bekjur seeing the various troubles that were befalling him, the tardiness of Nazzal, the desertion of the Arabs, the dilatoriness of the friends who had written promising to come over to his side so soon as they saw him, summoned his secretary Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi, and said to him: You have deceived me. What is your plan now?—He replied: Prince, I have told you nothing but the truth, and have endeavoured to give you the best advice. Your best course in these circumstances is to return to Raqqah and write to the ruler of Egypt explaining the line followed by Nazzal towards you, and requesting further help.—There was in the army an officer of analogous rank to that of Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi, who when he heard this conversation said to Bekjur: When this secretary of yours is seated in his chair, he asserts that the pen gets the better of the pennon; but when the realities display themselves he advises us to run away. By Allah we shall do nothing

of the sort.—He swore this with the sanction of divorce, and Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi hearing what he said took fright. He had instructed one of the Kilabite Bedouins to convey him to Raqqah in case of a defeat, offering him a reward of a thousand dinars for this service. When he received the fright as mentioned above, he hurried on what he had meant to do later, and asked the Bedouin to take him to Raqqah, which he did.

(**212**) *An exceedingly courageous plan adopted by Bekjur which the fates prevented him from accomplishing.*

Finding his prospects desperate, he decided to make for the part of the line where Sa'd al-daulah was and charge him with some select champions with the view of dealing him a final blow. Selecting his best retainers, he said to them: The battle has reached a point at which we are faced with two terrible alternatives, flight or destruction.

I have determined on a certain plan. If you help me, I have hopes that you may win the day.—They declared that they were ready to obey him, and had no wish to save their lives at his expense. Only one of the retainers was a traitor, deserted to Lu'lu' Jarra*h*i and told him what was intended.

Account of Lu'lu''s offering his own life to save his master's and how God delivered them both in recompense of his good intention.

Lu'lu' hurried to Sa'd al-daulah and explained the case to him, saying: Bekjur is desperate and will certainly carry out his design. Do you therefore change over from your place to mine, so that I may stand at your post, and protect both you and your dynasty.—Sa'd al-daulah accepted his offer, and let Lu'lu' take his place beneath the standard. Bekjur careered with his four hundred fully armed men, charging at the end with

such violence that he broke the line, and cut down all who came in his way till he got to Lu'lu' whom he supposed to be Sa'd al-daulah. He dealt Lu'lu' a blow that split his helmet and penetrated to his head. Lu'lu' fell to the ground. The army however charged Bekjur, and Sa'd al-daulah hurried back to his post, showing himself to his retainers, who when they saw him felt their courage renewed, maintained their ground and fought steadfastly till the resources of Bekjur were exhausted, and presently he took to flight with seven men.

(**213**) *Account of the subsequent fortunes of Bekjur till his death.*

He was riding a horse which had cost a thousand dinars, and came to a water-course which carried the water to a roadside mill and was about two yards wide. He tried hard to make the horse wade or clear it, but the horse was not equal to this, and stood still. He was overtaken by ten Arab horsemen who made him and his companions dismount, stripped them of their clothes, and went off with the spoil. Bekjur and his followers took refuge in the mill, where they hid for a time; presently they got out into a sown field, when certain Arabs passed by them, among whom was one of the Banu Qa*t*an, whom Bekjur had often employed on matters of importance. Bekjur bade him come back; he came back, not recognising Bekjur, who after demanding of him a promise of protection, made himself known. He then offered the Arab as much gold as his camel could carry if he would convey him to Raqqah; and the man mounted him behind himself, took him to his tent and gave him clothes. Sa'd al-daulah had meanwhile sent cavalry in pursuit in different directions, offering his own terms to any one who brought Bekjur. The Bedouin became suspicious, and his cupidity was excited by the sums offered by Sa'd al-daulah. He consulted his uncle on the matter, who told him that Bekjur was a miser,

and would very likely break his promise, whereas if he went to Sa'd al-daulah he would get his gift.—The Bedouin proceeded to Sa'd al-daulah's camp and informed him of the condition of Bekjur, demanding 200 feddans of agricultural land, 200,000 dirhems, a hundred camels laden with wheat, and fifty pieces of clothing. Sa'd al-daulah was prepared to concede all this. It had been settled that the Bedouin should go and fetch Bekjur, when Lu'lu' Jarrahi, hearing of this matter, wounded as he was, managed to rise and supported by his retainers reached the presence of Sa'd al-daulah.

Prudence displayed by Lu'lu', indicating soundness of judgment.

Having presented himself he asked about the statements of the Bedouin, and being told, laid hold of the man's hand, and asked him where his people were. The man replied that they were in the Meadow a parasang away. Lu'lu' ordered a number of his retainers whom he summoned to proceed at once to the encampment, arrest Bekjur and bring him. They started whilst (**214**) Lu'lu' was grasping the hand of the Bedouin, who was clamouring for help. Lu'lu', advancing towards Sa'd al-daulah, said: Sir, do not find fault with me for this action, which proceeds from solicitude in your service. Should this Bedouin have got back to his house, there is no knowing but that Bekjur might have offered him a vast sum, which he would have accepted, and in that case while you would be looking for a shadow after the substance, the Bedouin would have been in possession of his reward. There was no harm in precaution.—Sa'd al-daulah told him he had done right, and expressed his admiration. After a few hours Bekjur was produced, and Sa'd al-daulah asked Lu'lu''s advice as to his fate. He advised his execution, fearing lest Sa'd al-daulah's sister's intercession might be sought and that he might be let go. Orders were then given for his being decapitated.

Sa'd al-daulah now proceeded to Raqqah, and took up his quarters outside. There were in the town Salamah Rashiqi, Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi, and Bekjur's children, womenfolk, goods and chattels. Sa'd al-daulah wrote to Salamah, bidding him surrender the town. He replied: I am your slave and your slave's slave, only I am under oaths and covenants with Bekjur, from which I can be freed only in one of two ways: either that you assure his children of their lives and their womenfolk, and confine yourself to taking from them the munitions of war, swearing that you will carry this out faithfully: or else by fighting to carry out in God's eyes the oaths and contracts whereby he bound me.—Sa'd al-daulah replied by agreeing to his conditions and gave the oath which he required in the most solemn style. He included in the amnesty Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi after he had outlawed him. The promise to him was given however on condition that he should remain in Sa'd al-daulah's territory. He however fled to Kufah and took refuge in the martyrium of 'Ali.

Account of the departure of Salamah Rashiqi with the children of Bekjur from Raqqah and the treachery of Sa'd al-daulah.

Salamah, having obtained assurances for himself and the children of Bekjur, surrendered the fort Rafiqah [1] and they went out (**215**) thence, with a quantity of goods and precious objects which Sa'd al-daulah thought excessive. He was watching them from the back of his pavilion, and the qa*d*i Ibn Abi'l-*H*asin [2] was in front of him. He told the qa*d*i that he had no idea Bekjur's fortune had reached the amount which all this baggage indicated. Ibn Abi'l-*H*asin replied: Bekjur and his children are your slaves, all his property and theirs belongs to you; there is no harm in your taking anything from them, nor is it perjury to violate the oaths

[1] Adjoining Raqqah. [2] *Cf.* above, ii. 203.

which you have sworn. If there be any guilt therein, let it fall upon me.—Hearing this Sa'd al-daulah welcomed the suggestion, broke his oath and seized all their property.

Truly a villainous suggestion that of this qa*d*i, who advocated to Sa'd al-daulah the Devil's temptation, and told him he might violate his oath ; further not content with this, and with obscuring his understanding, undertook to bear the sin ! Had he not heard the words of God Almighty addressed to the men of error : *Say the Unbelievers to the Believers : Follow our path and let us bear your sins. They shall not bear them at all ; they are liars* ! (Surah xxix. 11).

Now the sons of Bekjur had written to 'Aziz an account of what had happened to their father and requested him to write to Sa'd al-daulah, bidding him spare their lives.

Account of the correspondence between the ruler of Egypt and Sa'd al-daulah and the death of the latter which happened shortly afterwards.

The ruler of Egypt wrote him a threatening letter wherein he commanded him to spare their lives and despatch them honourably to Egypt, ending with the words : *If you disobey I shall be your enemy and will send armies against you.*

He sent this missive by Fa'iq the Slav, one (**216**) of his favourites, whom he bade mount a powerful camel to bring it the more speedily. Fa'iq reached Sa'd al-daulah when he had left Raqqah and arrived outside Halab ; he delivered the letter. When Sa'd al-daulah read it, he summoned his chief officers and read it out to them. He proceeded to ask their advice. They replied that they were his slaves and prepared to obey his commands whatever they were. Sa'd al-daulah then ordered Fa'iq to be summoned, and after addressing him contemptuously said : Return to your master and tell him :

I am not the person to be alarmed by your threats, and there is no need for you to despatch your armies to me, as I am marching to you, and news of me shall reach you from Ramlah.—He sent a detachment of his army on in front to *H*ims, and Fa'iq returned with his message to his master whom it greatly perturbed. Sa'd al-daulah remained for some days outside Halab, meaning to make his arrangements and then follow the army which had gone on in advance. He had an attack of colic which proved dangerous, and he returned to the town [1] to be treated; he recovered and was congratulated on the restoration of his health. It was his intention to return to the camp. The night before he had intended starting one of his concubines shared his couch, and he had a paralytic stroke; his sister, learning what had happened, came and found him expiring. A physician was summoned, who advised fumigation with nadd and ambergris, and this brought him round for a little. The physician said to him: Prince, give me your hand, that I may feel your pulse.—He gave the physician his left. He asked for the right. Sa'd al-daulah replied: Doctor, my right (*i.e.*, my oath) has left me no right.—He recollected apparently the perjury which he had committed and repented of its perpetration. He died after three nights, having appointed as his successor his son Abu'l-Fa*d*a'il, whom with the rest of his children he committed to the care of Lu'lu' Jarra*h*i.

(**217**) *Accession of Abu'l-Fada'il and account of what happened to him with the Egyptian armies.*

Lu'lu' did his best to establish Abu'l-Fa*d*a'il in the government and obtained the oath of allegiance to him from the army. The troops retreated to Halab, whence there deserted to the ruler of Egypt Wafa the Sclav, Bisharah Ikhshidi, Raba*h* and others. He received

[1] Apparently Halab.

them with favour and bestowed a government on each of them.

Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi after entering the martyrium at Kufah had entered into correspondence with the ruler of Egypt, and afterwards gone to his court. After the death of Sa'd al-daulah he spoke to him of the importance of Halab, and the magnitude of its wealth; declaring that it would be an easy conquest. He advised that one of the Turkish retainers be taken into favour and be sent thither. The ruler of Egypt adopted his suggestion and promoted a retainer named MANJUTAKIN, on whom he bestowed wealth, honours and distinctions, ordering the army officers and other eminent men to dismount before him. He made him governor of Syria and appointed as his secretary AHMAD B. MOHAMMED QUSHURI. He then despatched him to Halab accompanied by Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi as administrator.

Account of Manjutakin's expedition against and siege of Halab.

When he reached Damascus he was met by the officers of the place, the inhabitants and all the Syrian armies. After remaining there a short time he started for Halab, having by this time raised forces and made preparations, so that he encamped against the place at the head of 30,000 men. Abu'l-Fa*d*a'il and Lu'lu' entrenched themselves in the town. Lu'lu' when he learned of the arrival of the Egyptian hosts had written to the Byzantine emperor Basil, reminding him of the treaties and agreements between him and Sa'd al-daulah, and offering to renew them on the part of (**218**) Abu'l-Fa*d*a'il. At the same time he transmitted numerous compliments. Further he demanded help, and sent the Syrian MALKUTHA as envoy to him. When this envoy reached Basil, the latter was facing the king of the Bulgars in battle. Basil accepted his proposals, and wrote to Burji, his governor of Antioch, bidding him muster his

forces, proceed to Halab and expel the Maghribis. Burji started at the head of five thousand men, and halted at the Iron Bridge between Antioch and Halab. Manjutakin and Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi, hearing of this, assembled the chief officers to a council of war.

Account of a debate which ended in a sound resolve, involving a victory over the Byzantines.

The more astute among them advised retirement from Halab and an attack on the Byzantines, who should be engaged first, lest the followers of Manjutakin should find themselves between two enemies. They agreed on this plan and advanced till they were separated from the Byzantines by the river called Maqlub.[1] When the two hosts came in sight, they shot arrows at each other, but neither found any means of crossing the stream. A Dailemite chief on the side of Manjutakin came forward holding in his hands a shield and three lances, and flung himself into the water, watched by the Moslems, and a target for the arrows and stones of the Byzantines. He swam on, with the shield in his hand and the water up to his chest; and when the Moslems saw this exploit they threw themselves after him, while the Arabs plunged their horses into the stream, and the troops rushed upon the ford. Thus they got on the territory where the Byzantines were, in spite of the prohibition of Manjutakin. God Almighty bestowed the victory upon them, and the Byzantines turned their backs (**219**), some being slaughtered, others captured, and others fugitive. Burji escaped with a small number, much spoil was taken from them, and the heads of some ten thousand of their dead were collected and sent to Egypt.[2] Manjutakin proceeded to Antioch, whose suburbs he plundered and burned. It was the time when the crops were ripe,

[1] A name for part of the Orontes.

[2] This account supplements that given by Schlumberger, *Epopée*, ii. 76-82, who likewise supplements this.

so Lu'lu' sent and burned such as were near Halab, with the view of harassing the Egyptian army and depriving them of food. Manjutakin returned to Halab.

The skilful plan whereby Lu'lu' caused the Egyptian armies to retire from Halab.

When Lu'lu' learned of the Byzantine defeat and the strength of the Eygptian forces with which he was unable to cope, he wrote to Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi and Qushuri, with promises of money and sufficient advanced to conciliate them. He requested them to advise Manjutakin to retire from Halab this year and return the next, alleging the want of provisions and forage. They accepted his proposals and spoke to Manjutakin, whom they found yearning after Damascus and its luxuries and weary of travel and campaigns. The three then wrote to the ruler of Egypt in this style, requesting his permission to retire ; and commenced doing so before the letter arrived or the answer was despatched. The ruler of Egypt learning of this was greatly angered and the enemies of Abu'l-*H*asan Maghribi found the opportunity of traducing him. He was dismissed and SALIH B. 'ALI RUDHBARI appointed in his place.

Arrangements made by 'Aziz for revictualling the army and sending it back to Halab.

He vowed that he would revictual the army from the produce of Egypt and sent 100,000 *tillis* (a measure about equal to two *qafiz*) by sea to Tripoli, and thence on the backs of beasts (220) to fort Apamea.

The following year Manjutakin returned to Halab, which he besieged. Sali*h* b. 'Ali Rudhbari was his minister. He used to give the retainers orders for their pay and the barley for their horses on Apamea at a distance of twenty-five parasangs ; they would go thither, obtain what they wanted and come back. They re-

mained thirteen months and built baths, *khans*, and bazaars.

Abu'l-Fa*d*a'il, Lu'lu' and their partisans were besieged in the town, and provisions could not be procured. Lu'lu' began to buy wheat for three dinars the *qafiz* and sell it for one dinar, to alleviate the sufferings of the people. During the days he would open the gates so that those might leave the town whom the two troubles (plague and famine) permitted not to stay. Manjutakin was advised to pursue and kill the fugitives so that no more could come out and supplies become scantier, but he rejected this advice. While this was going on Lu'lu' despatched Malkutha once more to the Byzantine emperor Basil, to solicit help. The emperor had penetrated into the heart of the Bulgar country and was visited by Malkutha at his quarters, bearing the missive. He said to the emperor: If Halab be once taken, Antioch will fall afterwards, and it will give you trouble to repair the disaster. If you come yourself, you will save the two cities and the rest of the provinces.

Expedition of Basil to Syria to fight against the Egyptian armies and his fortunes on this occasion.

When Basil heard the words of Malkutha, he started for Halab which was three hundred parasangs' distance away; he covered this distance in twenty-six days. His horsemen led fresh mounts, and he mounted his infantry on mules. It was the season of spring. Manjutakin and his host had sent their beasts to the meadows to graze, and the attack of Basil approached from an unexpected direction.

(**221**) *How Lu'lu', out of regard for his duties as a Moslem, warned Manjutakin of the Byzantine offensive.*

He sent the following message to Manjutakin: *The majesty of Islam of which we are both of us adherents*

compels me to warn you that Basil is overlooking you at the head of a Byzantine force. So beware ! The scouts of Manjutakin brought similar information, so he burned his stores, bazaars and the other buildings which he had erected, and took to flight without delay. Basil arrived and halted at the gate of Halab, and was met by Abu'l-Fa*d*a'il and Lu'lu'. After two days he departed to Syria (?). He stormed *H*ims, and after pillaging and capturing besieged Tripoli. The city held out. He maintained the siege more than forty days and then despairing of success returned to the Byzantine country.[1]

The news reaching Egypt's ruler vexed him greatly, and a general call to arms was made.

How "Aziz" started from Egypt to raid the Byzantines, but was forestalled by death; and how his son "Hakim" succeeded him.

He started from his palace accompanied by his troops, munitions and goods, and after marching ten parasangs halted at Bilbais, outside which he took up his quarters. Attacked by various complaints he despaired of life and commended to his eunuch and steward Arjuwan his son who took the title *H*akim afterwards; he then expired. Arjuwan upheld *H*akim's cause, demanded allegiance to him and took the oath of obedience from the troops, to whom he disbursed pay. (**222**) This took place in Rama*d*an 386 (began Sep. 17, 997). *H*akim thereupon went home to his father's palace, being at the time a lad of fifteen.

ABU MOHAMMED *H*ASAN B. 'AMMAR, chieftain of Kutamah, who had the title Amin al-daulah, being the first person who was given such a title in the Western empire, gave orders which were carried out, that the money in the treasuries should be distributed in allowances and stipends, even to the slave-girls of the palace, who received gifts and were manumitted; his followers

[1] Schlumberger has no notice of this expedition.

obtained control of affairs and had no scruples. They advised him to put *H*akim to death, but he regarded *H*akim owing to his tender years as of no account. Meanwhile Arjuwan was guarding *H*akim, never allowing him out of his sight, and preventing him from riding out or leaving the palace. Shukr 'A*d*udi [1] joined him and the two made common cause till they had achieved their end.

Scheme devised by Arjuwan against Hasan *b. 'Ammar, of negotiating with Manjutakin and obtaining his help against the other.*

As Ibn 'Ammar grew more and more arbitrary, Arjuwan wro e to Manjutakin, complaining of the situation and inviting him to come to Egypt, and out of gratitude for the favours which he had received from 'Aziz to dispel this trouble from his son. Manjutakin on receipt of his epistle rode to the public mosque in mourning attire. Summoning the people he reminded them of the benefits conferred upon them by 'Aziz, and went on to describe the favour of which he had himself been the recipient, and how it was his duty to s.rve the deceased monarch's son. He then recounted the usurpation of Ibn 'Ammar, his mismanagement, and the humiliations to which our leading men in Egypt were subjected. He shed tears which deeply affected those who were present, and rent his clothes ; the others did the like, and agreed to obey his orders and offer their lives without demanding pay or rations. He thanked them, returned to his dwelling, and determined to start. He advanced to Ramlah.

(223) *How Ibn 'Ammar mustered a force and how Manjutakin's plan ended in defeat.*

When the news of Manjutakin's operations reached Ibn 'Ammar, he took a serious view of the matter, and ga'hering the chiefs of Kutamah told them what had

[1] See above, p 147, where his retirement to Egypt is recorded

happened. He declared that Manjutakin had rebelled against *H*akim. They offered to obey any orders which he might give them. He proceeded to summon Arjuwan and Shukr 'A*d*udi, spoke to them in conciliatory style, and made them swear that they would assist him, which they did under compulsion. He called upon the armies to engage Manjutakin. He gave the command to ABU TAMIM SALIM B. JA'FAR, and lavished money and munitions upon him. 'Isa b. Nestorius was still vizier. Ibn 'Ammar, hearing about him what was displeasing, had him executed.

Abu Tamim now started from Egypt, whereas Manjutakin left Ramlah after taking possession thereof. The armies met at 'Asqalan, and the result of the engagement was the rout of Manjutakin and his followers, who were pursued. Abu Tamim offered 10,000 dinars and a hundred pieces of clothing to any one who should bring him Manjutakin. The Arabs in consequence searched for him in all directions, and he was overtaken by 'ALI B. AL-JARRA*H*, who captured him, surrendered him to Abu Tamim, and received the reward. He was conveyed to Egypt, where Ibn 'Ammar not only spared his life, but treated him with kindness and favour, by way of conciliating the Easterns.

Abu Tamim advanced to Tiberias, where he halted, sending his brother 'Ali on to Damascus, whose inhabitants refused to admit him. He wrote to his brother, telling him of their resistance, and asking permission to fight them. Abu Tamim wrote to their leading men, the nobles and notables, warning them of the consequences which the action of the reckless among them would involve, and they on receipt of his letter took fright, and came out to 'Ali, offering their submission and repudiating the action of the fools. 'Ali took no notice of their representations, advanced to the gate of the city, took possession of it, and after burning and slaying returned to his camp. The following day (**224**) Abu Tamim

arrived, reproved his brother for his conduct, and was met by the chief people, who complained of what had befallen them; he accorded them a kindly reception, and assured them of safety. They were reassured and returned to their business.

Politic measures whereby Abu Tamim Kutami won the hearts of the people.

He rode to the public Mosque on the Friday clad like a respectable citizen, and passed through the city in solemn style, preceded by Qur'an-readers, and men who distributed dirhems amongst the needy; after attending the service he returned to the palace outside Damascus in which he had established himself having won golden opinions. He then examined the appeals, and released a number of offenders from the prisons, thereby winning yet greater affection, and gaining a firm footing. Presently he turned his attention to the coast, effected some reforms, and gave his brother the governorship of Tripoli, removing Jaish b. Samsamah, himself a chieftain of Kutamah, between whom however and Abu Tamim there was a feud. Dismissed from Tripoli this Jaish went directly to Egypt, where he privately interviewed Arjuwan, throwing himself on the latter's mercy. Arjuwan thought his chance had arrived as the Kutamah except a few were away from Egypt, and he made an arrangement with the Turks from the East [1] to assault those who remained. The most solemn engagement was made to this effect. Ibn 'Ammar becoming cognisant of this determined to attack Arjuwan, who however anticipated him.

Plan of Ibn 'Ammar to assault Arjuwan and Shukr, and their counterplans, which resulted in their escape and his ruin.

Ibn 'Ammar placed a number of men in his vestibule whom he instructed to strike Arjuwan and Shukr down

[1] *i.e.*, who had been employed in Syria.

(**225**) when they entered his palace. Arjuwan had spies who watched Ibn 'Ammar, and came to inform Arjuwan of the latter's plot. Arjuwan and Shukr met and discussed the precautionary measures which they should take. They decided that when they rode a number of retainers should ride behind them, and that if they saw anything suspicious at Ibn 'Ammar's gate they should retire with their bodyguard behind them. Having made this arrangement they proceeded to Ibn 'Ammar's palace, and when they approached the gate they saw indications of the design which had been told them. They galloped off under the protection of the retainers who were behind. They entered the palace of *H*akim, weeping and appealing and a riot started. The Easterns and the purchased slaves gathered at the gate of the palace, and Ibn 'Ammar with the Kutamah and the associated tribes rode out into the country. Arjuwan opened the treasuries, distributed the money and urged the soldiers to fight. Three Turkish captains went out to fight the others at the head of five hundred horsemen. They engaged and routed the enemy; Ibn 'Ammar fled and went into the house of one of the common people to hide.

Policy of Arjuwan.

When he had secured the victory, he opened the gate of the palace, brought forth *H*akim, seated him on a throne, and took a fresh oath of allegiance from the army. He promised safety to the chieftains and officers of the Kutamah, who presented themselves, and gave their hands in submission. He spent that day and the following night in putting affairs into order. He wrote notes to the nobles and the leaders of the populace in Damascus, bidding them assault Abu Tamim and plunder his possessions and to the Eastern troops bidding them assist therein.

Account of the imprudence and impolicy of Abu Tamim which enabled the people of Damascs to get the better of him.

Abu Tamim with all his ability was devoted to pleasure. When the notes arrived he was occupied with his amusements, and knew nothing till the Eastern troops and the populace attacked his palace. He mounted (**226**) his horse and fled; they plundered his stores and struck down those of the tribe Kutamah who were there. There was a renewal of rioting in Damascus and the youths got the upper hand.

ABU'L-'ALA FAHD B. IBRAHIM, a Christian who had previously been Arjuwan's secretary, was appointed by him vizier after he had come into power. Arjuwan used various artifices to get Ibn 'Ammar to come out of hiding; he then permitted him to return to his house, and to retain his fiefs, but stipulated that he must keep his door locked and swear that he would adhere to the straight path.

The people of Tyre had revolted and appointed as their ruler a sailor called al-'Allaqah. Mufarrij b. Daghfal b. al-Jarrah[1] was besieging Ramlah and harrying the country. To these two troubles was added the arrival of the Dux (the Byzantine general[2]) at Fort Apamea with a large force to besiege the place. Arjuwan bestowed favours upon Jaish b. Mohammed b. al-Samsamah, placed him at the head of a large army which he sent to Damascus, supplied him liberally with money and gave him full authority in the provinces.

Fortunes of Jaish b. Samsamah on this expedition till his death.

Jaish started and halted at Ramlah, where Wahid Hilali was governor. He came to meet Jaish submissively, who finding Abu Tamim there had him

[1] *Cf.* above, p. 185.

[2] The governor of Antioch, Schlumberger, ii. 110.

arrested without violence. He commissioned Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. Nasir al-daulah [1] to proceed to Tyre with an army after having sent thither on the sea a number of vessels filled with troops. Tyre was thus invested by sea and land. The Tyrians were unable to resist. Al-'Allaqah was taken, conveyed to Egypt, and there flayed and impaled. *H*usain remained in Tyre as governor.

(**227**) Jaish now proceeded to attack Mufarrij b. Daghfal b. al-Jarra*h*, who fled before him; Jaish pursued and nearly overtook him. The world became too narrow for Mufarrij, and he had to resort to pardon. He sent to Jaish the older of his womenfolk to beg for safety. Jaish stayed the pursuit, assured him of his life and made him swear to certain conditions which he laid down. He then went off to deal with the Byzantine army which was beleagu ring Fort Apamea. When he came to Damascus he was met by the people with the nobles and leaders of the youths, who offered their submission and desired that he should let them accompany him to the sacred war. He thanked them.

Expedient started by Jaish on this occasion in dealing with the youth of Damascus until fortune put them in his power on the second occasion.

He made advances to the leaders of the youth, offered them liberal terms, and made a proclamation in the city that there should be no more forced contributions and that any Maghribi who attempted mischief should be outlawed. The populace gathered together to thank him, and requested him to enter the city and take up his abode among them. He declined, and only remained three days, after which he started, having first bestowed robes of honour upon the leaders of the youth, and given them presents. He halted at *H*ims, where the Syrian

[1] He was governor of Tyre, above, p. 179, and had presumably been driven out by al-'Allaqah.

armies mustered, and thence proceeded to Fort Apamea. He found the inhabitants in sore distress from the siege, and halted opposite the Byzantine army from which he was separated by the river called variously Maqlub and 'Asi (Orontes). An engagement presently took place, and the field was contested. The Moslem army consisted of 10,000 men of the various elements, with a thousand Kilabite horse. The Byzantines charged the Moslems and broke their line. Right and left both took to flight, and the Byzantines got possession of their baggage. The Kilabites turned off to plunder it and secured most of it. Bisharah Ikhshidi[1] however remained steadfast with five hundred horse.

When the Moslems in Fort Apamea saw what had befallen their brethren they began to despair and implored God Almighty for mercy, and He answered them.

(**228**) *How God Almighty gave the victory to the Moslems, and the leader of the Byzantines was slain by one of them.*

The Dux was standing on an eminence, with a son of his in front of him, and ten retainers. He was witnessing the victory of his followers and their securing the spoils. There came towards him a Kurd named AHMAD B. AL-DAHHAK AL-SALIL (the son ?) on a charger with a javelin (*khisht*) in his right hand. The Dux supposed him to be a deserter or suppliant, and paid no attention to him. When he came near however he charged the Dux, who lifted his hand to defend himself, but the Kurd thrust at him with the javelin, and finding a weak place in his cuirass pierced it. The point penetrated his ribs, and he fell to the ground dead. The Moslems shouted: *Allah's enemy is slain.* Victory descended upon them, and the Byzantines took to flight, while the Moslems rallied. Those who were in the fortress came down, and there was a great massacre of the

[1] Above, p. 217.

Byzantines. The Moslems spent the night pillaging and congratulating themselves on God's help and favour. *God suffers not the reward of them that do well to fail* (Surah iii. 165).

Jaish b. Samsamah now proceeded to the gate of Antioch, where he took prisoners and burned. He then returned to Damascus, having made a great impression on men's minds.

How he finally secured his position by the scheme for calming the youth of Damascus which he had commenced and whereby he ultimately got them in his power.

When he returned to Damascus he was met by the people with congratulations and blessings, which he returned with courtesy and smiles. He increased the honours and favours which he had been bestowing upon them, gave robes of honour to the leaders of the youth, mounted them on horses and mules and presented them with slaves female and male. He encamped outside the town, and was asked to enter and make a procession through the streets which they had decorated to display their joy. He declined, alleging that his men were soldiers, and if they entered they might very possibly prove burdensome. He requested them (**229**) to clear a village at the gate of Damascus [1] where he might stay. They assented, and he devoted himself to the maintenance of justice and reduction of burdens; he made the captains of the youth members of his staff, and appointed a number of them chamberlains. He also had a repast prepared every day at his residence at which they were to take part, and did his utmost to put them at their ease.

When they felt quite secure and some time had passed, he summoned his officers and bade them be in readiness for any service which he might demand of

[1] Bait Lihya (Ibn al-Qalanisi).

them. They were to expect orders to be given them in sealed papers according to which they must act. They then wrote out papers wherein the town was divided into districts and each officer was assigned the point at which he should enter and wherein he should deal death. These papers he sealed and got ready. He next instructed one of his ministers to look out for the time wherein the youths came to his repast, and when they had eaten and had gone to the room wherein they ordinarily washed their hands, to lock the door, and order men who were to be lying in wait in the bathroom to come out and strike down those who were there.

The people came according to their custom, and Jaish at once despatched the papers to his officers, and sat down at the repast with the former. When they and he had finished he started off for his chamber and they for the lavatory. The bedmaker locked the door upon them, and the men who were in the bathroom came out and struck their victims down, massacring the lot. The officers mounted their horses, entered the town and commenced a terrible massacre, having breached the wall on all sides. The Maghribis quartered themselves in the houses of the inhabitants; Jaish mounted his horse, entered Damascus and made a circuit of the place. The people implored his help and appealed to him for pardon, and he let them alone.[1] He then summoned the nobles in a style which encouraged them, but when they presented themselves he brought out the captains of the youth and ordered them to be decapitated in their sight, and afterwards to be impaled where they were; when he had finished this he arrested the nobles and sent them off to Egypt, besides confiscating their goods and estates. He then imposed on the town a fine of 500,000 dinars.

(**230**) Then there came upon him the command of

[1] It is not clear whether this means that he neglected their appeal or that he restrained his troops from further outrage.

God that may not be overcome nor outwitted, and he had to face that death which makes the mighty humble, and the great small. Against that his power and his cunning availed nought, neither could he be helped by ransom or mediation. The cause of his death was an internal disease.

He who dies not by the sword dies by something else; the modes are different and the ailment one.

News of his death came to Egypt and his place was given to his son Mohammed.

The government was settled by Arjuwan and negotiations took place between him and the Byzantine emperor Basil which ended in a truce of ten years to which both parties agreed, and a settlement was also effected with the Arabs.

Arjuwan transacted business constantly in the palace of *H*akim throughout the day except for an hour at noon, after which he would return and resume till midnight. He was a conscientious administrator, and under him was Fahd b. Ibrahim who executed his orders admirably. This was the condition of affairs till his death.

Account of the reason for the execution of Arjuwan and how it took place.

Arjuwan kept urging *H*akim to improve his character and was always giving him good advice, which is "a bitter pill." He restrained him from riding about much owing to his fear for his safety, and dissuaded him from lavishing money where it was not deserved. This behaviour on his part counted as a series of offences; besides, each man has his appointed end. Now *H*akim had a eunuch called Raidan the Sclav, who was high in his favour, to whom *H*akim confided his grievances against Arjuwan, and who embittered him yet more, asserting that Arjuwan wanted (**231**) to play the part of Kafur Ikhshidi, and make *H*akim play that of the Ikhshid's son, whom he kept in confinement. He would

not let *H*akim rest till he had induced him to put Arjuwan to death. It was arranged between them that Arjuwan should be summoned at noontime after he had departed to his own house, that the people should be ordered to ride to the chase so that they might be dispersed, and that when Arjuwan appeared orders should be given for his execution. *H*akim said to Raidan: When Arjuwan appears, and follows me into the garden I shall follow him, and at a sign from me dispatch him with your knife. —Whilst they were talking Arjuwan entered and said: Your majesty, it is very hot and the hawks will not hunt in such weather.—*H*akim said: Quite true, so let us go into the garden, walk about for a while and then start out.—He rose up and was followed by Arjuwan behind whom was Raidan. At a sign from *H*akim Raidan stabbed Arjuwan in the back with his knife which came out at his chest. Arjuwan cried out: This is treachery, your majesty.—*H*akim summoned the attendants who appeared in great numbers, and finished the murder. The chief attendants then went out and brought back the processional horses and mules and the birds. Shukr 'A*d*udi asked them what was the matter, but they gave no answer. An order reached the people which they did not understand. Shukr returned with the procession, and the army drew their swords, supposing that a plot of Ibn 'Ammar against *H*akim had succeeded. They surrounded the palace; the affair grew serious, and the officers and leading men assembled. When *H*akim saw that precautions were increasing he appeared from a window over the gate and saluted the people who dismounted respectfully, and saluted. He ordered the gate to be opened, and sent autograph letters by his messengers to Shukr, the chief Turks and the officers, to the following effect: *I had certain complaints against Arjuwan which demanded his execution; that has taken place. Do you adhere to your loyalty and keep the oaths whereby you are bound.* When they read these missives they submitted

and resigned themselves. *H*akim then summoned *H*usain b. Jauhar, one of the chief commanders, and bade him disperse the people. He did so, and they returned to their houses in great fear lest dissension should arise between the Easterns and the Westerns.

After the (232) later evening prayer *H*akim held a reception, and summoning *H*usain b. Jauhar and Fahd b. Ibrahim bade them call the clerks, who presented themselves and were admitted to him. He said to them : Fahd b. Ibrahim has been secretary to Arjuwan ; he is to-day my vizier, so obey him.—He then said to Fahd : These clerks are my servants, and do you recognize their claims and treat them well.—He ordered that letters should be written to all the provincial governors announcing the execution of Arjuwan and confirming them in their posts. These letters were written, and the people were quieted and relieved of their fear of civil war. This took place in the year 389 (began Dec. 23, 998).

Thus Arjuwan passed away as though he had never been. Had he known that he was to perish at *H*akim's hand he would have been less strenuous in his efforts to guard him. Many a man guards a remedy which proves his disease ; carries a weapon whereby he is to fall ; holds tight to a treasure which is to be his ruin. Under all circumstances it is criminal to restrain a king too strictly from his lusts, whereas it is treacherous to withhold from him the necessary counsel. Still there should be moderation. It has been said : Over-vigilance is hypocrisy, whereas over-resistance is rebellion. Many a king's guardian has been ruined through over-vigilance, and many a friend become detested through giving too much advice. It is not long since we saw what the king Abu Kalijar did to his servant[1] known as

[1] Perhaps the reference is to the eunuch Sandal, executed by this prince in 423 (*Ibn al-Athir*).

the Muayyad, whose story bears a likeness to that of Arjuwan.

There is a good saying recorded of Ma'mun. He asked his courtiers who was the most comfortable of mankind. They gave answers none of which satisfied him. He said himself: The most comfortable of mankind is one to whom God has given a competence, and who neither knows us nor we him.—A sage said: The Sultan is like fire: approach not so close as to feel the flame, nor stand so far off as to lose the light. In short: proximity to a sovereign means glory with trouble, while distance from them means humble station with comfort, and obscurity. Different natures choose differently, and each has his own qualifications.

(233) *Course of events after the execution of Arjuwan.*

*H*akim appointed as his vizier Fahd b. Ibrahim, and promoted *H*usain b. Jauhar to whom he gave the title Commander of Commanders. He kept up a series of executions and killed a large number of people in a short period.

Four months later he summoned *H*asan b. 'Ammar from his house, received him favourably, and gave him his hand in token of amnesty. Ibn 'Ammar returned home overjoyed, and received visits of congratulation on his pardon. *H*akim put him to death a week later. Next he executed Fahd b. Ibrahim in consequence of a charge brought against him by two of the clerks of the Bureaux, whom he proceeded to put in charge of affairs; then he put them to death. Next he put *H*usain b. Jauhar to death. No experience is to be gained by recounting the circumstances of the death of these two persons, as they were acts of insane barbarity. Next he put to death 'Ali and Mohammed sons of the Maghribi, and sent for Abu'l-Qasim *H*usain son of 'Ali, the poet and letter-writer, who filled the office of vizier in

Baghdad, and his two brothers. *H*akim secured the two brothers, who were killed; the vizier Abu'l-Qasim went into concealment and after trying various expedients ultimately fled with some Bedouins and sought refuge with *H*assan b. Mufarrij b. Jarra*h*, who accorded him protection.

There rankled in the mind of *H*akim what had happened to the Egyptian armies at the gate of Halab, and he commissioned YARUKHTAKIN 'AZIZI to proceed to Syria. *H*akim promoted this person, bestowed on him money and estates, and ordered the chief officers to treat him with respect and dismount before him on parade. Among those who were ordered to do these things were 'Ali and Ma*h*mud, sons of Mufarrij. Coming to their father they told him how they had been ordered to dismount before Yarukhtakin, and walk in front of him, how much they disliked this and how their souls loathed endurance of such humiliation. They also warned him against Yarukhtakin and his expedition, saying: Who knows but that he may use this opportunity against you, and become so strong that it will be impossible for you to remain in this region. Arrange your plans while you have time, and attack him in Jifar (**234**) before he reaches Ramlah and obtains the support of the armies that are there.[1]—Now Yarukhtakin had started with a small force, meaning to collect the Syrian forces and proceed with them to Halab. He had with him his family, his money and a large number of traders. When he had reached the middle of Jifar Abu'l-Qasim Maghribi advised *H*assan b. Mufarrij to meet him, and take advantage of his opportunity. *H*assan went to his father and both thought the affair easy and agreed to execute it. Collecting the Arabs they lay in wait for the arrival of Yarukhtakin at Gazah. The latter received intelligence of this, and held a council of war.

[1] Mufarrij was last heard of in this neighbourhood, above, p. 227.

Two suggestions, each of them sound, if only destiny had helped.

One of the councillors said: You are ten parasangs away from Ramlah, where you have five thousand men. You have with you some trained horses, and if you were to ride off by night you would be in Ramlah by morning and safe in your castle. The Arabs learning about you would take fright and become respectful, so that afterwards we could travel securely.—Another objected, saying: This man is now at the commencement of his career, and if it gets about that he has taken alarm and fled, no respect for him will remain in people's minds. No, your right course is to summon one of your captains from Ramlah to meet us with a thousand horsemen at 'Asqalan.—This latter proposal was agreed to, and Yarukhtakin wrote to an officer named Ibn Sirḥan, bidding him come, and sent the letter by a messenger, calculating that it would take three days for him to arrive and Ibn Sirḥan to come out. It happened however that the messenger was captured on the way before ever he reached Ibn Sirḥan.

A case of imprudent haste.

When two of the three days for which he had allowed were passed, Yarukhtakin started along the coast, not doubting that Ibn Sirḥan would hasten towards him. Ḥassan b. Mufarrij however, having learned about him, sent horsemen out on every side, and these attacked Yarukhtakin. A severe engagement ensued between the parties, wherein the victory was with the Arabs, and Yarukhtakin was taken prisoner (**235**) with his children and womenfolk; the goods of the traders were seized and most of them deposited with Ḥassan. The Arabs then returned to Ramlah and raided its suburbs. The garrison came out to fight them, and presently the Arabs thought of decamping.

Plan suggested by Ibn al-Maghribi at this crisis.

The vizier Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Maghribi said to them: If you decamp in this style, the enemy will hope to get the better of you. If you hold out till you storm the town, you will be feared by *H*akim and become masters of Syria. Your best plan is to have it speedily proclaimed in the country (*sawad*) and bring it to the ears of the rebels in the mountains that they are free to pillage and plunder.—They accepted this suggestion, gathered followers, and made the proclamation which brought in many men. They then advanced against the town, took it, and marked their possession of the place by slaughter and violation. The news came to *H*akim who was alarmed thereby and wrote a letter to Mufarrij b. Daghfal wherein he remonstrated, warned him of the serious consequences, and demanded that Yarukhtakin should be rescued from the hands of *H*assan and conveyed to Egypt. For this *H*akim promised him 50,000 dinars.

Suggestion of Ibn al-Maghribi whereof the object was to increase the estrangement between Hassan *and the ruler of Egypt.*

He said to *H*assan: Your father is about to ride over to you, and will not leave you without Yarukhtakin. If you release him and he returns to *H*akim, he will be sent back to you at the head of armies which you will be unable to withstand.—When *H*assan heard this (he was drunk at the time) he had Yarukhtakin brought in his fetters, beheaded him without delay, and sent his head to Mufarrij. Mufarrij was distressed thereby, but as the deed was past recall he did nothing.

The vizier Abu'l-Qasim now met Mufarrij and his sons and said to them: You have now thrown off the mask and defied *H*akim, and there is no further possibility of peace.—He proceeded to advise them to send to (**236**) ABU'L-FUTU*H* *H*ASAN B. JA'FAR the 'Alid, requesting him to join them and to proclaim him *Imam*

(Caliph), as his pedigree admitted of no flaw. He assured them that the matter was easy.

Story of Abu'l-Futuh the 'Alid's career.

This person was Emir in Meccah. Ibn al-Maghribi visited him and persuaded him to seek the sovereignty. He gathered the descendants of *H*asan and asked their advice. As they were ambitious, they gave him their hands in token of homage, and he proceeded to issue a proclamation inviting adherents, took the title AL-RASHID BILLAH (the Divinely Guided), ascended the pulpit and introduced his own name into prayer. It happened that a wealthy man died that year in Jeddah, and left a portion of his estate to Abu'l-Futu*h*, meaning him to hand over the remainder to his heirs. By the advice of Ibn al-Maghribi he appropriated the whole.

He now proceeded to join the Jarra*h* family [1] and when he approached Ramlah was met by them; they kissed the ground before him and saluted him as Commander of the Faithful. He took up his quarters in Ramlah, proclaimed an amnesty to all who were in fear, and undertook to enjoin right and forbid wrong (forgetting his own procedure in the matter of the inheritance of the Jeddah trader). People returned to their employments and came out of their places of concealment. On the Friday he rode, while Mufarrij, his sons and the other emirs of *T*ai walked in front of him, and entered the Mosque; summoning Ibn Nuba'ah the Preacher [2] he bade him mount the pulpit, and whispered to him how he should commence. He mounted amid general expectation. After praising God he proceeded to read Surah xxviii, verses 1 to 5.

(237) When Abu'l-Futu*h* had finished his prayer he returned to government house.

[1] Jarra*h* was Mufarrij's ancestor.

[2] Probably the son of the famous preacher of that name who died 372 A.H.

Now it may be observed that Abu'l-Futuh in quoting these texts followed the precedent of Mohammed b. 'Abdallah b. Hasan [1] in his correspondence with Mansur. This is contained in the *Kamil* of Abu'l-'Abbas Mubarrad. In this correspondence he disputes with Mansur, and were we not bound to be concise we should have reproduced it, as it is quite remarkable. The two correspondents struck at each other's claims—" the *nab'* wood hits itself."[2] Admirable indeed was the taste of the man who visiting Mansur after the death of Mohammed b. 'Abdallah's brother Ibrahim, when people were attacking Ibrahim much to the distaste of Mansur said : Commander of the Faithful, may God reward you for what your cousin did and forgive him for making himself your enemy !—Mansur's face brightened up, so delighted was he with the man's dexterity, and promoted him above the others. God Almighty says : *Relations belong to each other in the Book of God. Verily God is omniscient* (Surah viii. 76).

Measures taken by the ruler of Egypt when this news reached him.

When Hakim was told what had occurred he took a serious view of the situation, and wrote letters to Hassan wherein he made handsome offers and the like to Mufarrij ; he conciliated the whole Jarrah family, and transmitted large sums to 'Ali and Mahmud sons of Mufarrij, whom he caused to break away from the conspiracy and secured for his own party with a number of Arabs. The cause of Hakim began to improve and that of Abu'l-Futuh to decline, and the latter became afraid of a change in the feelings of the Jarrah family towards him. News came besides to the effect that a cousin of his had entered his territory wishing to seize his place.

[1] Alid pretender of the year 145 A.H.

[2] Proverbial phrase for two combatants of equal strength

(**238**) *Family jealousy leading to ruin.*

Abu'l-Futu*h* had an adversary in a cousin called Ibn Abi'l-*T*ayyib, who had the title Emir. There was jealousy and dissension between the two. *H*akim wrote to him at this time to invest him with the government of the two sanctuaries, at the same time sending money and clothing to the leading descendants of *H*asan (the Prophet Mohammed's grandson). Such of his family as joined him went with him to Meccah where was the representative of Abu'l-Futu*h*, whom this person proceeded to defy. The camels hastened with the news to Abu'l-Futu*h*, whose embarrassments were increased as he feared he might lose the two sanctuaries.

Meanwhile *H*assan had sent his mother to Egypt with a note containing various proposals, among them a request for one of the palace slave-girls. *H*akim assented to all his demands, assigning him a fief and an allowance, drawing up for him an autograph pardon, and presenting him with a slave-girl whom he furnished with a handsome trousseau. *H*assan's mother came back with presents for him and his father, which so pleased him that he proclaimed his submission to *H*akim and put on the robes which the latter had sent.

Abu'l-Futu*h* learning of this began to despair of his life. Riding to Mufarrij he implored his protection, saying: I only left my fortune and exposed myself to the wrath of *H*akim in reliance on your protection. I am now afraid of treachery on the part of *H*assan; convey me therefore to a place where I shall be safe, and send me home.—Mufarrij kept faith with him, and gave him an escort through Wadi'l-Qura. He was met by the descendants of *H*asan, and his followers, and the party proceeded to Meccah, where he established himself. He wrote an apology to *H*akim which was accepted. The vizier Abu'l-Qasim Maghribi also implored the protection of Mufarrij, who had him conveyed to 'Iraq.

*H*akim kept quiet for a short time, then despatched an army under 'Ali b. Ja'far b. Fala*h* (brother of Abu Tamim), to whom he gave the title Qu*t*b al-daulah (Pole of the Empire). He started with 20,000 men. He was met by 'Ali and Ma*h*mud sons of Mufarrij, who tendered their submission. Now *H*akim had suborned a clerk of Mufarrij called Ibn al-Mudabbir, (**239**) offering him presents if he would poison Mufarrij. This clerk succeeded in giving him poison to drink, of which Mufarrij died. Ibn al-Mudabbir fled into Egypt, and *H*akim fulfilled his promises to him, but afterwards put him to death.

Such is the reward of a man who betrays his master and sells his religion for this world's goods. He loses both and saddles himself with a load of guilt.

*H*assan's power waned, his fortresses were taken and he became a fugitive and a wanderer for a time. Finding the land too narrow to hold him he sent his mother and the slave-girl to Egypt to seek pardon, and he further implored the intercession of *H*akim's sister. This was allowed, and *H*akim gave *H*assan's mother his ring and some woollen garments which he had himself been wearing with the turban that was on his head, and the ass which he rode. The slave-girl returned to him with all that, whereas his mother remained in Egypt. *H*assan hurried and entered the city riding on the same ass and wearing the clothes. *H*akim pardoned *H*assan and bestowed on him his land, favoured him in various ways and gave him a fief, and sent him back to Syria. *H*assan ventured on no more mischief till the death of *H*akim.

We now resume our chronicle.

In this year there came letters from the people of Ra*h*bah and Raqqah to the capital asking that some one might be sent to take over the country. Khumartakin of *H*ims was commissioned to go.

Account of this expedition.

He went and took possession of Ra*h*bah, and after remaining there some days proceeded to Raqqah, where was Sa'd Sa'di,[1] who entrenched himself in Rafiqah. A series of engagements took place between him and Khumartakin and as the latter failed to storm the place, he returned to Ra*h*bah. Hearing of disorders in Baghdad he returned. Certain Arabs waylaid him on his return and took him captive. He had to ransom himself.

In this year ABU JA'FAR *H*AJJAJ B. HURMUZ proceeded to the dependencies of Mausil at the head of a numerous army and arrived there. The Banu 'Uqail, whose foremost man at the time (**240**) was Abu'l-Dawwad Mohammed b. Musayyib, gathered together to oppose him, and a series of engagements took place between them wherein *H*ajjaj displayed courage which won him renown. He would place a chair between the ranks while the fighting was going on and sit thereon. This impressed the minds of the Arabs. Asking for assistance from the capital he was reinforced by the vizier Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. A*h*mad, and peace was concluded with the Arabs by an arrangement whereby they should have half the dependencies which were near Mausil. *H*ajjaj remained there till the death of Mohammed b. Musayyib, when the 'Uqail came again and took the town from him.

In this year the Notables, Judges and Witnesses were admitted to the presence of Qadir, who in their presence swore an oath of fidelity and loyalty to Baha al-daulah, into whose charge he committed all that was outside his gate where the ('Abbasid) cause was dominant. Prior to this Baha al-daulah took an oath to him of fidelity and that he would maintain the terms of homage.

[1] Doubtless a freedman of Sa'd al-daulah.

YEAR 382.[1]

In this year the vizier Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. A*h*mad received a robe of honour on his being commissioned to proceed to Mausil to fight against the Banu 'Uqail.

The reason for this and the result to which it led.

The relations between Abu'l-Qasim and Abu'l-*H*asan the Mu'allim had begun to deteriorate, reports having reached them which dissolved the bonds of affecti_n. Abu'l-Qasim used to conduct himself as the clerk of the other; one day when he descended into the Mu'allim's *zabzab*, he took his seat on the " cradle " in front of him. People who saw this were surprised. Letters arrived from *H*ajjaj announcing the gathering of the 'Uqail against him, and the Mu'allim suggested to Baha al-daulah that Abu'l-Qasim should be sent out. (**241**) Baha al-daulah gave the order and despatched with him a number of troops of various descriptions. He started after receiving a visit from Baha al-daulah, to bid him farewell. Reaching Mausil he encamped outside and effected a juncture with *H*ajjaj. The 'Uqail retired, and he began to form plans for the settlement of affairs, only the Mu'allim gave him no time, as he wrote to *H*ajjaj bidding him arrest Abu'l-Qasim.

Wise plan of H*ajjaj wherein thought was taken for the future.*

*H*ajjaj, knowing that, if he did this, disorder would result and the Arabs would be encouraged, while he would be unable to resist them, referred the matter back to the Mu'allim, showing him the error of his policy. Abu'l-Qasim got wind of the discussions which were going on about him through spies whom he kept to watch the doings of Baha al-daulah, the Mu'allim and their intimates. He decided to make a truce with the 'Uqail, taking hostages from them, and resolved to return to

[1] Began March 9, 992.

Baghdad. When the Mu'allim saw that *H*ajjaj had hesitated to carry out his order, he sent out ABU'L-FAT*H* MOHAMMED B. *H*ASAN the Chamberlain to him to insist on his execution of the command.

The following is narrated by ABU NASR MOHAMMED B. 'ALI B. SIYAJIK, who at the time was Abu'l-Qasim's secretary: When we got news that it had been settled that Abu'l-Fat*h* should come out for the purpose mentioned, and we subsequently received news from Takrit of his arrival at that place, Abu'l-Qasim was alarmed, and was advised by his confidential friends to fly. He disliked doing this and decided to return to Baghdad, but was afraid lest if he revealed this intention he might be prevented by *H*ajjaj.

Account of the scheme whereby Abu'l-Qasim succeeded in getting away.

He sent to *H*ajjaj to say: Mohammed b. Musayyib has stopped demobilizing (**242**) the Arabs, and surrendering the districts which he has been instructed to surrender, declaring that he will not do this "unless you depart yourself with your troops that I may be sure that the arrangement will not be invalidated." I have decided therefore to move my camp from its present place and to make it appear that I am departing; and I hope this may serve to quiet him.—*H*ajjaj approved this plan, and ordered Abu'l-Qasim to start at night. The next morning he was ten parasangs away from Mausil. *H*ajjaj wrote to remonstrate with him for this behaviour, but he replied apologetically saying: The Dailemites (*auliya*) demanded that I should retire and I was unable to resist them.—When he reached *H*adithah, where Abu'l-Fat*h* had halted, the latter came out to meet the vizier, did obeisance, and handed to him a letter from Baha al-daulah to the following effect: *Things are at a standstill owing to your absence, and we suppose Abu Ja'far must have prevented your returning,*

he not being satisfied with your measures. We have sent Abu'l-Fath to instruct Abu Ja'far to obey you and acquiesce in your arrangements in order that your return may be speeded. Abu'l-Qasim perused this letter, and when he had got into his tent he summoned Abu'l-Fath, coaxed him to tell him truly the inner sense of the letter, and offered him three thousand dinars if he would do so. Abu'l-Fath swore that the inner sense agreed wth the apparent sense, and was what he had communicated.

Abu Nasr continues: After the departure of Abu'l-Fath the vizier summoned me and said: Here is this letter which has arrived and contains what you know; and our friends and advisers have written what you also know. What is to be done?—I said: Your only course is to write to Abu'l-Dawwad, who is facing us, demand his protection, and abide with him so that you can make your plans in safety.—He replied: That assuredly is the mode of self-protection which experience would suggest, only I do not like to do it. So I shall go into Baghdad relying upon God.—News came after this of the arrest (**243**) of Abu'l-*H*asan the Mu'allim and of his execution. So I went to the vizier and he let me read the letter which had come to him containing the news. There were present some persons who were not in his confidence, so I displayed embarrassment; but when he was alone, I returned, showing on my countenance the signs of joy. I found him pensive and anxious; and when he saw me he said: You seem to be pleased with the news.—I am, I replied.—He said: They are no cause for pleasure; one can only dread to be associated with a sovereign who after favouring a man as Baha al-daulah favoured Abu'l-*H*asan, and giving him such plenary authority, then permits him to be slaughtered in his presence.

This year Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl came from Ahwaz. Abu'l-*H*asan the Mu'allim, who was

hankering after his possessions, had summoned him with the view of arresting him.

Account of a clever scheme whereby 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl escaped.

When Abu'l-'Ala perceived the intentions of Abu'l-*H*asan, he proceeded to placate him with gifts and attentions, and gave in his honour a series of entertainments, abasing himself and cajoling the other. Thus he succeeded in averting disaster, and presently the execution of the Mu'allim relieved him of further anxiety from that quarter.

In this year Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar the 'Alid was released,[1] and Abu'l-*H*asan the Mu'allim arrested and executed.

(**244**) *Account of the procedure at the arrest and execution of Abu'l-Hasan the Mu'allim.*

This person had assumed the absolute power which has been described, and given offence to friends and foes. With his own hands he had throttled Abu 'Ali, son of Sharaf al-daulah ;[2] he had alienated the leading soldiers and subjects, and perpetrated various crimes ; respite was given him till his page was filled. At this time the army mutinied, went outside the town and sent to Baha al-daulah to complain of him and demand that he be delivered to them. Baha al-daulah gave a soft answer, promised to redress their grievances, to undertake himself the conduct of their affairs, and to restrict the Mu'allim to his personal service. They were not satisfied. Then Baha al-daulah offered to remove the Mu'allim from his empire to some place where he would be sure of his life. Thus the army would achieve their purpose, whereas he would not incur the reproach of betraying him and putting him to death.—Their answer

[1] See above, p. 176. [2] Above, p. 162.

to this proposal was more contemptuous than to the former.—BAKRAN, who conducted the negotiations, said to Baha al-daulah: My lord king, the case is somewhat different from what you suppose: you have the choice between the survival of Abu'l-*H*asan and the survival of your sovereignty; so choose which of the two you want.—Baha al-daulah then ordered the arrest of Abu'l-*H*asan and all his associates and dependents, thinking that the soldiers would be satisfied and retire. They did not do so, but persisted in demanding that he should be delivered to them. Baha al-daulah hesitated to do this, and rode out to them himself to request them to retire, and be satisfied with the arrest of the Mu'allim, which had been carried out. Not a man among them rose up or paid Baha al-daulah any respect; and they declined to retire before the Mu'allim had been delivered into their hands. He was then delivered to ABU *H*ARB SHIRZIL. Twice poison was given to him to drink, but it had no effect; he was then strangled with the curtain-ropes, and one of the retainers stabbed him with a knife. When he had expired, he was taken out and buried. The army then returned to their quarters and the mutiny ceased.

Had Baha al-daulah practised moderation in his dealings with this Mu'allim the affair would have had a better beginning, (**245**) a more honourable continuance, a more desirable end, a safer sequel, and a more agreeable record. He erred in choosing a man without merit; in making a favourite of him; and in giving him arbitrary power. Naturally then scandal was caused; vigilance was removed; respect was at an end; the slur remained; and with all this the Mu'allim was not saved. And how short an interval separated his glory from his humiliation, his elevation from his betrayal! *Heaven and earth wept not over them, neither had they any respite.* (Surah xliv. 28).

This year *Ta*'i' was delivered to the Caliph Qadir, who lodged him in one of the apartments assigned to his suite, and put him in charge of some of his confidential servants. Qadir treated his predecessor with hospitality and attentiveness, so much so that the latter was allowed to claim the same service as he had enjoyed when he was Caliph; and Qadir took more trouble about what was prepared for or offered to his predecessor than about what he had done for himself. *Ta*'i' enjoyed this consideration till he died.

In this year the vizier ABU'L-QASIM IBN *AHMAD* arrived, accompanied by the army.

Account of what happened to the vizier Abu'l-Qasim, and of the arrangements made for the supervision of affairs after his arrest.

He came to the capital, in the belief that by the fall of the Mu'allim he was safe; Baha al-daulah however (**246**) was incensed against him by reason of various matters which the Mu'allim had emphasized, one of which was his conduct in approaching the Banu 'Uqail; he was besides convinced that the mutiny of the army had been brought about by his messages and letters to them. So Baha al-daulah arrested the vizier, and bestowed a robe of honour upon Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. A*h*mad, to whom he assigned the duty of bringing matters before the sovereign; while confirming ABU'L-*H*ASAN 'ALI B. SAHL DAURAQI in the office of vice-vizier. ABU MANSUR IBN AL-SALI*H*AN was approached with a view to his undertaking the vizierate, but declined; it was decided then to summon ABU NASR SABUR, who had gone off to the Ba*tih*ah for fear of the Mu'allim. He was invited by letter to present himself and did so. It was suggested to Baha al-daulah to make him and Abu Mansur Ibn Sali*h*an partners in the vizierate. After settling this with the two he issued an order to that effect, bestowed robes of honour upon both, and had a complete

carpet spread for them[1]; and they used to take it by turns to have their names put first in official correspondence.

This year *Samsam* al-daulah arrested ABU'L-QASIM 'ALA B. *H*ASAN in Shiraz.

Account of the procedure in this matter.

'Ala b. *H*asan was influential with *Samsam* al-daulah and his mother, and was liberal to his followers and suite, though for all that he never countenanced any proceeding on their part which was detrimental to the interests of the state. He had been the benefactor of ABU'L-QASIM DALJI, whom he had brought with him when he restored Sharaf al-daulah to Shiraz, had befriended and promoted him, made him president of the Bureau of official composition when *Samsam* al-daulah came to Shiraz, and that prince had given him a robe of honour and made his rank in that post that of a vizier. Things went on thus for some time;[2] presently the Ra*di*', Sa'adah, and the clerks of the Queen-mother (mother of *Samsam* al-daulah) took liberties, assumed authority, and made demands of 'Ala b. *H*asan which he was unable to meet, and which would have produced disorder in the accounts. He being unable to satisfy their demands, there was ill-feeling between them (**247**) in consequence, and they began to weaken his position. They found support in Abu'l-Qasim Dalji who influenced *Samsam* al-daulah against him because he wanted his wealth and that of lesser men. *Samsam* al-daulah in consequence arrested him, his clerks, attendants, and daughter (wife of the 'Alawid Razi). They were subjected to severe exaction and terrible torture, under which his daughter and many of his followers expired. 'Ala b. *H*asan remained confined in a dungeon, and nothing was heard of him till

[1] *Cf.* below, p. 264. [2] See above, p. 160.

Abu'l-Qasim Dalji was ruined. The Queen-mother's sentiments towards him changed and he was arrested in the year 383; 'Ala b. *H*asan was then released and the administration again committed to him.

Account of the proceedings of 'Ala b. Hasan after his return to the administration.

When he was removed from his prison his sight had become weak, and he was taken into the Queen-mother's palace where he underwent treatment till he recovered. He was then given a robe of honour and resumed the vizierate. He accompanied Samsam al-daulah to Ahwaz, and then returned to Arrajan where he remained administering the affairs of Fars. When the affair of Tall *T*a'us took place and the Dailemites were routed and *S*amsam al daulah fled to Shiraz, 'Ala b. *H*asan went to Ahwaz, engaged the army of Baha al-daulah, and presently died in 'Askar Mukram.

After what had befallen him and his daughter and family he was no longer loyal at heart to *S*amsam al-daulah. Indeed he ruined his dynasty by assignation of fiefs, requisitions, squandering of money, and surrender of provinces. *S*amsam al-daulah's affairs got into complete disorder. It is thus that a man who harbours a grievance strives to ruin the state.

In this year came news of the descent of the Byzantine Emperor upon Khilat and Arjish,[1] both of which he took. This event occasioned great trepidation. Presently it was announced that a truce of ten years had been concluded between him and ABU 'ALI *H*ASAN B. MARWAN, and that he had evacuated the provinces.

YEAR 383.[2]

(248) In this year news arrived that the sons of Bakhtiyar had got possession of the fortress wherein

[1] Called Eriza by Schlumberger ii. 174, and identified by him with Erzingan.
[2] Began Feb. 26, 993.

they had been confined and that ABU 'ALI *HASAN* B. USTADHHURMUZ had marched against them, captured them and put two of them to death.

Account of this affair and of these persons' career.

We have already recorded how Sharaf al-daulah did these persons the kindness of releasing them.[1] When he made up his mind to invade 'Iraq he sent them to a palace in Shiraz and assigned them stipends and fiefs there. When he died they were arrested and confined in the citadel of Kharshanah. There they stayed till a considerable portion of the time of Samsam al-daulah had passed.

Stratagem whereby the sons of Bakhtiyar obtained possession of the citadel.

They conciliated the governor of the citadel and the Dailemites who were under him, who submitted to them and released them. They then sent to the people of the regions surrounding the fortress who were armed and men of courage, and enlisted a great number, who assembled beneath it. Samsam al-daulah, hearing of this, sent against them Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz at the head of a force. When he approached the fortress the men who had assembled under it dispersed. The sons of Bakhtiyar with the Dailemites entrenched themselves therein and Abu 'Ali commenced a siege.

Account of the measures taken by Abu 'Ali Ustadhhurmuz for storming the fortress.

He entered into negotiations with one of the captains of the Dailemites in the fortress whom he tempted with offers of increased pay and promotion. The man accepted the offer and was instructed to let down a rope from the top of the fortress whereby some men might mount to the gate which was on a crag. When the rope

[1] Above, p. 81, some similar acts are recorded.

came near the ground, Abu 'Ali approached some of his party on the subject of mounting; they all hesitated till at last one of his followers offered to mount. (**249**) As he got near the gate his hold on the rope slackened and he was precipitated downwards. The rest were unwilling to try, but the general lavished money and held out tempting hopes, till at last some men of unusual courage came forward, and mounted one by one to the fortress till a number were assembled at the gate, which was opened to them. They then entered and took possession of the fortress, and the sons of Bakhtiyar, six in number, were arrested. Abu 'Ali wrote a letter announcing his success to Samsam al-daulah, who sent a bedmaker, who in accordance with orders executed two of the number, whereas the rest were sent to the fortress Junaid,[1] where they were confined.

In this year Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl was commissioned to go to Ahwaz and received a robe of honour for that purpose.

Account of the reason for this.

Between the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar and 'Ubaidallah there was animosity, and the latter had obtained promotion by his services and stood high in Baha al-daulah's favour. Mohammed b. 'Umar and the vizier Sabur agreed to try to get him removed. Sabur accordingly sent the excellent Ustadh Husain b. Hasan to Baha al-daulah, whom he was instructed to address as follows: I know your ideas about Fars, and now the power of Samsam al-daulah is shaken and most of his helpers have passed away. You have twenty million dirhems in readiness; part of them I shall get from Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram[2] and the officials of Ahwaz; the rest from obvious sources. The way to conduct this affair is as

[1] Yaqut mentions several places of this name, none of which is likely to be the place intended here.

[2] See above, p. 128.

follows. 'Ubaidallah should proceed to Ahwaz as though he were returning thither to stay[1]; a detachment should be sent with him. After a time another troop should be sent; when our forces there are complete, we shall show what we intend. 'Ubaidallah will then start from Ahwaz and be fully prepared when he surprises the enemy.—(**250**) *H*usain b. *H*asan repeated Sabur's communication to Baha al-daulah, whose cupidity it excited. He replied by ordering the necessary arrangements to be made, and wrote commanding the arrest of Ibn Mukram and his associates. 'Ubaidallah received orders to start after he had been instructed in the inner meaning of the proceeding and been told to keep it secret.

Hasty slip whereby 'Ubaidallah divulged a secret.

The Excellent Ustadh narrates: A robe of honour had been bestowed on me and I went in his procession to his palace. Scarcely had he taken his seat in his saloon when he received a congratulatory visit from Abu'l-*H*usain Shahrsitan b. Lashkari. He said to his visitor: Abu'l-*H*usain, which house would you like in Shiraz?—I nudged him, and he endeavoured to repair the error, saying to Shahrsitan: I meant to say *Ahwaz*.—But the matter did not pass unnoticed. It got abroad. For a word is like an arrow; if it once pass across the bow it is gone.

'Ubaidallah remained for many days in his camp. No-one went out with him and Sabur's statements about the money and the mode of procuring it were falsified. After a time 'Ubaidallah started with a handful of men and got to Ahwaz. By the time he had reached the place the matter was known in Shiraz, and an expedition thence against 'Iraq was set on foot.

In this year Qadir held a reception for the people of Khorasan on the occasion of their return from the

[1] Above, p. 171.

pilgrimage. They were approached on the subject of having prayer offered in the Caliph's name, and undertook to bear a message and letters to the ruler of Khorasan on the subject.

In this year the Dailemites mutinied on account of the coinage, high prices, and the withholding of their pay. They pillaged the palace of the vizier Sabur, who fled from them for his life. They sent a message to Baha al-daulah demanding his surrender and that of Mohammed b. 'Ali the Treasurer, inspector of (**251**) the Treasury and Mint. Negotiations proceeded between them until they were promised payment and improvement of the coinage. The mutiny then stopped. Sabur remained in hiding. While in hiding he received a message bidding him surrender Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. Ahmad, who had been surrendered to him to be kept by him in confinement.[1] He obeyed the order, and that person was transferred to the Treasury of the Palace.

When Sabur had undergone this experience, Ibn Salihan desired to be relieved of the sole vizierate [2] and declared himself unequal to it. Allowances had now increased beyond the resources, and compelled the ministers to try strange expedients. Their thoughts were turned to what ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. 'ALI could raise, he being the Steward at the time. Abu'l-Qasim Ahmad b. 'Ali now began to seek restoration to the vizierate [3] and sent to Baha al-daulah, offering to relieve him of all anxiety with regard to the allowances if he were given full control of affairs. Baha al-daulah took the bait, gave him the powers he required, appointed him vizier and bestowed on him a robe of honour.

Fortunes of Abu'l-Qasim Ahmad b. 'Ali in his second vizierate.

He proceeded to arrest a number of clerks and officials

[1] Above, p. 246. [2] See above, p. 246. [3] See above, p. 201.

and got from them the sum of six million dirhems. Summoning Abu'l-'Abbas the Steward he made him agree to pay a large sum on his own account, which he remitted, on condition of his finding sources of revenue for a period of four months, and giving an autograph undertaking that he would obtain these sums. The Steward was then sent to Baha al-daulah, and made a favourable impression. In this way he won the heart of Baha al-daulah and secured his affection while incurring the enmity of the courtiers, some of whom he removed. Things went on in this style for a certain time during which he increased in favour and authority with Baha al-daulah, but was more and more dreaded and disliked by the court.

He had appointed Abu Mohammed *H*asan b. Mukram minister of both war and finance in Basrah after his disgrace in Ahwaz, with orders to arrest Abu 'Abdallah Ibn *T*ahir,[1] who was minister (**252**) there. He was arrested and imprisoned.

Plan discovered by the courtiers for undermining the position of the vizier Abu'l-Qasim.

A report came to the effect that Abu 'Abdallah Ibn *T*ahir had been put to death in his prison. The vizier was said to have suborned certain persons to enter and murder him. The courtiers found a means of attacking the vizier in this, as they gave Baha al-daulah an account of the event so discreditable that it altered the prince's sentiments towards the vizier. For he said: Before, he put to death the Mu'allim, and this time Abu 'Abdallah; who will be the third victim?—When this saying was reported to the vizier by the spies whom he maintained in Baha al-daulah's palace, he took alarm and fled the following night.

[1] See above, p. 199.

Condition of affairs after the flight of the vizier 'Ali b. Ahmad, and return of Sabur to the vizierate.

Sabur went to the house of Bakran [1] and implored his protection till he set things right for him with the Dailemites, and when he no longer feared them, he came out of Bakran's house. He proceeded to release a number of persons whom the vizier Abu'l-Qasim had imprisoned, and to appoint clerks to look after each of the Bureaux, while undertaking himself those of Intelligence, the Post, and Defence. These he managed publicly; privately he managed affairs in general, and both decided and executed. All the other officials acted according to his orders. This went on for some months, after which he assumed office publicly.

In this year letters came from 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl announcing that the army of Fars was advancing against Ahwaz and urgently soliciting reinforcements.

(**253**) *Plans of Baha al-daulah for dealing with this matter.*

He commissioned Abu Tahir Daridah Shiri to go to Ahwaz with a troop of Dailemites and despatched Abu Harb Shirzil to Basrah. News arriving that the army of Fars had left Arrajan, Baha al-daulah ordered his tents to be brought out. It was presently reported that they had got to Ramhurmuz. He commissioned Tughan the Chamberlain under whom he placed a number of retainers, and on whom he bestowed a robe of honour. He sent out with him 'Isa b. Masarjis, to act as vice-vizier. He brought out the gold and silver vessels from the Treasury, and had them broken up and coined into dinars and dirhems and distributed to the retainers. News next arrived of the entry into Ahwaz of the armies of Fars under Abu'l-Faraj Mohammed b. 'Ali b. Ziyar, and the defeat of 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl, who was taken prisoner by them.

[1] See above, p 244.

Subsequent fortunes of 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl after his capture and the incident which led to his security.

When he had been captured by Abu'l-Faraj Ibn Ziyar he was taken to Shiraz; Samsam al-daulah at the time was in Daulatabad on his way to the 'Iraq road. 'Ubaidallah was brought into the camp on a camel, clad in dyed garments and was paraded around; no one doubted that he was going to be put to death. It happened that he passed by the tents of the Queen-mother (mother of Samsam al-daulah); he made a sign with his hand, as though to implore her mercy. One of the Dailemite stewardesses hastened to revile him; she was heard by the Queen-mother who disapproved of her language, and ordered that he should be dismounted, and that the dyed garments should be removed from him and others given him instead; and that he should be taken to the citadel and be confined there, (**254**) with kindly treatment. The act of this woman caused his life to be saved.

When Baha al-daulah received the news of the defeat of his army in Ahwaz and the capture of 'Ubaidallah, he was greatly alarmed, and ordered Tughan to start. Finding his treasury empty while there was need of money, he bade his vizier Sabur proceed to Wasit and raise it from any sources that he found; further to negotiate with Muhadhdhib al-daulah and borrow from him on pledges which he was to retain. For this purpose valuable gems and articles were provided.

In this year Qadir betrothed the daughter of Baha al-daulah with a wedding-gift of 100,000 dinars; the contract was ratified in his presence and the Sharif Husain b. Musa acted as trustee. She died before leaving her parents' house.

YEAR 384.[1]

In this year Muhadhdhib al-daulah betrothed a

[1] Began Feb. 15, 994.

daughter of Baha al-daulah, and the prince Abu Mansur, son of Baha al-daulah, a daughter of Muhadhdhib al-daulah; the wedding gift in each case was 100,000 dinars. Muhadhdhib al-daulah transmitted money and produce, and his name was introduced into public prayer in Wasit and its dependencies. The sum which he as revenue-farmer of the lower part of Wasit was to pay was 1,300,000 Ghiyathi dirhems, taking their name from the fief. The value of the Ghiyathi dirhem was eight and a half *harf* in the ten.[1]

In this year Khwashadhah advised Baha al-daulah to send to Fakhr al-daulah with the view of making terms with him and keeping him from giving aid to Samsam al-daulah. This advice was approved, and Khwashadhah (**255**) was ordered to serve as ambassador. He selected as envoy ABU'L-*HASAN* AQSISI the 'Alawid, to make the journey in lieu of Khwashadhah, and he started, but he (Khwashadhah ?) was arrested before he (Aqsisi ?) reached his destination.

Account of the reason for this.

There was close friendship between Khwashadhah and Sabur; when the latter went to Wasit, he fled to the Marsh. Khwashadhah's enemies thus got an opportunity to slander him, and persuaded Baha al-daulah to arrest him.

Now consider these extraordinary ideas, this wonderful policy of alternating with such rapidity between arrest and release, dismissal and appointment, that the matter became a marvel and earnest a game. True indeed, this life is a game, but even in a game there is good and bad play. This is a case of poor play, wherein the commencement is inconsistent with the termination, and close with opening. And indeed in the whole series of Baha al-daulah's annals can you find any system of which the

[1] This passage is obscure and the rendering tentative.

arrangement excites your admiration or any plan of which it would profit you to know the trial? Certainly not. The whole of it was disjointed, and if any sound proceeding ever took place therein it was by accident.

We resume.

In this year Tughan and the retainers proceeded from Wasit to Khuzistan.

Fortune of this expedition; Tughan's victory over the armies of Samsam al-daulah, who fled before them.

When they came in sight of Sus, it was evacuated by the followers of Samsam al-daulah, and occupied by them. Arslantakin Kurkiri with a troop of retainers pressed on to Jundaisabur, and expelled the garrison; the Turks then spread over the districts of Khuzistan, obtained the upper hand and overcame the Dailemites. Samsam al-daulah reached Ahwaz, (256) and with him were assembled the Dailemite armies, the Banu Tamim and the Banu Asad. When Tughan got to Tustar he arranged a night march with the view of surprising Samsam al-daulah's camp.

An unfortunate accident which brought disaster.

His guides missed the way and they marched the whole night in perplexity; when morning broke there was a long distance between them and the Turkish camp. One of Tughan's scouts noticing the mass of the army brought the news back to him, and bade him be prepared, as the Dailemites were advancing to attack him in the morning. He mounted his horse, was joined by the retainers, and recalled all those who had gone foraging. They gathered round him to the number of seven hundred retainers, whereas of the Dailemites and their associates there were many thousands. Arslantakin Kurkiri mounted Tall Ta'us and took his station there; Tughan divided his retainers into squadrons,

and putting one of them under Yarigh bade him march obliquely and come out on the rear of the Dailemites, whom he was to put into confusion by attacking their baggage, while he himself would engage them on the front; the two were then to charge simultaneously. Yarigh marched with these instructions; *T*ughan with his retainers maintained their position, resisting the cavalry; the Dailemites advanced and got possession of the Tall (hill) whence Arslantakin Kurkiri descended; *S*amsam al-daulah took his station there. Yarigh with his squadron now attacked the baggage, and charged the lines, while *T*ughan with his retainers also charged. A rout ensued. Sa'adah stood holding *S*amsam al-daulah's bridle, in bewilderment, not knowing what to do. Yarigh said to him in Persian: What are you stopping for, barber,[1] take your master and be off! —Thereupon *S*amsam al-daulah turned his back and went off. His infantry were not able to flee owing to the difficulty of the situation and the severity of the pursuit, in addition to their fatigue. More than two thousand surrendered, while the rest were dispersed. The Turks took vast booty.

Plot of the retainers to murder the Dailemites who had surrendered to them.

When the surrendered Dailemites had been collected into tents pitched for them by *T*ughan, the retainers took counsel concerning them, saying: These are men who have a grudge against us, and who are more numerous than ourselves. If we keep them with us they may assault us; if we let them go they may return to the attack.— They decided to put them to death, and brought the tents down upon them and hit them with the poles till they had despatched them.

[1] Literally "cupper." The trade was not regarded as respectable.

This battle corresponds with that of the *H*albah [1] in the number of the Dailemites slaughtered.

News were brought of the event to Baha al-daulah in Wasit, and the usual manifestations of joy were made. *T*ughan proceeded to Ahwaz and took possession of it and all its dependencies. A portion of the retainers returned to Baghdad.

Procedure of Baha al-daulah after his arrival in Wasit.

He obtained a fresh loan from Muhadhdhib al-daulah in addition to the first, and an arrangement was made between them with regard to Basrah whereby Baha al-daulah should send an army thither which Muhadhdhib al-daulah should reinforce with troops of his own; Baha al-daulah despatched a force under MARZUBAN ABU KALIJAR [2]; Muhadhdhib al-daulah placed certain of his followers with them and the whole proceeded.

Now Abu'l-*T*ayyib Farrukhan had come from Siraf by sea and got possession of Basrah. They engaged him at Nahr al-Dair,[3] and defeated him. Marzuban b. Shahfiroz entered Basrah and had the name of Muhadhdhib al-daulah introduced there into the public prayer after that of Baha al-daulah.

When Baha al-daulah received the news of the rout of *S*amsam al-daulah he started for Ahwaz, but preferring to commence with Basrah he went thither and halted there.

History of the vizierate in Basrah during this year.

When Baha al-daulah established himself there he appointed as vizier ABU'L-*H*ASAN 'UBAIDALLAH B. MOHAMMED B. *H*AMDAWAIHI,[4] who took office on the 7th

[1] Fought 450 A.H.

[2] These were also the names of *S*amsam al-daulah, who of course is not meant here.

[3] According to Yaqut some 20 parasangs from Basrah.

[4] Last heard of above, p. 179.

of Sha'ban (Sep. 16, 994) and was dismissed on the 23rd (Oct. 2). During this short time he made a wonderful display of incompetence. For example once when his council-chamber was crowded and Abu'l-'Abbas the Steward was present he bade them summon Abu'l-'Abbas the Steward. Abu'l-'Abbas said: Here I am, vizier.—The vizier's attention was distracted for a time, and then he said: Did I not call for Abu'l-'Abbas the Steward, and where is he?—He said: Here I am, sir.—The vizier said: Oh yes, while the people present were nudging each other. One day he rode to the dwelling of al-Fa*d*il [1] and stopping before the public water-cooler drank from it. When he got to al-Fa*d*il's door he was not admitted and went back. Al-Fa*d*il hearing of his coming sent his attendants to him, who overtook him and brought him back. Coming in, he in the course of his conversation complained to the other of his circumstances and showed him a torn shirt which he wore under his coat; this was to beg for help and consideration from Baha al-daulah.

After some days he resigned, and Abu'l-'Abbas 'Isa b. Masarjis commenced canvassing for the vizierate and sent to Abu Nasr al-Fa*d*il to enlist his services as mediator in the matter. This was after Abu 'Ali *H*asan Anma*t*i had offered large sums on his account to Baha al-daulah for it, and made promises of gratuities which he would present and of an offering of 10,000 dinars.

Wise counsel offered by al-Fadil to Ibn Masarjis, but not followed by him.

In reply to his message he advised him to conciliate the postmaster Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Mohammed b. Nasr and the Marshal Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. A*h*mad. He was to write and request them to act as his deputies (**259**) addressing Abu 'Abdallah as *Our master*, that he

[1] Probably Abu Nasr *H*usain b. *H*asan.

might assist him to get his business through. 'Isa b. Masarjis declined. Al-Fadil narrates: All of a sudden it was announced that he had arrived and had halted in one of the gardens, and presently a messenger came from him asking for the loan of a hundred dinars. I sent them to him at once, but was surprised at the request for so small a sum, considering what amounts Abu 'Ali Anmati had offered to Baha al-daulah in his name. Presently he present d himself before Baha al-daulah and depositing in front of him a dinar and a dirhem he made obeisance and went away. Baha al-daulah was displeased with this and said to Anmati: Where is what you promised us? The inauguration of his service shows what is to come after.—Anmati replied that what he had promised would come later. That day and some more passed and he transmitted nothing. He wrote to Abu 'Abdallah with the titles *my lord and chief*, and the latter conspired with Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Mohammed b. Nasr to ruin his enterprise.

The plot whereby they brought his enterprise to naught.

They suborned Mansur b. Sahl who was prefect of Basrah at the time to circulate a rumour that 'Isa b. Masarjis had offered large sums to be allowed to fine the traders, open the stores and take the goods of the exporters and maritime merchants. There was great commotion and a riot was near breaking out. Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Mohammed b. Nasr reported the matter to Baha al-daulah, who regarded it as serious. It so happened that al-Fadil was absent for some days on business, so that Abu 'Abdallah and Abu 'Ali had Baha al-daulah to themselves. They said to him: This fellow has come empty-handed and has fulfilled none of his promises. The city is in a state of alarm on his account and a riot may well break out with disastrous consequences. Now Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Qatirmiz offers to obtain from him sums which will reduce your burdens.

—They assured him there would be no difficulty, and he referred them for a reply to al-Fadl, bidding them (260) interview him on his return and settle the matter with him. When al-Fadil returned they met him and said: His majesty has ordered us to arrest Abu'l-'Abbas.—He asked why.—They said on account of the public dislike of him and his evasion of the promises made on his behalf. He said to them: This is by no means permissible. How can we dismiss to-day a man who was summoned yesterday without any justification? Such a proceeding can only bring obloquy upon us and the charge of frivolity and instability, and the belief that this king's affairs will never prosper in our hands. I will present myself to his majesty and explain to him the consequences.—What, they said, will you explain? We have already sent your clerk Abu'l-Hasan Kura'i with your followers to put the man in custody.—Al-Fadil was at a loss, and hung his head. The arrow had been launched. The man was handed over to Hasan b. Qafirmiz, who extracted the utmost from him.

Fortunes of Samsam al-daulah after his flight from the battlefield.

When Sa'adah took him away from the battle-field he retreated towards Ahwaz, and was nearly drowned in crossing the river of Tustar, but was rescued by one of the Banu Tamim. He reached Ahwaz accompanied by a small party of Dailemites, and departed thence making for Arrajan. He was met by Abu'l-Qasim 'Ala b. Hasan, who brought him such clothing and utensils as he required, and sent him on to Shiraz accompanied by the Sahib Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz. Here he was met by his mother with such mounts, raiment and attention as he liked. She had been at variance with him; but when she saw him she wept bitterly, for Samsam al-daulah was in a litter clothed in black as a sign of mourning, and only eating a little in several days.

His mother tried to console him, saying: Kings are always vanquishing or being vanquished, and so long as your life remains you may hope for better luck.—She made him change his clothes, and improve his appearance, and so he entered Shiraz. Presently he was rejoined by the troops and after a time his Dailemite forces were restored (**261**) to their numbers.

We find nothing in the remaining months of this year whence any experience can be gained.

YEAR 385.[1]

In this year the death occurred of the *Sa*hib Isma'il b. 'Abbad in Rayy. He was succeeded in the administration by Abu'l-'Abbas *A*hmad b. Ibrahim *D*abbi, who received the title AL-KAFI AL-AUHAD (The uniquely competent).

Account of this.

When Ibn 'Abbad fell ill, the Dailemite Emirs and the grandees came to his gate morning and evening, and after offering their good wishes went away. Fakhr al-daulah visited him many times, and he is supposed to have said to Fakhr al-daulah on the first of these occasions, when he despaired of recovery: Prince, I have served you to the best of my ability, and have pursued a policy whereby I have secured for you good repute. If after my death you carry on aright and maintain these principles, the advantages that have accrued in the past will be attributed to you, whereas I shall be forgotten in the eulogies which will be bestowed on you, and your fair fame will be permanent. If you change all this, I shall receive the gratitude for the former system, whilst you will be held responsible for the new. The slur which will lie upon your government will be connected with your name in future times.—Fakhr al-daulah pretended (**262**) to assent.

[1] Began Feb. 5, 995.

That day Ibn 'Abbad expired. Abu Mohammed the Librarian was constantly in his house on duty, being in reality Fakhr al-daulah's spy upon him. He immediately informed Fakhr al-daulah of his death, and the latter sent his own agents to seize the house with its treasures. They found a bag containing receipts from persons with whom he had deposited 150,000 dinars, whom Fakhr al-daulah proceeded to summon. He demanded this money of them, and they produced it; some of it bore the seal of Muayyid al-daulah. This fact gave rise to various conjectures. Detractors explained it as theft; admirers supposed that the sums had been deposited by Muayyid al-daulah with him for the benefit of his children. The whole contents of the palace and its stores were transferred to the palace of Fakhr al-daulah.

Ibn 'Abbad was laid out and his coffin brought out. Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi took his seat to pray over him and to receive condolence. When the coffin appeared on the hands of the bearers, the whole assembly rose to do him honour and kissed the ground. They then prayed over him. The coffin was then suspended on chains in a chamber till it was removed to his tomb in Ispahan.

The qa*d*i Abu'l-*H*asan 'Abd al-Jabbar b. A*h*mad stated that he could not approve of mercy being implored for Ibn 'Abbad, as he had died without any manifestation of repentance; an observation for which this qa*d*i was charged with being disrespectful. Fakhr al-daulah proceeded to arrest him and his connexions, and fixed their fine at 3,000,000 dirhems. Among the goods sold to make up this sum there were a thousand *tailasans* and a thousand garments of Egyptian wool.

(**263**) *Ought not this qadi to have examined his own conduct before giving sentence on that of some one else, and that person Ibn 'Abbad, who had promoted him,*

made his fortune, feathered his nest and given him his position? It is a true proverb: *You look at the mote which is in another's eye and neglect the beam that is across your own throat.*[1] God have mercy on him who looks to his own fault and whose endeavours to hide it leave him no time to think of other people's.

I am informed that a certain saint once meeting a friend of his said to him: I love thee in God.—The other said: If you could see my faults you would hate me in God.—He replied: My own faults leave me no time to consider other people's.—Let us ask God for such help as will guard our members and our hearts and such righteousness as will conceal our faults and vices.

Fakhr al-daulah appointed Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz Judge of Judges, and demanded that Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi should procure 30,000,000 dirhems from the districts and their governors. He asserted that the *Sa*hib had wasted the revenue and neglected the collection of dues, and this must be put right. *D*abbi declined, though the demand was repeated. Abu 'Ali Ibn *H*amulah wrote soliciting the vizierate, for which he offered 8,000,000 dirhems. He was allowed to present himself, and when he was near, Fakhr al-daulah said to *D*abbi; Ibn *H*amulah is coming and I have decided to go out to-morrow to meet him, and have ordered the people to dismount in his honour. You must come out and obey this order too.—*D*abbi was distressed by this, and his intimate advisers said to him: This is the result of your refusal and resistance to his demand. And this will not be the only result.—*D*abbi accordingly sent to Fakhr al-daulah offering 6,000,000 dirhems for his confirmation in the vizierate and to be excused from going to meet Ibn *H*amulah. So Fakhr al-daulah went out to meet him, whereas *D*abbi did not go. Fakhr

[1] The proverb is somewhat more like the form recorded in the Talmud than that which appears in the Gospel.

al-daulah thought proper to associate (**264**) the two in the administration, and remitted two million of the eight offered by Ibn *H*amulah, and of the six offered by *D*abbi. From the two together he demanded ten millions, made them joint-administrators, and bestowed on them robes of equal importance. He arranged that they should sit on one throne and both stamp deeds. One day the one was to stamp and the other mark, and the other day inversely. They agreed to this and they administered jointly.

They proceeded to arrest the dependents of Ibn 'Abbad, and to prosecute all those who had enjoyed exemption in his days. They fined the towns, and sent Abu Bakr Rafi' to Astrabad and its dependencies on an errand of this kind. It is said that he collected the men of importance and means but would give them no audience till the day was advanced and the heat excessive. He then gave them food which was heavily salted, and would let them have no water either with it or after it. He then bade them give their signatures to promises of payment on the spot. He kept bargaining with them while they were parched with thirst till he had made them undertake the payment of ten million dirhems.

There were thus accumulated in the treasuries of Fakhr al-daulah sums which even those who minimize them represent as large. After his death they were all dispersed in a short space of time, and no remnant was left. Such is the fate of all wealth improperly acquired, of every flower grown on an evil soil. His treasuries may indeed have been filled, but his character was desolated. He may have acquired vast wealth, but he lost his good name. Out of the whole he gained nothing but the guilt wherewith he became laden, and the foul repute which sticks to his chronicles, which remain as a warning for ever when his bones are all crumbled away. *His wealth avails him not when he descendeth into the*

tomb (Surah xcii. 11). Oh the remorse of the man who leaves behind him what he has acquired and goes off to his grave weighted with guilt and dishonour! And harder still is what is to follow: *The day whereon neither wealth nor sons shall profit, save one who comes to God with a sound heart* (Surah xxvi. 88).

In this year Samsam al-daulah ordered the execution of all the Turks in Fars. Some of them were put to death in Shiraz (**265**); a number fled and wrought havoc in the country of Fars. Samsam al-daulah sent men to expel them thence, and they retired to Kirman, where was Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz,[1] who expelled them thence too. They were compelled to make for Sind, and solicit permission from its governor to enter the country.

Stratagem whereby the governor of Sind was able to put the Turks to death.

He professed to be ready to receive them and went out to meet them, arranging his followers who were on foot in two rows with instructions to strike the Turks down when they got between them. This was done, and the only ones who escaped were a few who got among the corpses and fled under shadow of night.

In this year Abu Nasr Khwashadhah died in the Marsh. This is how he got there. When he was arrested[2] he was taken in the prince's company to Wasit, where he was confined, but whence he managed to escape. The intelligence officer[3] narrates: I remember how I had gone to Muhadhdhib al-daulah and there met Khwashadhah. I saw letters from Fakhr, Samsam, and Baha al-daulah, as well as Badr b. *H*asanawaihi, all of them requesting visits, and offering him attractive salaries and favours. Fakhr al-daulah wrote as follows: *You may suspect our intentions owing to*

[1] Above, p. 192. [2] Above, p. 255.
[3] Or this may mean "the narrator," *i.e.*, Hilal Sabi.

the injury which you inflicted on us in the service of 'Adud al-daulah. We are not likely to resent your loyalty to the patron who promoted you, or your faithfulness to the author of your fortune and rank. We do not even consider any mischief which we attribute to you as a cause of offence. You remember what treatment we received at the hands of Isma'il b. 'Abbad, and how we put a veil over all our former relations and started afresh, bestowing on him powers and honours beyond his imagination. We similarly give you the most solemn assurance against anything which you may fear or apprehend, and are ready to be as you would wish and prefer. If you will take office, we shall promote you to (**266**) *the highest rank therein, whereas if you prefer retirement and quiet, we are ready to assign you a pension of* 100,000 *dirhems to be paid from Ispahan, and this we are prepared to bestow on you while you remain at home.*—I asked him on which side his views inclined. He said: I was most disinclined to Fakhr al-daulah, but now I feel confidence in him, and to him only am I attached. I am decided therefore to go to Rayy when the persons whom I am summoning from Badr b. *H*asanawaihi arrive.—Restful death saved him the trouble of making the journey; death which puts an end to all needs and troubles.

In this year news arrived of the expedition of 'Ala b. *H*asan from Arrajan and the death of *T*ughan in Ahwaz. Baha al-daulah started in the direction of Ahwaz.

Account of the fortunes of 'Ala b. Hasan and his conquest of Ahwaz.

After the death of *T*ughan the Chamberlain, news thereof was sent by letter to Baha al-daulah and of the intention of the retainers which they openly expressed of returning to Baghdad. This alarmed him, as he was aware that it meant the loss of his sovereignty, since 'Ala b. *H*asan was prepared to renew the contest. He

sent Abu Kalijar Marzuban b. Shahfiroz on to Ahwaz to be his deputy and put the affairs of the army there in order; he was given full powers to execute and administer[1] all matters. He also despatched Abu Mohammed *H*asan b. Mukram to Alptakin the Eunuch to stay in his place; he had got into Ramhurmuz retiring before the armies of Fars twice. Alptakin could not maintain himself and returned to Ahwaz. A letter was written to Ibn Mukram bidding him administer the districts and do his utmost to obtain money and satisfy the army. 'Ala b. *H*asan approached, and turned aside to 'Askar Mukram. Baha al-daulah halted in *T*ala[2] and a series of negotiations took place between him and 'Ala b. *H*asan, wherein the latter pursued the course of softness, exciting hopes, of deceit and treachery. He then proceeded along the Masruqan (**267**) hugging it till he got to Khan *T*auq. An engagement then took place between him and Ibn Mukram with Alptakin and the retainers of their party; both sides fought bravely, but the Dailemites made a march between the gardens and palm-plantations and so entered the town whence they expelled Ibn Mukram and Alptakin. Ibn Mukram sent Alptakin to Baha al-daulah bidding him cross without delay. Baha al-daulah hesitated, and sent promises; after procrastinating he sent eighty of his household retainers to reinforce them; with these he sent some grooms for the horses. Crossing the stream they charged the Dailemites on the rear with the carelessness and inexperience of youth. The Dailemites let them pass till they were in the middle, when they closed upon them and put them to death. Baha al-daulah hearing what had happened to his retainers was discouraged and thought of flight. He was afraid to make this intention known lest the Banu Asad should be encouraged to attack

[1] This appears to be the sense. The original is corrupt

[2] If this name be correct, it must be different from the places mentioned by Yaqut.

him. So he gave orders that his horses should be saddled and that arms and baggage should be put upon them, giving out that he was making for Ahwaz. When he had made all the arrangements, he mounted and after following the direction of Ahwaz for a little he changed and turned towards the Jazirah. He thus secured himself against the confusion of a routed army which he had feared. He pressed on till he had got back to his army outside Basrah.

Account of the fortunes of Ibn Mukram and the retainers.

When Ibn Mukram and the retainers learned of Baha al daulah's retirement they proceeded to 'Askar Mukram being pursued by 'Ala b. *H*asan and the Dailemites, who prevented their reaching the place. They halted in Ramlan between 'Askar Mukram and Tustar. Repeated skirmishes took place between the parties as the Turks would ride up to the gate of the town, when the Dailemites would come out to fight them, but defensively not offensively. The Turks had on their side Tustar and its villages whence they could obtain supplies. The Turks presently went to Ramhurmuz and thence to Arrajan, whence every one fled before them, so that they took possession of the place. Ibn Mukram extorted money for them thence, and after remaining six months they retired to Ahwaz.

(**268**) 'Ala b. *H*asan, hearing of their approach, sent men to cut the bridge of Arbaq, but when Ibn Mukram with his retainers reached it, they flung palm-trees and tent-poles across and crossed the stream upon them. Thus they got on the same territory as the Dailemites, and halted at al-Musalla while 'Ala b. *H*asan maintained his camp for about two months. The Turks then departed from 'Askar Mukram and were pursued by 'Ala who found they had spread in the direction of Wasit (?). 'Ala b. *H*asan had arranged for resistance to Abu Ja'far[1]

[1] It is not clear which Abu Ja'far is meant.

in Sus, and distributed the various districts among fiefholders.

When Baha al-daulah returned to Wasit as described and there was no force between him and the Dailemites, he despatched Qilij to Sus at the head of a troop of retainers. He wrote to Ibn Mukram and those retainers who were in his party, bidding them stay where they were and come no further. They were met on their way by Qilij with the letters, and returned. The whole army was now united under Ibn Mukram, and they remained in Basinna.

In this year Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. Aḥmad [1] returned from the Marsh to the court of Baha al-daulah to resume the vizierate.

Account of his fortunse on this occasion.

The excellent Ustadh Abu Nasr relates: When Baha al-daulah returned to his camp outside Basrah, his affairs were at a deadlock. Negotiations proceeded between him and 'Ali b. Aḥmad with a view to the latter's returning to office, and this was arranged through the mediation of Muhadhdhib al-daulah after it had been stipulated with Baha al-daulah that if affairs did not prosper under his management he should be sent back protected to the Marsh. The intermediary between them was Abu Aḥmad Musawi; I only knew that after the matter had been settled. I had not yet recovered from an illness, and asked permission from Baha al-daulah to go to Baghdad to be treated. He refused it. When the man [2] had arrived and three days passed his majesty sent me a message to the effect (**269**) that he now accorded me the permission which I had requested, to go to Baghdad. I knew that there must be some ground for this, and that the object was to get me out of the way. I kissed the ground and said that I obeyed the order, whereupon the messenger departed.

[1] See above, p. 252. [2] The new vizier.

Clever scheme whereby the Excellent Ustadh conciliated Baha al-daulah.

He continues: Taking an inkstand and a scroll I entered all the live stock and other property which I possessed in Basrah, omitting nothing save what was actually on my person. I transferred all as entered in the memoir to the Treasury, saying: This is what I possess, and I have no further use for it, as I am going off to Baghdad, whereas the Treasury is in need of it when there are so many outgoings.—I asked permission to pay a farewell visit, and as my conduct had made a favourable impression permission was accorded. Meanwhile I received a visit from the Sharif Abu Aḥmad Musawi, who had suspected me of partiality for the Sharif Abu'l-Ḥasan Mohammed b. 'Umar, and was afraid of me on that account. He said: I am informed that you are starting for Baghdad to-night. I should not advise you to go far away from your Sultan. Suppose you stay and let me be your intermediary with the vizier who has just arrived, and obtain assurances from each of you for the other, it will be better.—I said: I had the intention of which the Sharif has been informed, but if he holds that I had better remain, I will do so two or three days, relying on his kindness in making such arrangements as he thinks fit.—I meant by this reply to conceal my real intentions from him, fearing lest he might inform the vizier about me, and the vizier traduce me to Baha al-daulah, in which case he might compass his object in the hurry.

The Sharif departed. The ground would not hold me till I had gone to the pavilion and bidden Baha al-daulah farewell, when I kissed the ground, and shed tears with which Baha al-daulah wept in sympathy. He said: Do not worry your mind; I have none but the kindliest intentions towards you, it is to my own realm that I am sending you, and wherever you are, you (270)

remain in my thoughts and consideration.—I went out ; I was followed by one of his staff, who said to me : His majesty orders you to stop and take charge of certain pledges which you are to transmit to Muhadhdib al-daulah, to borrow on them as much as you can.—Fearing that I might be delayed and that the vizier might get a fresh chance of sending the sort of message about me that I feared to Baha al-daulah, I said to the man : Please inform his majesty that I am feeling the first access of the fever, so I will make a start and stop in Nahr al-Dair till the objects which he wishes to send reach me.—He went to Baha al-daulah, and came out again saying : You may go, for we will send after you what is to go with you.—I seized the chance, and hurried off without stopping till I got to Wasit. I had not rested there before a letter came by pigeon from 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Yusuf to the effect that the affairs of the man (meaning the vizier Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. A*h*mad) were at a deadlock and he had gone back to the Marsh. I immediately hurried off northward, knowing that letters would come bidding me return. I had not reached Fam al-Silh before my name was shouted by two mounted men who had come from Baghdad, bearers of a letter to me from Baha al-daulah bidding me come back. In reply I excused myself on the ground that I was so near Baghdad, and would enter the city to procure such money and clothes as I knew were needed and would then return.

The reason for the failure of 'Ali b. A*h*mad was that he treated Abu'l-'Abbas the Steward in a manner that offended him. Abu 'Abdallah the Marshal and Abu'l-Faraj the Treasurer took alarm ; the courtiers conspired to ruin him for fear of surprises which he might spring upon them. Baha al-daulah wanted to arrest him, but was reminded by the Sharif Abu A*h*mad of the agreement made with Muhadhdhib al-daulah, and shown that such an act would be disgraceful and was no longer

within his competence.[1] He was therefore allowed to return with the Sharif Abu Aḥmad to Baghdad.

(271) YEAR 386.[2]

In this year LASHKARSITAN B. DHAKI got possession of Basrah which was evacuated by Baha al-daulah's followers.

Account of this affair.

Lashkarsitan was a man of pride and ambition, and at the commencement of his career was constantly exhibiting qualities which augured future advancement to high station. He was one of those who deserted Baha al-daulah for Samsam al-daulah, and came with 'Ala b. Ḥasan to Ahwaz. When the Turks went off to Arrajan as recorded above it occurred to him to go to Basrah and expel Baha al-daulah thence. He solicited aid from 'Ala b. Ḥasan for this enterprise; that officer however did not see his way to parting with a portion of his army, as he required a large force in order to maintain himself. During the course of these negotiations some 400 Dailemite deserters from Baha al-daulah came to them. These were enrolled by Lashkarsitan, who distributed among them five thousand dinars of his own money; with them he marched to Ḥisn Mahdi. Baha al-daulah sent out against him Khumartakin Baha'i, and some skirmishes took place between them. The Dailemites however entrenched themselves in the town, and Khumartakin was unable to engage them there. One day Khumartakin retired, and was followed by Lashkarsitan, who at the cost of great exertion reached with his followers Lashkaraban.[3] Here such Dailemites as remained with Baha al-daulah slunk away to him and Baha al-daulah's followers were unable to get at them owing to their being entrenched

[1] This appears to be the meaning; probably some words have been lost.
[2] Began Jan. 25, 996. [3] Not mentioned by Yaqut.

amid gardens and waters which offer no place for the movements of cavalry. Presently however supplies failed them, and they cut down the palm-trees and ate palm-pith and herbs.

Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn 'Abd al-Salam[1] and a section of the people of Basrah were favourable to (272) Baha al-daulah, and posted themselves in front of the Dailemites, fighting against them courageously. Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Abi Ja'far the 'Alawid favoured Lashkarsitan b. Dhaki to spite Ibn 'Abd al-Salam; such was the opposition between the factions. The 'Alawid sent the Dailemites wheat in barges (?) and this supply eased their troubles. Baha al-daulah learning of this got possession of some of the craft wherein these supplies were sent, and sent some one to arrest the 'Alawid, who fled; his house was surprised and plundered. This faction was persecuted and took alarm; many of them fled with Ibn Abi Ja'far to Lashkarsitan and increased his strength. They collected craft and embarked the Dailemites therein, and they after encountering dangers and difficulties were landed on the soil of Basrah, and brought by their new friends to their houses. They proceeded to fight the friends of Baha al-daulah whom they routed. They plundered the houses of Ibn 'Abd al-Salam and his faction and afterwards burned them.

There was a considerable exodus from Basrah; Baha al-daulah could not maintain himself there, and the city got out of his grasp. He therefore departed by land for Wasit, whither he arrived, with his army cut up and his baggage dispersed.

Proceedings of Lashkarsitan in Basrah till peace was concluded between him and Muhadhdhib al-daulah.

When Lashkarsitan got into Basrah he dealt violently with the inhabitants, shedding much blood. The people

[1] This name occurs above, i. 364, 372, as that of an eminent family of Basrah.

overcome with terror fled away headlong ; he laid hands on the goods of the traders, and the town was ruined, every one who was there flying away. Baha al-daulah wrote to Muhadhdhib al-daulah as follows : *If Lashkarsitan has got possession of Basrah, you have a better claim to it than he.* Muhadhdhib al-daulah in consequence made himself ready for battle, and sent Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Marzuq against him at the head of a large force. He wrote to Abu'l 'Abbas Ibn Wasil who was in 'Abbadan and other canal-chiefs (**273**) bidding them muster troops and make themselves ready and unite with Ibn Marzuq in his campaign against Lashkarsitan. Ibn Marzuq proceeded and expelled him from Basrah.

The accounts vary as to the way in which he was expelled. Some assert that the people of Basrah took courage and attacked the Dailemites, and Lashkarsitan departed without fighting to the lower parts of the Tigris. Others say that he constructed a bridge in the place called the Jull, thinking that the Dailemites would shoot any one who approached from the Nahr Ibn 'Umar. He placed in front of him an iron chain stretching from one bank of the Nahr Ibn 'Umar to the other, to keep from his bridge any masses (*shashat*) of flaming reeds ; it would sag by its weight and the reeds passing over it would be extinguished. An army from the Marsh approached from the Nahr Ibn 'Umar, collected a quantity of rushes across the canal, set them on fire and let them float. Behind this they placed the craft wherein were their fighting men. It fell upon the chain which broke and upon the light craft which took fire, and reached the bridge. The army of the Marsh then entered Basrah, while Ibn Marzuq with his army had preceded them to the Jazirah. Lashkarsitan went into the Food-market, which is broad, and an engagement took place between the parties ; the Dailemites got the best of the fighting, but the others were able to cut off supplies. Lashkarsitan sent to Muhadhdhib al-daulah to solicit

a truce, and offered to submit and recognize his authority to the extent of mentioning his name in public prayer, and to surrender his son as hostage. Muhadhdhib al-daulah was peaceably inclined, and Lashkarsitan surrendered his son Abu'l-'Izz. They remained for a long time loyal and friendly.

Lashkarsitan professed loyalty to both *Samsam* al-daulah and Baha al-daulah, but meanwhile assumed princely authority and strengthened himself by the friendship which he had formed with Muhadhdhib al-daulah. For a time he oppressed the people of Basrah, but presently changed his policy and treated them well. He returned to leniency after imposing upon them a (**274**) tax of one-twentieth on everything bought or sold, even food. The Basrans accordingly came back to their homes.

A constant subject for conversation, and reflexion, and material for study and experience is afforded by the careers of Baha al-daulah and Muhadhdhib al-daulah respectively. The former by his misconduct brought his affairs into disorder, though he was a hereditary ruler and sovereign. The latter through his good conduct kept his in order though he was a marsh-chieftain and a *parvenu* among princes.

Verily those are mistaken who imagine that a state can be made prosperous by injustice, that wealth fructifies through iniquity, that revenue is increased by extortion, and that the udder exuberates through squeezing. Nay, by Him who raised the heaven and giveth the kingdom to whom He will! Nothing prospers the state but good conduct, sound policy, discipline of great and small, authority with the army, justice with the civilians. Nor can a king manage a realm till he have first managed his city; nor his city till he have first managed his household; nor his civil subjects till he have first controlled his army; nor his army till he

have first controlled his servants; nor his servants till he have first controlled himself. Were it not that we compare the princes of our time (God prolong their lives !) with those only among past kings and viziers who were of eminence and renown and the objects of eulogy, we should introduce here some observations which would make the difference clear and demonstrate what we stated in the preface about the superiority of our own time in this matter. But we must not compare the excellent with the faulty, the abortive with the perfect, the feeble with the mighty, the blunt with the sharp; a thing should only be compared with what resembles it and is analogous to it. But we resume.

In this year Sabur b. Ardashir was restored to the vizierate, and after an administration of some two months fled.

(275) *Fortunes of Sabur on this occasion.*

Baha al-daulah had sent Abu 'Abdallah the Marshal and Abu Nasr the Excellent Ustadh to Muhadhdhib al-daulah from whom they borrowed money. They made themselves agreeable to Sabur and arranged with him for his resumption of the vizierate. When they had got to the Marsh and had settled this matter with Sabur, they presented themselves before Muhadhdhib al-daulah to inform him of the arrangement. He said to them: You are on one side and Baha al-daulah on another;— and produced a letter from Baha al-daulah wherein he requested that Abu Qasim 'Ali b. A*h*mad should be sent. When they saw this letter they were embarrassed and suggested that Baha al-daulah had changed his mind after their departure. They went away, and Abu 'Abdallah said to the Excellent Ustadh: His majesty must have some purpose in what he has done, and the best plan for us is to stay here and exercise caution.— The excellent Ustadh replied: Do not be downhearted, but return with me, and let me meet his majesty and

undo whatever has been settled with him since we left. I know his character better than you do, and if we delay, our enemies will be able to work their will upon us.—He insisted till he induced him to return with him.—When they were admitted to Baha al-daulah, he said to them: What news?—They said: We had arranged the loan with Muhadhdhib al-daulah and the administration with Sabur, when your letter arrived inviting Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. A*h*mad. This upset the whole arrangement, so we returned with failure after we had ensured success.—When he heard this he was embarrassed. What they said on the subject of the loan was in the main a fiction, but their intention was to embarrass him.—He said: What I wrote was written under pressure from Abu A*h*mad Musawi; but if you have settled the matter, we must go in that direction.—He ordered letters to be written to Muhadhdhib al-daulah, thanking him for the conduct which they had reported, and requesting that Sabur be sent to the court; and that Sabur should be comforted and urged to make haste.—The Excellent Ustadh then went home to change his travelling costume, but instructed (**276**) Abu 'Abdallah to remain in the presence of Baha al-daulah till the letters were actually sent off, for fear some one might come and make him change his purpose.

The letters were despatched and Sabur came. The Sharif Abu A*h*mad was afraid of him in consequence of his former conduct towards him, and said to Baha al-daulah: I am on friendly terms with 'Ala b. *H*asan, and will go to him and Samsam al-daulah and renew peace negotiations.—Baha al-daulah approved, and every one was glad to see him removed. He received permission and Sabur undertook the administration.

Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. A*h*mad commenced writing to Baha al-daulah proposing that he should be entrusted with the administration. Abu Nasr (Sabur) hearing of

this became alarmed, and wished to ascertain Baha al-daulah's intentions in the matter.

Sabur's expedient for probing the mind of Baha al-daulah.

At a private interview he addressed him thus: Your majesty, I am aware that I am wanting in talent for addressing the army, and while I inspire them with cupidity, they inspire me with dread. If you were to summon Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. A*h*mad, and confide to him the task of confronting them and dealing with them, while leaving to me the collection of the revenue and the maintenance of supplies, it would be a more satisfactory arrangement.—Baha al-daulah replied: That is certainly the right plan. I had intended to suggest it to you myself, but as you have anticipated me, here is a letter wherein Abu'l-Qasim solicits office, and the matter has already been arranged with him on this basis.—Sabur hearing this left the royal presence, and proceeded to lavish remittances on the army, leaving no source on which he did not draw for more than it could supply. When he was certain that there was nothing left in Wasit whereon he could lay hands, (277) he abandoned his post and fled to Saliq. Baha al-daulah wrote to summon Abu'l-Qasim.

He sent Abu'l-Fa*d*l Iskafi to communicate his offer of plenary powers to Abu'l-Qasim. The messenger departed, met Abu'l-Qasim and the two comm nced the return journey. At a certain point on the way Abu'l-Qasim left the road, and being asked by Abu'l-Fa*d*l: Whither, vizier, are you going? replied: To some place where I shall be away from you. Does not Baha al-daulah know that Sabur has squandered his money, ruined his cause and annihilated his realm? I was anxious for the office at first because there was the wherewithal to keep things going, but now when there is nothing left but choking for the throat and smarting for the eyes, and mischief to face, I am not keen for it.—

So he left him and departed for the Jabal. The chamber of administration remained empty till Abu'l-'Abbas 'Isa b. Masarjis arrived and undertook the management.

In this year the Caliph Qadir appointed as his secretary Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali son of 'Abd al-'Aziz Chamberlain of Nu'man.

Account of the reason for this.

Two traders had gone on pilgrimage and one sold the other a plot of ground in Karkh, while they were in Meccah. They employed as witness one of those who were present at the festival. The purchaser returned to Baghdad and endeavoured to get his contract recognized by the four qa*d*is (Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi, Abu Mohammed Ibn al-Akfani, Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Ma'ruf, and Abu'l-*H*usain Jauzi) on the evidence of the trader who had attested. Now the Caliph Qadir had ordered them in such cases (**278**) to accept the attestation of none but officially approved witnesses. The purchaser obtained letters from Baha al-daulah to the qa*d*is desiring them to accept his statement, and to the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar and the vizier Abu Mansur Ibn Sali*h*an, who was representing Baha al-daulah in Baghdad, bidding them insist on the qa*d*is doing so. These two persons spoke to the qa*d*is on the matter, and they all promised to obey, except Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi, who refused, urging the instructions which he had received from the Caliph. The Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan was angered thereby and used violent language about him. *D*abbi quitted his house in Karkh and crossed over to the Precincts[1] where he took sanctuary. Abu Mohammed Akfani heard the evidence of the people (*i.e.*, the traders) and the remaining two qa*d*is were about to do the same, when they were summoned to the Caliph's Palace, where they were violently rebuked, and detained till the end of

[1] See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 121.

the day, when they were allowed to leave, but ordered to return the following day.

Now certain Witnesses had certified the character of the traders who had attested the deed, among them Ibn al-Nashsha*t* and Abu Is*h*aq Ibn A*h*mad *T*abari. *D*abbi declared them to be unfit before the Caliph, who ordered their names to be removed from the list, and commanded this order to be recited from the pulpit of the public Mosque. When the Witnesses learned of this, Abu Is*h*aq *T*abari went to implore the help of the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar with whom he was intimate; and the discussions on this subject reached the ears of Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Aziz.

Skilful expedient whereby 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (Ibn Hajib al-Nu'man) procured admission into the service of the Palace.

He summoned the qa*d*i Ibn al-Akfani and Abu Is*h*aq *T*abari to a private meeting and said to them: I know what you are about, though you may hide it from me; and if you make me your messenger to the Caliph, I will compass your object.—Accordingly Abu Is*h*aq went to the Sharif Ibn 'Umar and suggested to him to send 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Aziz to the Palace. He sent a message to the same effect to Abu Mansur Ibn *S*ali*h*an, who replied: (**279**) *You are aware that letters have been received from Baha al-daulah, forbidding the entry of the Caliph's palace to Ibn Hajib al-Nu'man, and ordering him to be sent to Baha al-daulah's court; how then is it possible to send him on such an errand?* He (Abu Is*h*aq or the Sharif?) however repeated the message, and made light of the difficulty, so that Abu Mansur consented against his judgment. So 'Ali b. 'Abd al-'Aziz proceeded to the Caliph's palace, was admitted to the presence of Qadir, and delivered his message. His two employers had instructed him to offer their salutations to the holy presence, and then inform the Caliph that the step which

he had taken would annoy Baha al-daulah and indicate to him a change of sentiment on the Caliph's part and a desire to substitute some other servant for him (Baha al-daulah). Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man then added to their message an observation of his own. Commander of the Faithful, he said, what illegality has been committed by these qa*d*is, or what crime has been committed by these Witnesses that they have been struck off the list and their discharge is to be proclaimed from the pulpit? Is not Ibn al-Nashsha*t* one of the Witnesses who attested the abdication of the deposed Caliph and his surrender of his rights to the present Caliph? If at this time we wanted an immediate attestation of this, we should find no other wi ness than him. For the Sharif Abu A*h*mad Musawi is absent in Shiraz, Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Abi Tammam is dead, Abu Mohammed Ibn al-Ma'mun is a member of your family, and Abu'l-Ghana'im Mohammed b. 'Umar is not a credible witness. It is far better for us to maintain the credibility of this Witness in all respects than to cast doubts and reflexions upon it. This Abu Is*h*aq *T*abari is besides an eminent Qur'an-reader and a famous scholar. There is no-one in existence so competent as he to attend the Sanctuaries and lead prayer there. Moreover he belongs to this dynasty and is regarded as a limb of it. The remaining Witnesses are of too little account to be known or named by the Caliph, still less to be publicly assailed by him from the pulpits. Moreover how can we be sure but that he will send some one to the Mosque who will interfere with our plan and prevent its accomplishment, in which case there is no doubt about the result to us?

(**280**) When Qadir heard this, he saw that it was right, and abandoned his intention. So he dismissed him with a courteous reply which satisfied the qa*d*is and Witnesses, and a rescript marked by himself to the effect that they should be continued in their offices.

Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man returned to the Sharif and the

vizier and informed them of the action which he had taken, and of the termination of the affair which had been under discussion. He suggested that he should be sent back with a second limited [1] message of thanks, good wishes, and a request for leave to the qa*d*is to present themselves. They gave him the necessary instructions, he went, brought back the permission for the qa*d*is, and went back a third time in their company. They were made to meet the qa*d*i Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi, who addressed them in magisterial language, to which some of them replied, whereas others refrained. They then retired; Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man however remained in the Palace, arranged his own affairs, and conciliated the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Umar. He further made peace with all who had been attacking him, and secured himself against further hostility. Thus his end was gained.

In this year Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj returned from Mausil.[2]

Account of the reason for this and the sequel.

When Abu'l-Dawwad Mohammed b. Musayyib died, his brother Muqallad aspired to the Emirate, but was not supported by the tribe, whose practice it was to make chieftain the oldest member of the family; and as 'Ali was older than he, they agreed to appoint him. Muqallad, being desperate, determined to secure the place (Mausil?), and began by conciliating the Dailemites who were with *H*ajjaj and rendering them disaffected towards him. He next sent to Baha al-daulah offering to farm the revenue of Mausil for two million dirhems annually, with an offer of an advance payment. He also tried to win the court to his side.

(**281**) Next he applied to his brother 'Ali to whom he alleged that he had been appointed governor of Mausil by Baha al-daulah, but that *H*ajjaj was keeping him

[1] In the former message something had been left to the bearer's discretion.

[2] See above, p. 230.

out ; requesting him to post the settlements of the tribe about Mausil, for when *H*ajjaj saw that they were united, he would take fright and evacuate the town. 'Ali assented to his brother's proposition, being anxious to oblige him, and when the settlements were posted at the gate of Mausil, a number of the Dailemites with whom Muqallad had previously tampered deserted to them. *H*ajjaj knowing that he had no power to resist them, entrenched himself in a fort which he had erected contiguous to the government house, with seventy of his personal friends. He requested that the road should be left open to him so that he might surrender the Dailemites to them. To this they assented.

Stratagem whereby H*ajjaj got away safely.*

He settled a particular day for his departure with them, and saw that they knew it. They plotted to capture him the day he started. *H*ajjaj obtained a promise of protection from 'Ali b. Musayyib, and sent his horses to him that he might start from his tent ; then having collected some boats he embarked his goods, boxes, weapons and his followers and sailed off before the appointed day. They only learned of this after he had started. They went in pursuit, but he defended himself and got away safely to Bagdad.

Account of what took place in Mausil after the departure of H*ajjaj.*

When *H*ajjaj left the town, Muqallad ordered his followers to enter it, while 'Ali b. Musayyib meant to move away. Abu'l-Fa*d*l *T*ahir b. Mansur, 'Ali's secretary and vizier, and a number of his followers suggested to 'Ali that he should demand of Muqallad a share in the town. 'Ali disapproved the idea out of shame before his brother, but they said to him : If the town becomes your brother's he will be the Emir and you

the bandit.—They insisted till he agreed to send a message to this effect, and an arrangement was made at Muqallad's sugge tion whereby the names of both should be mentioned in public prayer, with that of 'Ali first as the right of the Emir. They were jointly to appoint an official to collect the revenue. For a short time this arrangement was maintained.

(**282**) Presently disputes and friction became rife between their respective followers, and grew serious. Complaints became constant on both sides, and the sequel was what we hope to recount later.

Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il had served Baha al-daulah while he was only a prince and been promoted by him when he became monarch, and was near being raised to eminent rank by him, only he was ruined by the Mu'allim Abu'l-*H*asan Kaukabi, and remained without office. Presently he was given an appointment on the staff in Baghdad. When Baha al-daulah returned to Wasit in the disastrous condition that has been described, he wrote to Abu Mansur Ibn *Sali*ḥ*an*, the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Umar, and this Abu 'Ali, informing them of the straits in which he was, and requesting them to furnish him with clothing and other things. The first replied with promises and excuses, but Abu 'Ali procured most of what was required, after soliciting a loan from a Jew, Abu 'Ali Ibn Fa*d*lan, who declined to help, though compensation was promised. Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il proceeded to Baha al-daulah's court with the goods. His action made a favourable impression, which increased his estimation with Baha al-daulah, and the two agreed to assail the Jews and exact a fine from them. This decision they made public; they also made one concerning the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar and Ibn *Sali*ḥ*an*, which they kept a profound secret. Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il went back to Baghdad with these instructions; when he got there he arrested a number of Jews and tortured them severely to exact money.

The Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar and Ibn *Sali*ḥan both got wind of his intentions with regard to them, and the former went off to al-Qasr, and thence to the Marsh ; Ibn *Sali*ḥan submitted to an arrangement, and wrote to make his peace with Baha al-daulah to whom he proceeded.

(**283**) Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il administered affairs in Baghdad, conciliat d the army, and made an arrangement with the Turks whereby their rations should be paid them in silver by the week (for which the month was afterwards substituted), and reckoned as part of their pay.[1] He followed the same plan with the Dailemites, and this became a regular practice afterwards in the matter of the pay, so that the cost of the rations was saved—and these had become excessive. His administration went on satisfactorily till proceedings on the part of Muqallad b. Musayyib led to his being arrested.

Proceedings of Muqallad b. Musayyib this year.

Muqallad was in charge of the defence of al-Qasr and the Western bank of the Euphrates, under the orders of 'Abbas b. Marzuban. Muqallad appointed as his deputy Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn al-Mu'allim, a minor official in Baghdad, who was reckless and headstrong, and acted arbi rarily. Certain proceedings of his vexed Ibn Marzuban when he heard of them, and he decided to arrest this official. He did not take due precautions in this measure, and Ibn al-Mu'allim took alarm and made ready ; certain skirmishes took place which led to the secret being revealed, and Ibn al-Mu'allim called for help from his chief. Muqallad came from Mausil with a great force, and posted himself on the same territory with Ibn Marzuban. An engagement took place in which the latter was routed, and captured. Muqallad put him in custody and after a time ordered his execution.

[1] This appears to be the sense.

Muqallad proceeded to take possession of al-Qasr and its dependencies, and wrote various excuses to Baha al-daulah all to the same effect. He requested that some one should be sent to give him a contract for the possession of the region for a sum of money which he would pay. Baha al-daulah being occupied with his own concerns found it necessary to dissimulate and temporize. He sent Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. *T*ahir,[1] and discussions took place between them ending in an agreement of which a memoir was written and brought back by 'Ali b. *T*ahir, for certain sections of which he required further authorization (?). When 'Ali b. *T*ahir had departed, Muqallad extended his authority over the dependencies and appropriated the revenue. The fief-holders complained bitterly to Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, who made ready to go out against him. (**284**) He summoned Mohammed b. 'Abbad, and approached Abu Musa Khwajah b. Sakil on the subject of coming out. He came out and encamped outside the town.

Surprise attack by Muqallad.

When intelligence reached him of the movements of the forces that had come out from Sindiyyah, he sent his followers by night to surprise the camp of Ibn Sakil. They overthrew the tents, and Ibn Siyahjang[2] hurried to his *zabzab* and crossed to his residence, whence he called the Dailemites to arms. Before they could collect, the followers of Muqallad cut the bridge to prevent a large force gathering against them. Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, Ibn 'Abbad and the Dailemites mounted their horses, but before the bridge could be repaired the followers of Muqallad had got away, and though Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il pursued he could not overtake them.

The Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Umar had gone to the Marsh, as recorded above, and when *H*ajjaj came,

[1] He was inspector in this region, above, p. 173.

[2] This personage appears to be the same as Ibn Sakil.

he mediated for him with Baha al-daulah and brought about a reconciliation. The two proceeded to work against Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, before the proceedings of Muqallad of which we have heard. Ibn Masarjis, who at that time was vizier, supported them, and the Sharif Ibn 'Umar offered Baha al-daulah 10,000 dinars if Abu 'Ali were surrendered to him. Baha al-daulah was easily led and ready to accede to such proposals; everything tied with him could be loosed, everything built with him demolished.

It is a condition of sound policy that the king should keep his word and carry out both his promises and his threats. If he violate his word, the well-doer is the victim of disappointment, whereas the ill-doer has no longer any awe. It is also unwise to make dismissal follow quickly on appointment.

To resume. They considered how they should deal with Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, and there was no one in Baghdad who could be ordered by letter to arrest him and could be trusted not to reveal the secret to him. For Ibn Siyahjang was one of his intimate friends, and (**285**) the Stewardess was on his side, as indeed were all the chief officers of the army. They were afraid that if they sent some one from Wasit for the purpose, their purpose might be disclosed.

The stratagem designed for the arrest of Abu 'Ali.

Summoning Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. *H*asan 'Aru*d*i, who was in Wasit, they instructed him to write to Abu 'Ali complaining of his circumstances, and soliciting an invitation to attach him to his service. The plan was that when a reply came bidding him come to Baghdad, he should go thither, and it was agreed that he should arrest Abu 'Ali. Abu'l-*H*asan wrote a letter to that effect, but before the reply came the followers of Muqallad had attacked Baghdad, and the intelligence of this reaching Baha al-daulah alarmed him. Immedi-

ately summoning Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj, he bade him go thither with all speed, set things right, make terms with Muqallad, and arrest Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il. *H*ajjaj seized the opportunity, started, and reached Baghdad at the end of Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (ended Jan. 13, 997). We shall presently record his doings there.

In this year the Excellent Ustadh Abu Nasr was arrested and demands were pressed on him with severity. Abu 'Abdallah the Marshal fled to the Marsh and remained there till he had made his peace.

Account in the first place of the cause of this and in the second of the result.

Some insulting language had passed between Abu 'Abdallah the Marshal and Abu *T*ahir Subashi the Mushat*t*ab, called al-Sa'id (the Fortunate); now the tongue can commit terrible offences and inflict serious wounds. Baha al-daulah ordered Abu *T*ahir to be arrested and put in confinement in consequence. A number of retainers (**286**) collected, and going to the private door of the pavilion browbeat Baha al-daulah in somewhat harsh terms, saying: If you do not release him, we shall take him.—It became necessary to release him, and this was done; then they were not satisfied with the release of Mushat*t*ab, but demanded the removal of Abu 'Abdallah from the Marshalship, and the dismissal of the Excellent Ustadh Abu Nasr. Baha al-daulah, fearing to resist, put the two into mild confinement, and presently gave them both leave to depart to Baghdad, after fining the Excellent Ustadh a certain amount. He paid the money after his departure and remained in his house till *H*ajjaj arrived.

Abu'l-*H*asan 'Aru*d*i served as deputy-vizier for Ibn Masarjis; the Excellent Ustadh was afraid of him, and wrote to Baha al-daulah requesting his kindly attention and protection. A courteous reply came, with orders to return; he did this, and when he reached the camp,

he was seized and surrendered to Ibn Masarjis, who made strenuous demands upon him, in revenge for what had happened to him in Basrah,[1] which he attributed to Abu Nasr, though the latter was innocent.

Abu 'Abdallah the marshal took fright after his departure, and asked the advice of his friends, saying: I do not like war and being talked about, nor remissness, and swallowing defeat.

Wise suggestion made to the Marshal, which was the cause of his deliverance.

'Ali b. 'Isa the Postmaster said to him: If that is your view, how will you acquiesce in the loss of the furniture and retainers in your house?—He said: Well?—He said: Cross over to the Eastern side, and I will come every day and meet people here as your representative, and will write the official (287) letters to Baha al-daulah, and if anyone comes to whom an apology may be offered, while I am sitting there, I will apologize on the ground that you are asleep or saying your prayers; and if it be a person for whom I ought to rise and enter your chamber pretending to ask your permission to admit him, and come out again with some similar excuse, I will do so. If people see this, they will suppose that you are there, whereas you will in reality be guarding yourself.—Abu 'Abdallah acted upon this advice which he approved, and the farce was kept up for some days; then his house was surprised with a view to his arrest, but he was not to be found. He managed to get away from the city secretly and went to the Marsh. There he remained for a time. Having come to terms with Baha al-daulah he proceeded to Wasit, and there managed the bureaux of literary composition, the post and defence.

In this year the pilgrimage was led by Abu 'Abdallah Ibn 'Ubaid the 'Alawid.

[1] Above, p. 258.

Badr b. *H*asanawaihi transmitted five thousand dinars with the leaders of the caravans from Khorasan to be expended in guarding the road, in lieu of what used to be contributed by the pilgrims each year. He made this a practice, and increased the sum afterwards till it reached nine thousand dinars. He used in addition to transmit sums to be expended in repairing the road, or to be distributed among the descendants of the Refugees and Helpers in the two Sanctuaries, or among a number of nobles, ascetics, Quran-readers, and members of distinguished families in Baghdad; thereby his contributions reached the sum of 20,000 dinars annually. When he died this stopped, and the stoppage seriously affected the beneficiaries; whereas the pilgrimage came to a standstill.

We shall now record some of this Badr's actions and qualities of mind, such as will illustrate his prudence and astuteness. We may observe that a condition of sound government is that the ruler should understand administration, keep the army in control, deal justly with the civilians, understand how to obtain money from the proper sources, know how to expend it on proper objects, be anxious to do what is right, take pleasure in fair fame, be resolute in his plans, and stouthearted in his campaigns. The governor, it should be noticed, gains more from sound counsel (**288**) than he does from great gallantry. For the man of courage may resist a few men or perhaps a clan, whereas the man of counsel is a match for a great nation.

Counsel is before the courage of the valiant; it takes the first place, and valour the second.

When the two are united in one soul, there is no height whereto that soul will not ascend.[1]

Badr united these valuable qualities, these excellent practices. He controlled his tribe, the Barzikan, the worst of nations for robbery, injustice, iniquity, and rebellion; men who wrought mischief on the earth, were

[1] Verses of Mutanabbi.

bandits, no respecters of property, shedders of blood. He became their chieftain when they had gained possession of those districts, and were terribly afflicting the inhabitants, and making them taste the bitterness of woe and torment in the style of him of whom God says: *When he is in authority, he hasteth to act corruptly in the earth and to destroy that which is sown and offspring; but God loveth not corrupt dealing* (Surah ii. 201). He healed their disease, restrained their mischief, summoned Kurds who were enemies of his people and utilized their services against them; so he cleansed the earth from their wickedness, without pity for ties of family however close, and so he broke them up and scattered them.

Stratagem employed by Badr against his own people.

When the causes of mischief had been long working and agriculture was near coming to an end in that country, he instituted a banquet, and gave orders that all sorts of dishes should be served of which meat forms an ingredient—for they were owners of sheep—and that no bread at all should be allowed. He then summoned them, and they took their seats, but their fingers did not touch the food, as they were expecting the bread. When they grew tired of waiting, he said to them: Why do you not eat?—They said: We are waiting for the bread.—He said: If you are aware that it is an indispensable food, why have you destroyed the crops? Ugly be your faces, and a plague upon your deeds! I swear that (289) if any of you interferes with a cultivator, he shall compensate the act with his life-blood.

He made good his word by putting a large number of them to death, and so inspiring terror in the others. He ruled them with severity, not overlooking even a peccadillo, till he had got them well in hand.

Account of an action of his wherein ruthless discipline was displayed.

It is said that on one of his expeditions he passed by a woodcutter who had deposited his bundle on the road. A horse-soldier took from him a couple of loaves that he had with him. When Badr came by him, he said: Prince, I am a woodcutter, and had with me a couple of loaves for my midday meal, to give me strength to carry my bundle to the town, where I am to sell it to take the price home to my family. One of the horsemen passing by robbed me of them.—Badr asked if he knew the man. He replied that he knew his face. Badr brought him to a mountain pass and stayed with him till the whole army passed by. The man who had robbed him came and was recognized by the woodcutter. Badr ordered him to be dismounted, and compelled him to carry the wood on his back to the town, to take it into the market, sell it, and deliver the price to the owner, as a punishment for what he had done. The soldier was a wealthy man and wanted to buy himself off, and raised his offers to the weight of the wood in dirhems. Badr declined and compelled him to do what he had prescribed. Awe was in consequence established in men's minds, and after that none of his followers ventured on any outrage.

With regard to his clear conception of the sources of wealth:—he subjected everyone to the same exactions, and in consequence the supplies from the dependencies flowed in steadily, and he was able to amass out of a narrow and confined territory treasures such as are scarcely to be got from vast dominions. If they had been no more than the amount which Fahkr al-Mulk Abu Ghalib Ibn Khalaf obtained from his fortress,[1] they would have still been vast.

[1] The fortress was named Dazbaz.

(**290**) *His wise management of the revenue.*

It was his wise practice to keep a record of the produce of every furrow[1] and lay aside the tithe, to be devoted to improvements and Alms. He scrutinized the payments of the revenue-collectors most severely and put them into confinement for life for dishonesty; but if he found that the inability to pay was owing to misfortune and that the official was quite honest, he would give him out of the Alms-fund enough to cover his obligation as a revenue-farmer, and a further sum wherewith to mend his fortunes. No-one in consequence ventured to transgress the approved path in discharging his trust and avoiding dishonesty. With regard to discrimination in the proper employment of money, we have already mentioned the sums which he used to transmit annually on the Meccan road. He had besides many charities in his own town, and spent great sums on the construction of cisterns, the building of bridges, the excavation of mountain paths for comers and goers; the mountains which had been so inaccessible became tame, and the distances which had been so great became small. And all this was done with strict economy.

His financial expedients in the making of bridges and roads.

When he started an operation of this sort he would before all things institute a market of everything that is to be sold in the countries, and would import thither every sort of goods that is required at the lowest price; the men, receiving some pay in advance, would spend it in this market on the various goods which they wished to buy at the full price, and so the whole amount be re-collected. Thus the money issued at the beginning of the week from the Treasury would return to it by the end, except some small amount which would remain in the hands of the parsimonious.[2]

[1] Probably he means field or farm

[2] Conjectural restoration of a corrupt passage.

Honourable monuments and fair fame remain to him. God says: *Now that which is with God is better and more enduring.* (Surah liii. 52.) And He says: *Verily the latter is better than the former* (xciii. 4). There are also famous tales of his skilful management of affairs, such as his diplomacy on the arrival (**291**) of the envoy of Abu'l-Qasim Ma*h*mud b. Sabuktakin in Rayy.

A clever scheme for inspiring awe.

It is recorded how an envoy of Ma*h*mud came to Rayy at the time when the Queen-mother had seized the government,[1] threatening her with an expedition. The Queen-mother took no step without consulting Badr, and wrote to him about the situation that had arisen. He advised her to send the envoy on to him so that he might undertake to reply. He then posted the tribes of Kurds and the regiments of his army, giving them orders to establish their settlements along the whole road from Rayy to Saburkhwast, and as the envoy passed, to display their numbers and weapons, and to put on their accoutrements; they were then to conduct him from settlement to settlement and from camp to camp till they had brought him to Badr. This was done.

The envoy beheld on his way hosts whose numbers filled him with alarm; when he came in the presence of Badr himself, the prudence, astuteness, political skill and wisdom which he saw yet more filled his breast with awe. In his reply to the message Badr advised continuance of peaceful relations such as had existed in the past with the rulers of Khorasan. The envoy returned to Rayy, and a reply was composed to that effect. He then returned to Khorasan, and reported what he had witnessed; and this led to the abandonment of warlike intentions.

As for his strategic ability and knowledge of war, we have recorded an example in the battle which was

[1] Below, p. 299.

fought between him and Qaratakin Jahshiyari[1] in the days of Sharaf al-daulah. He had some famous days after that as well.

When his term expired and his fortune reached its end "he was not helped by his money or his men," nor was he protected by his prudence or his cunning. He was put to death by the humblest of his troopers, and came to a cheap end.

(292) Cunning, astute and versatile: only no wiles can avert fate's surprises.

Having thus done our duty in recording what was remarkable in his career, while declining responsibility for the accuracy of the statements, we now resume our chronicle of events.

YEAR 387.[2]

In this year the fortunes of Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il took a turn for the worse and he was put in custody in the royal palace. Presently he was released and went into hiding.

Account of this affair.

When Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj arrived, Abu 'Ali became suspicious, and presently news arrived from Wasit which confirmed his apprehensions. So he took up his abode in the royal palace, taking refuge with the Stewardess. *H*ajjaj endeavoured to allure him to put himself in his power, but he declined, so *H*ajjaj sent men to guard him where he was. Protracted negotiations took place between *H*ajjaj and the Stewardess, which resulted in her undertaking in an autograph letter to surrender Abu 'Ali, and to obey any orders issued to her about him. Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il sent to Barus*t*ughan and Badrak, and got them to collect a number of retainers, who assembled under the dwelling of *H*ajjaj,

[1] Above, p. 139. [2] Began Jan. 14, 997.

and sent him the following message: *Our condition was miserable and our pay deferred till the arrival of this man, who by his wise policy put things right. You by your arrival here are now endeavouring to arrest him and abolish this arrangement; we shall not suffer him to be in your power, and* (**293**) *shall write to his majesty to explain the circumstances. If we have to go to him ourselves, we shall not hesitate to do so.* Long negotiations ensued, resulting in the restoration to the Stewardess of her autograph, and an agreement that he should leave the palace and be watched, while a letter was sent to his majesty stating the favourable views of the officers [1] about him. The following day Abu 'Ali departed from the palace, and went and concealed himself in the house of a leading Turk.

Abu'l-*H*asan 'Aru*d*i now held office as deputy for 'Isa b. Masarjis, while *H*ajjaj endeavoured to make an arrangement with Abu *H*assan Muqallad b. Musayyib.

Account of this affair.

Muqallad opened negotiations with *H*ajjaj with a view to peace, and offered him his own terms. After much disputing it was settled that Muqallad should pay down 10,000 dinars, to be transmitted to the Treasury in Wasit. He was also to send some horses, to keep his hands off the fiefs, and be satisfied with his fees as protector of them. He was to permit the financial agents to recover the cancelled fiefs and help them to enforce the Sultan's rights. He was to release the captured Dailemites, and mention the name of *H*ajjaj in public prayer in Mausil after that of Baha al-daulah. He was to pay a million Ghiyathi dirhems annually as revenue-farmer of Mausil, and was to receive the Sultan's robes of honour from the Caliph's Palace, to be called by his *kunyah*, and to receive the title *H*usam al-daulah

[1] The word in the text (*auliya*) is ordinarily used not of Turks, but of Dailemites.

(Sword of the Empire); a banner was to be sent him, and a contract given him by Baha al-daulah for Mausil, Kufah, al-Qasr, and Jami'ain. He was to be appointed by him Representative of the Arabs, and an assignation of a million Ghiyathi dirhems on the cancelled fiefs. All these demands were accorded and a reception of the usual sort was held by the Caliph Qadir for the purpose.

Muqallad fulfilled none of his undertakings except the transmission of the sum to be paid at once and the release of the Dailemite prisoners. He presently took possession of the lands, and was visited by the clerks, officials and men of eminence, who paid him court. He became a personage of consequence and power.

(**294**) In this year the death took place of 'Ala b. *H*asan at 'Askar Mukram. Abu'l-*T*ayyib Farrukhan and after him Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz came thither from Shiraz.

State of affairs after the death of 'Ala b. H*asan.*

We have recorded the expedition of 'Ala b. *H*asan to 'Askar Mukram in pursuit of the retainers who were returning from Arrajan with Ibn Mukram,[1] and how he remained there in charge of affairs. Then there came to him that order of God which cannot be rejected, and he went to that "bourn whence no traveller returns." When the news reached *S*amsam al-daulah, he despatched Abu'l-*T*ayyib Farrukhan to take his place, having first appointed him vizier. When he arrived, he failed to display the qualities wherewith he had been credited, and exhibited instead weakness and incompetence. Owing to him the Dailemites were unable to progress, and the followers of Baha al-daulah seized Sus and Jundaisabur. *S*amsam al-daulah, learning what had occurred, despatched the *Sa*hib Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz with money which he distributed among

[1] Above, p. 267.

the Dailemites at whose head he marched to Jundaisabur and expelled the Turks. There were numerous engagements with the Turks, wherein Abu 'Ali regularly was victor, till he drove them out of Khuzistan and they returned to Wasit. Having a free hand in the region he appointed officials and collected revenue, and investigated the condition of the fiefs there. A dispute over a boundary arose between an official of Abu 'Ali and Siyamard b. Bal-Ja'far, which was referred to Abu 'Ali himself, and in this Siyamard used violent language to Abu 'Ali, which incensed him.

Scheme which gives evidence of strongmindedness and resolution.

Abu 'Ali ordered a memoir to be drawn up of the fiefs in the hands of Siyamard, his son Dawud, and Abu 'Ali Ibn Bal-'Abbas; the memoir included values to the amount of 100,000 dinars, or more. He summoned the three with their clerks to discuss the document, took them aside into a chamber, put them under arrest and had them fettered. (**295**) After some days they were let out but banished to the Dailemite country. He distributed their fiefs among five hundred of the minor Dailemites and three hundred Kurds, after setting aside part for private purposes. Awe of him took possession of men's breasts in consequence and his authority was enhanced. He conciliated the Dailemites and entered into correspondence with the captains of the Turks who were on Baha al-daulah's side with the view of winning them over. Some of them yielded and joined him, among them Qaratakin Rihi, whose eye and heart he filled with bounty.

His affairs continued in excellent order, and he remained in undisputed possession of the districts of Khuzistan till the return of Ibn Mukram with the Turks from Wasit. When Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz heard of his return, he made ready for battle, and a series of

lesser and greater engagements took place. The retainers were unable to dislodge the Dailemites from the chief towns of the province and were on the point of being forced to retire a second time to Wasit, when Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il emerged from the Marsh and Baha al-daulah despatched a force from the White Bridge, and there happened what shall be described in its place.

In this year *H*ajjaj received written orders to start from Baghdad to attack Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Mazyad, and Ibn Masarjis started from Wasit with the same object.

Account of the operations against 'Ali b. Mazyad.

'Ali b. Mazyad had taken offence on account of a demand for money made of him by Baha al-daulah, had addressed insulting language to him, declared himself a subject of *S*amsam al-daulah, and had the name of the latter introduced into public prayer. He had also indulged in the most impolitic expressions. The Asadites (his tribe) had proceeded to extend their raids into the neighbourhood of Wasit. This conduct incensed Baha al-daulah, but the proceedings of Muqallad which took place at the time distracted his attention from all else. When matters had been settled with Muqallad, Baha al-daulah wrote to *H*ajjaj bidding him move against Ibn Mazyad from Baghdad, and despatched 'Isa b. Masarjis from Wasit; the two forces joined. (**296**) 'Ali b. Mazyad retired before them and entrenched himself in the thickets. They pursued him. He solicited their good offices and desired them to make his peace with Baha al-daulah, offering a sum of money. They found themselves in straits, as the transmission of supplies to themselves and their armies was impossible owing to the distance from the cultivated land, and so wrote to Baha al-daulah pleading for him and requesting that he might be pardoned and continued in his office. Baha al-daulah assented, so *H*ajjaj and 'Isa b. Masarjis

proceeded to Kufah. *H*ajjaj then returned to Baghdad, and Ibn Masarjis remained in Kufah, but taking alarm went to join Muqallad, and proceeded from his residence to the Marsh.

In this year the death occurred of Fakhr al-daulah Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali son of Rukn al-daulah in Rayy.

State of affairs after the death of Fakhr al-daulah.

When his illness became serious he went up into the fortress Tabrak, and remained some days there under treatment, after which he expired. All his treasuries were locked up, and the keys were in the possession of his son Abu *T*alib Rustam, afterwards called Majd al-daulah. On the night of his death there was nothing found wherein his body could be wrapped owing to their inability to get at the stores, and the impossibility of going down into the town by reason of the serious rioting that was going on; ultimately a winding sheet was purchased of the keeper of the Mosque below the fortress. The trouble with the army and its exorbitant demands rendered it impossible to bury him speedily, and the corpse putrefied, so that it was impossible to approach the coffin. Ropes were thrown round it, and it was dragged down the steps of the fortress till it was all cut to pieces.

It is recorded that he left in gold, silver and gems, exclusive of clothing, weapons and furniture, more than ten million dirhems; the share which fell to him of the whole was the winding sheet! The consummation of his days was the day whereon he was interred! A poor share indeed and an inauspicious day! "There availed him not his wealth (**297**) nor what he had acquired"; aye, and his Lord knows best what his lot was; was he given his deserts and damned, or was he pardoned and saved?

His son ABU *T*ALIB RUSTAM was appointed to succeed, being then four years old. The army was made to swear

allegiance to him, and great sums distributed. They had no time, it is said, to send down the money on men's heads, and so let it down in baskets with pulleys.

The two viziers at the time were Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi with title Kafi Au*h*ad and Abu 'Ali Ibn *H*amulah with title Au*h*ad al-Kufat. They were bitter enemies. Abu 'Ali Ibn *H*amulah was most liberal in the distribution of money with the view of conciliating the troops and he won their hearts. Their sentiments were in his favour; Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi abstained from such measures, but still was respected owing to his long established position.

Then there came an invasion and occupation of Jurjan by Qabus b. Washmagir which gave them matter for deliberation.

The return of Qabus to Jurjan and what befell him.

When Fakhr al-daulah had established himself on the throne he wanted to restore Qabus to his dominions, in order to pay him his due and requite him for his services. He was dissuaded by Ibn 'Abbad, who declared that the revenues were vast, and this consideration weighed with Fakhr al-daulah who yielded to his instinctive greed. After his death the people of Jurjan wrote to Qabus who was at the time in Nisabur to summon him to come and take possession of their country. Intelligence of this came to Rayy, and there was much difference of opinion about the steps to be taken. Letters were written to Badr b. *H*asanawaihi about the matter.

(**298**) *The wise reply of Badr, which however was rejected.*

He said: The prince who has inherited this kingdom is of tender years and it is undesirable that his resources should be wasted on an enterprise of which the result

is uncertain. The best plan is to let things take their course. If the prince turn out a brave man who inherits the ancestral qualities, he will be able to recover what has been taken from him; whereas if he prove unequal to the task you will not have brought upon him the loss of his wealth in addition to the loss of his provinces.—They rejected this counsel of Badr, and mobilized an army. The friends and counsellors of Abu 'Ali Ibn *H*amulah advised him to go out on this expedition and to take with him the stores and hoards, saying to him: If you are once in Jurjan and obtain possession of it, you will be a prince and no merely a vizier; you will be indispensable, and men's hopes will be concentrated on you. You will be at a distance from the capital, wherein your position is disputed.—He did not see that the foundation whereon his rival was building was at that capital; and that his competitor for rank was only watching for the opportunity to depress him, which, so long as he remained in the capital, he could not hope to do; but when once he had gone away from it, the hand which would demolish him would strike. So he was persuaded by the united counsel of these people, and started off with the stores and hoards to that end whither fate was driving him. He thus placed himself between two enemies, one of them in front with whom he knew not what his relations would be, the other behind on the look out for a vital spot.

Qabus arrived and a pitched battle commenced. A single charge by the followers of Qabus was sufficient to send the followers of Ibn *H*amulah flying, and the former secured enormous booty and returned to Jurjan. By his excellent conduct Qabus obtained a firm footing and abolished the existing taxes and customs.

Ibn *H*amulah returned to Rayy routed. A fresh mobilization of armies against Jurjan took place, and Ibn *H*amulah said: I have served my turn, this is the

turn of Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi. (**299**) There was a long discussion on the subject, and presently it was agreed by the Queen-mother and Badr b. *H*asanawaihi that Ibn *H*amulah should be deprived of his office and put under arrest.

Fortunes of Ibn H*amulah after his arrest.*

ABU 'ISA SAFIRI B. MOHAMMED, secretary of Badr, presented himself, ostensibly to renew his contract of service, and the whole party assembled in government house; they proceeded to hold a private sitting in the room of Rukn al-daulah to settle who should go with the expedition to Jurjan. It happened that Ibn *H*amulah got up for a private purpose, and was followed by certain men who took him off to a place in the palace where he was fettered. Abu'l 'Abbas *D*abbi returned home whilst Abu 'Isa went to the palace of 'Ali b. Kamah, which was at the extreme end of the town. The news of Ibn *H*amulah's arrest got abroad, and the Dailemites rose up and went to the resid nce of Abu 'Isa with the view of assaulting him. He demolished a wall which faced the open country, escaped, mounted his horse and was followed by his attendants. He halted at a little distance from the town till Ibn *H*amulah was brought out to him; Abu 'Isa conveyed him to Badr's territory, where he was confined in a fortress. After some days a man was sent from Rayy to put him to death.

The Dailemites continued their mutiny, pillaged the palace of Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi, and demanded his surrender. So serious did the situation become that it was found necessary to arrest him. He was carried away in a litter, with his leg protruding that the army might see the fetter. He was taken up to the fortress Tabrak. The army had meant to strike him down, only God Almighty restrained their hands and put into their hearts awe of him. When he was lodged in the

fortress, he sent conciliatory messages to the Dailemite leaders, who pleaded his cause with the rank and file, and after three days they held a consultation and said: The vizier on whose account we did this is gone, and it is impossible for us to get a substitute for Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi, who is so proved a ruler and whose competence is so famous. (**300**)—Proceeding to the government house they addressed the Queen-mother in this strain, and it was settled that he should be released. On the fourth day from his arrest he was released from the fortress and was welcomed by the people in their various orders, who all kissed the ground and manifested their delight. His subsequent career shall be recorded in its place.

In this year Muqallad b. Musayyib arrested his brother in Mausil.

Account of the arrest of 'Ali b. *Musayyib and his subsequent release; wherein the narrative is carried on to the following years in order to maintain its continuity.*

We have already recorded [1] the arrangement whereby Mausil came under the joint control of 'Ali and Muqallad and the dissension between their followers. When Muqallad returned from Saqy al-Furat [2] to Mausil, he resolved to strike down his brother's followers; but becoming conscious that if he took this step, reprisals would be taken on his own followers, he made up his mind to arrest his brother. Muqallad had some three thousand Dailemite, Kurdish and other troops whom he paid monthly. When he had come to the resolution which has been mentioned, he assembled them in his palace, and giving out that he proposed an expedition to Daquqa, he made them swear loyalty to himself and received assurances.

Plot involved in this proceeding.

Muqallad's palace was contiguous with that of 'Ali,

[1] Above, p. 280. [2] Above, p. 293.

who had with him a staff of not more than a hundred men. Muqallad ordered that a tunnel should be driven to 'Ali's room on a night whereon Muqallad was confident that he would be intoxicated. Into this room Muqallad forced his way with some of his attendants, placed his brother on the back of one of the bedmakers and lodged him in his own store-room under the custody of a number of Turkish retainers. He immediately summoned two Bedouin lads, whom he mounted on swift steeds, and sent to his wife with the message: *I have* (**301**) *arrested 'Ali, so take care, and hurry off with your two sons Qirwash and Badran to Takrit, for Ahmad b. Hammad is my friend and he will protect you; do not mind what you have to leave behind in the encampment, else my brother Hasan will learn what has happened and will hasten and seize your two sons.* The two lads rode their horses hard and reached Takrit the same day at sunset; at Takrit they got into a skiff, and sailed down to the site of the encampment which was four parasangs away. Here they called to the woman and delivered their message. She at once mounted a horse and made her two sons do the like, though they were both young children; they proceeded by night to Takrit, which they entered. *H*asan b. Musayyib, learning of the arrest of 'Ali his brother from a slave who hurried with the news from Mausil, rushed off to Muqallad's encampment in order to seize his two sons and wife. He expected to be in time; but they escaped him, and so his plan was frustrated.

Muqallad remained in Mausil summoning the 'Uqailite chieftains, and bestowing on them robes of honour with fiefs, till he had collected about two thousand horsemen. *H*asan meanwhile taking with him the wife and children of 'Ali went the round of the Bedouin encampments, appealing for aid and urging them to rise, saying: Muqallad has violated family ties, has become the enemy of the tribe, seized its prince and deserted to the Sultan. —Some ten thousand answered the call. *H*asan then

sent the following message to Muqallad: *You are screening yourself from us in Mausil; if you are able to come out, do it.* Muqallad replied that he was coming out without delay. He started immediately after the messenger, bringing with him his brother 'Ali in a litter; 'Ali was treated with all respect and attention, only Muqallad took the precaution of keeping him under guard. He advanced till he was opposite 'Alth at a distance of only one stage from the others; and was busy with arrangements for a fight. He was visited by the Bedouin chiefs, whose views were divergent; some urged him to respect the ties of blood and make peace, others advocated a bolder (**302**) policy. Gharib and Rafi', sons of Mohammed b. Maqn (?) were among the visitors, and took opposite views; the latter was anxious for a fight, while the former resisted the notion.

Wise counsel of Gharib.

He said to Rafi': This language of yours is not that of a candid adviser nor of a helpful friend. If you mean to injure Muqallad, then you are playing the traitor; but if you are on his side, then you are doing your best to promote discord, destroy the tribe and encourage the Sultan.—Muqallad was silent and did not utter a word. Then some one came in and said to him: Prince, here is your sister Ruhailah daughter of Musayyib, and wife of Ja'far b. 'Ali b. Maqn, close by, and anxious to interview you.—The men's eyes were turned in her direction, and there she was in a howdah at a little distance.—Muqallad mounted and rode up to where she was. They held a lengthy conversation, at which no one knew what took place, only it was afterwards stated that she said to him: Muqallad, you have played a low trick, gone against your own blood, injured your father's son. Return to a worthier course, release the man, put a stop to this civil war, and do not be the cause of your tribe's ruin. I will add that I am your sister, and it is my duty to advise

you for your good. If you reject my advice, I will disgrace myself and you in the presence of these Bedouins. —He was like wax in her hands, promised her that he would release his brother 'Ali, and immediately went and ordered his fetters to be removed and all that had been taken from him to be restored to him, with as much again. He had a fine pavilion put up for him, whither he had him removed. He appointed as his secretary Abu'l-*H*asan " son of the vizier's father," who also served as Muqallad's spy upon him, and had control of his affairs under Muqallad's eye.

The restoration of peace and the termination of discord gave the people great satisfaction. Muqallad held a meeting with 'Ali, and oaths were interchanged; afterwards 'Ali returned to his encampment, while Muqallad also departed, with the intention of (**303**) moving against Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Mazyad [1] and engaging him. He had been in open revolt against 'Ali when the latter was arrested by Muqallad, had invaded the districts of Saqy al-Furat and appropriated some of them.

When 'Ali b. Musayyib had come away, the Arabs gathered round him and urged him to break with Muqallad, but he declined, alleging that though he had behaved badly at first, he had behaved well afterwards. Ultimately by persistence they overcame his scruples, and he went up to Mausil with hostile intent; the followers of Muqallad who were there took refuge in the citadel. He besieged it, took it by storm and took possession of everything that was inside. Intelligence speedily reached Muqallad, who hastened back. On his way he passed by the encampment of *H*asan, who was there at the time and came out to meet him; seeing the strength of his force he feared for his brother, and said to him: Let me effect a reconciliation between you and him, and I will be responsible for his performing what you desire of him.—*H*asan succeeded by persuasion

[1] Above, p. 295.

in prevailing on Muqallad to halt; without returning to his encampment he at once hastened off to 'Ali, whom he reached at the end of the day, having worn out both his horse and himself. He said to 'Ali: The One-eyed one is advancing with all his forces, and you know nothing about it.—'Ali asked his advice. He told him to conciliate the families who were in Mausil of the soldiers who were serving under Muqallad, and induce them to intercede with their relations and win them over. If these soldiers yielded, and left Muqallad, then 'Ali should engage him; if they resolutely held by Muqallad, then 'Ali should make peace with him. 'Ali followed this advice.

Muqallad had come within a short distance of Mausil, and was passing a sleepless night, having posted guards. They caught some men who were bringing notes to his followers, and brought them to Muqallad. He perused the letters, and the next morning arrayed his army and advanced to Mausil. 'Ali and *H*asan lost all hope of seducing his army, so the two came out and addressed him courteously, and presently he entered the town with 'Ali on his right hand and *H*asan on his left. The Arabs skirmished with one another hoping to bring about a fight; but *H*asan went out to put an end to this, and succeeded by intimidating some of them in putting an end to the trouble, and peace reigned in Mausil.

(**304**) 'Ali presently, being told that it was unsafe for him to remain, fled away by night, and was followed by *H*àsan. Negotiations took place between them and Muqallad, and it was settled that each of the two should enter the town only when the other was away. This system was maintained till the end of the year 389. Muqallad departed for Anbar to carry out his plan of warring against 'Ali b. Mazyad. He entered 'Ali's town, and 'Ali retired to Rusafah. The latter appealed to Muhadhdhib al-daulah, who took up his cause and

mediated between him and Muqallad. He effected a reconciliation; Muqallad then departed to Daquqa, which he took. He then had to deal with his brother *H*asan; for 'Ali died at the beginning of 390, and was replaced by *H*asan in the Emirate. Muqallad collected the Banu Khafajah with their tents and encampments and advanced with them to the neighbourhood of Barqa'id, ostensibly chasing the Banu Numair, but intending to circumvent his brother. *H*asan, learning of this, took alarm, and fled secretly by the Sinjar route to 'Iraq. Muqallad followed him by night, hoping to overtake him; *H*asan however escaped. Muqallad returned to Mausil, where he remained three days; he then went off in pursuit of his brother. *H*asan departed to Zadhan,[1] and sought shelter among the Naffa*d*ah Arabs; Muqallad proceeded the whole way to Anbar, and the Khafajah returned with him. His further fortunes shall be recorded later.

In this year the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar returned to Baghdad[2] as Baha al-daulah's deputy.

In this year the son of Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn *H*ajib al-Nu'man was appointed secretary to the prince Abu'l-Fa*d*l, son of the Caliph Qadir. The prince, whose age at the time was five years, held a reception, and people came and did obeisance.

(305) YEAR 388.[3]

In this year 'Abdallah b. Ja'far called Ibn al-Waththab escaped from confinement in the Caliph's Palace.

His story and his fortunes after his escape.

This person was nearly related to the Caliph *T*a'i', and stayed in his Palace. When the Caliph was arrested

[1] Near Raqqah in Diyar Mu*d*ar (Yaqut).
[2] See above, p. 282. [3] Began Jan. 3, 998.

and deposed, this man fled, and after wandering about got to the Marsh, and stayed with Muhadhdhib al-daulah. Qadir wrote about him to the latter, who expelled him. On his wanderings he got to Mada'in ; Qadir heard about him and sent men to block his way and arrest him. He was confined in a dungeon. Finding a chance of escape he got away and went to Jilan, where he claimed to be the Caliph *T*a'i', and mentioned certain proofs of identity, which he knew through familiarity with the palace. They accepted his claim, made much of him, and Mohammed b. 'Abbas, one of their princes, gave him his daughter, supported him, and proclaimed him in his town. The people of other regions also became his subjects, and paid him the tithe which it was their custom to pay to their religious leader. Certain of these Jilites however coming to the court of Qadir in Baghdad ascertained the truth of the matter, and letters were sent by them to clear up this misunderstanding. His position however had become so firm and the support of his father-in-law so strong that he was in no way damaged thereby.

Now the people of Jilan were in the habit of referring religious and legal questions (**306**) to the qa*d*i Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Kajj, who was of high authority among them. A letter was addressed him from the Caliph's Palace wherein he was ordered to write and clear up their mistake with regard to 'Abdallah b. Ja'far. He did so, and his words were effective with them. They bade 'Abdallah depart from their country and he did so.

In this year Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il returned from the Marsh [1] to the court of Baha al-daulah, while the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar, taking offence, left Baghdad and returned to the Marsh.

[1] See above, p. 292.

Account of the reasons that brought Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il to Wasit as administrator, and of his relations with the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar.

We have recorded how he went into concealment and wandered from place to place till he got to the Marsh. There he was attacked by an illness which brought on languor of the joints, and he went to Qaryat Ibrahim for the sake of purer air. He sent and received messages, and found Baha al-daulah well disposed towards him. The latter besides was suffering from inadequacy of means, found the countries slipping from his grasp, and needed some one to manage his affairs. Abu 'Ali then was entrusted with the administration and proceeded to Wasit. When he got there, the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar took offence, and left Baghdad for Muqallad's encampment; after placing his secretary Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Is*h*aq in charge of his estates in Saqy al-Furat[1] he proceeded the whole way to the Marsh. Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il began to prosecute the dependents of (**307**) the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan, and sent three officials to seize his goods and contracts, and realize his assets and produce. They confined their attention to what he had in Baghdad, to the exclusion of his property in the Saqy al-Furat, out of which they were kept by Muqallad who put Ibn 'Umar's clerk Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Is*h*aq in possession of them, who collected the proceeds and transmitted them to him in the Marsh. When a reconciliation had been effected between the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan and Abu 'Ali, the former by a payment of money got the three officials surrendered to him, and was given a free hand in their treatment. This was a base action on Abu 'Ali's part, since the person who obeys the order to rob is not more culpable than him who gives it.

[1] *Cp* above, p. 136.

Account of the reason for the reconciliation between Abu'l-Hasan Mohammed b. 'Umar and Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il.

Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya Sabusi had endeavoured to effect this. Proceeding to the Mar-h he interviewed the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar privately, and said to him: Sir, why each time that a new commissioner or vizier is appointed do you bestir yourself and interfere, thus risking your own fortune and ours in antagonism to some one for whose post we are as unqualified as he is for ours? The stars of this Abu 'Ali are clearly in the ascendant, so make your peace with him, and permit me to obtain assurances from each of you for the other.—Sabusi left the Sharif no peace till he showed signs of yielding.

It happened that Muhadhdhib al-daulah was annoyed with Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il on account of his ruthless exaction of the tax on certain palms which belonged to his friend Ibn al-*H*addad in Wasit. Muhadhdhib al-daulah, who was at that time a man of whom every one stood in need from the king downwards, expressed his opinion of Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il very freely in consequence; and the latter proceeded to pay the former a visit with the view of allaying his wrath and regaining his good will. He was anticipated by Sabusi, who told the Sharif that Abu 'Ali was on his way and now was the time to effect a reconciliation. He advised the Sharif to go to meet Abu 'Ali and pay his respects. The Sharif at first demurred, but presently adopted the suggestion. Embarking in his *zabzab* he went to call on Abu 'Ali, who received him honourably (**308**) when he disembarked, rising to greet him and seating him on the two cushions. Abu Nasr Sabur also presented himself and was seated at Abu 'Ali's right. There were mutual greetings and inquiries. The Sharif then rose.

Abu 'Ali proceeded on his way to Muhadhdhib al-daulah. At the meeting which ensued the former

apologized, and taking with him from the other 5,000 dinars by way of a loan, departed to the house where he had taken up his quarters prior to this visit. Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya went to the Sharif and compelled him to pay a second call upon Abu 'Ali Isma'il, urging that the former had been merely complimentary, whereas on this occasion a basis of agreement might be laid. The Sharif proceeded to pay the visit, and it was arranged that the Sharif should undertake to hand over 20,000 dinars; oaths of loyalty and sincerity were then interchanged. Prior to this the Sharif had secured himself against Baha al-daulah by an oath in Baha al-daulah's autograph, subscribed for additional assurance by Muhadhdhib al-daulah, with the following clause at the end: *Fidelity to the Sharif is involved in fidelity to me, and treachery to him in treachery to me. If he fail in his obligations, then Baha al-daulah has no further claim on my loyalty or obedience.*

Abu 'Ali then turned his attention to the case of Sabur b. Ardashir, whom he instructed to go North, promising that he would not be molested by Baha al-daulah or from any other source whence he apprehended mischief. The cases of Abu Ghalib Mohammed b. 'Ali b. Khalaf and others who had removed themselves in alarm were settled for 5,000 dinars. From these sources Abu 'Ali obtained 30,000 dinars. He returned to Wasit, accompanied by the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan, Abu Nasr Sabur, and all the officials who had been in the Marsh. They all relied on the fidelity of Abu 'Ali to his word. He took the title *al-Muwaffaq* (The divinely Guided).

He advised Baha al-daulah to proceed to Khuzistan and conduct the campaign himself; and he proceeded energetically with the equipment of forces. His plan was opposed by Abu 'Abdallah the Marshal, who said (**309**) that a king ought not to run any risk or hazard, and that no one in such a case can guarantee the consequences.

Account of the steps taken by Abu 'Ali in aid of his plan.

He sent to the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan to announce that he would visit him on that evening. It was in the month of Rama*d*an. He paid the visit accompanied by his maternal uncle Abu'l-'Ala Iskafi, and by Abu Nasr Sabur. They broke fast in the Sharif's house, and then held a private meeting at which Sabusi was the fifth. Abu 'Ali addressed the Sharif as follows: You know, Sharif, in what disorder the affairs of this monarch are, how inadequate are his resources, and how the countries have been slipping from his grasp. These protracted campaigns involve us in danger. If our friends (meaning Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram and the retainers who were with him) are not supplied with funds they will not stand their ground. If they retire, they will have betrayed the empire. If we supply them, this monarch will be in straits, and be compelled to lay hands on your property and that of your cousin here (pointing to Sabusi), and indeed that of any one who possesses any. There will be no one to protect either us or you. If you back up my suggestion that Baha al-daulah should proceed in person to the field, we shall have before us two alternatives. Either God will give victory, in which case we shall have attained our object. Or He may bring something else about, in which case we shall have performed our duty and done our best. To-morrow you will be summoned to the Palace and consulted about what I have said. If you drive it home, you will have got us out of your way, as we shall be going to a distance, and it may be that God will grant deliverance. If you side with those who oppose my suggestion, then assuredly the result will be what I have predicted to you.—The Sharif replied: All this is true, only definite recommendation of such a course to a monarch might have serious consequences. However I will try some subtle method of furthering your wish.—The meeting then dissolved.

The following morning the Sharif was summoned to the presence of Baha al-daulah, where the chief courtiers were gathered. The party were consulted on the question of Baha al-daulah's personally taking the field. The Sharif said: God has favoured monarchs above us and privileged them beyond us by conferring on them unerring judgment (**310**) and penetrating insight. If the monarch has resolved on taking the field in person, God will associate that resolve with His favour and with felicity and make it a means for compassing what is required.—Thereupon Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il said: Sire, the Sharif's judgment coincides with mine, and nothing remains but the execution and realization of the resolve.—The council adopted this view and dispersed.

Account of Baha al-daulah's advance from Wasit to the White Bridge.

When the expedition had been decided, Abu 'Ali began by despatching the Sharif, Abu Nasr Sabur and Abu Nu'aim *H*asan b. *H*usain to Baghdad; the first was to guard the city, the second to superintend affairs, and the third to collect money and provide sources for the payments as they fell due. He then exerted himself to get Baha al-daulah started and to procure the equipments and mounts for facilitating the operation. He even availed himself of the millers' mules. Baha al-daulah started imperfectly equipped and with inadequate numbers, and halted at a place called The White Bridge. Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz faced him resolutely, and a number of engagements took place between the opposing forces. Baha al-daulah and his army became straitened for provisions, and application was made to Badr b. *H*asanawaihi, who sent supplies which partly made good the deficiency; the situation however became menacing, and the enemies of Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il found ample opportunity to attack his plan of exposing the monarch to danger. Baha

al-daulah's indignation was stirred against him, and he came near using violence towards him.

Meanwhile there occurred the revolt of Bakhtiyar's two sons and the death of *S*amsam al-daulah which we are about to recount. Deliverance came from an unexpected quarter, and the plan which had been faulty was transformed into one that was sound.

Oft does the mind despair over a matter which awaits solution like a hobbling thong.

Baha al-daulah's authority became generally recognized, and Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz with the Dailemites who followed him entered his service. This shall be presently recounted.

(**311**) In this year the Caliph Qadir gave an audience to the two envoys who came from Abu *T*alib Rustam son of Fakhr al-daulah, and Abu'l-Najm Badr b. *H*asanawaihi. Abu'l-Najm Badr was called by his *kunyah*, and given the title NUSRAT AL-DAULAH (Help of the Empire); Abu *T*alib was given a contract for Rayy and its dependencies; a banner was tied for him, and a complete set of Sultanic robes of honour transmitted to him. Badr was given a contract for his territories in the Jabal, a banner was tied for him, and fine robes of honour were transmitted to him. This was at the instance of Baha al-daulah and his secretaries. Majd al-daulah (Rustam) put on the robes and adopted the title[1]; Badr had solicited the title NASIR AL-DAULAH, and when NUSRAT AL-DAULAH was substituted for it, he hesitated to accept it; his request was afterwards granted, and he was offered the title NASIR AL-DIN WAL-DAULAH (Helper of the religion and the empire), which he accepted, and employed in his correspondence.

In this year events happened in Fars which led to the death of *S*amsam al-daulah.

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[1] He was five years of age at the time!

Account of the series of events which led to this.

We have already recorded how 'Ala b. *H*asan after the reverse which provoked his resentment intrigued to ruin the dynasty by exciting the greed of the army and enforcing such increases of pay as its resources were unable to meet. His career then terminated[1]; but the affairs of *S*amsam al-daulah were in disorder, the Dailemites had long got the upper hand with him, and his resources were insufficient to satisfy them. They cast longing eyes on the fiefs of the Queen-mother, the Ra*d*i' and the courtiers. First the Dailemites in Fasa urged their claims upon the governor, and commanded him to lay hands on the fiefs of the persons mentioned in order to satisfy them. He declined. They mutinied and carried him to the gate of Shiraz, he being indignant and they disorderly. None of *S*amsam al-daulah's followers ventured to come out to them. After waiting three days they put the governor to death, and used menacing language about the courtiers, who out of fear abandoned their posts. *S*amsam al-daulah went out to them in person; they accosted him with rudeness, to which he replied with gentleness. (**312**) Their violence was met by him with suavity. He acceded to their demands, and they, placated, returned to their posts in Fasa, where they took possession of all the courtiers' fiefs.

Things proceeded for a time in this style, and *S*amsam al-daulah's resources kept diminishing, whereas the Dailemites continued to gather and press their demands upon him. These he was unable to meet.

Account of a mistaken policy with unsatisfactory results.

*S*amsam al-daulah was advised by his counsellors to make a register of the Dailemites in all the provinces,

[1] Above, p. 293.

to retain all those whose pedigree was unimpeachable, and remove all those who were intruders, and whose pedigrees were counterfeit. He could then enlarge his resources with the fiefs withdrawn from the intruders. This proposal made an impression on his mind, and deciding to carry it out, he ordered his ministers to set about it. He was told that the Dailemites of Fasa were especially numerous and vigorous. No-one would be able to register them except ABU JA'FAR USTADHHURMUZ B. *HASAN*, who was an expert in pedigrees and origins, and impressed both eyes and minds. It was accordingly settled that he should be summoned from Kirman, and that Abu'l-Fat*h* AHMAD B. MOHAMMED B. MUAMMAL should be sent thither to take his place. This was done. Abu Ja'far returned and was despatched to Fasa, where he on his arrival let it be known what were his instructions, commenced his registration, separated the genuine from the riff-raff, and by the time he finished his work had ejected 650 men there. Abu'l-Fat*h* Ibn Muammal did the like and rejected some 400 men. These outcasts who were men of wealth and vigour became wanderers without direction, on the look out for some place which should be their destination, some height which they might ascend.

It happened that the two sons of Bakhtiyar, ABU'L-QASIM ASBAM[1] and ABU NASR SHAHFIROZ had been helped to escape by their warders in the fortress, whom they had cajoled, and gathered round them enough of the (**313**) Kurdish rabble to constitute a force. The news of their escape reached the rejected Dailemites, who joined them in a series of groups. When they felt sufficiently strong they started on the seizure of territory; Abu'l-Qasim Asbam proceeded to take possession of Arrajan whence he expelled the followers of *Samsam* al-daulah, while Abu Nasr Shahfiroz moved from place to place, obtaining supplies and winning adherents.

[1] This name seems to be incorrect.

Samsam al-daulah was embarrassed, having no-one at his court who was able to deal with the situation ; that God might accomplish that which He had foreordained.

Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz was stationed in Fasa, as we have narrated. When the sons of Bakhtiyar started on the enterprise which has been mentioned, some of the wives of the principal Dailemites stationed in Khuzistan under his son Abu 'Ali gathered at his house, they being the equals of men in strength of mind, force of character and participation in the management of affairs.

Account of the wise plan which they suggested to Abu Ja'far, which he rejected.

They said to him : You and your son this day are the masters of this dynasty and its foremost men. We foresee certain contingencies which alarm us. You have money and arms, which are required only for the defence of life and position. The right course for you is to distribute what you have among these Dailemites who are with you, march them with you to Shiraz, and send Samsam al-daulah off to Ahwaz, and so save him from the danger which he is incurring. If you do this, you will rescue the dynasty, repay your benefactors, and endear your men to our husbands who are stationed there. If you reject this advice, these Dailemites will fall upon you, plunder you, and carry you off to the sons of Bakhtiyar in which case neither will your money remain nor will your life be safe.—Ustadhhurmuz grudged the money, and was so overcome by avarice that his sight was blinded and that which had been foretold was realized. His house and stable were plundered, (**314**) and he escaped with his life ; he concealed himself in the town, but his hidingplace was divulged, he was captured and brought to the son of Bakhtiyar. He contrived however to escape.

Account of the fortunes of Samsam al-daulah after the rising of Bakhtiyar's sons till he was put to death.

Menaced on the part of Bakhtiyar's son Abu Nasr with an onslaught which he could not resist, he was advised by his ministers and counsellors to mount the fortress at the gate of Shiraz, wherein, they told him, he could entrench himself, and would find sufficent food and supplies to last him a month or two, whilst he could be sure that his cause would be strengthened by the accession of numerous Dailemites. He decided to do this, and endeavoured to mount thither, only the keeper of the fortress declined to open the gate to him. This increased his embarrassment. His troops, who were 300 in number said to him : We are a number of armed and vigorous men, so you had best seat yourself with your mother in a litter to be carried by us to Ahwaz where you will rejoin Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz and your army that is stationed there with him. If we meet with opposition on the way, we shall defend you at the risk of our lives.—Ra*d*i' said : This is a risky plan, and we had best summon the Kurds, obtain pledges from them and travel with them.—He inclined to this suggestion, sent and summoned the Kurds, took pledges from them, and started off with them with his treasure and all his stores. When they had got some distance from the town, they turned against him, pillaged all that he had with him, and came near capturing him. He fled and got to Dudaman at two stages from Shiraz. Bakhtiyar's son Abu Nasr learning of his departure, hastened to Shiraz, and halted at Daulatabad. *T*ahir of Dudaman, head of the village, was anxious to secure the person of *S*amsam al-daulah and held him up till the arrival of the followers of Bakhtiyar's son, who captured and put him to death. This was in Dhu'l-*H*ijjah 388 (began Nov. 24, 998). His age was 35 years and seven months. (**315**) How short a term, and how miserable an end ! The sweets of his reign were few and the bitter-

ness of the disasters which befell his realm and himself copious. The honey therein was not equal to the wormwood, nor were the pleasures equal to the pains. His days had not among them one that was bright, neither was his share of sovereignty at any time ample.

A man whose chief concern is with this world grasps a rotten rope.

His mother, Radi', and several of his courtiers were arrested. A woman of Dudaman named Fatimah came and washed, wrapped and buried his trunk. His head was brought on a dish into the presence of Bakhtiyar's son Abu Nasr. When he saw it he pointed to it and said : *This is a principle established by your father.* He then ordered it to be removed.

His mother was delivered to Lashkarsitan-Kur, who demanded money of her with torture ; she refused to give a single dirhem, so he slew her and erected a tomb over her. Radi' was put to death later after he had been fined and his whole property confiscated.

YEAR 389.[1]

In this year Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz and the Dailemites entered the service of Baha al-daulah. His authority was generally accepted, and he became ruler of Shiraz and Kirman. His power was consolidated, his affairs were adjusted, his rule was firmly established, and his fortune flourished.

Account of the process whereby he arrived at this state.

We have recorded how Baha al-daulah halted at the White Bridge, where a series of engagements took place between the two parties. He remained there two months and more endeavouring to force the Dailemites to a battle, while they endeavoured to maintain the defensive. This state of affairs was protracted. Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, who had the title Muwaffaq, commanded

[1] Began Dec. 23, 998.

in the field and managed affairs; MUNAH, a friend of Mohammed b. 'Abbad, was with him, at the head of 150 (**316**) horsemen from Sadinjan.[1] He made them up into scouting parties, and ordered them to pursue and capture all who either entered or came out from Sus. The Dailemites who were thus besieged were in straits while Baha al-daulah also suffered from inability to obtain supplies. As the time was prolonged he came near having to retire; indeed had the affair of Bakhtiyar's sons and the death of Samsam al-daulah which has been narrated been delayed, Baha al-daulah would have been routed.

Account of a scheme devised by Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz and detected by the ingenuity and astuteness of Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il.

Baha al-daulah had instructed his Persian troops to seize all whom they found on the highroads. They captured a man who had with him a basket of melons.[2] He was brought to the camp and asked to give an account of himself. He declared himself to be an itinerant vendor of these fruits. Menaced and intimidated he presently confessed that he was the bearer of a missive from Farrukhan to the *Sahib* Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz to the following effect: *We are about to start; we shall speedily arrive; so come to meet the people.* When Baha al-daulah learned this, he was greatly alarmed and said: Whoever finds fault with the plan of Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il and attacks him *is in the right;*[3] if the enemy attacks us from this quarter, we shall be prisoners in his hands, shall be unable to escape and have no way open to us.—He sent a series of messengers to Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, who was at the front, summoning him. When he appeared, Baha al-daulah told him the story and showed him the missive. When Ibn Isma'il

[1] Not mentioned by the geographers. [2] Dastabuyah.
[3] The italicised words are wanting in the original.

read it, he declared it to be absurd. Leaving Baha al-daulah's presence he had the prisoner produced and bade him tell the truth. He urged the prisoner by mild methods, but the latter added nothing to his former statement. Ibn Isma'il then ordered him to be bound, and approaching him with a club beat him severely with his own hand. When the man was sore with the beating he offered to tell them the truth if they would release him. I, he said, am a resident in Sus ; I was summoned by Ibn Ustadhhurmuz who handed me this missive, and told me to go and put myself in the way of being captured by Baha al-daulah's people, and when that came to pass and I was asked to give an account of myself, (**317**) to say that I was Farrukhan's messenger to the *Sahib*, bearing this missive. I was to persist in this assertion and endure any pain which might be inflicted on me, for which he promised me compensation.—Ibn Isma'il then returned to the presence of Baha al-daulah and explained the situation, showing that it was a trap. Baha al-daulah was somewhat reassured, but told his courtiers that the man's first statement was the truth, and that only ill-treatment and blows had induced him to make the second.

Account of the caution displayed by Ibn Isma'il in these circumstances.

Thinking that it was wisest to be cautious whatever might be the case, he despatched Ibn Mukram and Alptakin Khadimi with a number of Turks to Tustar, ordering them to halt in the valley and be on the defensive so as to resist any attempt to cross. They went whither they had been ordered, encamped there and remained some days. Khurshid b. Bakalijar and Kuriki then arrived with a large force of Dailemite and other infantry, whereupon Ibn Mukram and Alptakin commanded their followers to strike camp and retire, as their own numbers were small. They moved away

till they had got out of sight; Alptakin Khadimi with the retainers then lay in ambush till the Dailemites and the infantry had crossed, and when they were on the same side charged. The retainers shouted, the dust rose, and the enemy supposed them to be in large numbers. Taking to flight they fell against each other in the valley, Khurshid and Kuriki were both killed, and many of their followers met the same fate. This came to pass on the day whereon peace was settled between the Dailemites with Sus on the one hand and Baha al-daulah on the other hand, the parties swearing to each other. The expedition on their return the following day found the two forces mixed.

With regard to the events which led to the entry of the Dailemites into Baha al-daulah's service: Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il had already adopted the sound plan of endeavouring to win some of the soldiers over to Baha al-daulah's side. Negotiations were conducted between him and (**318**) Shahrsitan through Bahistun b. Dharir, and Shahrsitan was ultimately allured and won. Then it happened that Muna*h* the Kurd who was employed with the scouts captured a mounted man who had come from Shiraz. Brought before Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il and asked to give an account of himself, he recounted what had taken place in Shiraz, and produced a letter which he was conveying from the Banu Ziyar to Shahrsitan, giving an account of the death of *Samsam* al-daulah. When Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il understood its contents, he apprised Baha al-daulah thereof, and then returned the letter to the mounted man, to convey it to its original destination. He then said to Bahistun; After to-day Shahrsitan has no longer any excuse, and if he is faithful to his promise let him enter Baha al-daulah's service at once.—Bahistun proceeded to Shahrsitan and settled that on the following day the latter should come over to Baha al-daulah with 300 Jilites. On these terms they parted. Fannakhusrah son of Abu

Ja'far becoming conscious of Shahrsitan's intentions went and interviewed him privately.

Account of Fannakhusrah's wise recommendations.

He said to Shahrsitan: I have been told of your intention; Baha al-daulah's feelings towards me are well known, and his purpose with regard to me is alarming and such as I must try to avert. If you desert to him without delay, both I and all the Dailemites are doomed; you ought in any case to look after their interests. Give me three days' respite wherein I can probe the wound to which I refer by correspondence with Baha al-daulah. If I find any hope of its cicatrizing and healing, I will share with you the execution of your design. If otherwise, I will look out for myself and betake myself with my people to my country. You may then do what you think fit.—Shahrsitan assented to this proposal.

Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il went as usual to the front betimes expecting that Shahrsitan would fulfill his promise. The latter sent him a fresh excuse, which greatly embarrassed Ibn Isma'il, who supposed it to be mockery and an attempt to withdraw. Bahistun said to him: The confirmation of his statement will appear when it gets dark. If a messenger comes from (**319**) Fannakhusrah, Shahrsitan will be seen to be veracious and faithful. If he delays, we shall know him to be a liar and a traitor.—When it grew dark, there came a messenger from Fannakhusrah with a message wherein he apologized for his former conduct, and requested an amnesty on condition of a fresh course of service in the future. A reassuring answer was given him which satisfied him.

Meanwhile there arrived a letter from the sons of Bakhtiyar to Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz wherein they expressed their confidence in and reliance upon him, and held out great hopes, after the fashion of one newly

acceding to a throne, who is anxious to secure its foundations, and conciliate supporters. They bade him take the oath of allegiance to them from the Dailemites who were under his orders, and to maintain the fight wherein he was engaged. Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz was afraid of taking their side owing to his antecedents, not trusting that they would keep faith with him after he had put their brothers to death.[1] And indeed one who has slain a brother of royalties may well be in fear of his own life. He hesitated, wavered and debated within his mind for some time, and then decided that to enter the servce of Baha al-daulah was the wiser and the safer course.

Account of the steps taken by Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz to reestablish friendly relations with Baha al-daulah.

Assembling the Dailemite chiefs he consulted them on the subject of the letter which had arrived from Bakhtiyar's sons. They were all in favour of entering the service of these princes and maintaining the struggle against Baha al-daulah as before. He disagreed with their view, and said: The inheritance of this realm has now devolved on Baha al-daulah, and there is no-one left who has a right to dispute it with him. If we forsake him for one whose dwelling is distant from ours and whose sentiments towards us are the reverse of cordial, we shall be abandoning prudence. Our right course is to enter the service of Baha al-daulah after obtaining pledges from him.—They objected: How can we put ourselves in the power of the Turks when there is all the bad blood of which you know between us?—He said: If this be your intention, I will hand over to you such money and war material as I have, and depart by myself. You know best about your own concerns.—The meeting broke up. Presently he dictated to their chiefs what they were to do and say.

(320) He had sent to Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il to request a

[1] See above, p. 249.

present of old wine for an ailment from which he was suffering. Ibn Isma'il told Baha al-daulah that he was not wanting wine, but endeavouring to find an opening for negotiation with them. Baha al-daulah sent an envoy to say: Before this day you and the Dailemites had some excuse for warring against me, when there was the dispute for the sovereignty between my brother and me. Now that we both have my brother's blood to avenge upon those who have shed it and violated its sanctity, you have no excuse for failing to support me in the demand for that vengeance, in rescuing the realm, and purging the stain.—Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz in reply, after declaring himself Baha al-daulah's obedient servant, stated that the Dailemites were shy and he was doing his best to tame them; and asked that Abu Ahmad the Physician, with whom he was acquainted of old, might be sent. This was done.

Account of a wise discourse by Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz.

When the physician presented himself, Ibn Ustadhhurmuz said to him: You are aware of the favours bestowed upon me by Samsam al-daulah and the benefits which I received from him. It was my duty to serve him faithfully and devote my life to the compensation of his kindness. Now he has passed away, and it is my duty to obey this sovereign and advise him loyally. Now these Dailemites have long been estranged and disaffected, and there are longstanding grievances and resentments between them and the Turks. They have been informed that their fiefs have been withdrawn from them and surrendered to the Turks. Unless something be exhibited calculated to allay their apprehension and calm their prejudiced minds, they will continue to be restive.—The physician proceeded with this message to Baha al-daulah, and brought back a civil reply calculated to inspire confidence. Negotiations

proceeded, ending with a number of Dailemite chieftains presenting themselves before Baha al-daulah to hear him pronounce with a solemn oath a pardon of all previous offences, and to receive a promise and assurance that all enmity and resentment was at an end. When these persons had been reassured by the promises which they had obtained, they wrote to their comrades who remained in Sus to explain the situation.

(**321**) The following day Baha al-daulah rode to the gate of Sus expecting that the whole lot would accept the peace. Instead they came out and fought more fiercely than ever. Baha al-daulah was distressed, supposing that some hitch had occurred or that some condition had been violated. The Dailemites however bade him be of good cheer, for their surrender to him was now evident. It was the Dailemite custom to fight most fiercely when they were about to surrender, lest it be supposed that they were surrendering out of weakness or inability to continue the fight. This turned out to be the case, for on the third day they demanded the security of an oath whereof they transmitted the formula to Baha al-daulah, who took it as also did the chiefs of the Turks.

The Dailemites requested Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il to take the oath, but he declined on the ground that it was one suitable to be taken by a sovereign and his army, but one wherewith a minister had no business. They were not satisfied, and Baha al-daulah compelled him to take it. Baha al-daulah held a reception for condolence on his brother's death, and then rode out attired in black. He was met by the people [1] who made the signs of service, and was joined by Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz. The two hosts then mingled.

A day or two previously the Dailemites had put to death Abu'l-Fat*h* Ibn al-Faraj, their chief sergeant.

[1] Probably the Dailemites of Sus.

Account of the reason for this, and of the treacherous part therein played by Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz.

This person was of high rank in the army, and his brother Sahlan had been summoned by Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il from Baghdad, and employed to mediate with him. When it had been settled that he should enter the service of Baha al-daulah, Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz said to them: This Abu'l-Fat*h* is a mischievous person, who is acquainted with your affairs, your connexions, origins and pedigrees, and if he gets in touch with Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, will reveal secrets of yours which have not been divulged to him, and show him facts about you to which he will not otherwise have access.—They replied that they would settle his business. They then agreed to put him to death and carried this resolution out.

When the two armies were combined Baha al-daulah proceeded to Sus, accompanied by Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il and surrounded by the Dailemites and Turks.

(**322**) *Account of a strange plan adopted by Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, of which the motive is unknown.*

When Baha al-daulah approached his pavilion, Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il went aside to his own private tent, instead of as usual remaining with him till he dismounted. When Baha al-daulah dismounted, the Dailemites asked for Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, and not finding him asked who was going to talk to them. The news reaching Baha al-daulah, he sent to summon Abu 'Ali, who excused himself on the ground of an accident. So Baha al-daulah went out to them in person and spoke to them till they departed.

Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il now professed to demand his dismissal, and insisted thereon till he had received an affirmative reply, with an order for the pension which he solicited, and permission to return to Baghdad, and

stay in his house. When the news of this spread in the army, the Turkish chieftains rode to Baha al-daulah's pavilion, where the doorkeepers were sent out to enquire their business. They demanded an audience of the sovereign. He sent out Abu 'Abdallah the Marshal to ask them what they wanted. As they declined to say more, he introduced them.

Account of the discussion between the Turks and Baha al-daulah.

When they entered his presence they remained standing and said: Sire, we have served you so that you have attained your desires, and have no case against us, nor any need for us to remain further. There is no-one among us but has exhausted his means and seen his numbers reduced. We therefore solicit permission to return to our dwellings so that we may look after our affairs. Should there be need of us later, we will return.—Baha al-daulah resented this language and asked them the reason for it. After bandying words for a time they at last said: Your vizier the Muwaffaq ("Successful"), through whom your realm has been restored to you, and by whose good luck our affairs have been adjusted, has been dismissed by you, and we have no-one besides him to certify our merits to you, nor can we find his equal as mediator between you and ourselves. It is impolitic to dismiss such a man and to listen to counsellors who advise his removal.—Baha al-daulah asked: Who *does* want it?—They replied: The man who wrote him the order in your name and facilitated (**323**) the transaction with you. (They referred to Abu 'Abdallah the Marshal).—Baha al-daulah: God forbid that I should listen to any one's words against him! He urged it himself, and I consented. He asked, and I granted. Still your opinion that he should be retained is sound, so do you act as intermediaries in reassuring him.—Leaving the presence

of Baha al-daulah, they proceeded to the tent of Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, who, having learned their business, declined to admit them. They repeated their demand however till they were admitted. When they entered, he remonstrated with them for their conduct with regard to himself, and then said: Surely I have merited better of you than that you should interfere with me where I do not desire such interference.—They said: None of that. The preservation of our sovereign's government, whereby we live and are maintained, is more important than recompensing you by the gratification of your design.—They would not leave him alone till he rode to Baha al-daulah's pavilion, where he was honourably received; he then resumed the management and execution of affairs.

He permitted a certain number of the Turks to return to Baghdad, and proceeded with Baha al-daulah to Ahwaz.

Account of Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il's proceedings in Ahwaz.

The first matter which occupied his attention was that of the fiefs and their assignation as between Dailemites and Turks. He relied in this upon Abu 'Ali Rukhkhaji, who afterwards received the title Muayyid al-daulah. An arrangement was effected whereby they were to share and share alike. Presently the Dailemites of Tustar declined to enter into this settlement, and there was a likelihood of the principle being violated, the balance being disturbed, and the mischief breaking out anew between the parties. Rukhkhaji did excellent service as mediator between them, basing his award on the principle that the sources of money in the chief towns of the territories should remain in their owners' hands, whereas all other estates and cultivated lands should be divided. To this they agreed.

A tent was set apart for him wherein he sat, accom-

panied by Fannakhusrah Ibn Abi Ja'far, Alptakin Khadimi, and inferior chieftains of both parties, and managed the equitable division of the fiefs, exemptions,[1] and partnerships between the parties. He had agreements made out, (**324**) and ere a few days had passed the matter was satisfactorily concluded.

Farrukhan had quitted Ahwaz and gone off to Idhaj in alarm. Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram was sent with a satisfactory amnesty, and having promised him safety, brought him back. When he appeared he received a robe of honour from Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, who appointed him his deputy for a time in his residence, but afterwards sent him on in front to the country of Sabur and the coast.

Shahrsitan son of Lashkarsitan was despatched with a large force as vanguard to Arrajan. Proceeding thither he expelled the son of Bakhtiyar, who joined his brother who was stationed in Shiraz.

Account of a plan suggested by Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il to Baha al-daulah.

He advised Baha al-daulah to summon his son the prince Abu Mansur and establish him in Ahwaz, attaching to him Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj, and himself to proceed to Shiraz. When he had taken the latter city, he was to summon the prince Abu Mansur, establish him in Shiraz, and himself return to Ahwaz, which he should then assign to the prince Abu Shuja' ; he was then to attack Basrah, and when he had reconquered it assign it to the prince Abu *T*ahir ; he was then to return to Baghdad and make that city his home. From Baghdad he was to administer Mausil. Baha al-daulah did not approve this plan, which Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il had communicated to ABU'L-KHATTAB *H*AMZAH B. IBRAHIM, who at that time represented him at Baha al-daulah's court, before

[1] The meaning of the phrase in the text is doubtful.

communicating it to Baha al-daulah. Abu'l-Khaṭṭab had replied: I understand this monarch's character and objects better, and your best course is to leave him in Ahwaz, and yourself proceed with the army to Fars; when you have reconquered it, you had best stay there, and appoint as manager of affairs at Baha al-daulah's court some one who possesses your goodwill and of whom you can be sure. At a distance from him you will have secured in that country a vast realm which you will be able to govern according to your own choice without interference or opposition. If he accompanies you, you will be faced with the alternatives of monopolizing control at the risk of opposing him, and in consequence embittering him and exposing yourself to some onslaught on his part, and of resigning yourself to being thwarted by him, quietly swallowing your indignation, or else provoking hostility by threats of resignation. (**325**)—Abu 'Ali did not accept this counsel, but adhered to his own. Abu'l- Khaṭṭab, with an eye to his own safety, discarded Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, and decided to humour Baha al-daulah and win his approval.

We have pursued our usual course in recording what we found in the Chronicle, but are ourselves of opinion that Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il's plan was sound. We see no wisdom in the suggestion of Abu'l-Khaṭṭab to him to remain at a distance from a fickle sovereign, ready to accept what was told him, apt to frustrate plans which he had helped to devise and to violate promises which he had solemnly made. If the constructor when present was threatened with the dissolution of his fabric, how could he count on its persistence if he were absent? And have the detractors of ministers as free a field of operations when those ministers are resident at their high posts as when they are at a distance from the court? Assuredly not. The tongue of calumny waxes long in absence and indeed in proportion to the distance of the minister from the carpet of respect and awe. "The

jockey on an empty race-course is sure of success." Abu 'Ali was by no means mistaken in his plan; it was not his fault that fate betrayed him. Fate is inevitable and man excusable.

(326) A man has gone into battle and fought gallantly, only his gallantry has been betrayed by fickle fortune
All his duty was to plunge into the thick of the fight; faulty plans are not to be set to his account.

Queerer still is Abu'l-Khattab's advice to him to appoint some one " of whom he could be sure " to represent him at the court and look after his interests. Where is there such a trustworthy person, who keeps faith when he is invested with the power to loose and bind? Did not Abu'l-Khattab himself, his deputy and creature, repudiate his obligations, attend to his own interests, and abandon and betray his benefactor? So too does every person in whom trust is reposed, when he tastes the sweets of power, become unworthy of such trust, and every object of affection under the influence of envy becomes an open enemy. Under its influence many a man has quarrelled with his brother, nay, many a child through ambition has been undutiful to his parent. Things like this are experiences, such as we witness with our eyes. (326) Abu 'Ali's error lay in his overweening pride, superciliousness, intractability, and rivalry of his benefactor. Kings must not be browbeaten, and benefactors must not be rivalled. But after all " every term is fixed in writing " (Surah xiii. 38), and right is wrong with ill-luck, wrong right with good luck.

To him who meets with good fortune people say what he desires; on the mother of the unfortunate they imprecate bereavement

We now return to the course of the narrative.

When the partition of the fiefs with the Dailemites was settled, Abu Ja'far Hajjaj was selected to remain in Ahwaz, while Baha al-daulah with Abu 'Ali Muwaffaq proceeded to Ramhurmuz. Abu 'Ali went on in advance with the army, and was joined on the way by Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz who was flying from the son of Bakhtiyar.

Account of the escape of Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz.

We have narrated how he got into the power of Bakhtiyar's son. His fine was fixed at a million dirhems. After paying most of this he was placed in the custody of Lashkarsitan-Kur, who was to extort what remained. A friend of his from Tabaristan devised a plan whereby he escaped to the house of a soldier, and then brought certain Kurds to whom he produced *H*ajjaj, whom they escorted and brought to Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il. Abu 'Ali proceeded by forced marches to Shiraz.

Account of the taking of Shiraz.

When Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il halted outside the town, Bakhtiyar's son came out with his army and his infantry, and encamped facing him. An engagement took place, which went against Bakhtiyar's son on the first day. Meeting the troops of Baha al-daulah he was deserted by many of his retainers, who entered the town, pillaged parts of it, and called out the watchword of Baha al-daulah.

Abu A*h*mad Musawi was in Shiraz, whither, as has been narrated, he had gone from Wasit.[1] Thinking the affair settled he hurriedly rode to the Public Mosque, where, as it was Friday, he pronounced the *khutbah* in Baha al-daulah's name. Presently Bakhtiyar's son returned with his army. Abu A*h*mad took fright, and devised a means of escape. (**327**) Placing himself in a covered basket he was carried out to the camp of Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il.

On the third day the engagement between the parties was renewed, and the day was not over when the Dailemites deserted to Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il. Bakhtiyar's son fled for his life, and was followed by his brother. One of the two (Abu Nasr) got away to the Dailemite country. The other went off to Badr b. *H*asanawaihi, but presently left him to go to the Marsh. Abu 'Ali

[1] Above, p. 308.

became master of the town, and wrote to Baha al-daulah to announce the victory and bid him proceed with his journey. Baha al-daulah did so and settled in the palace in Shiraz.

Account of the sequel to this victory.

When Baha al-daulah arrived in Fars, he ordered the village of Dudaman to be pillaged and burned, and all the inhabitants found there to be massacred. He exterminated them. He had the remains of Samsam al-daulah exhumed, newly wrapped, and carried to the mausoleum in Shiraz, where they were interred. He bestowed special favour on Fatimah of Dudaman,[1] to whom he assigned honours and rewards. This was the fruit of her kindly action, for indeed charity is a blessed tree, whose root is fertile, timber moist, and leaves luxuriant. No-one who plants and waters it is disappointed, no-one who fosters and cherishes it repents.

All the Dailemites of Fars assembled in Shiraz and discussed the question of the fiefs, which should be reclaimed and which allowed to be retained. There was a series of debates on the matter.

Account of the confirmation of the fiefs, and a saving affected in the exchange.

It was settled that the basis of the confirmations should be the exchange of 300 dirhems for a dinar[2]; the original right of each person should then be considered and he should be given such portion of the fief which was in his hands as produced the amount to which he was entitled at this exchange. The remainder was to be reclaimed, and all assignations made in the last

[1] See above, p. 315.

[2] The meaning seems to be that the original right was reckoned in dirhems. On the new system it was to be reckoned in dinars. The dirhem however was to be reckoned at about a twentieth part of its value. Perhaps there is an error in the numerals.

days of Samsam al-daulah were to be abolished. This method was followed by Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il in his treatment of the middle and the (328) lowest classes; the highest class were pampered by him. Finding out his vanity and self-conceit they abased themselves before him, and ministered to him with an abjectness which even a sovereign should not claim, still less a vizier. At sight of him they would kiss the ground and do so repeatedly till they approached him, and would walk in front of him when he rode, in the style of the humblest class of Dailemites. His gifts to them became constantly more abundant, and their submission and self-abasement before him constantly more grovelling. Now every increase which exceeds the limit of desert is a diminution, and every gift which fails to endear is a deprivation.

He appointed Abu Ghalib Mohammed b. 'Ali b. Khalaf his deputy, promoting him and favouring him. He distributed the armies over the provinces. He despatched Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz to Kirman as governor. He placed Alptakin Khadimi under arrest.

Reason for the arrest of Alptakin.

Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il was grateful to FALAH for the services rendered by the latter during the former's concealment in Baghdad; he therefore promoted him and made honourable mention of him. This annoyed Alptakin, who concealed his alarm thereat. Now it happened that one day when Abu 'Ali was stationed at the gate of Sus he said to Alptakin: Chief Chamberlain, it is my intention to proceed with a detachment of the army to the rear of Sus, and enter the outskirts of the town. When the Dailemites hear about us, they will be disturbed, some of them will move against us, and their array will be put out of order. When you see your chance of charging do what you can.—Abu 'Ali, having settled this with him, left his standard where it was, wheeled behind the Dailemites and entered the streets

of Sus, accompanied by picked men from the retainers and others. Shahrsitan separated with 500 men from the army of Samsam al-daulah and went to meet them; there was a violent engagement, the Dailemite ranks were disordered, and Alptakin got his chance of charging. He declined to take it out of resentment against Abu 'Ali Muwaffaq, whom he did not wish (**329**) to gain the victory. Abu' Ali resented this conduct, and kept that resentment secret in his breast.

When he met Bakhtiyar's son at the gate of Shiraz, Alptakin displayed similar negligence. When the town was taken, and Baha al-daulah arrived, and things were settled, Abu 'Ali was anxious to remove him to a distance, and gave him a commission in one of the districts, ordering him to prepare. He transmitted 20,000 dirhems to him for expenses; when the sergeant brought them, Alptakin was drinking and fuddled; he used coarse language which was reported to Muwaffaq, who was indignant, and said to Baha al-daulah: This retainer looks like a rebel, and it would be wise to put him under arrest, and inspire the retainers with respect. Baha al-daulah gave permission for this to be done. Abu 'Ali had him arrested and conveyed to the citadel.

Account of a subtle plot which procured the safety of Alptakin.

The retainers gathered with the view of pleading his cause, and one of their leaders, addressing Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, said: We are your slaves, and your orders must be carried out with small and great among us alike. We do not ask you to liberate him, when you have this cause of complaint against him. We do ask you to grant us his blood,[1] and give us your promise that you will preserve his life.—He said: I am prepared to grant that.—They took his hand upon that and obtained his pledge. When Abu 'Ali had to depart in pursuit of Bakhtiyar's

[1] *i.e.*, grant us his life.

son when he returned from the Dailemite country, his intimate friends and advisers gathered round him and said : It is unwise for you to start on such an expedition, leaving behind you such a foe, with reference to Alptakin. He replied that he was not the man to pledge his word on such a matter and then withdraw it.

Account of errors committed by Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il which were the cause of his ruin.

After the taking of Shiraz Abu 'Ali became excessively overbearing with Baha al-daulah, and was arrogant to an impolitic extent. He discarded the conciliatory and respectful manner which is proper in a king's minister, adopted the reverse attitude, and instead of being complaisant and agreeable became hypocritical[1] and vexatious. One of his mistakes was the following. An eminent man said to Baha al-daulah (**330**) at one of his parties by way of a jest : *May God, sire, give you favour in Muwaffaq's eyes!* Hearing of this Abu 'Ali Muwaffaq demanded that the man should be surrendered to him. Attempts were made to shield him, but Abu 'Ali would not be denied, and insisted on resigning till the man was surrendered to him. He then punished him cruelly. On another occasion one of the usual brawls over polo had taken place between his household retainers and those attached to the king's private horses. Abu 'Ali locked his door and declined to receive the army. He refused to hear the advice of any of his friends. He sent a message to Baha al-daulah, who said to the messenger : My friend, it is improper to address me on the subject of my household retainers, still more so to conspire against me (**331**) on account of a quarrel that has taken place between his own retainers and them, and yet more improper to hand them over to him to wreak his vengeance upon them. So go back to him with a mild remonstrance, and let him know what he commits

[1] This expression seems unsuitable.

by this strange message.—Negotiations went on with him till he stopped. On another occasion when Baha al-daulah was seated in the kiosk in Government House in Shiraz gazing on the parade-ground, Abu 'Ali passed on horseback with the most eminent Dailemites walking in front of him, and did not think proper to dismount when he came within view of Baha al-daulah, who came near bursting with rage. On another occasion on the Persian New Year's Eve Baha al-daulah sent to ask him for 3,000 dirhems. He asked the messenger for what purpose he wanted them, for bread, meat or barley ?—The messenger said : Vizier, the only permissible reply to my message is transmission of the money.—He said : There is no money here.—The messenger was afraid of a dispute arising of which he would have been the cause, and so brought the money out of his own store. Baha al-daulah afterwards learned about this.

Now consider the marvels of time and the transformations which eminent men undergo ! This very Abu 'Ali once took the trouble to borrow money to transmit from Baghdad to Baha al-daulah when Ibn 'Umar and Ibn Salihan refused,[1] thereby winning Baha al-daulah's affection and rising in his favour. And now it comes to this that Baha al-daulah begs of him this trifling sum on New Year's Eve, at a time when his treasury was well-filled, and he was bestowing lavish gifts upon the Dailemites, and he refuses ! Could this be due to anything but a fatality such as overclouds (331) every intelligence and intelligent being ? Different indeed are the beginning and the end of fortune ! His days helped him at the prosperous time and hurt him at the time when luck departed from him. There is a famous Tradition : *When fortune advances towards men it clothes them with other men's virtues, when it declines from them, it strips them of their own.*

During these periods of stress Abu Ghalib Mohammed

[1] Above, p. 282.

b. 'Ali b. Khalaf kept secretly transmitting to Baha al-daulah numerous dinars at different times, and thereby secured himself a position which Baha al-daulah (**332**) respected; this was indeed his surest mode of winning favour in his eyes. The ill-feeling between Baha al-daulah and Abu 'Ali became emphasized, and there happened to the latter what we hope presently to mention.

In this year Bakran b. Balfawaris arrested *H*usain b. Mohammed b. Mamma, chief sergeant of the Dailemites in Baghdad, but presently released him.

Account of the procedure in the matter of his arrest.

Bakran had been appointed to represent Baha al-daulah in Baghdad for the affairs of the Dailemites. He took offence at Ibn Mamma, and various mischief-makers stirred up ill-feeling between them. Bakran proceeded to arrest Ibn Mamma without instructions from Baha al-daulah. He kept Ibn Mamma in custody in his house, appointing as his warder KUSHYAR B. MARZUBAN with a number of Dailemites. The custody was severe. He appointed ABU'L-*H*ASAN IBN RASHID chief sergeant and quartered him in Ibn Mamma's house. It was said that he intended putting the other out of the way. ABU'L-FATH MANSUR B. JA'FAR interceded and guaranteed 20,000 dinars upon him; he took Ibn Mamma to his house after having furnished bonds and guarantees for the sum. The Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Umar hearing of Bakran's action condemned it, and freely attacked both Bakran and Ibn Rashid. He wrote on the subject to Baha al-daulah and to Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il.

Account of the plan adopted for his release whereby authority was maintained.

When the letters reached Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il, he was greatly vexed, and wrote a violent letter to Bakran,

and another letter to the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan, bidding him (**332**) rescue Ibn Mamma from the former's hands, and recover the guarantees that had been got for the money from him. He further wrote to AHMAD the Bedmaker, bidding him attach himself to Bakran until he released Ibn Mamma. These persons all obeyed his orders, Ibn Mamma was released, his guarantees were returned to him, and he proceeded to Ahwaz, where he was reappointed to his office, and whence he returned reinstated. Bakran was summoned, and his brother SHIRZIL was sent to Baghdad to take his place. Kushyar was arrested, and his fief annulled. In all this political principles were duly observed.

In this year the prince Abu Mansur, son of Baha al-daulah, proceeded to Ahwaz.

In this year the prince ABU'L-QASIM MAHMUD B. SABUKTAKIN obtained possession of the territories of Khorasan, after an engagement with 'Abd al-Malik b. Nu*h* b. Mansur and his followers, Tuzun, Fa'iq and Abu Simjur, outside Merv, wherein the prince routed them. He caused the *khutbah* to be pronounced in the name of Qadir from all the pulpits of those regions. The Samanids had been pronouncing it continuously in the name of *T*a'i'. A letter arrived from Abu'l-Qasim Ma*h*mud to Qadir announcing the victory in the usual style.

Here ends year 389, and with the close of its records we terminate this book. We hope for God's most excellent help and guidance to what is right ; in Him we take refuge from evil aims and disappointing results, and from the calamity of self-complacency. *He is enough for us and an excellent trustee is He.*

HILAL B. MUHASSIN'S

CONTINUATION OF "THE EXPERIENCES OF THE NATIONS."

PART VIII.[1]

Account of the arrest by Abu Shuja' Bakran b. Balfawaris of Abu'l-Qasim Husain b. Mamma, the Chief Sergeant.

Abu Shuja' Bakran was displeased with Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma, and mischief-makers stirred up ill-feeling between them. Bakran had Ibn Mamma arrested and put in fetters, with Abu'l-'Abbas Kushyar b. Marzuban for his warder; aided by a number of Dailemites. He was strictly guarded, no-one being allowed access to him. He appointed Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. Rashid Chief Sergeant, and quartered him in Ibn Mamma's house in Armour Street. He proceeded to persecute his dependents and friends, planned (it is said) making away with him, and demanded that he should consent to a fine to be paid up at once. Abu'l-Fat*h* Mansur b. Ja'far mediated, guaranteed 20,000 dinars upon him, and took him off to his house. Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar, learning what had occurred, abstained at first from expressing either approval or disapproval; but when he learned that Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Rashid was to be installed in his place, he was in a state of consternation, out of ill-will to this person and recollection of the treat-

[1] This is the Chronicle of which Abu Shuja''s is an abridgment. The last pages of the latter are taken from the opening pages of this Part, whence the relation between the two can easily be estimated.

ment which he had undergone at his hands. He expressed himself freely about both Bakran and Ibn Rashid, and wrote in the same style to Muwaffaq. Ibn Rashid visited him, but was not admitted. Attempts on his part to get the Sharif to relent proved impracticable. Letters explaining the situation reached Muwaffaq, who was exceedingly (**335**) vexed, and wrote a violent letter to Bakran and another letter to the Sharif, bidding him rescue Ibn Mamma from his hands, and get back the guaran ees which Bakran had taken from Ibn Mamma for the money of which the payment had been imposed upon him. He wrote further to Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad the Bedmaker, bidding him undertake this affair, and get back the guarantees which he had taken from Ibn Mamma for the fine imposed upon him. He was further to go to Bakran and not quit him till he released Ibn Mamma and restored the bonds of the guarantors. They all did as they were ordered, and Ibn Mamma was released on Monday 14 Rabi'i (March 5, 999),[1] and the guarantees for the aforementioned sum were restored to him. After this he proceeded to Ahwaz, where he was reappointed to the service of Baha al-daulah and Muwaffaq. Muwaffaq despatched ABU HARB SHIRZIL B. BALFAWARIS to Baghdad to take the place of Bakran his brother. He arrived on Thursday —7 Rabi'ii (April 13, 999). Thither he sent back Ibn Mamma, whose arrival was on Friday—7 Jumada i (May 12, 999). He put Abu'l-'Abbas Kushyar under arrest, and gave his fief to some one else. He had been one of the chief instigators of what had befallen Ibn Mamma.

On Sunday —10 Rabi'i (March 12, 999) the prince Abu Mansur Buwaihi, son of Rukn al-daulah, proceeded to the camp at Atatin,[2] on his way to Ahwaz; he started again the following Friday.

[1] A Sunday according to Wüstenfeld

[2] This place "The Ovens" seems to be unknown to the geographers.

I have found in an almanach that on the aforementioned Sunday at midday a great meteor fell.

On Tuesday 14 Rabi'ii (April 4, 999) the palace of *H*amuli was burned by the mob. It was entirely destroyed, not a wall being left standing. The accounts of the bureaux which were there were consumed by the fire.

(**336**) *Account of the cause of this.*

Abu Nasr Sabur had endeavoured to impose a tithe on all silken and cotton goods manufactured in Baghdad. This caused a riot on the part of the people of the 'Attabi quar er, and of the Damascus Gate, who proceeded to the Public Mosque on Friday the 10th, stopped the sermon and prayer, clamoured and appealed, and went into the streets in this style. On Tuesday they proceeded to the palace of Abu Nasr Sabur in Daizaj Street, whence they were kept out by the young 'Alawids. Leaving Daizaj Street they went to the Tigris, on the look out for those clerks and officials who were ordinarily to be found in *H*amuli's Palace. These fled before the mob, who set fire to the palace; as no steps were taken to extinguish it, the palace was entirely consumed. Abu *H*arb Shirzil, arriving to take charge of the town, as we have previously stated, arrested a number of the mob who were suspected of having a hand in the conflagration, and impaled four persons at the gate of *H*amuli's palace, on the Thursday of his arrival. It was arranged that the tithe should be taken from the price of silken goods only, and to that effect a proclamation was made on Sunday 4 Jumada i (April 23, 999) on the Western side, and on the following Monday on the Eastern side. This tax was maintained, officers and inspectors appointed for its collection, and an office set apart for this purpose in a palace on the Pool [1]; stamps

[1] Probably the "Pool of Zalzal," Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 62.

were placed on all woven goods, cut or sold; the stamp was required. This practice was retained till the last days of 'Amid al-Juyush, who abolished it, and put a stop to the custom as we shall narrate in its place.

On Friday —6 of this month (May 12, 999) there occurred the death of the Traditionalist Abu'l-Qasim Ibn *H*abbabah [1]; the prayer over him was pronounced by Abu *H*amid Isfaraini in the Mosque of the Eastern quarter.

(**337**) On Thursday, middle of Jumada i (May 4, 999) a robe of honour was sent from the Caliph's Palace to Abu'l-*H*usain Mohammed b. 'Ali b. *H*asan Marini, who was styled Chief Registrar.

On Monday 2 Jumada ii (May 22, 999) Abu'l-*H*usain the physician, pupil of Sinan, died.

In Rajab (began June 18, 999) Abu'l-'Ala *H*usain b. Mohammed Iskafi was given charge of the Treasuries and the right of appointing officials therein. Abu Shuja' Bakran came to Wasit in the same month.

On Thursday —12 Sha'ban (Aug. 3, 999) Abu 'Abdallah A*h*mad b. Mohammed b. 'Abdallah the 'Alawid died in Kufah.

On Saturday 4 Rama*d*an (Aug. 19, 999) Abu Mohammed *H*assan b. 'Umar *H*ariri the Witness died.

On Friday night 1 Shawwal (Sept. 15, 999) Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed b. 'Ali b. Hudhud, chamberlain and inspector of public security, was killed.

(**338**) *Account of the procedure in this matter.*

An estrangement had come about between Ibn Hudhud and Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Rahzadh the Squinting, owing to the refusal of a request. The ill-feeling between the two increased till finally Ibn Rahzadh offered a

[1] Further details about the personages mentioned in this paragraph are given in the Index.

large sum whereby he induced Sabur to arrest Ibn Hudhud and surrender him to Ibn Rahzadh, who imprisoned Ibn Hudhud in his house. On the Friday night he was surprised by robbers who put him to death. Ibn Rahzadh was suspected of having suborned these robbers, and was arrested; the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar was inclined to retaliate upon Ibn Rahzadh for his death. Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma pleaded his cause with the Sharif, who took Ibn Rahzadh to his house, and wrote an account of the matter to Muwaffaq; he took no further steps till he should hear from Muwaffaq, and then released the man.

On Tuesday 5 Shawwal (Sep. 19, 999) Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali, son of Abu 'Ali (Muwaffaq), was invested with the ministry of public security in both sides of Baghdad, and received a robe of honour. And in this month Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Mazyad attacked Abu'l-Fawaris Qilij in Dair 'Aqul, routed him, and pillaged the town.

On Sunday 2 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Oct. 15, 999) the dirhems called *Fathi* (of Victory) were struck.

On Monday 10 (Oct. 23, 999) the Judge of Judges Abu'l-*H*asan 'Abd al-Jabbar b. A*h*mad and Abu'l-*H*usain 'Ali b. Mikal arrived on their pilgrimage: they were met by the Judges, Jurists, Witnesses and leading men, Ibn Mamma, and the followers of the Sharif Mohammed b. 'Umar and of Sabur; complimentary gifts were bestowed upon them.

In Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (began Nov. 13, 999) the followers of Abu'l-Fat*h* Mohammed b. 'Annaz put to death Zahman b. Hindi and his sons Dulaf, Miqdad and Hindi.

Account of this proceeding.

I was told the following by Abu'l-Mu'ammar Ibrahim b. *H*usain Bassami: Zahman, he said, was in possession of (**339**) Khaniqin and its neighbourhood. When the Mu'allim put his son 'Ali to death, he was weakened

and reduced. Mohammed b. 'Annaz returning from his campaign against the Banu 'Uqail in Mausil with Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj was appointed guardian of Daskarah, and a series of struggles and contests took place between him and Zahman, wherein the former grew stronger and the latter weaker. The raid wherein Mohammed b. 'Annaz together with Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il plundered his goods has already been described.

Ultimately they made a truce and became close friends; Mohammed b. 'Annaz slackened rein, and spontaneously offered the other (Zahman) everything that could allay his apprehension. Zahman came to Mohammed b. 'Annaz with his children; once in his power they were put under arrest and removed to the fortress of Baradan, where they were confined. Their followers were scattered, and their territories seized. After a certain length of time Zahman's children rose, broke their fetters, and endeavoured to assault their warders and get possession of the fortress. The warders raised the alarm, and receiving assistance put to death the three sons of Zahman, who have been mentioned, in his presence. They took and placed Zahman himself in a chamber of which they blocked up the doorway; for some days they introduced a crust of barley-bread and a little water through a window, and then he died.

It had been the custom of the Shi'ah residents of Karkh and the Taq Gate to erect arches, hang out garments, and display decorations on the Day of the Pond,[1] kindle fires on the eve of the day, and slaughter a camel. The rival sect (the Sunnah) wanted to do something to match this on their own account, in the same quarters and streets, and so pretended that the day week after the Day of the Pond was that whereon the Prophet with

[1] 18 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah. The Prophet is supposed to have appointed 'Ali his successor on that day. See J. L Merrick, *Life and Religion of Mohammed* (from Shi'i sources), p. 334.

Abu Bakr entered the Cave.[1] They performed similar ceremonies to those performed by the Shi'ah on the Day of the Pond, and to match 'Ashura Day[2] they selected (**340**) the following day week as the day whereon Mus'ab b. Zubair was killed; this day they visited his tomb in Maskan as that of *H*usain b. 'Ali in *H*a'ir is visited. The commencement of the celebration of the Day of the Cave was on Friday —4 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah.[3]

The Pilgrimage of this year was conducted by Abu'l-*H*arith Mohammed son of Mohammed b. 'Umar. Part was taken therein by the vizier Abu Mansur Mohammed b. *H*asan b. *Salih*an, the Sharif Murta*d*a Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. *H*usain Musawi, his brother Abu'l-*H*asan Ra*d*i, and the vizier Abu 'Ali *H*asan son of Abu'l-Rayyan *H*amd b. Mohammed.[4]

In this year 'Umdat al-daulah Abu Is*h*aq Ibrahim, son of Mu'izz al-daulah, reached Mausil from Egypt; there were numerous rumours about him and in his favour. After staying a short time he proceeded to Rayy, and visited Abarquyah and those regions. After this he returned to Egypt, where he died.

In this year there was severe cold accompanied by heavy clouds and a constant Westerly wind, in consequence whereof many thousands of the palm-trees in the Sawad of Baghdad perished, whilst such as escaped were weakly. The palms did not recover their luxuriance and numbers for several years.

In this year the prince Abu'l-Qasim Ma*h*mud b. Sabuktakin obtained possession of the territories of Khorasan after an engagement with 'Abd al-Malik b. Nu*h* b. Mansur, *T*uzun, Fa'iq and Ibn Simjur (**341**),

[1] The incident of the Cave occurred on the Prophet's flight to Medinah, which was certainly not in the Pilgrimage month.

[2] 10 Mu*h*arram. Mus'ab died in 71 fighting against the Umayyads, see Tabari ii., 809.

[3] Dec. 18, 999.

[4] See M. ii. 410.

outside Merv, wherein he routed them. He proclaimed as Caliph the Commander of the Faithful Qadir (whose life God prolong !), whereas the Samanid governors had continued to maintain the title of *Ta'i'*. A letter containing this information arrived from Mahmud, of which the following is a copy (we have omitted the commencement usual in addressing a Caliph) :

In the Name, etc. Praise be to God, the high-placed, whose rule is exalted, the One, Unique, Eternal, Mighty, Victorious, Powerful, Dominant, who guarantees the upraising and uplifting of the truth, and the putting to shame and suppression of the false ; whose schemes encompass the parties of fraud and transgression, whose power and might overtake the iniquitous sects ; who assigns triumph and victory to His friends, and condemns His enemies to ruin and perdition ; so isolated in His majesty that He cannot be withstood ; so exalted in His glory that He cannot be resisted ; who respites yet neglects not him who is deceived by His patience, drawing him on ; who grants time to him who is deluded by His clemency, that He may be justified, but forgets him not ; in His hand is creation and commandment, from Him proceedeth victory and triumph. Blessed be God Lord of the worlds, Lord of the heavens and the earths. And praise be to God, who chose the blessed Mohammed, and selected for him the religion of Islam, preferring him above all preceding prophets, and illuminating through him the tracks of miracles and the paths ; sending him as a herald and a warner to mankind, summoning to God by His permission, and as a shining torch ; leading to the Qur'an and monotheism, and guiding to the right course ; calling creation to the straight religion, and exalting them to certain knowledge. On him be the prayers of God, the prayer that is most perfectly developed and most brilliant, which ascends to the Most High even at the topmost stage, and greets his spirit in the heavens. And the like be on his entire family.

Praise be to God moreover who brought into being our

lord and master the Commander of the Faithful the sovereign Qadir, whose life God prolong, out of that pure stock, that holy root, in fairest fashion, and set him in the most honourable place on the earth, as His viceroy; who exalted his power, and made the fates (**342**) *subservient to his will; so that no enemy resists his banner, but finds his ruin hasten, and is overtaken with sorrow, while no friend obeys his call but his arrow wins in the arrow-game, and his efforts compass success. This has been God's accustomed way, "and thou shalt find no changing of God's mode."* [1]

Now our lord, the Commander of the Faithful (whose life God prolong!) is well aware of the doings of the Samanids that are passed; how their orders were obeyed, their name revered, their affairs well ordered and their provinces organized, all through their display of loyalty to the Commander of the Faithful, and the homage which they rendered him, and through the attachment and inclination which they professed to him. When the pious founders of the line had passed away, and unworthy successors survived, they disengaged themselves from the coils of loyalty, and schismatically broke with the Commander of the Faithful. They silenced all mention of him on the pulpits of Khorasan, and disobeyed his high commands to spread justice and eradicate iniquity and corruption. The mischief wrought by them swamped the land and its inhabitants, their iniquity ground down the subjects. I, on whom God had bestowed in the service of the Commander of the Faithful such hosts and munitions, such weapons and such power, such capacity and such capable champions, such plenty of helpers and assistants, deemed it wrong to do aught but urge them to be truly loyal, or fail to do my utmost to maintain the title of our lord the Commander of the Faithful. I appealed to Mansur b. Nuh and urged him with my utmost strength thereunto, only he would not listen to dutiful admonition, nor attend to enlightening

[1] Surah xxxv. 42.

exhortation. Starting from Bokhara with his cavalry and infantry, his companies and his masses, he gathered against me all the partisans of error who favoured him and all who obeyed him in the land. Only for his ill-fated plans and evil ways he was mutilated by his army, who blinded him, and proclaimed his brother 'Abd al-Malik king. I followed my custom with this latter, sending to him deputation after deputation time after time (**343**) *to urge him to do right and admonish him to be steadfast in loyalty to the Commander of the Faithful. But this only made him like his brother more refractory, more rebellious, more foolhardy and more contumacious. When I despaired of his returning to the straight path, and coming back to the better and more profitable course, and found him staggering in his blindness, floundering in his slough of error, I went out against him with such loyal subjects of the Commander of the Faithful and helpers of the religion as were with me, at the head of an army which choked all space, and whose assault frightened fate; which advanced to the attack in iron, and rent the earth which it swept away and dispersed, till I reached Merv on Tuesday* —3 *Jumada i* (*May* 16, 999). *That is the auspicious town where the 'Abbasid propaganda commenced, and the Umayyad usurpation ceased.*[1] *My equipment was excellent, my preparations complete, my array beautiful. I entrusted my brother, the slave of the Commander of the Faithful,* NASR, *son of Nasir al-daulah wal-din, at the head of* 10,000 *men and* 30 *elephants, with the right wing; on the left I stationed* 12,000 *cavalry, all retainers of Nasir, and* 40 *elephants; I took my place in the centre, with a heart that wavered not, whose loyalty to the Commander of the Faithful distinguished it like a watchword from his enemies, and a resolution that faltered not, recognition of his title being its provision whether it were sent down or up. With me were* 10,000 *cavalry, swordsmen, spearmen, wearers of cuirasses and bearers of shields, with* 70 *elephants. 'Abd al-Malik b. Nuh*

[1] *Cf.* Tabari ii. 1984.

came forth, having on his right and left Bak-Tuzun, one of his deluded ones, and Fa'iq chief of his miscreants, with Ibn Simjur and other helpers of his errors prepared to fight, bearing offensive and defensive armour. Rank met rank, and sword clashed with sword; the battle blazed, and its fires flamed high; stroke mingled with thrust, and champion threw champion. Everywhere was seen the collision of swords on headpieces, and showers of arrows raining into the eyes of mail-clad heroes. Then God caused (**344**) *the breeze of victory to blow for His friends, who cleared the squadrons of the foe, hurling death upon them, and saturating their swords with their blood. The battle ended leaving two thousand of their heroes and champions slain, two thousand, five hundred of their renowned leaders captive, while the loyal troops were pursuing the trail of the fugitives, slaying, capturing, plundering and pillaging till the sun dropped its hand, and the darkness of the night revealed what it hid. Then the loyal troops returned to their camp, having filled their hands with plunder and precious goods of all kinds, enjoying complete security and bounteous fortune, not having lost a man or having their numbers in any way decreased. And now when I write this letter, God has opened to the Commander of the Faithful all the territory of Khorasan, and caused its pulpits to rival one another in mention of his name; in him the cause of right triumphs, and desires vie in embracing his side. Further: I have taken no step so as to bind or loose, ratify or annul, till I should obtain from him some exalted order which should serve as a basis for my building, as a call for me to follow, by God's grace and favour. So praise be to God the mighty, bounteous, sovereign Lord, who lets no well-doer's toil be lost, neither overlooks the ill-doer, though He defer his term; whom none overpowers by force or might, from whose onslaught none can defend himself, whose vengeance none can avert from the malefactor, or divert from the iniquitous;—praise which will procure an increase of His bounty, and enforce*

fresh benefits to be a cause of gratitude. Him I ask to let our lord the Commander of the Faithful, the sovereign Qadir, enjoy the benefits of this victory whose importance is so vast, and which is conspicuous like a white spot on the face of time; to vouchsafe to him a series of victories near and far, in valley and on hill, on sea and land, in plains and rough places; and to give me grace to fulfil the conditions of his service, and defend his household. Verily He is almighty, and all-worthy. And if our lord and master the Commander of the Faithful think meet to deign to peruse this letter (**345**) *and employ his slave on his orders and prohibitions, let him do so if God will.*

YEAR 390.

Commenced December 13, 1311, of the era of Alexander (999), and on the day Asman (27) of the month Adhar (IX) of 368 of the era of Yezdejird.[1]

On Monday 6 Muharram (Dec. 18, 999) Abu'l-Husain 'Ali b. Muammal b. Miman secretary of the Sawad Bureau, died.

On Friday 10 (Dec. 22) Abu Bakr Ahmad b. 'Ali the broker, known as Abu Shaikh Bazzaz, died.

On Thursday —7 of this month (Jan. 5, 1000) the qadi Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Mohammed b. Abi Musa Hashimi died.

In this month ARSLAN of Bust was burned to death. He had been sleeping in a pavilion belonging to him, and was suffering from chronic gout which deprived him of the power to rise or move. His attendants and slaves were at a distance. A spark which fell from a candle in the pavilion on the bed set it alight. He woke up, but had no strength to rise up from his place and save himself; and his shouts were not heard owing to it being night and his slaves being asleep. The fire con-

[1] His era began 943 Alex. al-Beruni, transl. Sachau, p. 120.

sumed the bed and the pavilion, and the affair was not known until after he had been burned to death.

In this month Abu 'Ali Muwaffaq made an expedition to the Jiluyah mountain in pursuit of Bakhtiyar's son Abu Nasr,[1] and reached Abarquyah. He returned in Safar (began Jan. 12, 1000). On this expedition he received the title 'UMDAT AL-DAULAH (Mainstay of the Empire) in addition to MUWAFFAQ. Permission was given to him to have a drum beaten at the five prayer-times.[2] His son Abu'l-Mu'ammar (**346**) received the title RABIB AL-NI'MAH (Nursling of fortune).

In Safar there arrived a letter from Shiraz stating that the title AL-SA'ID (the Happy) had been conferred on Mushattab Abu Tahir Subashi, and that he was to be associated with the Counsellor Abu'l-Haija Takhtakin Jurjani in the management of the affairs of the Turks in Baghdad.

On Thursday 7 (Jan. 18) Abu Mansur Mohammed b. Ahmad b. Hawari died in Ahwaz.

On Monay 10 Rabi'i (Feb. 17, 1000) Abu'l-Hasan Mohammed b. 'Umar the 'Alawid died and was buried in a chamber of his palace in Mansur Street. After a time he was transferred to the Mashhad in Kufah. His funeral was attended by Sabur b. Ardashir, Shirzil b. Balfawaris, Abu'l-Haija Takhtakin Jurjani and all classes.

Account of what happened to his goods and estate.

After his death Sabur b. Ardashir sent and laid an embargo on everything in his palace and treasure-chamber, set guards over his stables, and made a search for his clerks and collectors. He found none of them, as Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Hasan b. Ishaq had fled, and with him the collector, while the rest of his colleagues had

[1] See above, iii. 327. [2] See above, ii. 264, 396.

gone into hiding. Sabur had ABU 'ABDALLAH BATHANI the 'Alawid brought before him, and ordered him to produce the will and the property of the Sharif which were in his possession. This person declined to produce them and took the line of making excuses and objections. So Sabur put him in honourable custody. Letters were sent (**347**) about these matters to Baha al-daulah and Muwaffaq. Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. *H*asan b. Ya*h*ya 'Alawi, who had returned from Ahwaz to Wasit after the victory, wrote about the heirs and the estate; he was told in the reply to come to Baghdad and take up there the post of Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar. The estate was settled at 50,000 dinars to be transmitted to the Treasury.

I was informed by Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Mu*tt*alib that it was settled in Fars that the estate should be assessed by compromise at 50,000 dinars and that half the property should to go the fiscus and one half to the heirs. Then the Sultan's share was set aside whereby he got two-thirds, since he took the best of the lands. When the assets were collected, they were not found equal to the sum fixed, which had to be supplemented out of the price of lands which had fallen to the share of the heirs and were now sold to Abu 'Ali 'Umar b. Mohammed b. 'Umar, Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. *H*asan b. Ya*h*ya, Abu Mohammed 'Ali b. Mohammed b. *H*asan b. Ya*h*ya, and Abu 'Ali 'Umar b. Mohammed b. *H*asan b. Ya*h*ya. Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. Ya*h*ya proceeded to Baghdad which he entered on Wednesday 2 Jumada i (April 10, 1000), accompanied by Abu 'Ali 'Umar b. Mohammed b. 'Umar and Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Is*h*aq the Clerk, who had started for Wasit, and being met on the road by the former returned in his company. Abu 'Abdallah Ba*th*ani was released and surrendered to him. Abu'l *H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya looked after the Sultan's share of the 'Umar property, and Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Is*h*aq undertook the inspection: according to Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-

Muttalib the produce for this year (389 Kharaj year) including the rights of the heirs, (**384**) but not those of the fiscus, amounted to more than 2000 *Kurr* of wheat, barley and other crops, and over 19,000 dinars.

On Tuesday 18 Rabi' i (Feb. 27, 1000) the qadi Abu Mohammed Ibn al-Akfani accepted the testimony of Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Mundhir and Abu'l-Husain Ibn al-Harrani : and on Friday—2 (March 8, 1000) of the same month he accepted that of Abu'l-'Ala of Wasit.

On the night of Tuesday —7 Rabi' ii (April 2, 1000) the prince Abu'l-Fawaris son of Baha al-daulah was born in Shiraz under a star of the Constellation Scorpion.

On Thursday —5 Rabi' ii (April 4, 1000) died Abu 'Umar Ahmad b. Musa 'Allaf the Witness on the Eastern side of Baghdad.

On Friday 18 Jumada i (April 26, 1000) Abu 'Ali Muwaffaq was presented in Fars with the *qaba*, the *farajiyyah*, the sword, the belt and the gilt dagger, and was mounted on a charger with a gold saddle, while another with a gilt saddle was led in front of him, as also was a mule with a saddle-spread of leopard's skin and a saddle with a gilt pommel, and three mares with satin cloths ; he had bestowed on him also an inkhorn mounted in gold, and a shield made of the same substance with other armour was carried with him. Robes of honour were also bestowed on his secretary Abu Nasr, three of his chamberlains and writers and his house-steward. He then started at the head of an army to do battle with Abu Nasr son of Bakhtiyar. He left as his deputy in Shiraz Abu Ghalib Mohammed b. Khalaf to look after public business, while Abu'l-Fadl Iskafi was to represent him at Baha al-daulah's court.

Account of the return of Bakhtiyar's son, how he was attacked and overcome by Muwaffaq and what happened to his army after his death.

When Abu Nasr son of Bakhtiyar had been routed

at the gate of Shiraz, he proceeded to the Kurds, and (**349**) migrated to the frontiers of the Dailemite country.[1] When he had established himself there he wrote to the Dailemites in Fars and Kirman, and received from them replies wherein they urged him to return. He proceeded to Abarquyah where a number of Dailemites, Turks, Zu*tt* and Kurds gathered round him. He then wandered from one region of Fars to another ; his enterprise ceased to be a secret and he kept on corresponding with the Dailemites whom he endeavoured to conciliate and allure. Abu 'Ali Muwaffaq went in pursuit of him to Mount Jiluyah, and in the course of his chase came to Abarquyah. Abu Nasr fled from him, eluded him, and without venturing on an engagement proceeded to Sirajan. I was told the following by Abu 'Abdallah of Fasa : When Bakhtiyar's son went to Sirajan he was not received by the inhabitants, who disapproved of his arrival thither and his staying among them. Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz b. *H*asan was in Jirift ; so this region was too hot to hold Bakhtiyar's son, and he went off to Khanin and Farkhan, districts between Fars and Kirman, containing a numerous arm-bearing population, surrounded by the encampments of the Zu*tt*, who are the bravest and most numerous of the warriors of Fars. Bakhtiyar's son won over a large number of them to his cause, and was joined by parties of Dailemites and others from the districts of Darabujird and other places. Ustadhhurmuz was determined to attack him before he grew strong, and having mustered the forces of Kirman proceeded in pursuit of him. Bakhtiyar's son reached Dashtir before him ; the armies met at a place outside called Ziral. Many of the Dailemites deserted to Bakhtiyar's son from the army of Ustadhhurmuz, who fled accompanied by his staff and his relatives of Quhistan to Sirajan : Bakhtiyar's son advanced to Jirift, where he appointed officials and collected revenue. He then despatched towards

[1] Above, p. 327.

Bamm emissaries to seduce the troops there to his allegiance, became possessed of most of Kirman, where his followers were distributed to appropriate the offices and gather the revenues. Ustadhhurmuz remained in Sirajan, and kept sending raiding parties to the districts to pounce upon Bakhtiyar's son's followers, whom he pursued and overcame (**350**) by craft and wiles. He then received word from Muwaffaq to the effect that the latter was on his way, and ordering the former to make for Burdashir, and get there before Bakhtiyar's son. He carried this order out and reached the gate of Burdashir. The Dailemite adherents of Bakhtiyar's son went up into the citadel, where they entrenched themselves. Muwaffaq advanced into Kirman by the Darabujird road. When he reached Fasa, he encamped outside it, and Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. Mohammed b. Yusuf, governor of this district, learning of his departure from Shiraz, hastened to meet him and minister to him. The governor's arrival at Muwaffaq's camp took place at a time when Muwaffaq was sleeping. He was awakened by the neighing of the horses, and the shouting of the retinue. Muwaffaq was astonished at the numbers of the governor's retinue, and household staff, horse and foot, and in a fit of jealousy arrested the governor, and had him conveyed in his expedition on a camel, after seizing all his goods. At each station where he alighted Muwaffaq sent for this governor and demanded money of him with blows and torture: he went so far as one day to order him to be suspended by one hand to a tent pole, and to be hung on his camel head downwards. In spite of this treatment the governor declined to undertake any payment whatever. Muwaffaq's harshness with him was largely due to his obstinate refusal. Abu 'Abdallah (the governor) stated that he was told by one of Muwaffaq's followers that Muwaffaq declared he had never seen a more callous person. This day, he said Abu 'Abdallah has undergone every form of torture: he has just been released from

bonds and suspension, and is now sitting curling his beard with his fingers and utterly careless of what he has endured.

Bakhtiyar's son, learning of Muwaffaq's expedition, left as his deputy in Jirift a relation of the sovereign of Dailaman, one *H*usain b. Musattar, with a number of his troops, and himself started for Burdashir, where he meant to entrench himself till he should be joined by his followers from Ba nm and Narma ir. They were a powerful host, and he had written to summon them. (**351**) When he was half way he received news that Ustadhhurmuz had arrived thither, and that his followers had gone up to the citadel. He turned off to the road for Bamm and Narmasir, sent orders to his troops in those places to proceed to Darzin, and himself completing the journey thither, halted to await their arrival. Muwaffaq, leaving Fasa, proceeded by forced marches till he was within sight of Jirift; the Dailemites there to the number of 400 men deserted to him, having no means of escape or retreat.

He ordered Abu'l-Fat*h* Ibn al-Muammal and Abu'l-Fa*d*l Mohammed b. Qasim b. Sudmand the Marshal to stay with them, alleging that he was leaving them for the purpose of inspecting them and settling their affairs. He instructed these persons however to put them to death. The two collected the Dailemites in a garden of the government house on the pretence that they were to be paraded there on the following day. The two then collected the Kuj [1] infantry and summoned them singly ostensibly for inspection; each man as he appeared was put to death. These proceedings went on in the night; fearing that the night would be over and morning overtake them before completion, they cast the remainder into a pool[2] in the garden and flung earth on the top.

[1] Otherwise called Qufs, Muqaddasi, p. 471.

[2] The phrase in the text is half Persian.

Muwaffaq, learning from Jirift about Bakhtiyar's son and his having taken the direction of Bamm and Narmasir, left his baggage and heavy equipment and pursued him with his light cavalry. By this action he risked his own life and the safety of the empire.

I was told the following by Abu Mansur Marddost b. Bakran, who was with him on this occasion, being in charge of the imperial armoury which accompanied him, and a member of his confidential staff: We and our beasts, he said, were worn out by continual travelling and want of repose night and day. We reached Jirift having no news of Bakhtiyar's son. Muwaffaq took his seat, and gathered the leading Dailemites and Turks to hold a council. They all advised him to halt and to avoid the risk involved in a reckless advance. He rejected this advice and maintained his resolve to hurry after Bakhtiyar's son. Summoning an astrologer who had accompanied him from Shiraz he asked him whether he had not foretold (**352**) that he, Muwaffaq, would capture Bakhtiyar's son on the following Monday.—The astrologer admitted that he had.—Muwaffaq proceeded to ask what chance there was of this forecast being fulfilled, when they were in their present situation, there were no news of the man, and only five days remained.—The astrologer declared that he maintained the accuracy of his forecast: If, he said, you do not win your victory on the day that I have mentioned, you may take my blood; but if you are victorious what present will you give me?—We, said Abu Mansur, laughed and scoffed: but Muwaffaq started and the victory was won on the day which the astrologer had fixed.

The following was told me by Abu Nasr Sunni, secretary to Muwaffaq:—When, he said, Bakhtiyar's son became dangerous, had possessed himself of Kirman and been joined by the Dailemites, Baha al-daulah was

alarmed, and demanded that Muwaffaq should undertake an expedition against him. Muwaffaq was at the time demanding permission to resign. Baha al-daulah said to him: If I were to give you permission to resign, it would be improper for you to accept the permission at such a time as this, knowing that I only quitted Wasit at your suggestion, and have obtained the sovereignty of these realms only through your counsel and efforts. If you desert me at this time of pressure you will have betrayed me and ruined your former services. No, you must proceed on this expedition and defend me from this enemy: and put off the question of your resignation to another season.—Muwaffaq could give no reply to this address save his loyal assent. A robe of honour was bestowed upon him, and he set forth. The Dailemites and Turks went out with him in bodies without any demand or enlistment by him. Indeed he rejected some of them, who begged and implored to be allowed to accompany him.

On his arrival at Fasa he found there Juwammard Abu Dhar'ani in the custody of Abu Musa Khwajah b. Siyahjang, who at the time was governor of the place. This Juwamma d when released by Muwaffaq in Shiraz had joined the party of Khumartakin (freedman of Baha al-daulah), but presently left him and fled to Bakhtiyar's son at the time of his invasion. Bakhtiyar's son had received him and made a friend of him. Bakhtiyar's son had then sent Juwammard to tamper with the retainers [1] in Fasa in his interest, while sending WANDARIN b. Balfadl Harkamij to the Dailemites. This Wandarin was an eminent and influential resident (**353**) in Fasa. Bakhtiyar's son furnished him both with letters and seals.

I was told the following by Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. *H*asan: Bakhtiyar's son, he said, sent Wandarin b. Balfa*d*l to the Dailemites in Fasa for the purpose of

[1] *i.e.*, the Turks.

conciliating and corrupting them and instructing them to desert to him and utter his watchword. Arriving in the place he concealed himself in the residence of *H*UBNAH son of the Ispahsalar Walamij. There knots of Dailemites paid him secret visits, signified their assent to his proposals and received papers and seals from him.

ABU'L-FADL *Ah*mad b. Mohammed of Fasa was on duty at the entrance gate of Khwajah b. Siyahjang, who was governor of the region. Several persons have informed me that this Abu'l-Fa*d*l was the lover of a maid-servant in the house of the above-mentioned *H*ubnah, who regularly paid him visits. Suddenly her visits ceased, the reason being that she had been ordered by *H*ubnah to look after his hidden guest (Wandarin). Abu'l-Fa*d*l sent to remonstrate with her for failing to visit him; she came in consequence and informed him of her excuse. He, being acquainted with the Dailemites, asked for a description of the visitor, and when she furnished this, he recognized the man. Abu'l-Fa*d*l asked this damsel to find some means of admitting him by night to the house and concealing him where he could see who visited Wandarin. She did this. He got into the house secretly, and seeing Wandarin went off at once to WANDARISH son of KHWAJAH b. Siyahjang, whom he addressed as follows: I have got, he said, some information of political importance, which could be used by your father for his promotion. If he shows me favour, and kindness, makes me a leader (*khwajah*) of the Dailemites, gives me a robe of honour and advances me in rank, I am prepared to communicate it to him.—Wandarish brought Abu'l-Fa*d*l to his father Khwajah. After obtaining guarantees of what he had stipulated for himself Abu'l-Fa*d*l told him about Wandarin. Though it was night, Khwajah b. Siyahjang, fearing the movement might spread and the mischief appear, despatched his sons Wandarish and Siyahjang with a

number of his associates to the house of *H*ubnah, which they surprised. They arrested Wandarin and brought him to Khwajah, who put him to death. Khwajah kept his word to Abu'l-Fa*d*l, (**354**) whose career thus commenced; it progressed till he reached the position which shall be described in its place.

Khwajah b. Siyahjang further learned about Juwammard Abu Dhar'ani, and arrested him also. He asked Muwaffaq for orders with regard to him and was told to keep him in custody.—My informant, Abu Nasr, proceeded: Now when Muwaffaq arrived in Fasa, he sent for Juwammard at night and addressed him thus: You are aware, he said, that I spared your life first in Shiraz and again when your mischief-making came to light on the present occasion. Now, if there be any good in you, any desire to requite these benefits, you can do what will lead to high promotion.—He replied: You will find me ready to satisfy you, whatever order you give.—Muwaffaq said: I will release you secretly, and you are to go off to Bakhtiyar's son, ostensibly as a fugitive, and find means to take him prisoner, if I delay, or to assassinate him, if you are unable to capture him. You are then to come back to me and I will promote you to the rank of the highest of your fellows.—Juwammard promised to do this. Muwaffaq gave him further instructions and gave him a promise in accordance with his stipulation that he should be appointed Chief Chamberlain to the Prince Abu Mansur. He was released at night and a report spread the next day that he had escaped from confinement. Juwammard proceeded to Bakhtiyar's son and resumed his service.

Muwaffaq advanced at a great rate till he came within sight of Jirift; the adherents of Bakhtiyar's son who were there deserted to him. He entered the town, but took up his quarters outside it, where he was joined by Abu Sa'd Fannakhusrah b. Ba-Ja'far, Abu'l-

Khair Shahrsitan b. Dhaki, Abu Musa Khwajah b. Siyahjang, and other leaders. They said to him: Muwaffaq, you have been over-exerting yourself in this expedition, and have rushed into an enterprise of which the results are likely to be disastrous. There are two possibilities before you. Either you will deliver a stroke which will rebound upon us, and so have ruined—God avert such a thing—yourself and us by your own hand: or you will get the better of the man, in which case the need for your services and ours will be over; and when this sovereign feels secure, that security will be a reason for his plotting against us (**355**) and hankering after our fortunes and estates. Your better plan is to leave things in their present state and stay where you are.—He said: Your advice is sincere and sound. However I instigated this sovereign to invade these territories in opposition to all his counsellors; I am obliged by this and by the favours which I have received from him to do him faithful service and devote my energies to the pursuit of his enemy. You must help me and do your best to bring this enterprise to a successful conclusion with me.—They replied: We did not speak as we did with any design of disobeying you or leaving you in the lurch. We only stated what we believed to be in your interest. If you do not approve we are prepared to obey you.

Abu Nasr continues: Whilst he was debating, a man came to inform him that Bakhtiyar's son was in Darfadh, eight parasangs from Jirift. Muwaffaq proceeded to select 300 men of note for their personal strength and their accoutrements from among the Dailemites and Turks, and taking with him light riders amply armed on swift camels, mules and horses, and only such grooms and attendants as were indispensable, started from Jirift, leaving there his heavy baggage, camp-followers and other retinue. When he reached Darfadh, he did not find Bakhtiyar's son there. He was

told that he had been there, but had proceeded to Sarwistan in Kirman. Muwaffaq without halting went in pursuit, but when he reached Sarwistan found that Bakhtiyar's son had gone on to Darzin. Muwaffaq was compelled to go in pursuit, though not convinced that this report of his movements was correct, as in fact it was. Muwaffaq was in this situation and had given orders that the roads should be guarded and persons going in any direction be arrested, when a villager was brought to him in whose possession were two letters written for Bakhtiyar's son in the hand of his vizier Ibn Jumhur, one of which was to the inhabitants of Sarwistan, bidding them get ready provisions for men and beasts, as he meant to come back to them so soon as his army arrived from Bamm, with the intention of making for Burdashir; the other to Janawaihi b. *H*akamawaihi, one of the emissaries in the mountains of (**356**) Jirift, to the following effect: *We are informed that Ibn Isma'il has arrived in Sirajan and is making for Jirift. You are to secure against him a certain pass* (with reference to a passage between two hills which has to be traversed to get to Jirift, and where a small body of men can withstand whole armies and prevent their passing).

Abu Nasr continues: Muwaffaq asked the messenger about Bakhtiyar's son and his whereabouts. The man replied that he had left him in Darzin awaiting the arrival of his army from Bamm and Narmasir.—He was glad to find that the information which had reached him was correct, and started that very evening between the two prayer times. When we had travelled two parasangs we saw a blaze of fire. We supposed that Bakhtiyar's son, having learned our plans, was on his way to meet and engage us. We were disturbed and alarmed. Abu Dulaf Lashkarsitan b. Dhaki started off with a party to ascertain the facts. After going some distance they returned with the information that the fire had been lighted

by some huntsmen. Muwaffaq marched slowly timing his arrival at Darzin for the morning. As we approached the place our army increased its speed, and Bakhtiyar's son hastily mounted, collected his followers, and charging one of the Dailemites hurled a lance at him which transfixed his forehead. He also shot at Mardawij b. Ba-Kalijar and wounded his horse. He then shouted in Dailemite style. Our men retired, got together, and formed their ranks. The adherents of Bakhtiyar's son also collected, and stood with the intention of fighting.

Muwaffaq now came up (Abu Nasr continues) and took his station on horseback: with him were the *Sahib* Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram, Abu Mansur Marddost, myself and his household retainers. Abu Mohammed advised Muwaffaq to dismount and get a particular horse which had been specially prepared,[1] but Muwaffaq objected that, were he to dismount, this might discourage his followers who would suppose that he was making preparations for flight. Thereupon (he says) Muwaffaq left us and went off with his household retainers till he had got in the rear of Bakhtiyar's son, when he charged. His followers shouted the Turkish war-cry. Bakhtiyar's son supposed (**357**) the retainers to be numerous. When the dust rose our people charged from the front, and Bakhtiyar's son was routed. He mounted a horse specially prepared and fled for his life, accompanied by Juwammard Abu Dhar'ani. The former wanted to cross a river that was in front of him, but was stopped by Juwammard, who struck him with a club which he held in his hand. Bakhtiyar's son fell off his horse. Juwammard dismounted with the intention of mounting him and bearing him off to Muwaffaq; but he was overwhelmed by pillagers who took the horses of both Bakhtiyar's son and Juwammard and the latter's arms. Juwammard, leaving his prisoner, went off to Muwaffaq, and when he found him said:

[1] Compare the story in Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, tr. Stokes, p. 190.

I am So-and-so and I have killed Bakhtiyar's son.—Muwaffaq paid little attention to this statement, which he did not believe, and followed the traces of Bakhtiyar's son whom he supposed to be in front, but despatched Mohammed b. Amirawaihi Majari with Juwammard to ascertain the truth. Meanwhile a certain Dailemite had recognized Bakhtiyar's son, and having dismounted had picked him up and set him on his own horse, with the intention of bringing him to Muwaffaq, in accordance with his own request. While thus engaged he was encountered by a Turkish retainer in the service of ——[1] who said to him: Do you mean to spare people who are at war with us, and would certainly not spare us if they got us in their power? (He supposed the captive to be an ordinary Dailemite).—The captor said: My lad, this is Bakhtiyar's son, and I meant to convey him to Muwaffaq; but, he went on, you may convey him yourself and receive the glory and the reward offered to the person who brings him.—The man declined, and proposed that they should share. To this they agreed; but certain grooms and attendants, discovering what they were about, declared that *they* had the best right to convey him; and the brawl that ensued led to his being killed and decapitated. The head was then taken by the Turk, who mounted his horse and galloped off. He was met by Mohammed b. Amirawaihi and Juwammard Abu Dhar'ani, who returned with him.

Abu Nasr states that Mohammed b. Amirawaihi hurried on to Muwaffaq, who had got to the distance of a parasang from Darzin, and explained the situation to him. He hastened back, and took his seat on the roof of a house, whither the head of Bakhtiyar's son was brought, to be flung before him. The Dailemite chieftains mounted thither, congratulated him on his victory and invoked blessings upon him. Their faces displayed bewilderment and their hearts were a prey to (**358**)

[1] The name is illegible.

grief; except indeed Razman b. Zarizad, who, when he saw the head, struck it with his foot, and said to Muwaffaq: Praise be to God who has enabled you to achieve your purpose, and brought about his death and punishment at your hands: causing the dream which I narrated to you to be realized.—Abu Nasr explains how Razman had said to Muwaffaq on a certain day in Shiraz: Yesterday I saw Samsam al-daulah in a dream and he said to me: *Go to Muwaffaq and bid him take vengeance for me upon Bakhtiyar's son.*—Muwaffaq then descended from the housetop to an elegant tent which had been pitched for him, and wrote an autograph despatch to Baha al-daulah announcing the victory. The following is the text:

In the Name etc. I am writing these letters on the morning of Monday —3 *Jumada ii* (June 4, 1000) *at a place called Darzin, five parasangs' distance from Bamm. Before me is the head of Bakhtiyar's son; more than* 500 *Dailemites have been killed, and other infantry and Zutt innumerable. May God bring to our lord the King of Kings the realization of his hopes and those of his servants in all his affairs and against all the enemies of his empire! A detailed account follows, that, when he has perused it, he may cordially thank Almighty God for the victory which has been vouchsafed him through His grace. Certain of our helpers who are stationed with me have obtained the right to bring the good tidings; I mention this that no part of the reward may be given to others.*

Abu Nasr continues: I was ordered by Muwaffaq to fetch one of the waist-belts worn by his Turkish retainers, open it and spill out the dinars which it contained; he then bade a proclamation be made that so much should be given to anyone who brought in a Dailemite, and half the amount to one who brought in a Kuji or Zutti trooper. Such captives when brought in were slaughtered at a distance from where he was, yet within his sight; a

considerable number were put to death in this way. NIKUR son of al-Da'i and a son of FARADI presented themselves and begged the life of (**359**) a relative of theirs who had been captured and was brought for execution. They kept supplicating and kissing the ground, but he would only say: You are aware of my kindness to you, and how many offences committed by you against the king have been remitted. These people have aimed at usurpation and been assisting the enemy; it is not permissible to spare or pardon them.—While this conversation was going on one of their sergeants entered with the news that the man had been executed. The two left the room and prepared to receive visits of condolence. Muwaffaq paid them a visit of the kind.

I asked Abu Nasr about the astrologer whose forecast was recorded by Abu Mansur Marddost. He replied: Yes. He is a man called Birinjshir with *kunyah* Abu 'Abdallah. He had been in the service of Samsam al-daulah; after his death he joined in Samsamiyyah the party of Razman b. Zarizad, who used frequently to appear before Muwaffaq, eat and drink at his table, and act as his entertainer. One night when we were quartered in Fasa we got on the subject of the stars and forecasts. He mentioned that he had with him an astrologer who professed to know something about them, whom, if ordered to do so, he would produce. Muwaffaq bade him produce the man. Razman summoned him, and when Muwaffaq saw him, he was favourably impressed and, after offering him drink, said to him: What have you to say about our enterprise?—He replied: My lord, you will be victorious, and will get Bakhtiyar's son into your power and kill him on a day (which he specified). —Muwaffaq said: If you say this by way of flattery and in order to say something auspicious, we accept the omen; but if it be uttered out of knowledge and as a scientific forecast, whence do you infer it?—It is no flattery, he replied, but a well-grounded assertion; I

have got the horoscope of Bakhtiyar's son, and the day which I have mentioned is fatal for him since therein his career (as marked in the stars) reaches the quartile of Mercury.—Muwaffaq replied: If your forecast prove true, I will bestow a robe of honour upon you, lavish favours upon you, and take you into my special service. If however it prove false, what punishment do you elect to undergo?—He said: Whatever you decide.

When we arrived in Jirift, I had another talk with this astrologer and asked him if he adhered to his forecast. He replied that he did. News had reached us that Bakhtiyar's son was in Darfadh. I said to him: The man is only one stage away from us, and we are advancing against him to-night. Only five days remain to the day which you have designated.—He replied: I adhere to my forecast, and have no knowledge of the distance which separates you from Bakhtiyar's son.—The battle was fought and Bakhtiyar's son was killed on the day that he had named.

Abu 'Abdallah of Fasa states that the corpse of Bakhtiyar's son was buried in Darzin under the cupola which contains the grave of Abu Ṭahir Sulaiman b. Mohammed b. Alyas who was killed by Zarizad on the occasion of his returning from Khorasan to engage Kurkir b. Justan.

The Turks who had been on the side of Bakhtiyar's son went off to Khabis, whence they sent messages to those who were with Muwaffaq; these appealed to him to grant an amnesty to the former and receive them into his service. His reply was favourable; so they came and were enrolled in his army.

Abu Nasr continues: Muwaffaq now proceeded towards Burdashir, where Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz was stationed, and was besieging the adherents of Bakhtiyar's son who were in the citadel. When he reached the place, and the people learned of Bakhtiyar's

son's death, they sent to request the Dailemite followers of Muwaffaq to obtain an amnesty for them on condition that they opened the citadel and entered his allegiance. The Dailemites presented this request, but his reply was: They shall have no amnesty except on the condition of their going off in rags, abandoning their goods and chattels.—They accepted these terms, and the men with their families came down in rags with water-bottles to start on their journey. All the goods, clothes, beasts and trappings in the citadel were seized.

Abu Nasr continues: Those adherents of Bakhtiyar's son, who had been chased and captured were brought into the camp at Burdashir. Among them was Bal-fadl b. Buwaihi. Muwaffaq ordered a separate tent to be pitched for him; (361) he then summoned Abu Dulaf Lashkarsitan b. Dhaki and Abu'l-Fadl Ibn Sudmand the Marshal. It was after twilight. He bade them go to Bal fadl and reproach him for his desertion of this House and entering the service of Bakhtiyar's son. They were to use the harshest expressions.—The two left him preceded by the bedmakers with torches. The tent wherein Bal-fadl b. Buwaihi was lodged was near Muwaffaq's. Muwaffaq presently rose and said to Wandarish b. Khwajah b. Siyahjang who was with him: Let us go and hear what our envoys say to Bal-fadl and what he replies.—Turning to me he asked whether I knew the path by the stable which led to his tent. As I said I did, he told me to act as guide, and after forbidding the bedmakers to follow, he started in the darkness leaning on the arm of Wandarish, whilst I went in front, till we got to the back of the tent, where we stood, whilst he squatted between Wandarish and me, so as to hear Abu Dulaf Lashkarsitan upbraiding him.— Bal-fadl rejoined: Abu Dulaf, leave this subject alone; for I assure you there is not a man, great or small, in your army, but has written to Bakhtiyar's son, invited him, and promised him loyalty and support. Indeed I should

not exceed the truth were I to say that with the exception of Muwaffaq and the king's secretaries not a man has hung back.—Muwaffaq thereupon returned to his tent, where he presently received a visit from Abu Dulaf Lashkarsitan and Abu'l-Fadl Ibn Sudmand. The former said: My lord, he has proffered excuses for his conduct and requested that his mistake be pardoned.—What story did he tell you? asked Muwaffaq.—Lashkarsitan at first spoke obscurely, but presently said outright: There is not a man in your army who is not under suspicion. You cannot punish them all for their conduct, nor even charge them openly with it. The most diplomatic course is to hush the whole business up.—Balfadl b. Buwaihi and the captured Dailemites were brought to Shiraz when Muwaffaq returned; Balfadl and a few others were put into confinement till Muwaffaq was arrested, when they were released. The Dailemite chieftains interceded for the others with Muwaffaq, who let them go free.

(**362**) We now return to the proceedings of Muwaffaq in Burdashir after this affair. Abu Nasr continues: He now gathered the Dailemites who were settled in the various districts of Kirman and said to them: Whoever wishes to remain in the service of this government[1] may do so on the condition that he must be put on a new register, with such stipend allotted to him as suits his condition, and with the understanding that what is assigned him is neither an estate nor a fief, but a stipend or allocation. Whoever wishes to depart has the road clear before him.—It was settled that they should appear on parade, and the fiefs in their possession be cancelled; fresh assignations of stipends were then to be settled with them as they were with those Persians who arrived from the Dailemite country. Muwaffaq held an audience for this purpose, at which the Dailemite leaders were on his

[1] "In this region" would seem more natural.

right, and the Turkish on his left. The marshals (*'urrad*), clerks, and rolls, were in front of him. A Dailemite would present himself who had been many years resident in Kirman,[1] and was the possessor of numerous fiefs, with a minimum stipend of half a million dirhems. He would kiss the ground, and then stand up; after being asked his name, that of his father, and that of his town, he would receive a moderate allocation. Gradually all the fiefs were cancelled; the number of the original assignations was greatly reduced, those who were of no use as soldiers were dismissed, and only picked men retained.

When Muwaffaq had completed this operation, he dismissed Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz from the government of Kirman and seized his real property, out of resentment for his having arrested Abu Mohammed Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh, when the latter was residing with him, without Muwaffaq's order or leave. He appointed Abu Musa Khwajah b. Siyahjang minister of war, bestowing on him a robe of honour and mounting him on a horse with gold trappings. To Abu Mohammed Qasim he entrusted the management of the *kharaj*, bestowing on him a robe of honour. He took his bond for the realization of 3,000,000 dirhems out of the districts (of Kirman) within a short period which he fixed.

It happened that a letter reached him from Abu'l-Fadl Iskafi containing an account of charges levelled at him by the courtiers at the time when his despatch arrived announcing his victory. He was so deeply chagrined thereby that (**362**) he lost all self-control. In an access of vexation and indignation at the intelligence he summoned Abu Mansur Marddost and despatched him to Shiraz with a present of horses and mules, making him the bearer of a letter to Baha al-daulah to the following effect: *I have served his majesty from be-*

[1] See above, ii. 360, for the conquest of Kirman by 'Adud al-daulah

ginning to end, recompensed his favours to me and discharged my obligations as an adviser. He must now perform his promise to relieve me of my office after victory has been won. From this day I am no longer fitted for service or work.

After despatching Marddost he gave out that he was about to return home. The Dailemite chieftains in whom he had confidence and on whom he relied assembled and pointed out to him the impolicy of going home before he had got affairs into thorough order. They advised him to stay and devote himself to collecting revenue and so getting things straight; when after a season he had got together what he desired he would be able to transmit to Baha al-daulah such an amount as would dispose him favourably. They suggested to him as alternatives to stay where he was if he liked the place, or proceed to Ispahan and take it, and thence proceed to the Jabal or to 'Iraq. They warned him against meeting Baha al-daulah and establishing himself at his court; assuring him that when Baha al-daulah was secure and in no danger from his enemies he was not to be trusted to leave Muwaffaq unhurt. Muwaffaq would not accept their sound and loyal advice, and urged by his self confidence returned to Shiraz. He entered the city Wednesday 12 Sha'ban (July 17, 1000). I was informed by several persons that Baha al-daulah went out to meet him; after they had met, and Muwaffaq had paid his respects, when they were on their way and about to enter the city, Muwaffaq parted company on the road and went off to his own palace. The whole army followed in his train, leaving Baha al-daulah with his grooms, servants and staff. This vexed Baha al-daulah and roused his deepest resentment. The matter became the subject of general conversation. After this Baha al-daulah never again went out to meet one of his viziers.

(**364**) We now return to chronicling events month by month.

On Monday 4 Rajab (June 11, 1000) Abu'l-*Ḥ*asan A*ḥ*mad b. 'Ali b. Shuja', the Witness, died.

On Monday 11 Rajab (June 18, 1000) Abu *Ḥ*afs 'Umar b. Ibrahim Kittani, the Qur'an-teacher, died.

On Friday —8 Rajab (June 28, 1000) the prince Abu Sa'd son of Baha al-daulah died in Baghdad.

On Saturday —7 Rajab (June 29, 1000) an expedition was started by Abu'l-*Ḥ*asan 'Ali b. *Ḥ*asan Baghdadi and Abu *Ṭ*ahir Yaghma the elder to Baduraya for the purpose of repelling the followers of Qarrad b. Ladid.

Account of the reason for this and of the series of events therein.

Abu *Ṭ*ahir Yaghma had an ample fief in Baduraya, and in addition was made governor. This office he disputed with Qarrad b. Ladid. Abu'l-*Ḥ*asan Rasha' was at the time his (Qarrad's) secretary and manager. He was an uncompromising man of business, harsh, litigious and offensive. He displayed the first of these qualities in his transactions with Abu *Ṭ*ahir Yaghma, the others with Sabur b. Ardashir in reference to matters wherein he interfered or orders which he disobeyed. He inflicted loss on the fief-holders and cultivators, and by altering the currency wherein fees for guarding of roads and protection of property were paid from silver, at 150 dirhems for the dinar, to gold at 20 dirhems the antique dinar, he multiplied the allocation and increased the burden.[1] Intrigues were conducted for Sabur in Baduraya and hopes were held out to him of money to be obtained (**365**) thence either by war or peace. The situation led to Yaghma going thither as minister of war, and Abu'l-*Ḥ*asan Baghdadi as collector of the Arab[2] customs.

For a time they were undisturbed. Presently Qarrad and Rasha' arrived with a force which they had

[1] It would seem that this tax (in any case iniquitous) had normally been assessed in dirhems and been paid in a depreciated silver currency.

[2] Probably customs paid by the Bedouins.

mustered, and established themselves in Sindiyyah. They were separated by four parasangs. Qarrad's followers advanced and killed three Turkish retainers, named respectively Baitakin Yarukhi, Haruni and Mujaddar (the Pock-marked). They impaled Haruni on a willow on the bank of the Nahr 'Isa.

Sabur and Abu *H*arb Shirzil b. Balfawaris led an army to Farisiyyah, whither Qarrad and his followers approached. Siyahjang b. Khwajah b. Siyahjang hurried out with some Dailemite troops to engage some Bedouins, who drew him on till he got away from the main army by the village called Kalwadhaniyyah, at a bowshot from Farisiyyah. A party of the Bedouins who had hidden in some standing millet then sprang out in his rear and captured him. This alarmed the troops, and Sabur wrote to Qilij, who was in Baghdad, bidding him come out. He obeyed and came with a number of retainers and Kurds who were under his command. The whole party now proceeded to Sindiyyah, and pitched their tents on the Eastern side (of the Canal) opposite the village. Qarrad retired to *H*adithah of Anbar, at a distance of four parasangs. When a few days had elapsed Qilij took offence owing to a demand which he had made of Sabur being refused; he and his followers struck their tents and went home. Sabur and Shirzil with the Dailemites were compelled to retire in consequence. This was in the month of Rama*d*an.

I remember receiving a letter from Rasha' requesting my good offices with Sabur, of whom I was to ask permission for a friend of his to come. I went to Sabur and gave him the letter to read. He gave no ready assent, and bade me write to him: *Before I make any terms with you I must satisfy the resentment which I cherish against you.*—I left his presence, but delayed writing the letter and sending the messenger back. Before an hour had passed Qilij and his retainers had struck their tents and departed. Sabur then summoned me and asked what

reply I had given to Rasha'.—What you told me, I answered.—And has his messenger departed?—No.—Then get back your letter (he said) and write to him to the effect that the presence of the troops is vexatious to the district, and I am unwilling to ruin it by a long stay. *If you repent of your past conduct and are willing to renew your loyal service, you may send your representative.*—Sabur mounted to start homewards to Baghdad, and I wrote out this reply standing on my feet, since the matter was too urgent to admit of the least delay. We were afraid the Bedouins might hear what we were doing, pounce on our camp and capture stragglers, or come to meet us on the road and work their will upon us while we were in disorder, and about to enter the city in the style of a routed force.

My letter reached Rasha'. He despatched Abu'l-Fa*d*l Ibn al-*S*abuni of Mausil. Notwithstanding the shameful retreat and the renewal of Rasha''s hopes it was arranged that Siyahjang (but he only) should be at once released. The business was hushed up, but was none the less disgraceful and scandalous. Letters were sent to Muwaffaq reporting what had happened, and he replied disapproving, yet forbidding all further interference with or irritation of the Banu 'Uqail.

On Sunday —6 Rajab (July 30, 1000) Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Mohammed b. 'Ubaid Zajjaj the Witness died. His birth was in Rama*d*an 295 (began June 4, 908).

On Thursday —2 Rajab (July 4, 1000) Abu'l-Qasim 'Ubaidallah b. 'Uthman b. *H*aniqa the Traditionalist died.

(**367**) On Tuesday 4 Sha'ban (July 9, 1000) the qa*d*i Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Ubaidallah b. A*h*mad b. Ma'ruf died.

On Thursday 6 Sha'ban (July 11, 1000) Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. Mohammed b. al-Falla, Jurist and Witness, died on the Eastern side (of Baghdad).

On Thursday —10 Sha'ban (July 26, 1000) the Muwaffaq (Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il) was arrested in Shiraz.

Account of the procedure therein and of the arrangements afterwards made for the administration.

After his return to Shiraz, as set forth above, Muwaffaq insisted on resigning and repeatedly applied for leave to do so. Baha al-daulah harboured various grudges and grievances against him, which changed his sentiments towards him, and rendered those reasons ineffective which had previously induced Baha al-daulah to treat him with consideration and patience. Muwaffaq was further feared by Baha al-daulah's courtiers and retinue, of whom he freely expressed his opinion. These therefore set Baha al-daulah against him.

The following was told me by Abu Nasr Bishr b. Ibrahim Sunni: When Muwaffaq returned to Shiraz from Kirman, he insisted on resigning his office, sent repeated messages to Baha al-daulah on the subject, and importuned him to assent. On the night before his arrest there were with him his intimate friends, Fannakhusrah b. Baja'far and Abu Dulaf Lashkarsitan. Abu'l-'Ala Iskafi was also present. The two former said to Muwaffaq: Muwaffaq, what else is this resignation of yours but caprice and ill-advisedness? What do you wish us to compass for you either through the king or through ourselves? If you are vexed by any act of Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz or Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. A*h*mad or want anything done to them, we will suborn men to assassinate them or induce the king to take and surrender them to you; or, if you have anything else in mind, tell us plainly that we may gratify you.—He replied: With regard to Ibn Ustadhhurmuz he and I are in treaty with one another since we were in Ahwaz, and I am not going to repudiate it. Further I assure you that I have no secrets which I conceal from you. Only I have served this sovereign and compassed

his aims for him, (**369**) and I do not want to remain in the army after what has passed.—They said, Abu'l-'Ala Iskafi joining with them: Do not do it. Leave the course whereon you have entered and which you are pursuing so obstinately. It will lead to results which you will regret when it will be impossible to repair them. If you imagine that you will be allowed to resign and sit comfortably in your house with a successor managing affairs, after the eminence and rank which you have attained in the empire, you are imagining an impossibility. The right course for you is to let us go to his majesty and inform him that you have changed your mind, and are willing to remain in his service and administer his affairs.—He refused. Then they said to him: If you are resolved, at least put off your visit till after to-morrow, and reconsider. We will come to you another time and the course to be followed shall be settled between us at another meeting.—This also he rejected, and rode the following day to the Palace accompanied by the army. When he was inside and had taken his seat in the ministerial (?) chamber, he transacted the usual business, admitted various officers, spoke to them and granted their petitions. He then told Abu'l-Fadl Ibn Sudmand the Marshal (*'arid*) and the sergeants to go out to the people, see to their business and receive their petition-papers.—Messages were interchanged between him and Baha al-daulah on the subject of his resignation; Baha al-daulah endeavoured to dissuade him, but he insisted, and urgently demanded permission for it. Presently we noticed a change of tone in the Palace and altered expressions on men's faces. The *Sahib* Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram said to him: You now perceive that of which I was afraid. You had best rise and depart, for no-one will venture to hinder you. When you are inside your house you can take such measures as you deem advisable.—Muwaffaq said to him: *Sahib*, you are afraid and dazed. *You* had

better rise and get away.—Ibn Mukram bandied words with him for a little, and then went off and mounted his horse. Muwaffaq then understood what was going to happen.

Abu Nasr continues: Muwaffaq then said to me: Get away and make yourself safe.—No, I replied, I will stay with you.—He urged me saying: Depart, as you are told.—So I departed and there remained with him (**370**) no-one but Abu Ghalib Ibn Khalaf and Abu'l-Fadl Iskafi. I was told that *H*usain Saba*t*i the bed-maker came out and said to Abu Ghalib: *Ustadh*, depart!—He said the like to Abu'l-Fa*d*l. He then locked and bolted the door of the chamber, and set bedmakers to guard it. Abu Ghalib and Abu'l-Fadl were both taken, confined, and put under guard. The news spread amongst the Dailemites present in the Palace, and one by one or in groups they slipped away, and none of them uttered a word about the affair. Men were sent to Muwaffaq's palace to remove all its contents, money, raiment, saddlery, armour, eunuchs, retainers, and to his stables to remove the horses and camels.

Abu Nasr continues: Abu 'Abdallah Amin aspired to take charge of affairs and issued orders and prohibitions on that day. At the end of it the *Sa*hib Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Ustadhhurmuz was summoned. He had retired after the taking of Ahwaz and been staying in his house, only presenting himself at the Palace at public receptions. Abu'l-Fa*d*l Ibn Mawazand was appointed as his deputy; but business was at a standstill, since neither of these persons had any experience of effective administration. Abu'l-'Abbas the Steward, who was in confinement, was now released, his fine being settled, and was restored to his former functions.

Abu Nasr continues: Abu'l-Kha*tt*ab[1] disliked Abu Ghalib Ibn Khalaf and did not want him. However

[1] *H*amzah b. Ibrahim. See above, p. 325.

Abu Mansur Marddost said to him: I notice that you are corresponding with the vizier Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn Masarjis and others with a view to their coming hither and being entrusted with the administration. In the *Sa*hib Abu 'Ali you are employing a man who is neither bitter nor sweet [1] in what is wanted of him. These are matters which will lead to a deadlock necessitating the recall of Muwaffaq to office. The one person who used to make things go and facilitate operations was Abu Ghalib. If you were to release him and make him minister, things would be unravelled through him which would be too much for anyone else, (**371**) and we should be spared the interference of some one of whom we are not sure.—Abu'l-Kha*tt*ab accepted this suggestion, released Abu Ghalib and appointed him deputy to Ibn Ustadhhurmuz. Abu Ghalib displayed competence as an administrator; Baha al-daulah did not forget the services which he had rendered him in Muwaffaq's time, while the courtiers respected him for his liberality in the matter of their allowances and readiness to grant their petitions. When a little time had passed Abu'l-Kha*tt*ab was pleased with the relief which Abu Ghalib afforded him; the latter conciliated the army, and treated them liberally. Competence and fortune bestowed on him their favours. He and Abu'l-Kha*tt*ab stuck to one another. He monopolized the administration and assumed control of it as vizier and president. The *Sa*hib Abu 'Ali was ousted from between the two.

On the night of Friday —2 of this month (Rajab: July 2, 1000) the Traditionalist Abu'l-*H*usain Mohammed b. 'Abdallah nephew of Mimi died.

On Tuesday 3 Rama*d*an (Aug. 6, 1000) Sabur received a despatch announcing the arrest of Muwaffaq, with instructions to him to arrest his children, women-folk, associates and dependents. Sabur dealt kindly with

[1] *i. e.*, colourless or without decided opinions.

them, giving warning to the children and relatives, so that they got away from their houses and put themselves into safety ; he then sent to their dwellings, which of course were empty, and replied to the effect that the news had reached these persons before he had received his instructions. He confined himself to taking possession for a time of Muwaffaq's estates on the Khorasan Road. Presently letters came from Persia that these estates should be delivered to Muwaffaq's son Abu'l-Mu'ammar, and Sabur, Abu'l-Qasim *H*usain b. Mohammed b. Mamma and Abu Nu'aim Mu*h*assin b. *H*asan were confirmed in their appointments.

On Saturday —2 Rama*d*an (Aug. 31, 1000) the Witness Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Abi'l-Zayyat died.

On the 16th of the month Shahrir (August) which fell in Rama*d*an (began Aug. 5, 1000) Ustadhhurmuz b. al-*H*asan was sent out (**372**) to Kirman.

On the night of Monday 13 Shawwal (Sep. 16, 1000) the Mailmaker's Bazaar at the Barley gate was burned.

On Thursday —7 Shawwal (Sep. 30, 1000) the qa*d*i Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. Harun *D*abbi was appointed judge in the City of Mansur in addition to Karkh, Kufah, and Saqy al-Furat ; while the qa*d*i Abu Mohammed 'Abdallah Mohammed Akfani was appointed judge in Rusafah and its dependencies in lieu of the City where he had held this office. The qa*d*i Abu'l-*H*asan Kharazi was put in charge of the Tigris and Khorasan Roads in addition to his duties in the Capital. Deeds of appointment to those offices were read.

In this month news arrived that Muqallad b. Musayyib had seized Daquqa and Khanijar, and appointed Abu Mohammed Jibril, called Dabbus al-daulah (" the Club of the Empire ") as his deputy there.

On Thursday 1 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Oct. 3, 1000) intelligence arrived from Fars that Abu 'Ali Ibn Sahl Dauraqi

had been appointed to the Bureau of the Sawad and that he had appointed as his deputy Abu Mansur 'Abdallah Ibn al-Istakhri, the clerk.

On Sunday 4 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Oct. 6, 1000) the 'Alawid Abu Mohammed Qasim b. *H*usain Musawi died.

On Monday 5 (Oct. 7) the Dailemites complained of the debased state of the coinage, dealings being at that time in silver. They went to the palace of Sabur in Daizaj Street with a view to a riot.

In this month intelligence arrived that Bughra Khan had invaded and seized possession of Bokhara, (**373**) having expelled the children of Abu'l-Qasim Nu*h* b. Mansur.

I was informed by Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Zirak that he had been told the following by Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Alyasa' Tamimi Farisi, who was an eminent merchant: I was, he said, in Bokhara at the time of the arrival of the Khan's armies. The Samanid preachers ascended the Mosque pulpits and called on the people to enlist, (**374**) saying in the name of the Samanids: You are aware how well we have conducted ourselves and how cordial have been the relations between us. This enemy now menaces us, and it is your manifest duty to help us and fight on our behalf. So ask God's grace in succouring our cause.—Now most of the people of Bokhara as also of the Transoxianians are bearers of arms. When the common people heard this they consulted the jurists on the subject of fighting. The jurists dissuaded them, saying: If the Khan's followers were at variance with you on religion, it would be a duty to fight them. But where the object of dispute is temporal, no Moslem has a right to risk his life and expose himself to bloodshed. These persons (*i.e.*, the enemy) are well-conducted, and orthodox: it is better to keep away from the fray.—This was one of the chief causes of the victory of the Khanites, of the rout of the Samanids, and

the extinction of their empire. The Khanites entered Bokhara, conducted themselves well, and dealt kindly with the populace.

In this month Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. A*h*mad b. 'Allan the marshal (*'arid*) came from Fars to Baghdad to enroll retainers for service in the former region. A meeting was held in the palace of Sabur at which the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya, the Counsellor Abu'l-Haija, the Sa'id ("Happy") Abu *T*ahir and Ibn 'Allan were present. The retainers were summoned and addressed on the subject of proceeding to Fars. They demanded the arrears of their pay and maintenance. Sabur offered to pay the stipend of those who would proceed (as opposed to those who stayed behind), but when he had satisfied those who were enrolled, he would consider the case of those who remained. There was difference of opinion and no decision was reached.

On Monday 18 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (Nov. 18, 1000) Abu'l-Faraj Mu'afa (**375**) b. Zakariyya known as Ibn *T*arara died in Nahrawan. He was a polymath.

On Friday —1 (Nov. 30, 1000) of this month Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. Ya*h*ya b. *H*andaquqa Hashimi died, aged fifty-three years and three months.

On the third of the five supplementary days[1] Baha al-daulah went to Kuwar and thence to Fasa.

Abu'l-*H*arith Mohammed b. Mohammed b. 'Umar led the pilgrimage this year.

In this year *T*ahir b. Khalaf, called Shiryarik, came to Kirman having quarrelled with his father Khalaf. Presently he obtained possession of this province, and many of the troops there joined his side. Ultimately he was routed and returned to Sijistan.

[1] Added to the twelfth month of the Persian Year.

Account of this matter given me by Abu 'Abdallah of Fasa; reproduced without mention of months and days owing to the difficulty of ascertaining them; to the best of my belief the events happened during the year 390 [1] *and the early part of* 391.[2]

When Muwaffaq appointed Khwajah b. Siyahjang to the government of Kirman, and dismissed the Dailemites in the style narrated above, Khwajah proceeded to Jirift, and made search after the goods of the Dailemites who had been removed. He called up their deposits, persecuted and fined their womenfolk and dependents, arrested and executed or banished a number who remained: he impaled two eminent clerks of whose relations with Bakhtiyar's son he disapproved. He displayed (**376**) uncompromising severity. It so happened that Ṭahir b. Khalaf quarrelled with his father, and disputed the latter's sovereignty. There was a series of engagements which ended with the rout of Ṭahir, who fled to Kirman to take refuge with Baha al-daulah. Losing his way in the desert which separates Kirman from Sijistan, he with his followers underwent great hardships. Ultimately he escaped in a terrible plight. Being met by the defeated Dailemites and the exiled followers of Bakhtiyar's son he was tempted by them to undertake the conquest of Kirman, being assured that the Dailemites in their rear were alienated from Baha al-daulah owing to their harsh treatment by Muwaffaq, and they as well as themselves would enter his service and prove faithful supporters. The prospect allured him; he aspired to realize it, and resolved to do so: only owing to the hardships which he had endured on his journey he was unable to manifest his intention. Halting at Narmasir he wrote to Abu'l-Fatḥ 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Aḥmad, governor of that place and of Bamm, to the effect that he wished to enter the service of Baha al daulah, to whom he was on his way. Abu'l-Fatḥ

[1] Began Dec. 13, 999. [2] Began Dec. 1, 1000.

returned a courteous answer and despatched to him the supplies suitable to his rank. This he continued to do for many days, furnishing him and his followers with an allowance of 12,000 dirhems daily. He sent word about him to Khwajah b. Siyahjang and Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh.

*T*ahir presently began to display his mischievous designs. Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh who was in Burdashir hearing of this, took alarm. Certain murderous Kurds, called the Malikiyyah, being his neighbours, he summoned them, took them to Darzin, and communicated to them his plan of attacking and disposing of *T*ahir. They said to him: The Dailemites have gathered round this personage, and he has now a large following and is well equipped. We are not in a position to resist him openly. Let us try strategy with him. A number of us will go to him in the character of deserters, and once harboured by him will look out for an unguarded moment when he is on a hunting expedition, for he is a great hunter, at all times eager for the chase. You will thus compass your object without incurring any risk.

Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh wrote to Khwajah b. Siyahjang informing him of what had passed between himself and the Kurds, and soliciting his advice. His reply was to the effect that he (Khwajah) was far more competent to deal with the matter than Qasim; You must (he said) leave it to me to handle as I think fit, mind your own business and devote yourself to your own concerns.—This reply angered Qasim, who dismissed the Kurds, and stayed where he was in Darzin. Khwajah came to him from Jirift with the intention of joining forces with him for a united attack on *T*ahir in Narmasir. When he was a day's journey away from Darzin *T*ahir b. Khalaf mustered his forces and consulted them as to the measures to be taken. They said: Our plight is bad, and we are weak in munitions. We shall be unfit to engage the enemy till we are supplied with mounts and weapons. It was agreed that they should

direct themselves to Jurum, and seek the protection of its inhabitants, who are rebellious and masterful, and men of strength and courage. Thither then they proceeded. Khwajah and Qasim returned to Jirift, and invited the Malikiyyah Kurds to come back, but they declined. The two then mustered their Jilite troops, paid them money, and instructed them to start an expedition against Jurum and Ibn Khalaf. During the interval *Ṭ*ahir b. Khalaf had been establishing himself, and procuring stores, weapons and horses for himself and his Dailemite adherents. Khwajah and Qasim went to meet him and did so at a village called Nahr Kharah Hurmuz, one day's journey from Jirift; for thither he had advanced. The commanders on either side deployed their ranks. It was the practice of *Ṭ*ahir b. Khalaf on the battlefield to go off separately with a party of retainers after he had given them food and drink, and then visit the ranks, see to the dressing and positions, and then study the lines of the opposing force, so as to charge at any weak spot which he found. During this inspection he noticed such a weak spot at a part of Khwajah's line. Charging at this point (**378**) he broke through, killed a number of men, and captured Khwajah, who had been wounded in the head, Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh, and thirty of their officers, among whom were Wandarin b. *H*usain b. Musattar, and others of their rank. He then put a stop to the slaughter, and plundered the baggage: out of which he and his adherents obtained spoil sufficient to found their fortunes. He then continued his way to Jirift which he entered. He became master of most of the districts of Kirman. The Dailemites flocked to him and were glad of his rule. The relics of Baha al-daulah's army proceeded to Sirajan, where they collected, in considerable numbers. They wrote an account of the situation to Baha al-daulah, who was alarmed thereat, having arrested Muwaffaq a short time before this disaster. *Ṭ*ahir b. Khalaf decided to attack Sirajan,

which was evacuated by the troops there who retired towards Shiraz. When they had come within its domains they received a letter from Baha al-daulah bidding them remain where they were, and informing them that he was despatching Ustadhhurmuz b. *H*asan to them, to take the command and lead them against the enemy. Accordingly they halted, and were joined by Ustadhhurmuz who led them off to Herat of Istakhr. He assumed control of the fiefs of the Dailemites in Fars, seized the revenue, collected the profits, and made a satisfactory distribution thence to his followers. He then applied for reinforcements to Baha al-daulah who sent Mardjawuk the Turk with a large force of Turks and 300 Dailemites of Khuzistan: he promised to send another force after them, and bade Ustadhhurmuz attack *T*ahir b. Khalaf and engage him. Ustadhhurmuz marched through the districts of Istakhr, laid hands on all that was to be found in the cancelled fiefs, proceeded to Sirajan and stayed there five days waiting for Janawaihi b. *H*akamawaihi the Zu*tt*i, whom he had summoned, and who came to him with a great number of his followers. He then marched to Nakhtah, twenty parasangs from Sirajan, and halted there. He posted horsemen and riders of swift camels in Sirajan to bring him speedy intelligence of the force whose departure from Shiraz he was expecting.

One of them (**379**) came to them and informed him that the people had quitted Shiraz and were near Sirajan, and that they were proceeding by forced marches.

Now the sons of Khwajah b. Siyahjang and the relatives of the captured commanders were importuning Baha al-daulah every day to despatch troops under a general of high rank to rescue them. They asserted that Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz was so old as to be incapable of active movement; they suggested that the Muzaffar ABU'L-'ALA 'UBAIDALLAH B. AL-FADL should

be sent and the chief Dailemites and Turks should be attached to him, such as SHAHRSITAN B. AL-LASHKARI and his equals, ARSLANTAKIN KURKIRI, KHAIRKIN *T*AYYIBI and others of the same rank.

Abu 'Abdallah narrates: I was informed by someone who was present at the council of Ustadhhurmuz on the day when news reached him of the departure of Abu'l-'Ala from Shiraz, when there were with him a number of Dailemites who ate at his table, how when Ustadhhurmuz learned of this, he was troubled, ate little, and rose up, having ordered the trumpet to be blown for starting. Mardjawuk and the chief officers (*auliya*) gathered about him and said: You are risking our lives and the throne of your master and flinging yourself and us into a peril which demands caution, avoidance, and, most important of all—prudent delay.—Abu 'Abdallah's informant states that Ustadhhurmuz, while hearing these representations, kept on ordering the trumpets to be blown and the baggage to be mounted. After repeated remonstrance on their part, when Ustadhhurmuz declined to pay attention, Mardjawuk said to him: If you persist in your plan, set about it yourself, for I shall not follow you.—Ustadhhurmuz then said: If the Commander in Chief Abu'l-'Ala arrives to-morrow and is victorious, he will be Commander in chief, and you will be Mardjawuk and I Ustadhhurmuz. We shall return to the Sultan's gate humiliated and disappointed, and we shall be regarded as men who were incapable till a Mazdian came and proved competent to deal with the situation.—This was the expression of Ustadhhurmuz, and (**380**) it was effective with Mardjawuk, and induced him to follow the other, saying It is yours to command. So they started and halted at Khashar.

Now *T*ahir b. Khalaf had been treating Khwajah b. Siyahjang well, and had offered Abu Mohammed Qasim his vizierate; the latter however put him off with

excuses, and sent a series of communications to Ustadhhurmuz concerning the affairs, movements, plans and decisions of *T*ahir b. Khalaf.

When Ustadhhurmuz reached Khashar, between which place and Jirift there are twenty parasangs, while Bamm is at a similar distance, *T*ahir being still in Jirift: he received a letter from Abu Mohammed Qasim, informing him of the decision taken by *T*ahir in Jirift to advance on Bamm, and advising Ustadhhurmuz to get to Darzin before *T*ahir and oppose his progress; this Darzin being in a plain surrounded by ravines and mountains. Ustadhhurmuz accordingly sent a detachment of his army with orders to lie in ambush for *T*ahir and his followers in a place where the latter would not perceive their presence, and come out when they got out of order in their march, and strike them down. The party went and met with a certain amount of success, as they captured a number of *T*ahir's officers and men. They then returned to Ustadhhurmuz, who by this time had moved from Khashar to Sarvistan of Kirman, which is twelve parasangs from Bamm.

*T*ahir advanced towards Bamm, and Ustadhhurmuz advanced to meet him, marching in battle-order and complete preparation. When he got to Darzin he was met by a messenger who informed him that *T*ahir had come out to meet and engage him. The troops were dismayed by this intelligence and amazed; gathering round Ustadhhurmuz they told him that he had deceived them and exposed them to peril: We, they said, gave you good advice, which you rejected; self-conceit and fear of losing your commandership have led you to start on this expedition before the arrival of our reinforcements, and bring us into (**381**) this place in this state.

The Turkish and Kurdish cavalry hurried off to find out the facts, and met with *T*ahir who had gone out at the head of a small scouting-party to see the army of

Ustadhhurmuz and gauge its number; they charged him, and he retired to Bamm and they to Darzin.

Ustadhhurmuz found himself confronted by a mutiny, with which he knew not how to deal; but whilst he was endeavouring to mollify the mutineers, the Kurds brought him a man who was, they asserted, a spy of *T*ahir. Asked by Ustadhhumruz whether this was true, he denied it, declaring that he was a messenger of a friend of Ustadhhurmuz in Bamm, named Dir-risht b. Mahawaihi; And here, he said, is a letter from him to you, informing you of *T*ahir's retirement to Sijistan.

When Ustadhhurmuz heard his statement and perused the letter, he showed it to the army, who calmed down, and ceased from their querulousness. After despatching a body of Ma'rufiyyah [1] to the gate of Bamm to prevent the troops from entering the town and turn them off to a village called Qa*d*i's Village, at a distance of two parasangs thence in the direction of Narmasir, he started, and halted in Qa*d*i's Village, where many deserters joined him from those Dailemites of Kirman who had entered the service of *T*ahir, having been dismissed by Muwaffaq.[2] Ustadhhurmuz received them and restored to them their fiefs.

When he had come into this region, the chief officers gathered round him and urged him to follow the trail of *T*ahir so as to rescue the captives from his hands. He put them off with excuses from day to day, till they held a gathering wherein they demanded that they should be led in pursuit. Ustadhhurmuz summoned the leaders and said to them: We have now by God's help and favour reached the summit of our hopes and expectations of victory; we ought not to recompense that favour by iniquity and seeking a prize which may well lead to repentance. The enemy has fled before us; if we pursue

[1] According to II 177 above, they were Jilites.

[2] Above p. 360.

him to the edge of the desert and compel him to fight (382) an engagement, he, seeing the desert before him and the army behind him, may well brace himself for an effort, and fight desperately. Possibly he may be victorious, in which case we shall retire routed. We shall have cast away prudence and repent when we can no longer repair.—This oration helped to pacify the troops and dissuade them from urging the pursuit of the enemy. Tahir returned to Sijistan having with him Abu Musa Khwajah b. Siyahjang, Abu Mohammed Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh, and the captured officers. Ustadhhurmuz removed to Bamm, where he stayed a few days, receiving messages to the effect that the Muzaffar Abu'l-'Ala was hastening by forced marches to his quarters.

Abu'l-'Ala having reached Qaryat al-Jauz (Nut-village), despatched two of his chamberlains with a message to Ustadhhurmuz and his troops, informing them of his vicinity, they being at the time in Qadi's Village, and suggesting to them to advance the whole way to Bamm that they might effect a junction there. His object in this embassy was to ascertain the sentiments of the troops, and to probe the possibilities with regard to his instructions in the matter of dismissing Ustadhhurmuz and sending him back to Shiraz with the Dailemites of Shiraz, and himself remaining as governor of Kirman.

Abu'l-'Ala was accompanied by 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz in the capacity of vice-vizier. When the embassy came to Ustadhhurmuz, he perceived its purpose and summoning the chief Dailemites secretly settled what they should reply. The two envoys appeared at a public gathering and delivered their message. The officers thereupon rose and said: This land belongs to us as we reconquered it after its occupation by the force from Sijistan. This person (pointing to Ustadhhurmuz) is out Commander in chief, and with any person who comes to us we shall deal in terrible fashion. You are to take

back this reply and warn your Mazdian to be off and not spoil what has been set right or disturb what has been set in order.—They were near assaulting the envoys, only they were rescued by Ustadhhurmuz, who dismissed them. They went back to Abu'l-'Ala and told him what had taken place. He wrote an account of it to Baha al-daulah; and finding that there was no use in his staying, he returned with the army (**383**) to Shiraz. Abu Mohammed 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz went over to Ustadhhurmuz, who remained as governor, while the other signed documents from the vizier's office. Presently Abu Is*h*aq Ibrahim b. A*h*mad was sent to replace 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-'Aziz.

The vizier Abu Ghalib owing to his estrangement from Abu 'Ali Ibn Ustadhhurmuz and his father reminded Baha al-daulah that there were in Kirman certain cancelled fiefs and stores of money, over which Ustadhhurmuz and his relatives had now got control, and which they had shared amongst themselves; he advised that a commissioner be sent out to deal with that matter, to settle the fiefs and allocate certain of them to the privy purse and secure such money as was available. He selected Ibn Sudmand the marshal as commissioner, who started by the Kurah road.[1] When he reached Jirift, Ustadhhurmuz encouraged the Dailemites to riot, and they held a riotous meeting wherein they put to death 'Ali b. A*h*mad b. Ya*h*ya, a competent and astute clerk, who had the surveillance of Abu Is*h*aq Ibrahim b. A*h*mad. They proceeded to plunder the palaces of the courtiers. Ibn Sudmand hearing of this, arrested Ustadhhurmuz's friend Abu'l-Qasim *T*awil (the Tall) the Chamberlain and made him suffer a thousand stripes. He also sent to Ustadhhurmuz, ordering him to return to Shiraz, and threatening him with arrest if he declined. Ustadhhurmuz accordingly departed and proceeded to Baha al-daulah's court. Ibn Sudmand went into the interior and remained

[1] On the use of this word see Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 288.

there six months, reestablishing authority and arranging affairs. He dismissed a number of the Dailemites and removed their names, but assigned the others quotas, which in most cases took the form of estates. Such lands as produced a great revenue he reserved for the privy purse, and he arrested Ispahbud b. Dhaki and Kanjar b. al-'Alawi, who had come out with him from Shiraz.

Abu 'Abdallah continues : I was informed by one of the most intimate of the courtiers that the chief reason for sending Abu'l-Fadl Ibn Sudmand to Kirman was the resentment harboured by Baha al-daulah against (**384**) Ispahbud b. Dhaki for the foul language which the latter had used to him in the year (?) when peace was made with the Dailemites in Ahwaz, when Ispahbud had declined to swear allegiance until there had been long negotiation and vexatious delay. Baha al-daulah employed this expedient of sending out Abu'l-Fadl with Ispahbud in his company for the purpose of arresting the latter and gratifying his vindictiveness. By getting Ispahbud away he succeeded in his aim. Abu'l-Fadl returned to Shiraz by the Rudhan Road, bringing with him half a million dirhems and a quantity of armour and clothing.

Account of the fortunes of Tahir b. Khalaf after his return.

When he retired from Bamm, he entered the desert, and arrived in Sijistan accompanied by Khwajah b. Siyahjang, and Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh, with the Dailemite prisoners. His father Khalaf went out to attack him, and a series of engagements took place between them on successive days, leading to no decisive result. The Dailemite prisoners, who were champions of renown, sent to Tahir, offering to take the place if he would release them, and provide them with adequate armour, stipulating that he should leave them free to return to their homes if they achieved success for him.

He accepted the offer with the condition attached, released them and gave them the weapons that they chose. They fought with great gallantry, and by God's aid were victorious. *Ṭ*ahir took possession and his father went up to a fortress called Qal'at al-Jabal (The Mountain Fortress) five parasangs away from the place, where he entrenched himself. *Ṭ*ahir kept faith with the Dailemites, gave them presents and robes of honour, mounted them and supplied them for their journey, and let them go. Khwajah b. Siyahjang and Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh remained on his hands. The former (**385**) agreed to pay him a sum of money, part of which he paid up, and his children were about to transmit the remainder, when he was overtaken by death, which resulted from the wound in the head which he had sustained, falling as it did on the place of an old wound. *Ṭ*ahir's affairs prospered, and Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh remained with him. Khalaf commenced plotting the ruin of his son, and alienating the Dailemites from him; he did not succeed in the latter design, as they were attached to him. He then tried to undermine the allegiance of the civilians, but they were more favourable to his son than to him owing to the old man's ill-treatment of them, however great the show he made of complaisance. Unable to cause mischief in this style, he changed his tactics and tried a more subtle method. He sent his son a message to the following effect: *We have gone a long, too long a way in mutual estrangement, and I have been thinking how I have no son left but you, and can hope for no other successor. I find that I have grown old, and most of life is passed. I have decided to surrender the government, with the country, the fortress and my possessions therein to you, and so put an end to the hostility that has come to pass between us, and devote myself to pious exercises in the span that remains to me in your company, and be satisfied with a modicum of comfort under your wing and from your hand. How do I know but*

that God may call me away and my fortress be seized by those who are in it, in which case my property and fortune and what I have amassed by my long efforts will go to some one who is not my son, whose survival means the survival of my memory?—Khalaf kept on sending alluring messages of this kind till he succeeded in deluding him; it was arranged that Ṭahir should ride to the foot of the fortress, and that Khalaf should come down and the two meet at a bridge which spanned the moat by which the fortress was protected. At that meeting Khalaf would give his son his final instructions and inform him of the amount of his wealth and where it was stored. Ṭahir rode out alone and arrived at the foot of the fortress, and Khalaf came down in the same style. They met on the bridge; Ṭahir kissed his father's hand and was embraced by him, being clasped to his breast. Now under the bridge on the sides of the moat there was a rank growth of reeds and grass sufficient to conceal a party of men. In this vegetation Khalaf (**386**) had hidden a hundred men with swords in their hands. As Khalaf clasped Ṭahir to his breast, he broke into a passion of weeping wherein he gradually raised his voice. The men came out of their ambush, seized Ṭahir and took him up to the fortress, where he was put to death by Khalaf, who washed and buried him with his own hand. The news reaching the followers of Khalaf, they capitulated to him, and surrendered the country to him. He returned to the place therein which he had formerly occupied.

Qasim b. Mahdarfarrukh succeeded in procuring some swift camels with some Kurds, whom he posted in the neighbourhood; he got away, mounted, and fled. Arriving at Shiraz he was appointed Marshal, afterwards vizier, as we hope presently to narrate.

The enemies of Khalaf had been afraid of him owing to his son Ṭahir and the gallantry which he had displayed.

After *T*ahir's death he was thought an easy prey, and Yamin al-daulah Ma*h*mud b. Sabuktakin brought an army against him, took possession of his country and conveyed him to Juzajan, where he was at liberty, yet as it were in confinement; at large, yet no better than a prisoner. Sufficient however was supplied him for his maintenance and expenses. After a time he died. Sijistan has remained united to Khorasan up to the present time.

YEAR 391.[1]

It began on a Sunday, Dec. 1, 1312, of the era of Alexander, and the day Ram (21) of the month Adhar (IX) of the year 369 of Yazdajird. (**387**) On Wednesday 11 Mu*h*arram (Dec. 11, 1000) the Turks presented themselves at the dwelling of Abu Na*s*r Sabur in Daizaj Street, where a discussion took place between them on the subject of their mobilization, resulting in an assault by them[2] on Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Allan the Marshal. Sabur took to flight, and there was a brawl between the retainers and the populace.

Account of these proceedings.

We have recorded[3] the arrival of Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Allan for the purpose of taking the retainers off to Fars. Sabur had by this time got together some money which he delivered to Ibn 'Allan and deposited with him to be devoted to their expenses and the settlement to be made with them.

On the aforesaid Wednesday Ibn 'Allan presented himself at the palace of Sabur, whither the retainers also came. He talked to them afresh and urged them to start; they declined to move till they had received their due. The discussion which followed resulted in

[1] Began Dec. 1, 1000.

[2] This must be the sense, but the words of the text are difficult.

[3] Above, p 374.

Sabur offering those who would start a payment of one third of their dues in the capital, a third in Ahwaz and the remaining third in Shiraz. The immediate payment was to be made exclusively to those who would start. This angered them and they assaulted Ibn 'Allan and attacked Sabur, who fled from their presence. The partisans of 'Ali with the populace hurried to the spot and expelled them from the palace, and cast brickbats at them from the rooves. The Turks departed exasperated, and there was rioting between them and the people of Karkh. The following day the Turks collected and proceeded to assail the inhabitants of Qalla'in and Bab al-Sha'ir. The affair assumed serious proportions; the Sunnis of the other regions joined the Turks, and the inhabitants of Karkh appealed to Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya the 'Alawid,[1] complaining to him of their sufferings and of what menaced them. He replied that he had no power to resist.

(**388**) Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma[2] despatched a number of Dailemites and stationed them on the Bridge to put a stop to the fighting from that direction. On the third day Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya crossed over to the royal palace, accompanied by the chief 'Alawids and the Jurists from Qa*d*i'ah. They met the chiefs of the Turks, whom they assured that they had no news of Sabur, and were not protecting him. They requested these chiefs to restrain the men of lower rank from rioting, and spare the respectable citizens. They accordingly despatched the Ma'rufiyyah who kept them off. The Turks demanded of Ibn 'Allan the disbursement of the money in his hands in stipends, and the Dailemites also claimed their due thereof. He paid it; the money was distributed and the mobilization came to an end.

Sabur, who was in hiding, imagined that there would be a conspiracy against him, and that Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn

[1] See above, pp. 307, 308. [2] Above, p. 371.

Yahya, his brother Abu Ya'qub, and Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma would unite in aversion and hostility to him. He therefore departed from Baghdad to al-Qasr, thence to Sora, and thence to the Marsh. From here he wrote to Baha al-daulah to embitter him against these persons, to whom he ascribed everything that had happened: the dispute, the seizure of the money, the stoppage of the expedition, and the stirring up of the riot.

On Saturday —2 of Muharram (Dec. 28, 1000) the Catholicos Mar Mari b. Tuba died. On the day Khurdadh (6) of the month Dai (X) which fell in this month Baha al-daulah returned from Fasa to Shiraz.[1]

(**389**) When Sabur left his place and post, Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali Ibn Abi 'Ali[2] took alarm, as he had been his intimate associate, concealed himself and went to a distance from the town. Rioting increased, and the bandits got the upper hand. ABU'L-FAWARIS BEHISTUN B. DHARIR was appointed Chief of Police, and established himself in the palace of Mohammed b. 'Umar on the Tigris. He proceeded to arrest a number of robbers, executed them, raided their houses and haunts. By ruthless repression he reestablished authority and reintroduced order. Being opposed by the Turks in some of his proceedings he resigned office and retired to his palace on the Eastern side. The administration was carried on by Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-'Ajiz.

On the night of Wednesday —7 Safar (Jan. 22, 1001) Husam al-daulah Abu Hassan Muqallad b. Musayyib the 'Uqailite was assassinated in Anbar.

Account of this affair.

We have recorded[3] how his Turkish retainers left his residence, took his horses and fled from him; and

[1] See above p. 375 [2] See above, p. 168.
[3] This passage is apparently lost.

how he pursued them and killed or amputated the hands of eleven of them, but reinstated the remainder in his service. They were however in fear of him and apprehension owing to his severity and cruelty. It is said that one of them watched for his opportunity, and on the night that has been mentioned when he was intoxicated cut his throat and fled. Another account is that one of his bedmakers was the assassin, but the statement that it was a retainer is the better attested.

(390) Muqallad had been in communication with some of the chief Dailemites (*auliya*) in Baghdad, whom he had tried to win with promises and allurements, as he aspired to enter the capital and make himself master of the empire. He had devised an elaborate plan which came near realization, only it was frustrated by God's irresistible decree.

Account of what followed on his assassination as narrated to me by Abu'l-Fath 'Isa b. Ibrahim.

At the time of the assassination of Muqallad (he says) his eldest son Qirwash [1] was not present in Anbar, where his stores were, while his army was in Saqy al-Furat. ABU'L-HUSAIN 'ABDALLAH B. IBRAHIM B. SHAHRUYAH, fearing lest the army should hasten to raid the stores, sent to Abu Mansur Qarrad b. Ladid,[2] who was close by in Sindiyyah, to summon him, saying: *I will make of Qirwash your son, marry him to one of your daughters, and arrange that you share with him the treasures left by his father, on condition that you aid him against his uncle Hasan, who will very likely aspire to get possession of the government after Muqallad.* He also despatched messengers to Qirwash, bidding him hasten to the spot. Qarrad proceeded to Anbar, where he established himself in Government House, protected the stores, and put a stop to predatory projects. After some days Qirwash

[1] Above, p. 300. [2] Above, p. 364.

arrived, when the two met, shared the property, and made a covenant of mutual aid. (**391**) Before the arrival of Qirwash Qarrad had disbursed some of his own money to the army, for which he afterwards received compensation.

When *H*asan b. Musayyib learned what had occurred, and how Qirwash had got hold of Qarrad, he was aware that he had been foiled of his purpose, and that his hopes of supremacy were frustrated. He complained to 'Askar Ibn Abi *T*ahir and Abu'l-Mi'*d*ad Kilab b. al-Kalb and a number of Musayyibites of what had taken place. What !, he asked, shall Qarrad b. Ladid inherit the wealth of the sons of Musayyib while they are alive ?—'Askar replied : It is your own work and the result of your nephew's fear of you.—Of what, he asked, is he afraid, and what does he want ?—'Askar replied : Had he been able to rely on your good intentions, your family affection, and your preserving his father's estate for him, he would never have introduced a stranger between you ; your claim on him and his duty of defending you would have been stronger.—*H*asan said : I am prepared to do this. I will give any guarantees which you demand.

'Askar Ibn Abi *T*ahir wrote an account of these proceedings to Qirwash ; negotiations proceeded, wherein it was ultimately arranged that *H*asan should advance to Anbar ostensibly with hostile intent, and that when they had got within sight of each other they should arrest Qarrad and make him disgorge what he had taken. Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Shahruyah was not made a party to this business nor was he acquainted therewith. *H*asan came down and approached Anbar, and Qirwash with Qarrad came out to oppose him. Whle the armies were getting into line a Bedouin came and whispered something into Qarrad's ear ; Qarrad then fled away, making for the desert, and was pursued by Qirwash, *H*asan and their followers, who tried hard to overtake him.

He escaped them however, passed by his encampment without entering and fled headlong. *H*asan and Qirwash met, embraced, and wept; *H*asan adopted towards Qirwash a kindly tone, whereby he won his affection, and offered to take whatever place Qirwash wished. They agreed to recover from Qarrad the treasures which he had taken, and sent to his wife, daughter of Mohammed (**392**) b. Maqn and sister of Gharib and Rafi',[1] demanding such of them as were in her tents. She declined, and used language towards them that was not free from harshness, to which they replied with the like. They sent people into the tents to remove the money and goods which had fallen to the share of Qarrad out of the estate of Muqallad. They fetched them away and returned to Anbar, where they remained some days. Qirwash transmitted to his uncle *H*asan raiment, furniture and armour, etc., and proceeded to Kufah. He engaged the Banu Khafajah in the neighbourhood of Zubara and defeated them. After this battle they migrated to Syria, where they remained till Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj summoned Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Thimal,[2] when they joined in the expedition which we shall presently recount.

On the night of Wednesday 1 Rabi'i (Jan. 29, 1001) Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Mohammed Iskafi died.

On Thursday —2 of this month (Feb. 27, 1001) Abu Bakr Ibn *H*amdan Bazzaz died.

On Sunday 5 (Feb. 2, 1001) the Caliph Qadir held a reception for the pilgrims from Khorasan, whom he informed that he had appointed the prince Abu'l-Fa*d*l his son as his successor with the title AL-GHALIB BILLAH (The Conquering through God). Letters drawn up to this effect were read out to them.

Account of the procedure on this occasion.

He sat on the high dais clad in black girt with a sword

[1] Above, p. 301. [2] Below, p. 421.

and straps in the " Leaden Room," with a canal in front of him, which discharged into the Tigris. The notables, Qadis, Witnesses, Jurists, and Khorasanites who were returning from the pilgrimage were introduced, and at this assembly there was read out to the visitors the deed which appointed the Caliph's son Abu'l-Fadl his future successor, with the title Al-Ghalib Billah (the Conquering through God : and there is no conqueror save God only who hath no partner). At this time the heir-apparent's age (**393**) was eight years, four months and some days. An order was also issued to the provinces to the effect that the name of the heir-apparent should be inserted in public prayer after a formula drawn up in the capital. After the prayer for the Caliph himself the following words were to be inserted : *O God and cause him to attain his hopes in his son Abu'l-Fadl al-Ghalib Billah, his successor over the Moslems. O God befriend those of Thy servants who befriend him and war against them who war against him throughout the regions and countries. Grant unto those who support him truth and right judgment, and abandon such as abandon him to error and contumacy. O God, establish his empire and his motto, and declare war against such as defy the right and its supporters.*

Account of the reason for appointing him to the succession at this age.

In a previous account of the affairs of Khorasan we have mentioned the career of Wathiqi, his joining Harun b. Ilk Bughrakhaqan, being promoted by him and becoming influential with him. The Jurist ABU'L-FADL TAMIMI having come to the country of the Khans met this Wathiqi and the two agreed to forge a letter in the name of the Caliph appointing Wathiqi to the succession. They produced this document before Bughrakhaqan and averred that Abu'l-Fadl had been charged to bring it. This plan was favoured by Bughrakhaqan's high opinion of Wathiqi and the close friendship which existed be-

tween them; Bughrakhaqan accordingly supported his claim, and ordered that prayer should be offered for him throughout his dominions after the name of the Caliph. The news spread throughout the districts of Khorasan and letters about it came to the Caliph, who indignantly repudiated the claim and was vexed by what had been done. He therefore regarded it as a political necessity to appoint his son the prince Abu'l-Fadl his successor, and wrote to all the provinces and districts (**394**) to that effect. He also wrote to the princes of Khorasan and the Khan dynasty charging Wathiqi with falsehood, declaring him to be a man of bad character, and asserting that his claims were baseless.

The following was told me by the qadi 'Ali b. Muhassin Tanukhi: This person, he said, 'Abdallah b. 'Uthman Wathiqi, was a descendant of the Caliph Wathiq, and used to give evidence in Nisibin before the rulers of the place and before my father's deputy qadi Sadaqah b. 'Ali Mu'ammal.[1] Besides being Witness he was also Preacher in the public Mosque. He used to intrigue against Sadaqah and endeavour to displace him as my father's deputy. Sadaqah with the people of Nisibin agreed together to draw up a memoir wherein they charged him with bad character, and this they attested before Sadaqah, who after having heard and accepted it, issued an order to that effect and wrote to my father explaining the situation, and sending the memoir with official confirmation. My father accepted this and signed an order confirming it which he sent out; he also summoned Wathiqi to Baghdad, where he addressed him in harsh language, subjected him to severe treatment, and confined him in the Police Jail. Presently however the poet 'Abd al-Wahid b. Nasr[2] Babbagha interceded for him as a townsman of his own, and my father released

[1] The narrator's father was that Muhassin Tanukhi who has often figured in these pages.

[2] The text has Mohammed.

him. He took up his quarters in a room in the Harbour (Furdah) opposite the royal palace, in 'Adud al-daulah's time. He was befriended by Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad b. 'Isa Maliki, who was an old friend and fellow-citizen, who narrates as follows: One night I was in his room and said to him: Your right course would be to win over the qadi Abu 'Ali Tanukhi, using as mediator Abu'l-Faraj Babbagha, and get yourself into his good books. While I was addressing him and repeating (**395**) this counsel, he was paying me no attention. I asked him whether he had heard my suggestion. He said: You are a fool; I am considering how to extinguish the light of this monarch whose palace we are facing, and appropriate his realm, and you are telling me to conciliate Tanukhi! —When I heard this, I said Adieu, and departed at once, fearing lest some trouble might befall me through him. I would have nothing more to do with him.

The qadi Abu'l-Qasim continues: When his proceedings in Transoxianian Khorasan came to light, and the Caliph appointed his son Abu'l-Fadl to the succession, impugning the claim of Wathiqi and condemning his conduct, he heard, through some-one to whom I had told the story, of the memoir which had been sent from Nisibin to my father, wherein he was declared an evil-doer. I was summoned to the Palace with unusual urgency. I went and was received by Abu'l-Hasan Ibn Hajib al-Nu'man, who said to me: What have you been doing, as the search for you has been unceasing? I replied that I knew of no occurrence which explained it. He wrote about me, and a reply came to the effect that *We have heard about the memoir sent to his father from Nisibin declaring Wathiqi an evil-doer, and that his father attached his confirmation thereto. Do you demand that he bring the memoir and the confirmation attached thereto.* He read the missive to me, and I declared myself ready to do so. I departed, fearing indeed that the object

wanted might be lost among other things which were missing. However I searched for it with care and found it. The next day I brought it round and handed it in. When it was put into his majesty's hands, he returned it, and said to the president: Ask him whether he remembers his father admitting the truth of the matter to which he set his confirmation.—He asked me about this and I replied: Yes: he admitted it before me.—The qa*d*is, Witnesses and jurists were now ordered to attend, and they presented themselves, among them the qa*d*i Abu Mohammed Ibn al-Akfani, the qa*d*i Abu'l-*H*asan Kharazi, (**396**) Abu *H*amid Isfara'ini, and all the witnesses. A document was drawn up in the terms of my father's deed, confirming that judgment of his which I had heard; I bade all who were present attest my asseveration, and this was one of the documents forwarded to Khorasan whereby the cause of Wathiqi was damaged.

The qa*d*i Abu'l-Qasim added that this Wathiqi after his adventures in Khorasan entered Baghdad, and resided in a house behind the qa*d*i's house by the Basrah Gate. Presently when his story became known he moved. The qa*d*i saw him one day in Karkh, though he did not know him. I saw (he said) a man wearing a *qaba*, an *adhari*[1] and a turban of Merv. He was bent and his hands were clasped behind him in the style of the people of Khorasan. I was accompanied by Abu'l-'Abbas Maliki, who when he saw him saluted him and kissed him on the shoulder; Wathiqi rebuked him for this in Persian with the accent of Khorasan. Maliki explained that he had only saluted him on the supposition that they were acquaintances and friends. If, he said, you object, then God be with you.—Turning to me he asked whether I knew the man. I said No.—He said: This is the Wathiqi who pretended to the succession in Khorasan.

[1] A garment of one colour, worn by the people of Khor san.

Subsequent career of Wathiqi as told me by the qadi Abu Ja'far Sam'ani.

Bughrakhaqan would listen to nothing that was said about him, nor could any one change his attachment to Wathiqi and his maintenance of his claims. After his death, when A*h*mad b. 'Ali Qarakhan succeeded, the latter (**397**) received a letter from the Caliph, requesting his dismissal. Wathiqi had not the place in Qarakhan's estimation which he had held in that of his predecessor, so Qarakhan sent him away to a place called Asfakand, where he was treated as a prisoner, his necessities having been provided. There he remained for a time, after which he went to Baghdad, concealing his identity, and at first residing by the Basrah Gate. The Caliph hearing about him ordered search to be made for him, and he moved to Tuthah, where he was interviewed by numerous jurists on whom he bestowed liberal presents. He then departed to Basrah, whence he went to Fars and Kirman, and returned to the country of the Turks. His original design was not achieved ; letters arrived from the Caliph ordering him to be pursued and arrested, and he fled away to Khwarizm, where he stayed for a time ; he then left the land and went to the Emir Yamin al-daulah Ma*h*mud, who arrested him and sent him to a fortress, where he remained in honourable confinement with liberal treatment till his death.

In Rabi'i (began Jan 29, 1001) Abu Shuja' Bakran b. Balfawaris died in Wasit.[1]

On Wednesday —1 of this month (Feb. 26, 1001) the qa*d*i Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi accepted the testimony of Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. *H*asan b. 'Allaf of Wasit.

On the morning of Friday 1 Rabi'ii (Feb. 28, 1001) 'Isa b. 'Ali b. 'Isa (son of the famous vizier) died ; prayer was said over him by the qa*d*i Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi. This person ('Isa) had taught tradition publicly, and had

[1] See above, p. 337.

(**398**) among his hearers Abu Bakr Mohammed b. Musa Khwarizmi and many others, who heard and wrote tradition from his dictation. He was a man of great attainments in the religious sciences, logic and philosophy.

On the same day Abu'l-Na*d*ir Ka'b b. 'Amr the Traditionalist of Balkh died.

On Thursday the 7th (March 6, 1001) the qa*d*i Abu *H*azim Mohammed b. *H*asan of Wasit was appointed qa*d*i of Wasit and its dependencies; his deed of investiture was read at a parade in the Palace.

On Saturday —7 (22 March, 1001) Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. *T*ahir the Clerk was put to death.

Account of this affair.

He had gone to Egypt fleeing from Mohammed b. 'Umar [1] and remained there for a period. At this time he returned with the pilgrims, and people said to each other that he had come back by arrangement with the ruler of Egypt, for the purpose of undermining the 'Abbasid dynasty in the interest of the latter. On the above-mentioned night some bandits broke into his house in Muqayyir Street in Suwaiqat Ghalib, and attacked him with their swords with intent to kill. A slave girl endeavoured to defend him, but they struck her a blow which amputated her hand, and proceeded to strike him repeatedly till he expired. They took all his money and goods that they could find and made off. The next day Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. A*h*mad b. 'Allan came and saw to the laying out of the body which was interred in his house.

(**399**) On Sunday —6 of the same month (March 23, 1001) Abu'l-Qasim Mohammed b. *H*usain b. Mamma started for Shiraz in a *muraqqa'ah*.[2]

[1] See above, pp. 173, 174.

[2] Apparently some form of river-craft.

Account of the reason for this and of his adventures from the time of his starting till his return.

When, as related above,[1] Sabur went southwards from Baghdad into concealment, and the money which he had collected had been taken and distributed in stipends, he wrote to Baha al-daulah, laying the whole blame for what had happened on Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya and his brother Abu Ya'qub and Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma. Ibn Mamma's deputy in Fars was Abu'l-*H*usain IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK son of 'Ali the Registrar, and there was an old friendship between Ibn Mamma, Abu'l-Kha*tt*ab,[2] and Abu 'Abdallah al-Amin; these two were in high places, entrusted with the administration and solicitous of Ibn Mamma's interests. The two revealed to Ibn 'Abd al-Malik what Sabur was writing about Ibn Mamma, and how Sabur had been summoned by letter to Fars, and bade Ibn 'Abd al-Malik write about this to Ibn Mamma and advise him to present himself in Fars before the other. He started speedily in a *muraqqa'ah* and arrived on Tuesday —5 Jumada i (April 22, 1001) before Sabur. He went to stay with Abu 'Abdallah al-Amin, who undertook his case, and spoke to Baha al-daulah in his favour. He also pleaded his own cause against the charges of Sabur, and was supported by the others out of enmity to Sabur and interest in him. His character was reestablished and he was ordered to stay in Shiraz till the arrival of Sabur, when a reconciliation was to be effected, and he was to return to Baghdad in Sabur's party. He stayed, and presently Sabur arrived as also did Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj; the two were appointed joint administrators of 'Iraq, and Ibn Mamma was reconciled to them, though (**400**) Sabur secretly harboured enmity. He was sent out to make the necessary arrangements before their arrival.

At this time a report was received to the effect that

[1] Above, p. 388. [2] See above, p. 325.

the *Sa*hib Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Ustadhhurmuz had received charge of the districts of Ahwaz, and that he had been sent thither with the title 'AMID AL-JUYUSH (Chief of the Armies).

Account of the procedure in this matter.

I was told the following by Abu'l-*H*usain Fahd b. 'Ubaidallah, secretary of 'Amid al-Juyush: When the *Sa*hib Abu 'Ali submitted to Baha al-daulah in Sus,[1] and surrendered to him, he withdrew from public service, travelled in his company to Fars, and remained at his gate. When a year and a fraction had passed, he solicited permission to go to Khorasan, but this was refused him; he received however a message calculated to allay apprehension, and containing fair promises. Then the Muwaffaq, who was ill-disposed towards him, was arrested,[2] and after this he was put in charge of affairs, which he conducted to the best of his ability. Abu Ghalib Ibn Khalaf was released and appointed his deputy. He undertook the work, wherein he had great skill. The *Sa*hib Abu 'Ali then retired from office and abode in his house. After a time he wrote to Baha al-daulah requesting to be put in charge of the districts of Khuzistan, declaring that he was acquainted with them and with the means of getting them in order, as they had been disordered by the residence there of Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj, and the financial control of Abu'l-Qasim Ibn 'Urwah, which he had conducted with his usual arbitrariness. His request was granted; he was given the appointment, and approached on the subject of receiving robes of honour and a title. He declined the former, but accepted the title 'Amid al-Juyush. He started for Ahwaz on the day Dai-ba-mihr (15) of the month Isfandarmadh (XII) which fell in Rabi'i (began Jan. 29, 1001). It had already been quitted by Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj, who had started for Wasit.

[1] Above, p. 321. [2] Above, p. 367.

'Amid al-Juyush made an admirable administrator; he corrected abuses, gathered (**401**) what was scattered, conciliated the civilians, abolished fines, and managed the army excellently. In a very short time he amassed a sum which he transmitted to Baha al-daulah, thereby confirming his place in that prince's estimation.

On Tuesday 4 Jumada i (April 1, 1001) Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi accepted the evidence of Abu'l-Qasim 'Umar b. Ibrahim b. *H*asan b. Is*h*aq Bazzaz.

On Wednesday 5 the singer and lute-player Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed b. Is*h*aq b. al-Munajjim died in Shiraz, leaving behind him no-one who equalled or even approached him.

On Saturday 8 (April 5, 1001) Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn 'Allan the Marshal started home to Shiraz,[1] the mobilization for which he had come being frustrated.

On Sunday 9 Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. A*h*mad[2] appointed as the Caliph's Chamberlain the Amin Abu 'Abdallah.[3]

On Thursday 13 (April 10, 1001) *H*ajjaj b. Hurmuz arrived in Wasit on his way back from Ahwaz, whence he presently departed for Shiraz.

Account of his proceedings on this occasion.

Learning how 'Amid al-Juyush had undertaken the government of Ahwaz, he proceeded on Sunday 2 (March 30, 1001) to Basinna, sending his secretary Rustam b. A*h*mad on with a message to Baha al-daulah, wherein he complained of his dismissal from the government of one town after another and the constant affronts to his dignity. He recounted what had been done to him in Mausil[4] and Baghdad,[5] and begged leave to proceed to the Dailemite country. When this secretary communi-

[1] Above, pp. 387, 398.
[2] Last heard of above 275; he must have been recalled from the Marsh.
[3] Above, p. 370. [4] Above, p. 280. [5] Above p. 341.

cated some part of this message to Baha al-daulah, he was vexed at *H*ajjaj's displeasure and annoyance, and sent the messenger back accompanied by Abu Sa'id Zadanfarrukh b. Azadmard with a message (**402**) intended to pacify him, assure him that his position was stable at his court, and that he was still in high favour, and bid him come to Shiraz to make arrangements for the future government of Baghdad whither he was to be sent back in company with Sabur. He started on the night of Monday —4 Sha'ban (July 21, 1001) and reached the place when Sabur had already arrived. Sabur had a private interview with Baha al-daulah and brought against a number of men in the capital, such as Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya the 'Alawid, his brother Ya'qub and Ibn Mamma, charges which infuriated the prince; he guaranteed 200,000 dinars from them, and received permission to arrest and extract the money from them. After having settled what sums he should transmit from this source he received a robe of honour as also did *H*ajjaj, who besides obtained the title QASIM DHU'L-RIYASATAIN (The Partner, The doubly prince). This took place on Ruzaban (10) of the month Mihr (VII) which fell at the end of Shawwal (began Aug. 24, 1001). The two started and reached Wasit Wednesday the last day of Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (Nov. 19, 1001). We shall record their subsequent fortunes in the year 392.

On Friday 5 Jumada ii (May 2, 1001) the qa*d*i Abu'l-*H*asan 'Abd al-Aziz b. A*h*mad Kharazi died. His son Abu'l-Qasim was appointed to his post, and his deed of investiture was read on Monday —1 of this month (May 26). Presently feeling about him changed and he was dismissed after a brief period.

On Saturday 6 (May 3) a certain Arslan who was manager of Trusts was killed by the mob, his skull being shattered with brickbats.

On Thursday 18 (May 15) Abu'l-Fawaris Behistun b.

Dharir[1] was killed by the Banu Sayyar, a clan of the Banu Shaiban.

(**403**) *Account of this proceeding.*

Behistun was a friend of Abu'l-Fat*h* Mohammed b. 'Annaz, a partisan of his and ready to help him in any emergency. It happened that he was attacked from the direction of the Jabal, and called on the army of the capital for assistance. Behistun among others responded to the call, being accompanied by several of his followers and members of his family. On his return he halted at Khalidiyyah, which was his fief. Some horsemen belonging to the Banu Sayyar raided cattle in this region, lifted some, and crossing the Diyala to the East followed the Baraz al-Ruz road. Behistun at once mounted his horse, and accompanied by his brothers Fara*d*i and A'rabi with three Dailemites went in pursuit of the raiders. Behistun first came up with them, being presently overtaken by his brothers and followers. The raiders, recognizing him, abandoned their booty and went off; he was urged by his comrades to pursue them and deal them a blow. He acted according to their advice; he overtook the raiders and a skirmish took place wherein he received a thrust from one of them which caused him to expire on the spot. His brother Fara*d*i received a thrust in one of his eyes, which resulted in the loss of both under treatment. Abu'l-Fawaris was carried to Khalidiyyah on a shield; placed on a mule, he was brought to his house in Baghdad, where great lamentation was made for him, and most of the dignitaries attended his funeral.

On Tuesday —7 (May 20, 1001) Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. A*h*mad *H*ajjaj the Poet died on the Nile Road, whence he was returning. His coffin reached Baghdad the following Thursday.

[1] Chief of Police, above, p. 389.

Brief account of this personage.

This person was a son of a financial official, and was at first a bureau clerk, and as such worked (**404**) under the direction of my grandfather Ibrahim b. Hilal the Sabi'an. This was in his early days ; presently he found he could earn a better livelihood by poetry, and in consequence preferred that. He specialized in a line of obscenity wherein he had no predecessor, but, though he followed this line, he had gifts for others ; and al-Radi Abu'l-Hasan Musawi made a large selection of his decent verse which is exceedingly beautiful, artistic and effective. He got on so well that he became possessed of wealth and owned estates ; he became a person whom men were afraid to offend, whose tongue they dreaded, whose disapproval they feared, whose demands were executed, and whose mediation was received. For a single eulogy the ruler of Egypt transmitted to him a thousand dinars of Maghribi coinage, as a gift. His poems are collected, and there is a demand for them in different countries. I found a letter addressed by him to my grandfather Ibrahim, commencing with some verses. As I admire the style, I here reproduce it.

May God accept me and every creature in the world, high or low, as thy ransom.
Canst thou justify thy unconcern at persons who have made a point of injuring thy poor servant ?
I am no Unbeliever whose property may be seized, nor was my grandfather Hajjaj of Thaqif.[1]
So order my coins to be struck or I will put Qufa's moustaches in the privy.

Qufa was Abu'l-Hasan Mohammed b. al-Humani.

Here are these wretches getting what they want in the way of doing me mischief (God prolong your life) and keeping me out of my due, out of intentional spite. Not indeed that I would placate, soothe, or tolerate them, were it a question of the revenue of Baduraya instead of these few coins. Now past words of mine have got about and reached their ears, and Qufa's life-breath is suspended on the morsel of flesh between his neck-veins and his gullet. (**405**) *He*

[1] The notorious Hajjaj b. Yusuf.

is giving orders for me to be oppressed and instructing Ibn al-'Allaf to vex me. If you, sir, would support me and press my demands on them by one of the retainers who shall worry them so that they find no escape, I may hope to get my due. Otherwise I shall be desperate and sell my grey to buy with the proceeds paper, ink and lamp-oil, and shall keep awake all night satirizing the apes; some-one who sang

How comes it that when I am ill, none of you visits me; but I visit your dog when it ails?

was called the dog-bard; I on Qufa's account shall be called the Ape-bard.[1] *It is three days since Ibn 'Allah promised you, sir, to pay the money, and I have been told by some one who saw it, that he was with Qufa, asking his advice, and I fancy he must have been telling him not to pay. God forbid that I should be on a level with Abu Jawwal*[2] *as the prey of these knaves. This is sufficient in the way of urging that these people should be cuffed, and stirring up war against them. Since the morning I had been a fixture in my* zabzab *in the Creek of Sa'id's Palace, till Mohammed Dawati came, I learned how he had come riding, and then I departed: May God place my safety with him. I sent the grey with this letter, with orders if he finds no means of working up his business, to tie himself up with the mules, and feed till God bring deliverance, when he was to make his way back to his stable; but he was unable to raise himself. So if this mode is too slow, I will throw him into the water, which will carry him down to the creek, where I will tie him up with the* zabzab.

Among many panegyrics which he addressed to Ibrahim Sabi' were some verses which I reproduce, as I regard them as displaying beauty and talent in the highest degree:

[1] Qufa in Syriac means "ape."

[2] Said to be a boatman in the service of Ibrahim Sabi'.

O thou to whom I dedicate my affection, secret and open;
(406) God knows that since thy absence I have been endowed with no patience.
I have disobeyed no command of grief or sorrow.
Neither have I ceased to praise thee in prose and verse.
Neither have I seen with my eyes after thee a moon on earth.
I die before thee that thou mayest be the longer lived.
This because of thy absence for ten days; how then, if thou be absent for a month?

The following is a specimen (out of many) of verses of his which are set to music:

O thou, the promises of whose kindness are but fancies, is it not time that thou didst cease betrayal?
Thou askest how I am; may every foe of thine be as I.

Another:

Oh the proud one, whose figure is reedlike set on base like a sandhill;
With whose frame when moving love deals as deals the zephyr with the moist branch;
Whose person in varying mood now shows, now hides, like the moon now rising now disappearing;
At whose vitals I aim my arrows only to miss, but who aims at mine and hits;
My soul be thy ransom, and indeed to ransom thee is for ever its sweetest thought;
Why cannot I see thee come to me, but always there is between us a jealous watcher?

Some more:

My master, why does it please thee so to avoid me, whilst my heart can never consent to keep from thee?
It has come to this that if I call thee hard by, thou hearest, but answerest not my call.
The truest thing I can tell thee is that my heart—Oh, go not from me—doubts thy loyalty.

(407) Some more:

Say to one whose company is musk and *nadd* and wine;
And one who thinks it fair to slay me, albeit such slaughter is wicked and wrong;
O thou who feignest sleep, yet whose eye slumbers not;
Every fire compared with that wherewith I burn for thee is "cold and peace" (Surah xxi. 69).

Some more:

My tears have betrayed the secret of my love, and shown the slanderer where I am.
Ye lovers, if ye be like me and in my state, then die with me.

These examples of his style are sufficient.

On Thursday 10 Rajab (June 5, 1001) Abu'l-*H*usain A*h*mad b. *H*usain b. A*h*mad b. al-Nasir the 'Alawid died.

On Thursday —8 Sha'ban (July 17, 1001) the qa*d*i Abu Mohammed Ibn al-Akfani [1] had conferred on him the judgeship of the Eastern side which had been held by Abu'l-*H*asan Kharazi, and so held the entire qa*d*iship.

(**408**) On Saturday 2 Rama*d*an (July 26, 1001) Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Nasr the Witness died on the Eastern side of Baghdad.

On Monday 11 (Aug. 4, 1001) the qa*d*i Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi accepted the evidence of Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. A*h*mad b. Sub*h*.

On Saturday 16 (Aug. 9, 1001) the qa*d*i Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. Mohammed b. Mohammed b. Ja'far Anbari, son-in-law and secretary of the qa*d*i Ibn Sayyar, died.

On Monday 10 Shawwal (Sep. 1, 1001) the qa*d*i Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi accepted the evidence of Abu'l-Qasim Ibn 'Allan, Abu 'Ali Ibn al-'Allaf, and Abu 'Abdallah Ibn (Abi) *T*alib.

On Thursday 13 (Sep. 4, 1001) the followers of Qarrad b. Ladid arrested Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. Ya*h*ya Nahrsabusi in Baqi*t*ina,[2] and brought him to Qarrad's settlement; presently Qarrad released him and he returned to Baghdad.

Account of these proceedings.

The Dailemites had been demanding their pay from Nahrsabusi, as the land revenues whence their pay was drawn had been transferred to his administration after the flight of Sabur. He had declined and entrenched himself in Karkh, where he was supported by the 'Alawids

[1] See above, p. 277.

[2] Yaqut mentions two names like this, neither of which can with certainty be identified with it.

and the banditti. A series of brawls took place between the two parties on account of this. It happened that the Dailemites entered Taq al-*H*arrani,[1] and the mob burned the quarters in front of and behind them, and many of the Dailemites perished in the flames. The riot assumed serious proportions, and Abu'l-*H*asan Nahrsabusi went out to Baqi*t*ina, which was one of the tithe-paying regions which he managed. The followers of Qarrad, learning about him, were encouraged to go and seize his person, and brought him to their master. Qarrad wanted (**409**) to make him pay a heavy sum ; but Qirwash and Gharib rode up and would not quit him till they had rescued him from Qarrad's hands. They conveyed him to Mu*h*awwal, whither he arrived on Friday —2 Shawwal (Sep. 19, 1001). By this time Ibn Mamma had returned from Shiraz, and he interceded between him and the Dailemites so that his difficulties were smoothed, he gave them sufficient to satisfy them, and re-entered his palace on Monday 8 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 29, 1001).

At 3 o'clock on Thursday 18 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (began Oct. 22, 1001) [2] the son of the Caliph Qadir, the prince Abu Ja'far 'Abdallah, was born. His horoscope: Scorpion 24, 8 ; Sun in Libra 21, 6.

On Monday 14 (?) Mu'tamad al-daulah Abu'l-Mani' (Qirwash) arrested Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn al-'Aru*d*i.[3]

On Sunday —10 (?) Zubaidah, daughter of Mu'izz al-daulah, died in Ispahan.

On Sunday 6 (?) Joannes the Catholicos was invested.

Pilgrimage was conducted this year by Abu'l-*H*arith Mohammed b. Mohammed b. 'Umar the 'Alawid.

[1] See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 90.

[2] The first day of this month was Wednesday ; it is not therefore possible to reconcile the week-day and month-day. We should read 8 for 18.

[3] See above, p. 292.

YEAR 392.[1]

Commenced Thursday 20 November year 1313 of Alexander, and Isfandar Day (5) of the month Adhar (IX) of the year 370 of Yazdajird.

We have already recorded how Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj and Abu Nasr Sabur reached Wasit on their way back from Shiraz, and promised to record their subsequent adventures. When the news of their arrival at Wasit were brought, Abu'l-Qasim *H*usain b. Mohammed b. Mamma proceeded thither to meet them and demand gratitude for conciliating the army and smoothing affairs. He conciliated *H*ajjaj with presents and flatteries and arranged a matrimonial alliance between his own brother Abu 'Ali and *H*ajjaj's secretary ABU SHAKIR AHMAD B. 'ISA, the former marrying Abu Shakir's daughter. This was with the view of strengthening himself. He gave Abu 'Abdallah Ustadhhurmuz his house, and thereby got him into his power. Knowing that Sabur would never be really his friend, he relied on this party, to which he openly attached himself. Now Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Is*h*aq had quitted Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya in anger, and gone off in the direction of Shiraz. Sabur had brought him back while still on the road, engaged him as his deputy when he came to Wasit, and sent him on in front to Baghdad. With him he sent back Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma, arranging that the two should arrest Abu Ya'qub the 'Alawid Registrar, and the followers of Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn (**411**) Ya*h*ya, on receipt of his written order. The two proceeded up stream; Abu'l-*H*asan advanced in the opposite direction to pay court to *H*ajjaj and Sabur, and meet them, though feeling unfriendly towards both, being assured of their evil intentions towards himself. When he arrived, he went into his house at Zaidiyyah,[2] while Sabur took up his quarters in the neighbouring house of his brother Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Ya*h*ya. Here he despatched a pigeon to Ibn Mamma

[1] Commenced Nov. 20, 1001.

[2] Apparently a place near Wasit.

and Ibn Is*h*aq, with a message bidding them arrest Abu Ya'qub on a day which had been fixed for the purpose, and speedily inform him that they had done so, so that he might arrest Abu'l-*H*asan and his followers in Wasit. Abu'l-Qasim divulged the secret to Abu Ya'qub, sending him a warning, owing to an agreement that existed between them, and because he was afraid of what Sabur might do, if his position were once secured. Abu Ya'qub took precautions, and when his house was entered, he was not to be found. The story spread, and an account of the situation was sent to the Sharif Abu'l-*H*asan by carrier-pigeons. Sabur put off the execution of his design on Abu'l-*H*asan till he ascertained the seizure of Abu Ya'qub, against whom he was the more incensed. Abu'l-*H*asan, having got wind of the design, took to flight by night, and rode his mule furiously to Zubaidiyyah. In the morning Sabur found that he had escaped, and received a message that Abu Ya'qub had escaped also. He was aghast, knew not what to do, regretted his carelessness, and sent to consult *H*ajjaj. He replied: If you had acted with prudence you would have commenced with the one who was in your neighbourhood, and the one at a distance would have been at your mercy. You have been too headstrong.—Sabur now began to make search for the goods of Abu'l-*H*asan, to confiscate his crops, to place the men and women with whom he had dealings under surveillance, and lay seals upon his houses and shops. His intention was to have them searched and to seize all property which was found belonging to Abu'l-*H*asan, his brothers, his agents, and his dependents. Presently he changed his mind, decided to mollify him, and charged *H*ajjaj to convey messages to him. Negotiations took place which ended in Abu'l-*H*asan's consenting (**412**) to return on condition that *H*ajjaj should guarantee him his personal safety, and swear to undertake his protection and defence against all assailants.

I remember how ABU AHMAD HUSAIN B. 'ALI, sister's son to Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Hakkar, came from Zubaidiyyah as Abu'l-Hasan's messenger to Hajjaj to take his oath. Hajjaj bade me meet him to draw up a copy of the oath. Abu Ahmad told him that the Sharif (Abu'l-Hasan Ibn Yahya) had already made one and given it him to convey; and here, he said, it is.—He produced it from his sleeve, whereupon Hajjaj took it from his hand, gave it me and bade me read it to him. I did so, for, though he would not admit it, he understood Arabic. Abu Ahmad left his presence, when it had been arranged that Hajjaj should interview Sabur and acquaint him with the document. Hajjaj then summoned me and handing me the oath bade me go and show it to Sabur, and ask him his views on the matter. For, he said, if I swear to this person and pledge my faith to him, I shall not surrender him to you, but will stand between you.—So I went to Sabur, explained the document to him, and delivered the message. He promised to go to Hajjaj in the evening and discuss with him what line should be followed. I took this answer back to Hajjaj. At the end of the day Sabur came to him, and the two held a private meeting. Presently they summoned Abu Ahmad; Hajjaj swore to him, and he went away. Abu'l-Hasan Ibn Yahya now came upstream, spent a night in his house, and then left it to return to Zubaidiyyah. It is said that he removed a hoard which was buried in his house, and took it downstream with him, and returned two days later after arranging his affairs. Sabur's plans miscarried, and Abu'l-Hasan Ibn Yahya treated him with contempt. Hajjaj and Sabur proceeded to Baghdad, where they arrived Thursday 2 Jumada i (March 19, 1002). Accounts of what had happened were sent to Baha al-daulah, who was incensed at Sabur's mismanagement and the mischief which he wrought. Charges were brought against him by Baha al-daulah's courtiers, (**413**) and meanwhile Abu'l-Hasan

Ibn Ya*h*ya had written to the latter from Zubaidiyyah, imploring his benevolence, reminding him of the writer's past services, and offering him a sum which the writer undertook to extort in full from Sabur if the latter were put in his power. He further dwelt on the hatred felt against Sabur by both the army and the civil population, and their disapproval of his methods. Baha al-daulah accordingly wrote to *H*ajjaj ordering his arrest, and to Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya bidding him accept charge of him. *H*ajjaj, Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya, and Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma made arrangements for this purpose. The two last were slack in the matter of the arrest, it being their object rather to get him removed so that they might be rid of him. Sabur, understanding the situation, took precautions, and used his best efforts. The two made an attempt to seize him in the Palace of the Banu Ma'mun in the Qasr 'Isa ;[1] but he was not to be found there. Abu'l-*H*asan's idea in his negligence in the matter of the arrest was to be able to allege his escape as a reason for not paying what he had promised ; Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma's was to be relieved of his presence, and from being—as was possible—ordered to treat him with violence.

Sabur fled to the Marsh ; the administration in Baghdad was after his departure undertaken by Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. *H*asan Baghdadi, who was followed by Abu'l-Fat*h* Qunna'i, who was succeeded by Abu'l-*H*usain 'Ubaidallah b. Mohammed b. Qartamiz, who was addressed as Vizier, and accepted that title, thereby provoking the mirth of *H*ajjaj and the people in general. His administration consisted entirely in seizing property as fines, and practising chicanery upon the traders.

Doubtless the city was in ruins, most of the inhabitants having migrated, some fleeing to the Marsh, others forming bands at the Azaj Gate, whereas others went

[1] See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 86.

as far as 'Ukbara or Anbar. Numerous persons have informed me that they have seen pies and sparrows walking about the *Siniyyah* [1] of Karkh between the end of the Shoemakers' Bazaar and the Cloth-merchants' at midday, when the place used formerly to be thronged.

When Sabur and *H*ajjaj came to Wasit, they restored to Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali Ibn Abi 'Ali the administration of (**414**) public security in the place.

On Saturday 10 Mu*h*arram (Nov. 29, 1001) Abu'l-Qasim Isma'il b. Sa'id b. Suwaid the Witness died.

On Wednedsay 28 (Dec. 17) Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya proceeded to Wasit as recorded above.

At this time occurred the death of ABU'L-*T*AYYIB FARRUKHAN B. SHIRAZ in Juwaim of Sif.[2] The vizier Abu Ghalib Mohammed b. 'Ali b. Khalaf started from Shiraz to search for his goods and secure them.

The career of Farrukhan from its commencement to his death ; and the story of the search after his goods and treasures as told me by Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. Hasan Fasawi.

Farrukhan b. Shiraz was from one of the villages of Karran [3] and was at first employed as an inspector of the public granaries and in similar modest capacities. He rose till he became secretary of the Bureau in Siraf, and afterwards governor, which office he held for a long time. He was then appointed to Oman ; crossing thither he prospered and amassed sums such as no person of his condition is recorded to have possessed, and built in Naiband the palace that is called after him, and is proverbial.[4] Into this palace he introduced vast quantities

[1] This word, which signifies something like " tray," is used of Samarra by Ibn Hauqal, 166 ult., and as a place-name (Yaqut).

[2] Juwaim of Sif is probably identical with the village of Fars of that name mentioned by Muqaddasi and others, and distinguished from Juwaim Abi A*h*mad.

[3] In Ispahan. [4] For magnificence.

of magnificent furniture, textiles, etc., of all sorts. He also installed there a great number of sentinels, guards, and armed men. For Naiband is on the seashore and thinly populated. There was much talk in the countries of the wealth (**415**) amassed in this palace, and it excited admiration and covetousness. Various insurgents and local rulers bethought them of raiding it. Now 'Abbadan and the Gulf were in the possession of Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn Wasil,[1] Basrah in that of Lashkarsitan b. Dhaki, the coasts and chief towns of the neighbouring countries in that of the Sifiyyah (" people of the Oman coast ") and the Zutt. The chief source of supplies to Samsam al-daulah in Fars was Farrukhan, who used to furnish him constantly with money and goods. Certain persons tried to set Samsam al-daulah against him, declaring that Farrukhan meant to rebel, arm himself and stop the supplies which he was in the habit of furnishing. Samsam al-daulah in consequence wrote to Farrukhan summoning him to his gate, with the view of ascertaining his real intentions. Farrukhan however had received intelligence of what was being said about him, and obeyed the summons, bringing with him gifts and sums of money which were favourably received. Samsam al-daulah therefore bestowed on him a robe of honour, appointed him chamberlain, and restored him to his post, where he continued to discharge his duty loyally. When 'Ala b. Hasan died in 'Askar Mukram,[2] there being in Samsam al-daulah's dominions no more distinguished or opulent personage than Farrukhan, and no one more respected by the troops, he was appointed vizier, it being stipulated that he should proceed to Ahwaz, to administer its affairs and those of the soldiers there, leaving as his deputies in Shiraz Ibrahim b. Ahmad and Mansur b. Bakr. The former remained at Samsam al-daulah's court, while (**416**) the latter proceeded to Fasa to settle its departments. He had not been long there when he was recalled

[1] See above, iii. 271. [2] Above, iii. 293.

and sent to Shiqq al-Rudhan,[1] where too he did not remain long, departing without permission to the Sultan's gate. Samsam al-daulah disapproved of this proceeding, and ordered him to be produced and scourged. He ceased to be associated with Ibrahim b. Ahmad, who was left in sole control. Farrukhan proceeded to Ahwaz, but as affairs were not conducted by him in the style that had been arranged, Abu 'Ali Hasan b. Ustadhhurmuz was sent thither with the results that have been described above. When Baha al-daulah came to Fars, Farrukhan was one of those who joined his company; representations being made to the former of the latter's wealth and power, he arrested Farrukhan, who was compelled to compromise; he was put in the power of Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fadl, and afterwards of the Sahib Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram, who released him after he had paid the sum in full. He was then despatched to Juwaim al-Sif to engage the Zutt and the Sifiyyah, and proceeded to Fasa where he took into his service the bulk of the Dailemites who were there. MARDJAWUK was sent to his assistance with a great band of retainers from 'Iraq; remaining in Juwaim for a period he collected money from the Western districts, whereas he was resisted by those who had entrenched themselves in a fort or could take refuge in inaccessible mountains. In the midst of these operations he died; all the money and goods which he had with him were seized and conveyed to Shiraz. Baha al-daulah had a great belief in his opulence.

After his death there were many rumours about the wealth which he had left, the deposits which remained in people's hands, and the hoards which he had stored in his palace. The vizier Abu Ghalib was told to proceed to Naiband and Siraf and secure the whole of it by all possible means. He was told to go to the palace himself, which was fifteen parasangs from Siraf, and do his utmost to unearth the treasure. He was (417) to be satisfied

[1] Istakhri speaks of Shiqq al-Rudh, perhaps meaning the same place.

with nothing less than the personal supervision of every operation. Now Farrukhan had a confidential friend named BABAN, a Mazdian, who was acquainted with all the former's possessions, above ground and below. The vizier Abu Ghalib arrested him and demanded that he should reveal to him the location of Farrukhan's goods. He revealed sums which excited men's wonder, and gems which produced the same effect, all of which were taken by Abu Ghalib, who proceeded to inflict such torture on Baban that the latter cut his own throat in the bath. The vizier returned to Shiraz, where his enemies talked much of the treasures, hoards and deposits of Farrukhan which he had taken, declaring that he had murdered Baban in order that his own peculations might through his death be concealed. These stories or as much of them as reached Baha al-daulah's ears led to his arresting the vizier Abu Ghalib, as shall be recorded at the right time and place.

On Monday 10 *S*afar (Dec. 29, 1001) the Q*a*d*i* Abu 'Abdallah *D*abbi accepted the testimony of Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. Mohammed b. Husain Warraq.

On Friday —2 of this month (Jan. 16, 1002) occurred the death of the grammarian Abu'l-Fat*h* 'Uthman b. Jinni. He was a grammarian of the first rank, author of numerous works, among them a commentary on Mutanabbi's poems, which besides being exhaustive in character contains a quantity of grammatical and lexicographical matter. He called this work *al-Fasr* (the Explanation). He was originally of Mausil, and served 'A*d*ud, Samsam, Sharaf and Baha al-daulah, *and earned* [1] large sums as grammarian and scholar in their palaces.

(**418**) In Rabi'i (began Jan. 18, 1002) Abu'l-*H*usain b. Mohammed 'Aru*d*i was killed in Anbar.

On Monday 7 Rabi'ii (Feb. 23, 1002) the populace assaulted the Christians, pillaging and setting fire to the

[1] Supplied by conjecture.

church in Qaṭi'at al-Raqiq.[1] The building fell on a number of Moslems, men, boys and women, and it was a terrible affair.

On the night preceding Thursday —6 of this month (March 18, 1002) IBN MUTA' and his followers assassinated the 'Alawids *H*ASUN B. AL-KHARMA and his brother in FAM AL-ISTANAH.[2] This gang had already gone to excessive lengths in acts of arbitrary violence, and general criminality.

On Monday 5 Jumada i, synchronizing with March 23, there was a severe cold, and the water froze.

On Friday 9 of the same month to the titles given Baha al-daulah in the *khutbah* there were added QAWAM AL-DIN (Mainstay of Religion) and *S*AFIYY AMIR AL-MU'MININ (True friend of the Commander of the Faithful). These titles had been conferred by the Caliph, whose life God prolong, and sent by despatch to Shiraz.

On Wednesday —2 of the same month (April 15, 1002) Sabur went into hiding as recorded in the course of the narrative.

In this month a *karah* (sack) of unsifted meal reached three dinars of Muṭi's coinage, and in the following month five dinars; there was in consequence distress and famine.

In Jumada ii (began April 17, 1002) Abu *T*ahir Yaghma the Elder went off to the Nahrawan Bridge, fleeing from *H*ajjaj (Abu Ja'far Ibn Hurmuz).

Account of the reason for this and the sequel.

*H*ajjaj had received information of Yaghma's revolutionary plans, of his tampering with the retainers, and

[1] Mentioned by Yaqut as a quarter (the Slaves' Quarter) of Baghdad, without further location.

[2] The reading of the name is uncertain. It is mentioned by Tabari, iii. 1605, as that of a canal bringing water from the Euphrates to Baghdad.

of messages and correspondence being interchanged between him and Muhadhdhib al-daulah on this subject, wherein the transmission of money had been promised. *H*ajjaj proceeded to conciliate Abu'l-Haija Jamaqi and endeavoured to enlist him on his side and bethought him of publicly arresting Yaghma, who had set the retainers against him and induced them to demand money of him and subject him to indignities. Yaghma got wind of *H*ajjaj's views about him and schemes against him, and was afraid to meet him. Fearing a sudden assault, for indeed *H*ajjaj was a formidable foe, he departed to Nahrawan Bridge, in order to carry out his plans in quiet and security. He crossed the Diyala [1] fearing pursuit on the part of *H*ajjaj by night; he was followed by many of the chief retainers, who presently abandoned him and returned. The money which Muhadhdhib al-daulah had promised to send him, and which he had promised the retainers, was delayed, and in consequence of this his plan came to naught. Proceeding on his journey he crossed at *S*afiyah to the Western bank, and joined Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Mazyad, with whom he lodged. His fief and the property which he held in Baduraya were assigned by *H*ajjaj to Abu'l-Haija Jamaqi.

In this month the Euphrates inundated the Qubin [2] dam, and the fields of Anbar and Baduraya [3] were flooded. The water reached Mu*h*awwal, displaced the walls of the orchards, and discoloured the *S*arat.

On Sunday —6 Jumada ii (May 10, 1002) Abu *H*arb, clerk to Bakran, was impaled at the gate of a bath in Suq Ya*h*ya,[4] where he had been found with Maziyyah, Bakran's slave-girl, in suspicious circumstances.

On Saturday 1 Rajab (May 16, 1002) *H*ajjaj de-

[1] Nahrawan Bridge is N. of Baghdad, whereas the Diyala flows into the Tigris S. of the city.

[2] Mentioned by Yaqut as the name of a canal and a province in 'Iraq.

[3] *Cf.* above, ii. 9.

[4] Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 199.

spatched 'ALI B. KUJRI with a number of Dailemites and Kurds to Mada'in to protect the place from the friends of the Banu 'Uqail.

(**420**) *Account of the fate of this expedition, and of the following expedition of Hajjaj's brother Ibrahim and of his defeat.*

Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Kujri proceeded to Mada'in and established himself there. Du'aij, representative of Qirwash, with his followers departed thence, the friends and agents of the Banu 'Uqail in Baghdad were arrested, and officials were despatched to Baduraya and Nahr al-Malik. Information of what had happened was sent to MARA*H* B. MUSAYYIB, QIRWASH B. MUQALLAD, and QARRAD B. LADID; they were in the neighbourhood of Mausil, and before they could muster the Arabs and despatch them Du'aij had got together a force wherewith he attacked 'Ali b. Kujri in Mada'in and besieged him. The latter wrote to *H*ajjaj demanding help and reinforcement. *H*ajjaj despatched al-Munjib Abu'l-Muzaffar BARIS*T*UGHAN, he being governor of the place; he proceeded at the head of a number of retainers, and Du'aij withdrew, but wrote for help to Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. Mazyad. This person, who harboured a grudge against *H*ajjaj, and feared him, sent to the help of Du'aij his brother ABU'L-GHANA'IM MOHAMMED. His forces united with those of Du'aij and the two took up their quarters at Saba*t*.[1] Baris*t*ughan and 'Ali b. Kujri both wrote to *H*ajjaj describing the numbers and strength of their assailants. *H*ajjaj endeavoured to muster the retainers, but they showed no willingness to serve. Baris*t*ughan and 'Ali b. Kujri therefore retired to Baqi*t*ina.[2] *H*ajjaj bade his brother IBRAHIM ABU IS*H*AQ lead an expedition. He brought out the Dailemite troops, and they together

[1] One league below Mada'in; see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 34, 35.

[2] Perhaps Baqataya, three leagues from the Qatrabull quarter of Baghdad, Yaqut.

with Barisṭughan and 'Ali b. Kujri mached to attack the Arabs. Abu'l-Ghana'im and Du'aij sent information of this to 'Ali b. Mazyad, who proceeded to join them. (**421**) A battle was fought at Bagarma [1] on Wednesday 8 Ramaḍan (July 22, 1002) at which Ibrahim was routed; his camp was pillaged, many Dailemites and Turks were captured, and a number of men, including ABU MANSUR IBN ḤULAIS and SHABA B. AWANDA were killed. The refugees returned to Baghdad in a shameful plight. This affair grieved and distressed Ḥajjaj. ḤASAN B. THIMAL Khafaji arrived shortly after on Tuesday 14 Ramaḍan (July 28, 1002), with a small party of his followers, and had reached Sarsar before his arrival was perceived.

Account of his expedition.

Ḥajjaj owing to his opinion of the Banu 'Uqail and their former dealings with him [2] was always dreaming about them, and had no thought except about making war upon them, preparing himself to take vengeance on them and creating enemies for them. He wrote to Ḥasan b. Thimal, whose presence he was anxious to secure, though it seemed unlikely that he, being quartered in Syria, would come to 'Iraq. I remember receiving a visit from ABU'L-QASIM IBN KABSHAH, a dare-devil who had served 'Aḍud al-daulah for a long time as messenger and spy, who said to me: I notice that you are sending letters to Ḥasan b. Thimal inviting him here. He will give you elusive promises. If the Commander in chief would send me with some of his letters, I should not leave the man alone before I had brought him hither.—I mentioned this too to the Commander, who said: Ibn Kabshah is a great liar and chatterer, still you may as well send a letter by him, and so get rid of him.—I accordingly wrote a letter, and obtained journey-money for him from the superintendent. He started, and

[1] Village of the Balikh district, near Raqqah. Yaqut.
[2] Above, iii. 282, etc.

though the Commander (*H*ajjaj) fancied that he would neither succeed with his mission nor indeed come back, he returned after a short time to announce that *H*asan b Thimal had come and taken up his quarters at Sarsar. *H*ajjaj was delighted (422) with his arrival, which followed shortly after what had befallen his brother Ibrahim in his encounter with Ibn Mazyad and the Banu 'Uqail. *H*ajjaj sent to meet *H*asan b. Thimal, lodged him in the palace which had belonged to Ma'ruf,[1] and had supplies conveyed to him, and remittances to his followers.

News now reached *H*ajjaj that 'Amid al-Juyush (Abu 'Ali) had been appointed governor of 'Iraq, and was about to proceed thither. This fact, which was noised abroad, added to his vexation. The Turks took liberties with him, treated him badly, and on one day gathered at his gate and discharged brickbats and arrows at his window. Vexed and disgusted, he departed to Nahrawan Bridge on Sunday —4 Rama*d*an (Aug. 9, 1002), accompanied by his brother Ibrahim, *Z*ahir b. Justan, his brothers Khusrshah and Khusrfiroz, 'Ali b. Kujri, *H*asan b. Thimal, Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Qatramiz,[2] and such Barawa*h*i Dailemites and others as followed him. He sent an envoy to the Najib ABU'L-FATH MOHAMMED B. 'ANNAZ,[3] requesting him to join an expedition against 'Ali b. Mazyad and the Banu 'Uqail; after procrastinating, he assented, and joined forces with *H*ajjaj. The whole party crossed the Tigris, the day whereon *H*ajjaj left Nahrawan Bridge being Sunday 10 Shawwal (Aug. 22, 1002), whereas the crossing took place on Saturday 2 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 12), he having halted till Abu'l-Fat*h* joined him. Du'aij was joined by ABU BISHR IBN SHAHRUYAH who reinforced him from Mausil with a great number of the Banu 'Uqail. 'Ali b. Mazyad joined them with his cavalry and infantry. A battle was fought on Thursday 13 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 24, 1002),

[1] Perhaps the *Q*a*d*i Ibn Ma'ruf is meant.

[2] Above, iii. 413. [3] Above, iii. 340.

wherein Abu Bishr was killed, Du'aij captured, and 'Ali b. Mazyad routed. Their forces were dispersed, and their baggage and transport pillaged. The scene was a place called Baziqiyya.[1]

(**423**) I was told the following by the Chamberlain ABU *T*AHIR *H*USAIN B. 'ALI *Z*AHIRI : When Ibn Mazyad and the Banu 'Uqail had been routed at the battle of Baziqiyya, the Commander Abu Ja'far (*H*ajjaj) continued his advance up to al-Qasr and halted at Bashamsa[2] After appointing guards to prevent the town from being plundered or its inhabitants assailed, he started off the next day in the direction of Nil,[3] following the traces of Ibn Mazyad, who with his tents and his family had gone off to a place called The Goats' Cleft (*Shaqq al-Mi'za*). After ordering 'Ali b. Kujri to halt at Nil with his baggage, he with Du'aij, the infantry and the Dailemites, proceeded, accompanied by Abu'l-Fat*h* Ibn 'Annaz and *H*asan b. Thimal. When they came near Ibn Mazyad and were in sight of his tents, they halted to make ready for battle and to pitch a camp.

Ibn Mazyad came forth to fight. He had previously communicated with Abu'l-Hawa Aswad b. Sawadah Shaibani who was at the head of a considerable force of the Banu Shaiban in the company of Abu'l-Fat*h* Ibn 'Annaz, and by promises and flattery had obtained his assent to the proposal that when the armies faced each other he should take to flight and so rout *H*ajjaj. He carried this out ; he quitted the field and was followed by a number of Kurds. *H*ajjaj remained with thirty of his family and relatives ; for the orders which he had given in Nil that some of the Dailemite infantry should be mounted on mules and camels had been neglected.

[1] Near *H*illah.

[2] Not mentioned by the geographers.

[3] City founded by *H*ajjaj b. Yusuf ; see Le Strange, *Lands*, etc., p. 73.

Abu'l-Fat*h* stood firm with 200 Shadhinjani[1] horsemen, and 200 Jawani horsemen, who had accompanied *H*ajjaj.

Now it happened that *H*assan b. Thimal (brother of *H*asan) had gone with most of the Banu Khafajah by a different road from that which our people had traversed, whence his brother was left with a small number. When *H*ajjaj saw the condition to which he was reduced and the small number left with him, and was charged by Ibn Mazyad, who outnumbered him with his horse and foot, and the slaves, male and female of his encampment and had seized his tents, he was bewildered. Perceiving that Abu'l-Fat*h* Ibn 'Annaz meant to take to flight, he bade Abu'l-Qasim *Z*ahir and his family look after Abu'l-Fat*h*, stick to him and not leave him alone, lest he should play them false and abandon them; I do not, he said, count on his help, but am afraid lest, if he retire, this may break our line and encourage the enemy.—(**424**) *Z*ahir clung to him, and when *H*ajjaj found himself in difficulty, he made an attack upon the habitations and ascended a mound which was in the midst of them. By this time Ibn Mazyad had got possession of *H*ajjaj's camp, dismounted and offered thanksgiving to God in one of the tents; he had then mounted, riding in the direction of *H*ajjaj, and made a charge wherein he overthrew some of *H*ajjaj's household retainers, whom he then trampled under the hoofs of his horses, flattening out their heads and faces and making a pulp of them and their trunks. He was in the full career of victory. *H*ajjaj however held his ground, made a series of charges, and after setting fire to some of the dwellings, a final charge which routed Ibn Mazyad, whose tents, dwellings and goods were seized. The date was Saturday —8 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Oct. 3, 1002).

The Chamberlain Abu *T*ahir continues: Our people pillaged all this, and got possession of immeasurable quantities of gold, silver, ornaments, wrought articles,

[1] *i.e.*, Kurdish; see above, ii. 155.

and wearing apparel. *H*ajjaj sent a message to Abu 'Ali Ibn Thimal to the effect that he had the best right to the womenfolk and occupants of the harems, and should send people to protect them from the Persians. Abu 'Ali proceeded to occupy himself with transferring them to certain dwellings which he had assigned them, and paid no attention whatever to the booty. The Shadhinjan and Jawan [1] with such of the Banu Khafajah as were present were content with the booty which they had acquired,[2] and the hands and sacks of all were filled with money and valuable goods. *H*ajjaj then retired to Nil.

Now when 'Ali b. Kujri saw the Banu Shaiban returning admitting defeat, and heard them declaring that the Commander had been routed, he took fright, collected the Dailemite infantry and made off for the Jabal. He further decapitated Du'aij and impaled him in Mada'in. Learning afterwards what had actually happened, he was ashamed of himself, and entered Baghdad in fear of *H*ajjaj. Presently he excused himself in writing to *H*ajjaj, who accepted his excuses and was reconciled. The latter afterwards proceeded to Kufah accompanied by Abu 'Ali Ibn Thimal, whereas Abu'l-Fat*h* Ibn 'Annaz returned to the Khorasan Road.

(**425**) The Chamberlain Abu *T*ahir continues: When the Commander *H*ajjaj reached Kufah, he quartered himself in the house of Abu'l-*H*asan MOHAMMED B. 'UMAR. News presently came of the advance of Qirwash, Rafi' b. *H*usain, Qarrad b. *L*adid, Gharib and Rafi', sons of Mohammed b. Maqn,[3] with the great tribe (*jamrah*) of the Banu 'Uqail, and various bands of Kurds whom they had induced to join their hosts. These had halted at Anbar, meaning to attack *H*ajjaj and Abu 'Ali Ibn Thimal in Kufah. Ascer-

[1] Above, p. 423. [2] And so left the women alone.
[3] See above, iii. 301.

taining this, the Banu Khafajah deserted Abu 'Ali and went off. Abu 'Ali asked the Commander *H*ajjaj to send a party with him to bring them back. *H*ajjaj despatched with him Abu'l-Qasim *Z*ahir. The two proceeded till they got near Qadisiyyah ; the tribesmen were dispersed, different parties taking different directions, some of them that of Basrah, others that of the wilderness. When Abu 'Ali came in sight of them, he bade Abu'l-Qasim *Z*ahir order the trumpets to be blown. This was done ; when they heard the blast, having already taken their various directions, they turned their horses' heads, gathered round Abu 'Ali and asked him what he wanted of them.—He said : My friends, are you going to abandon me and abandon these lands which we have occupied and acquired by the sword, and have the right to enjoy and live upon ?—They replied that they wanted money and compensation for delivering their lives to the sword and the spear. He and Abu'l-Qasim *Z*ahir proceeded to argue with them till they agreed to return, on condition however that they should have licence to plunder the territories in lieu of pay and bonus. They took full advantage of this licence and did serious mischief.

The Commander (*H*ajjaj) now went out to the place outside Kufah called Sabi', meaning to wait for the Banu 'Uqail and engage them there. Abu 'Ali Ibn Thimal however pointed out to him that they had been ill-treating and oppressing the people of the town, who in consequence were ill-disposed towards and complaining of them. If therefore the people of the town should be in their rear at the time of the engagement, they might very likely attack them (**426**) from the rear and assist the enemy. It was therefore the right course to place an interval between the people of the town and themselves. They accordingly marched away and halted in the village called Sabuniyyah, two parasangs' distance from Kufah. With Abu 'Ali Ibn Thimal there

were some seven hundred horse, and with the Commander (*H*ajjaj) about the same number of Dailemites. Only when the Commander proceeded to this place, less than three hundred of the Dailemites followed him ; the rest hung back, demanding that their pay be remitted to them ; for indeed they had been corrupted by messages sent by 'Amid al-Juyush and Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma. *H*ajjaj sent Abu'l-Qasim *Z*ahir to them, and he succeeded in inducing most of the laggards to come out, as they were ashamed before him, and reluctant to disobey him. The Banu 'Uqail arrived on the scene to the number of 7,000 men, with munitions, engines, armour, padded jackets, with waving banners, blast of trumpets, and processional drums ; and advanced to the fray in the style of the Sultan's troops.[1] Abu 'Ali had been paying a visit to the martyrium at al-Ghari (peace be upon him who rests there ![2]), performing his devotions, and grovelling at the grave to implore God's help and victory. He said to his followers : *Here death and disgrace are to be had by slackness and weakness, life and glory by stedfastness and victory !* They promised to stand by him, and to offer their lives in his defence.

The Commander (*H*ajjaj) arrayed his troops in front of the dwellings of the settlement, placing Abu'l-Qasim *Z*ahir on his right and Khusrshah on his left ; he took his own station in the centre. The women came out in their howdahs on camels, preceded by infantry with targets and swords. Abu 'Ali Ibn Thimal went forward with the cavalry and a long distance separated him from us. There was a skirmish ; and scarcely a moment had elapsed when there came towards us a number of horses that had been captured and were being driven abreast of their captors' steeds, and prisoners who were being led, with Khafaji Arabs holding spears directed in their

[1] The style is probably that described by Tabari, iii. 1693, 15, where the Dailemites form in line with their shields in front of their faces.

[2] 'Ali son of Abu *T*alib.

hands. Abu 'Ali Thimal sent to the Commander (*H*ajjaj) requesting him to advance and join him. He replied that the circumstances did not admit of his advancing, neither might he leave the ranks and face the cavalry thus in the open country.—(**427**) Abu 'Ali repeated his request several times, and received the same reply till at last Abu 'Ali said : In that case send me a company of Persians that the enemy may see them, and lose heart when they know that you are behind me.—*H*ajjaj then sent him Abu'l-Qasim *Z*ahir with a number of Dailemite and Turkish horse, who were in Kufah and had come out with the Commander. Before however they reached the place where the fighting was going on the 'Uqail had been routed, and some thousand of their men taken captive ; these were brought to the dwellings after their clothes, horses and arms had been removed. Abu 'Ali desisted from slaughter, and forbade it, the only life taken being that of Abu 'Ali Ibn al-Qal'i, secretary of Rafi' b. Mohammed. The women, slaves and slave-girls of the Banu Khafajah had during the engagement mounted horses and camels, and surprised the camp of the Banu 'Uqail, which was at some distance from the battlefield. The 'Uqail retired in complete disorder, and the Khafajah pillaged their money, arms, horses and baggage.

I was informed by Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Thimal that he pursued the 'Uqail across the desert with some of his mounted men as far as the martyrium in *H*a'ir (Peace be upon him[1] who dwells there !) ; they were separated from the rest of their party. When he had got beyond the martyrium he halted, passed the night and visited the martyrium to return to his settlement the next day. —I repeated this to the Chamberlain Abu *T*ahir, who agreed that this was so. He added that when *H*ajjaj missed Abu 'Ali he was seriously alarmed, supposing that some accident had befallen him ; his followers

[1] *H*usain b. 'Ali.

however observed to him that had Abu 'Ali been overtaken, the 'Uqail would have returned to the charge. Finally the following morning he appeared accompanied by twelve horsemen. He related how he had pursued the fugitives till they had passed the martyrium in *H*a'ir, and had spent the night there ; had he been at the head of a strong company, he would have done his best to capture their chieftains with their goods.

*H*ajjaj with Abu 'Ali Ibn Thimal now returned to Kufah, where they stayed. Their subsequent career shall be recounted in its place.

In Sha'ban (began June 15, 1002) the Muwaffaq (Abu 'Ali Ibn Isma'il) was arrested and sent back to the citadel.

Account of his escape from the citadel after his first confinement there : how he was harboured by Diwani : how he returned to Shiraz after obtaining assurances : his subsequent history till he was arrested a second time and sent back to the citadel. My authority for all this being his secretary Abu Nasr Bishr b. Ibrahim Sunni.

Abu Nasr narrates as follows :—When Muwaffaq was first housed in the citadel, his custody was committed to ABU'L-'ABBAS *A*HMAD B. *H*USAIN the Bedmaker. He was a harsh and cruel man ; what he knew of Baha al-al-daulah's and his go-betweens' views about Muwaffaq encouraged him to ill-treat and persecute the latter. So he confined his captive in a tiny cell, and left him in the severe cold of midwinter with a single shirt and a cloak of Tabaristan,[1] so that he nearly perished. Treated in this way Muwaffaq preferred death to what he had to endure, and determined to do his utmost to escape. He conciliated the warders placed with him by his jailor, Abu'l-'Abbas the Bedmaker, and cajoled them with pro-

[1] Muqaddasi, p. 359, speaks of the garments of Tabaristan as wonderfully beautiful. Probably they were very thin.

mises and allurements. Through them he communicated with me, asking me to furnish him with food, money and clothes. He used to get what he wanted from me in small portions at a time. His chief warder was a bedmaker attached to Abu'l-'Abbas the Bedmaker, who enjoyed his particular confidence, and of whom he had no suspicion. This person was persuaded by Muwaffaq to assist him, and took messages between me and him. It was arranged with me that I was to get a number of DIWANI'S followers and station them at night under the citadel, when Muwaffaq and the bedmaker were to let themselves down by a hole which they were to dig in a certain house which adjoined the cell wherein Muwaffaq was.—I carried out these instructions and brought the horsemen after supplying Muwaffaq through the bedmaker with a file wherewith to sever his fetters, and a basket with a rope wherewith to descend. The fetters were filed and the hole dug, and Muwaffaq descended followed by the bedmaker on the night preceding the Persian New Year corresponding with Monday —2 Rabi' ii (March 16, 1002). I had provided him with a mount which he bestrode. By morning he was in the Sabur country, where he was met by Diwani, who offered his services.

Abu Nasr continues: When he had dismounted and had reposed, I said to him: You are now free and your own master; only Baha al-daulah is your enemy and he is lord of the land. The inhabitants are his subjects, and his views about you are what you know. Your best plan is to provide for yourself and anticipate rumour by reaching some place where you will be safe from effective pursuit.—Diwani said much the same, and offered to escort him to the territory of Badr b. *H*asanawaihi and the region of the Marshes. He declined these proposals, stating that he would send a message to the sovereign and endeavour to conciliate him. We argued with him showing him the wisdom of our suggestions, but he was

obstinate, and required me to return to Shiraz and interview Abu'l-Khaṭṭab,[1] and find out his views as to the course which he should adopt. He also wrote a letter to Baha al-daulah in which he said: *In escaping from your custody my purpose was not to abandon my loyalty nor reluctance to implore your clemency when under your control. Only the treatment which I have received is aimed at my life, and fear* (**430**) *of losing it has led me to take steps for its preservation. I am here awaiting your commands and desire no further regard for my services than the protection of my existence.* With this there were other similar expressions.

Abu Naṣr proceeds: In charging me to return with this message he made me incur very serious risk; but there was nothing for me to do but to accept and obey, so I returned to Shiraz and paid Abu'l-Khaṭṭab a nightly visit. He said to me: What is the news? His majesty is in a terrible state over Muwaffaq's escape, which he fancies will lead to terrible disaster.—I told him my business, and he said: I cannot possibly undertake to deliver the letter and communicate your message to his majesty Baha al-daulah, since he is aware of the relations bewteen us;[2] do you therefore go to the Muẓaffar Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Faḍl[3] and request him to conceal the fact of your arrival, and deliver the letter as though it had been brought by one of the state messengers. He is to observe secrecy and find out what his majesty's views about the matter are.

Accordingly I went to this person and communicated Abu'l-Khaṭṭab's instructions. Muẓaffar was so anxious to inform Baha al-daulah of the news and allay his anxiety that he went to the palace the first thing in the morning, exhibited the letter and instead of concealing my arrival mentioned it. His majesty was so far satis-

[1] *Ḥamzah* b. Ibrahim, see above, iii. 325.

[2] Abu'l-Khaṭṭab had been Muwaffaq's agent.

[3] A general formerly in the service of *'Aḍud al-daulah*.

fied, and proceeded to ask what he wanted. Muzaffar replied: a guarantee from the holy sharif Abu Aḥmad Musawi.—His majesty agreed and promised that this should be given. Abu'l-Khaṭṭab then sent to me requesting me to be brief and not exhaustive in the document which I was to draw up.—I promised to do so but presently failed to keep my promise; I drew up an exhaustive formula for the oath, which I brought to the palace. Abu Aḥmad Musawi and the Muzaffar were present. Abu 'Abdallah the Amin (trusty) came out and said that his majesty wished to know what sort of guarantee I demanded. I produced the document from my sleeve and handed it to him, saying: Here is a formula which was committed to me by Muwaffaq, who ordered me to request (**431**) that a copy of it be graciously made in the handwriting of our master the Amin, and that it have the honour of being recited by his majesty in the presence of the holy sharif.—He said he would rise and lay it before his majesty. He did so, and when his majesty saw its length and had ascertained its exhaustiveness, he said to Abu'l-Khaṭṭab: Did we not order you to send a message to Abu Nasr bidding him be short and concise?—He replied that he had done so, that Abu Nasr had given his promise, but had not kept it. Baha al-daulah then ordered the Amin to make a copy, which he faithfully did. I was then introduced into the room, where there were present Abu Aḥmad, the Muzaffar, Abu'l-Khaṭṭab, and the Amin Abu 'Abdallah. His majesty began to read it aloud, but stopped at the end of about half to ask a question about something in it. He then recommenced reading. I kissed the ground, whereupon raising his head he asked what was the matter. I said: Your absent slave requests that this favour be graciously read without interruption.—This angered him, as appeared on his visage; but he read it through again from beginning to end. When he had finished I kissed the ground and he said: What more do you want? I

said: That you would most graciously set your assent to it.—He called for an inkhorn and wrote: I bind myself by this oath and undertake to observe its stipulations.—I took the document; Abu Aḥmad and the Muẓaffar left the palace, and I went to rejoin Muwaffaq and bring him with us.

Baha al-daulah had despatched Abu'l-Faḍl Ibn Sudmand with an army to Sabur in pursuit of Diwani, who entered Mahwar, where he was besieged by Abu'l-Faḍl. When we arrived, the Muẓaffar Abu'l-'Ala stayed with the army, whereas I with the Sharif Abu Aḥmad entered the place, and proceeded to visit Muwaffaq. I had with me some horses, mules, wearing apparel and saddlery, which had been sent to him by way of compliment by the MU'AYYAD ABU'L-FATḤ ADHUTAKIN and the Muẓaffar Abu'l-'Ala. We held a meeting with him. (**432**) and he heard from the Sharif a summary account of the affair followed by a detailed one from me. He with us and the Muẓaffar Abu'l-'Ala proceeded to Shiraz, where we arrived on the day Aban (10) of Ardibahisht Mah (II) synchronizing with Jumada ii (began April 17, 1002). Muwaffaq made a display of woollen clothing,[1] and we were met by Abu'l-Khaṭṭab and the Amin Abu 'Abdallah. When he wished to retire, he told Abu'l-Khaṭṭab that he should like a few words with him in private. Abu'l-Khaṭṭab said that this was not possible while he had the Amin with him; and asked that his secretary Abu Nasr should be sent to him at night. Muwaffaq then entered the city and took up his quarters in a house that had been prepared for him.

Account of what happened after his entry.

Abu Nasr continues: I accordingly visited Abu'l-Khaṭṭab and spoke to him as follows: Muwaffaq, I said, wishes to ask you how he is to proceed.—He replied:

[1] Indicating that he had become an ascetic.

You are to tell him that I have made many suggestions to him which he has declined to follow with unsatisfactory results. Tell him, he said, I am better acquainted with the character of Baha al-daulah than you are ; the right course for you now is to send him all the horses and mules which your friends have brought you, and to send his majesty the following message : *One who like myself has made up his mind to quit worldly affairs and public business has no need of horses or mules. I have therefore brought the beasts presented to me by my friends to his majesty's stables, which are a more suitable place for them than mine ; if ever I require a mount, I shall ask for the loan of one at the time. Further one of the conditions of the life which I propose to lead is avoidance of society and isolation to pray for his majesty ; I beg therefore that he will select a trustworthy door-keeper who may be stationed at my door to keep out visitors and secure me against intrusion.* If his majesty hears this language from you and finds you acting in this style, his apprehensions will be allayed, and presently you and we will be able to plead with him to permit you to go to your residence in Baghdad, or obtain his leave for you to visit one of the shrines, when you will be your own master (**433**) and have control of your actions.

Abu Nasr proceeds : When I heard this counsel given by Abu'l-Khattab, I was sure that it was given in all sincerity. Returning to Muwaffaq, I reported what had taken place. His reply was : Abu'l-Khattab wants to send me politely back to prison.—He declined to accept the advice, gave it no place in his thoughts or considerations ; he retained the horses in paddocks and enclosures close by, where they were fattened and kept in good condition, opened his door, and sat upon three cushions, with a sword between two of them, a shield and spears at his side, wearing his woollen shirt. He received visits from ABU TALIB ZAID B. 'ALI, friend of the Sahib Abu Mohammed Ibn Mukram, and ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B.

'ALI the Wakil (Steward). With these he conversed with the utmost freedom. They repeated to him what they thought they would please him by repeating, and reported sayings of his whereby they hoped to gain the favour of his enemies.

The vizier Abu Ghalib now arrived from Siraf, whither he had gone after the death of Farrukhan b. Shiraz [1] to seize his goods and collect his deposits. Messages were interchanged between him and Muwaffaq in a spirit of kindness which I did my best to maintain. I got each of them to promise support to the other, and things went on in this style for a time. Presently Abu'l-'Abbas the Wakil and Abu *Talib* Zaid repeated to the vizier Abu Ghalib sayings of Muwaffaq which offended the former and were very different from what I was in the habit of reporting. Doubting our veracity, he wanted to test us and discover which of us was speaking the truth. Sending for the ustadh of ustadhs ABU'L-*HASAN* 'ALAMGAR, in whom Muwaffaq placed great confidence, and of whom Abu Ghalib held a similar opinion, he said to him : I wish to reveal a secret to you, but must stipulate in the first place that you will conceal it, in the second that in dealing with it you will act the part of a brave man and of a true friend.—'Alamgar asked what it was.—He said : Muwaffaq's secretary Abu Nasr comes to me repeating sayings of his which are friendly and satisfactory, and then Abu *Talib* and Abu'l-'Abbas come to me with reports of his language which contradict the former and compel me to be (**434**) apprehensive. I want you to enquire into what is in his mind by holding with him a conversation of sufficient length to enable you to ascertain it. You will then tell me truly what you have discovered so that I may act accordingly.

'Alamgar promised to do so. He paid Muwaffaq a lengthy visit, and discoursed with him on various sub-

[1] Above, ii. 415.

jects. He introduced the subject of Abu Ghalib, and Muwaffaq expressed his gratitude to him but also his suspicion of him. 'Alamgar then returned to the vizier Abu Ghalib and told him that Abu Talib and Abu'l-'Abbas had been doing their duty and speaking the truth. Abu Ghalib in consequence became alienated from him, and felt that he would be in danger should Muwaffaq come again into power.

Abu Nasr continues: A brief period followed during which Abu'l-Fadl Ibn Sudmand remained with his army pressing the siege of Diwani, who after the departure of Muwaffaq from his residence had been required to present himself at the palace and tread the carpet, but had declined, in the belief that Muwaffaq would succeed, and would then protect him and cause the army sent against him to retire. Forged messages ostensibly coming from Muwaffaq were written to the officers facing Diwani, encouraging them to mutiny and return to Shiraz. These messages were brought to Baha al-daulah, who was informed that the troops facing Diwani were in revolt, and on the point of returning to the palace; and that this was a plot contrived by Muwaffaq; the danger therefrom, he was told, to you and your government is manifest, for if these men come back they will bring out Muwaffaq and openly revolt.—Baha al-daulah was incensed, became suspicious, and supposed that these sayings and doings were genuine. He in consequence ordered Muwaffaq to be arrested and sent back to the citadel. Abu Talib the Less was sent to him at the time of the evening prayer on the day Mudad (7) of the month Tir (IV) synchronizing with Sunday 7 Sha'ban (June 21, 1002), arrested him and carried him off to the citadel.

(**435**) *Account of what happened to him after his return to the Citadel.*

ABU NASR MANSUR B. TAS the Rikabsalar (chief messenger) was put in charge of him, and treated him

well, dealing liberally with him in the matters of house-room, clothing, food and drink. He personally defrayed all his expenditure, and used to say to him when he visited him : I am your slave, and my life and property are at your disposal.—Things went on thus for a short time, and then Mansur came and interviewed him privately and spoke as follows : Muwaffaq, he said, You are aware that my treatment of you and the services which I am rendering you are in defiance of the Sultan, and that I am thereby endangering my life. If you will give me an assurance that you will not betray me, and will be more jealous of my safety than I am myself, I will continue to serve you and look after you. If you are bent on some other scheme, divulge the secret to me, that I may either aid you therein or find some decent pretext for resigning my office and getting off.—Muwaffaq swore to him by God that he would not quit his place or depart thence except by his Sultan's order ; I only, he said, quitted it before owing to my ill-treatment by Aḥmad the Bedmaker, and his designs on my life.—Abu Nasr was satisfied with this assurance and acted as go-between in a series of messages interchanged between Muwaffaq and Abu'l-Khaṭṭab. After a time LASHKARI B. *H*ASSAN [1] ——was appointed governor of the citadel, and he sent the following mesasge to Muwaffaq : Your situation is such as it is, and the Sultan's disposition towards you is unfavourable, while there are many enemies of yours at his court. I will remove you with me to Rayy. Once there you will be your own master, and with the reputation which you have and the respect which the Dailemites feel for you you will attain higher things than you attained here. Muwaffaq replied that he had solemnly promised Abu Nasr the Rikabsalar that he would not play him false, and would not betray him by quitting his place. Lashkari however sent him a fresh message, bidding him abandon that line, and follow his (Lashkari's) advice.

[1] The name which follows is illegible.

For, he said, nothing can be taken in exchange for one's life (**436**), and it is a sign of incompetence to lose a chance when it occurs.

Abu Nasr proceeds: Abu'l-Khaṭṭab now wished to prove the sentiments of Muwaffaq; he accordingly told ABU NASR MAJRI[1] that he wished him in some private interview with Muwaffaq to abuse him (Abu'l-Khaṭṭab), requesting him to keep what he said about him a secret, notice what Muwaffaq answered, and inform him. This Abu Nasr in consequence went to Muwaffaq and in course of conversation said to him: I am under obligations to you, as you have done me various services, so it is my duty to tell you the truth. My opinion is that this Abu'l-Khaṭṭab on whom you rely has been the cause of your ruin and of his majesty's estrangement from you. It would be your best and wisest plan to discard him; and whenever you wish me to take a private message from you to his majesty, I am at your disposal.—This language coincided with suspicions of Abu'l-Khaṭṭab which Muwaffaq already harboured, and he incautiously gave free vent to his hidden feelings about the former. He further requested Abu Nasr to convey a missive from him to Baha al-daulah, which Abu Nasr agreed to do. In this autograph he swore with the most emphatic oaths that he was a faithful servant whose loyalty to his master had never swerved, that he had never meditated treason, etc., etc. He also brought charges against Abu'l-Khaṭṭab, stating that his flight was due entirely to Abu'l-Khaṭṭab's advice and instructions, and that Abu'l-Khaṭṭab had been privy to it.

Abu Nasr Sunni proceeds: This was so, and Abu Nasr the Courier took the letter and brought it to Abu'l-Khaṭṭab, who concealed it after making himself acquainted with its contents. He said no more on the subject.

[1] The meaning and vocalization of this relative adjective are obscure.

Ultimately this led to his [1] death as shall be mentioned in the right place.

In Sha'ban (began June 15, 1002) occurred the death of the clerk Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Ayyub Shirazi.

In Ramadan (began July 14, 1002) after the departure of Hajjaj there was a serious riot in Baghdad. (**437**) The 'Alawid bandits increased their operations, committing murders and other crimes continually, and appropriating money. The better classes suffered seriously at their hands.

In the same month the Amir Abu 'Abdallah Husain b. Ahmad came to Wasit with messages to Hajjaj dealing with 'Amid al-Juyush and his expedition to 'Iraq. Learning that Hajjaj was in Saqy al-Furat, engaged in fighting Ibn Mazyad and the Banu 'Uqail, he went no further.

On the night preceding Wednesday —8 (Aug. 5, 1002) a comet appeared.

In this year there were continuous rumours that Baha al-daulah had committed the government of 'Iraq to 'Amid al-Juyush. On Friday 2 Shawwal (Aug. 14, 1002) he started from Ahwaz.

Account of this affair.

When the affairs of Ahwaz had been adjusted by 'Amid al-Juyush, and quiet been restored there with cultivation of the soil, and both soldiers and civilians brought under severe discipline, whilst Baghdad was turbulent, disorganized, and replete with the causes of trouble and discord, he was ordered by letter to go to 'Iraq, restore order there, and put an end to the troubles to which Baha al-daulah's attention had been called. The Amin Abu 'Abdallah was despatched to Abu Ja'far Hajjaj to console him and summon him to Fars. 'Amid al-Juyush

[1] *i.e.*, Muwaffaq's.

proceeded to Wasit after appointing his father Abu Ja'far Ustadhhurmuz minister of War in Ahwaz, and Abu 'Abdallah *H*usain b. 'Ali b. 'Abdan controller of general business. The appointment[1] was welcomed owing to the reports of his skill in administration, and the absence of arbitrariness and injustice which characterized his dealings. He wrote to the jurists and leading traders in Baghdad promising them fair treatment, and abolition of the former practice of fines. This increased their affection for him and delight at his appointment. He also wrote to Abu'l-Qasim *H*usain b. Mohammed b. Mamma a conciliatory letter wherein he requested him to maintain order in the place till his (the writer's) arrival. He also forwarded to him a memoir containing a list of names of persons whom he was to kill or arrest. Among them was the Christian trader Mar Thomas son of Qaqa (?) who had been represented to him ('Amid al-Juyush) as a delator. Ibn Mamma confined himself to arresting one Ibn Dujaim, and executing him in the middle of Karkh, as an informer of the worst type. He gave warning to the others who had previously done him services. 'Amid al-Juyush advanced from Wasit and was met by Abu'l-Fawaris Qilij, who offered his services before the others ; he was followed by officials of various rank, and the different classes of the population. He was affable to all, and gave each man his due. His courtesy, ease of access, complaisance, and suavity of expression combined with extreme dignity were things of which they had had no previous experience. Rogues and malefactors, knowing of his energy, and what he was bent on achieving, fled in every direction. He established himself in Najmi, the streets were decorated in his honour, arches set up, and there was a great display of fine raiment, furniture, vessels and plate which had been concealed out of fear. He made his entry on Tuesday 17 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (Oct. 27, 1002) ; slaves, male and

[1] *i.e.*, of 'Amid al-Juyush.

female, were stationed in the streets with censers in their hands, the horses' heads were daubed with the perfume *Khaluq*, and dirhems were showered upon him in a number of places. Cordial blessings were bestowed upon him. At the *H*arrani Archway [1] he diverged to the Tigris, and embarked in his *zabzab*. Crossing to the Royal Palace, he did homage to the two princes, Abu Shuja' and Abu *T*ahir; returning, he mounted to the palace at the Bab al-Sha'ir, which had belonged to Abu'l-*H*asan (**439**) Mohammed b. 'Umar.

He prosecuted the 'Alawid and 'Abbasid banditti, and ordered that when they were caught an 'Alawid should be coupled with an 'Abbasid, and the couple be drowned openly in daylight. He also arrested a number of the Turkish officials, their dependents, and persons who were notorious for tyrannizing and pilfering with them, and had them also drowned. By these measures the constant civil strife was allayed, stable government which had been forgotten was restored, the town and the roads became secure, and fear restrained all, both near and far.

Among those who were executed was the 'Alawid Abu 'Ali Karrami, who had violated homes and committed atrocities, and fled to Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. *H*asan b. Ya*h*ya, thinking that he would be able to protect him. Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali Ibn Abi 'Ali the Chamberlain proceeded to the latter's house, and arrested Karrami in his presence, his appeals for protection to his host being unanswered; he was removed to the palace of 'Amid al-Juyush, and executed. The bandit known as Ibn Musafir had taken refuge in the house of the Amin Abu 'Abdallah, who offered him lodging and protection. 'Ali Ibn Abi 'Ali was ceaselessly on the watch for him, and learning that he was seated in the vestibule, occupied it when the Amin was away, and beheaded him. The

[1] See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 91.

Amin was indignant thereat, but his indignation was of no avail, and when he complained to 'Amid al-Juyush the latter made merely a mild excuse These gangs were pursued in the districts and towns, and having no refuge or stronghold left them fled far away, so that the people were freed from the scourge.

The following was told me by Abu'l-*H*asan 'Ali b. 'Isa the Postmaster: The 'Alawid Ibn Abi'l-'Abbas, he said, was one of those who pursued a career of crime. When 'Amid al-Juyush arrived, he fled to Mayyafariqin. 'Amid al-Juyush, learning of his arrival and sojourn there, (**440**) offered a reward of a hundred dinars to any one who would assassinate him. He employed as intermediate a confidential agent, and the arrangement got so far that the money was deposited [1] with a trader in the place, and 'Amid al-Juyush ordered a bill to be remitted for the amount. Whilst he was engaged in these negotiations a despatch was laid before him announcing the death of this Ibn Abi'l-'Abbas. He said to me with a laugh: Ustadh, we have attained our end and are gainers to the extent of the prize-money. We can now employ these dinars in clearing the world of another miscreant.

He proceeded in similar style with criminal clerks and officials, of whom he drowned a number at different times. Among these was *T*ahir, former Inspector of the Melon House,[2] who had for son-in-law a leader among the Turkish malefactors, named al-A'sar (the Left-handed); also Abu 'Ali Ibn al-Mausiliyyah, caravan-superintendent. I remember this last coming to me at night as a fugitive in hiding, and addressing me as follows: *I have served you for a long time and laid numerous obligations upon you, and this is the sort of occasion whereon I should wish those services to fructify*

[1] This seems to be the sense.

[2] See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 85.

and be remembered. I said: Tell me what you want that I may devote my energies thereto.—He said: You know my plight, that I am a hunted man, and if caught, I shall be killed, whereas if I remain as I am on guard and in hiding, I shall have no resources to keep things going, or to protect those whom I represent. I desire you therefore to speak to the *Sahib* Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma on my account, remind him of my services and my claims, and ask him to apply to 'Amid al-Juyush for a pardon which will admit of my showing myself in public.—I replied that I would do my utmost.—He thanked me and retired; I went next morning to Abu'l-Qasim and said: I received a visit yesterday from Abu 'Ali Ibn al-Mausiliyyah, who was in a plight which would excite sympathy for an enemy, much more then for a servant or dependent. He has laid you under obligations, thereby preparing for such a time (**441**), and if you do not rescue him and plead his cause, he will perish in his disgrace and concealment.—He replied: If you had been at a distance from these proceedings, I should have excused you; but as you have been on the spot, you are inexcusable.—I returned to the charge, and then he said: You are constantly meeting 'Amid al-Juyush, and he attends to what you say and is ready to gratify you; speak to him yourself, and represent yourself as my messenger in what you put before him.—I was delighted at this, thinking that I should thereby attain my end. Presenting myself before 'Amid al-Juyush at the end of the day, when he was free, I pleaded the cause of Ibn al-Mausiliyyah, and requested him to write him a pardon,—He said: I will do so, then smiled and added: You are not the sort of person to whom I can give a promise only to break it; no: what I settle with you you have a right to demand. So I will tell you my real intentions. I have no pardon for these scoundrels, nor do I mean to spare them under any circumstances, so if you mean to claim the promise of pardon on this condition, I make

no objection, provided that my intentions and purposes are clearly understood.—I kissed the ground before him, thanked him for his frankness, and returning to Abu'l-Qasim informed him of what had happened. He said: I was aware of this, and was anxious that you should share the knowledge, and hear him without any support from me which might have aroused your suspicion.

Ibn al-Mausiliyyah paid me a second visit at about the same hour as that wherein he had paid his first, and I explained to him the real state of the case, adding that I could not as a pious man and a gentleman deceive him. He left me displeased, and, as I afterwards learned, complaining that I had treated him shabbily; he went to Abu 'Amr Ibn al-Masi*h*i and Abu Is*h*aq, friend of Ibn Mamma, and addressed to them the same request as he had addressed to me. They applied once more to Ibn Mamma (Abu'l-Qasim), and secured the promised pardon. Only a short time elapsed before he was arrested by Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Rashid. The man was undoubtedly a scoundrel; only the real cause for his arrest was that he had corresponded with Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj when the latter got to Nu'maniyyah, and that Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma set 'Amid al-Juyush against him to gratify an old animosity between them. (**442**) Arrests were also made of Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. Jabir and Abu'l-Qasim b. 'Abd al-Ra*h*man b. 'Urwah, to whom it was designed to do the same as has been done to those mentioned above. However Muayyid al-Mulk Abu 'Ali *H*usain b. *H*asan interceded to rescue them. This occurred after the year 392, but has been recorded here as belonging to this context. 'Amid al-Juyush on his arrival ordered the blinding of Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-'Ajiz, who had previously been arrested and conveyed to Wasit. He was blinded and afterwards decapitated; his head was paraded on both sides of Baghdad, and the trunk thrown into the Tigris. This was on Sunday —8 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (Nov. 1, 1002).

Account of the measures taken by 'Amid al-Juyush and his administration of the provinces and bureaux.

He committed to Muayyid al-Mulk Abu 'Ali the management of the provinces and the appointment of governors, with the procuring of the revenue. He had accompanied him as his deputy, being thoroughly capable both as a clerk and an administrator, and famous for integrity and strictness of life. Under his care confusion was put straight and vigilance substituted for neglect. He served continuously as deputy for 'Amid al-Juyush both during his presence and absence. He gave the command of the Dailemites to Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma, with Abu Nasr Sa'id b. 'Isa in charge of their bureau: that of the Turks to Abu Mohammed b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, with Abu Ghalib Sinan b. 'Abd al-Malik in charge of their bureau: he retained Abu 'Ali *H*asan b. Sahl Dauraqi as head of the bureau of the Sawad with Abu Mansur Istakhri as his deputy: Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. *H*usain b. Sabiluyah as head of the bureau of Control: Abu'l-*H*asan Sa'id b. Nasr as head of the private bureau: and Abu Mansur—b. Marzuban as Inspector (**443**) of the bureau of the Two Armies. He appointed Mu*h*assin b. *H*asan Abu Nu'aim governor of Wasit.

He also struck coins, fixing the price of the *Sahibi*[1] dinar at 25 dirhems, and that of the other coins correspondingly.

He also revised the rolls, classifying the troops, and removing those who were unfit for service. He reduced the allowances paid to all classes to 7,000 dinars once in 35 days. When a fief fell in he declined to allot it except as a set-off against the allowance. He assigned numerous fiefs on this principle, and had he had a long term of office undisturbed, all the allowances would have been abolished. He was however afflicted with Abu Ja'far

[1] Probably these were called after himself, as the *sahib* of the Sultan.

*H*ajjaj, a man who ruined his plans and spoiled all his arrangements, as shall be recorded at the right place and time. I have never seen a more scrupulous and conscientious man than 'Amid al-Juyush. He put a stop to the fines, and unjust exactions, by methods which were imitated by all the governors in Baha al-daulah's empire. Thereby he won fair fame and high repute.

(**444**) We shall now return to chronicling the events which belong to the months with which this section deals.

On Wednesday 7 Shawwal (Aug. 19) the death took place of Abu Mohammed 'Abdallah Ibn Abi A*h*mad Ya*h*ya Jahrami the qa*d*i.

In this month the death took place of Abu Bakr Mohammed b. Mohammed b. Ja'far Daqqaq Shafi'i, the Marshal, called Khabba*t* (flounderer).

Also of Abu'l-Fat*h* Qunna'i the Clerk.

On Monday —4 Shawwal (Sep. 7, 1002) Abu 'Abdallah Ibn al-*H*iri put to death Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Shahruyah and Abu 'Abdallah the Collector with his son at his house in Mausil.

Account of this matter.

I was told by Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn al-Khashshab Bayyi' of Mausil that IBN AL-*H*IRI had been a vendor of pottery in Mausil, had then farmed Kawazikah [1] and gradually risen till he had become Inspector General of finance, and rising still higher had become clerk to Abu 'Amir *H*ASAN B. MUSAYYIB.[2] The revenue of the town was divided between *H*asan and Mu'tamad al-daulah Abu'l-Mani' Qirwash, whose clerk was ABU'L-*H*USAIN IBN SHAHRUYAH. Now Ibn al-*H*iri claimed superiority over Abu'l-*H*usain on the ground that he (the former) was a

[1] This appears to be the name of a place or district.

[2] Governor of Mausil, above, iii. 303.

Moslem, and that his master was the prince. He took a high hand with him in business and investigation. Now Abu'l-*H*usain had appointed ABU 'ABDALLAH the Collector to manage such municipal business and revenue as belonged to Mu'tamad al-daulah, therein setting against Ibn al-*H*iri one who could outdo him in effrontery. This vexed Ibn al-*H*iri, who decided to put both him and Abu'l-*H*usain out of the way, and designed the means for accomplishing this. Having at his disposal a company of infantry (men who bore arms and practised the trade of bandit) he instructed (**445**) some of them to stay in his house (which was in the Banu Ha'idah) night and day, and to be on the look out for the appearance of Ibn Shahruyah and Abu 'Abdallah the Collector; when they appeared they were to strike them down. He further ordered them to give out in their homes and to their associates that they were staying in the settlement (*hillah*), and indeed *H*asan b. Musayyib was in his settlement outside Mausil, while Mu'tamad al-daulah was camping at *H*asba, intending to proceed to Saqy al-Furat, but being at the time seriously ill. Ibn al-*H*iri feigned illness, had his leg bound up and stayed in his house. Abu'l-*H*usain Ibn Shahruyah and Abu 'Abdallah went to visit him, it being the practice of the former to make him a hypocritical show of friendship. When they got near his dwelling, Abu Yasir the Christian, who was with them, left them. Abu'l-*H*usain said to him: Why do not you join us in calling on this friend?—He replied in jest: *Let one of us escape to tell the tale.*—The two proceeded, dismounted, and entered the house, where they were introduced into a chamber with a secure iron door; the son of Abu 'Abdallah the Collector however stayed in the first room. The infantry now came down from the upper chamber in which they were, and assaulted and killed the two; Abu 'Abdallah's son escaped, climbed on the roof, and flung himself into the dwelling of some weavers, whither he was pursued by

Ibn al-*H*iri's followers, who caught and killed him. The three bodies were then thrown out into the street. Ibn al-*H*iri untied his leg, escaped by a subterranean passage which he had prepared and which led from his house to a street called Funduq 'Urwah ('Urwah's Inn) at some distance from Banu Ha'idah, and went into hiding: having previously provided for this emergency by emptying his house and removing his goods and furniture.

Mu'tamad al-daulah, ill as he was, on hearing the news, mounted his horse at once, and preceded by an excited crowd went in pursuit of Ibn al-*H*iri, who however could not be found. *H*asan (**446**) b. Musayyib expressed disapproval of what had been done by his agent, and sent a message to Mu'tamad al-daulah, promising to search for Ibn al-*H*iri and punish him. The night before the crime Kamal al-daulah Abu Sinan Gharib had come as a guest to Ibn al-*H*iri; when the catastrophe occurred, he fled headlong to the desert, while Mu'tamad al-daulah proceeded to 'Iraq. Ibn al-*H*iri then emerged, went out to *H*asan's "settlement," made satisfactory excuses for his act, and proceeded to arrest and fine certain sheikhs of Mausil.

*H*asan now was attacked by an illness to which he succumbed, and was succeeded by his brother Mara*h* in the chieftainship of the Banu 'Uqail. The half of the tribute of Mausil was transferred to him. Negotiation took place between him and Ibn al-*H*iri which resulted in the latter receiving a promise of protection and the appointment of secretary to the former.

There was enmity between Ibn al-*H*iri and Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Abi'l-Wazir, owing to the former having denounced the latter to Mara*h*, who in consequence arrested and ruined him. Abu'l-*H*asan conspired with Abu'l-Qasim Sulaiman b. Fahd and Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Masarrah the Poet to set Mara*h* against him, and succeeded in rousing his anger and exciting his distrust.

He arrested Ibn al-*H*iri, in whose possession was found a memorandum of moneys exceeding 50,000 dinars. They called these in and secured them, and proceeded to blind him. He died and was buried; but the townspeople disinterred his corpse and burned it in revenge for his ill-treatment of them and crimes which he had committed against them.

Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn al-Khashshab told me the following story about Ibn al-*H*iri, which seemed to me sufficiently remarkable to be worth recording. Wishing to kill *H*asan b. Musayyib by poison and then escape to Syria, he invited him to a repast. *H*asan presented himself; Ibn al-*H*iri offered him a poisoned melon, but *H*asan requested him to eat some himself first. Ibn al-*H*iri professed to be fasting, and told his son Abu'l-Fat*h* to sit down and eat with the Emir. He did so, ate and died. *H*asan's term was prolonged for a little, then he died too.

A fresh quarrel now broke out between Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Abi'l-Wazir and Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Masarrah. (**447**) Abu'l-*H*asan attacked the other before Mara*h*, made much of his wealth, and incited Mara*h* to ruin and fine him. Mara*h* arrested Ibn Masarrah, and fixed his fine at an amount which he obtained. Abu'l-*H*asan then became afraid of the consequences of his step, and said to Mara*h*; *The man is a poet: you have illtreated him, and if he escapes from your hand he will satirize you and injure your honour.* Mara*h* had him killed, tore open his belly, filled it with gravel, and flung him into the Tigris. By chance his corpse was found by a woman who was washing on the riverbank, who drew it out. It was buried in Mausil.

On the night of Monday 3 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 17, 1002) a star in the Constellation of the Ram, after which the Bull rises, shot, shining like the full moon. After the brilliancy had departed the body remained sailing

in a space of two cubits by one to appearance. After a little time it burst.

At the end of Sunday 9 Dhu'l-Qa'dah (Sep. 20, 1002) bandits attacked the house of Abu 'Abdallah Maliki, with the view of assaulting him. He was commissioner for inheritances and certain departments of finance, wherein he was arbitrary. They did not find him, but his son-in-law Abu *T*alib Ibn 'Abd al-Malik, brother of Abu Ghalib Sinan, whom they put to death. On the same day the bandits also put to death *H*ammad b. Sakir Shahruni, one of the most eminent of the *R*ustaqiyyah [1] and a man who though a partisan was mild in his methods.

On Tuesday 11 (Sep. 22) the entry of the pilgrims from Khorasan into Baghdad was completed; the whole party crossed to the Western side, but proceeded no further, owing to the city being without a governor, and the roads being unsafe, Abu Ja'far *H*ajjaj remaining in Kufah, and the Khafajite and 'Uqailite Bedouins infesting the region. They returned home (**448**) on Thursday —10 of this month (Oct. 1, 1002). There was therefore no pilgrimage from the East this year.

On Monday 2 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (Oct. 12, 1002) Abu'l-Qasim 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Ra*h*man b. 'Urwah arrived, having been released from his imprisonment with the Banu 'Uqail.[2]

Account of this matter.

He had gone with Abu Is*h*aq Ibrahim, brother of *H*ajjaj, on public business and to speed the affairs of the army, and when the engagement was fought between him and Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Mazyad with Du'aij and the Banu 'Uqail at Bagarma, where he was routed, he was captured by a Bedouin, in whose hands he remained for

[1] This appears to be the name of a sect. [2] Above, iii. 4 2.

a period. He was then purchased by Abu'l-*H*asan Rasha b. 'Abdallah Khalidi, for a price agreed on; and when Abu Bakr Khwarizmi[1] had rendered himself responsible for this sum, he was released.

On Sunday 8 Dhu'l-*H*ijjah (Oct. 18, 1002) Ibn Bundar the Collector, and *H*usain b. Barkasah, retainer of Ibn Kamil, were put to death; and Abu *T*alib al-Sayyad Hashimi with Ibn Zaid 'Alawi arrested and drowned.

On Monday 9 the twin sons of Baha al-daulah, Abu 'Ali *H*asan and Abu'l-*H*usain were born. The second lived three years and some months and then perished; the former survived and became sovereign at the capital, with the title Sharaf al-daulah. His affairs will (please God) be related in due course.

On Sunday – 8 (Nov. 1, 1002) the Amin Abu 'Abdallah arrived in Baghdad after his visit to *H*ajjaj b. Hurmuz, accompanied by his clerk Abu Shakir A*h*mad b. 'Isa (**449**). He had made a stay in Wasit when he had arrived there as stated above, and when 'Amid al-Juyush came thither, had gone upstream with him, turning off at Nu'maniyyah on his way to *H*ajjaj whom he met at Kufah.

On Monday —7 the Sa*h*ib Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma went to Abu'l-Fat*h* Mohammed b. 'Annaz to invite him to recognize and enter the service of 'Amid al-Juyush. He induced him to join 'Amid al-Juyush's party, and made him satisfactory promises. By the time he came away he had won him over, and arranged matters between the two.

On Tuesday —6 the 'Alid Registrar Abu Ya'qub Mohammed b. *H*asan b. Ya*h*ya *H*usaini died.

In this year Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi fled from Rayy and got to Barujird, seeking the protection of Badr b. *H*asanawaihi.

[1] See above, p. 398. [2] Above, p. 437.

Account of this matter and of the fortunes of the vizierate in Rayy afterwards, as told me by the qadi Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad b. Mohammed Barudi.

We have already recounted [1] the reconciliation effected between *D*abbi and the army in Rayy, his descent from the Citadel on the fourth day from his arrest and conveyance thither, and his restoration to office. After this he remained for a year with things in good order and comfort, satisfactory relations between himself and Badr b. *H*asanawaihi, and continued favour on the part of the latter towards him. In *D*abbi's character there was a predominating trait of violence, and he often injured his prospects by avarice. It happened that the elder Ispahbud, brother's son to the Queen-mother, mother of Majd al-daulah, died in a way which caused (**450**) *D*abbi to be suspected of having plotted to poison him. The Queen-mother demanded of him a sum of about two hundred dinars for the condolence ceremonies; he said in his reply that she would do better to occupy herself with satisfying the demands of the army than with arranging *ma'tams* [2] for the dead and gone.—Angered by this she said: He is quite right, and how could the mourning over a man be arranged by his murderer?—Hearing of this *D*abbi conceived alarm, knowing that it indicated a change of sentiment on her part towards himself; he therefore sent a message to Abu'l-Qasim Ibn al-Kajj, qa*d*i in Dinawar, requesting him to inform Badr b. *H*asanawaihi of the state of the case, request his permission for the departure of *D*abbi to his territory, and obtain fresh assurances from him for *D*abbi. Ibn al-Kajj approached Badr on the subject, but he replied that it would be wiser for *D*abbi to remain where he was, not spoil his fortune by his own act, and endeavour to regain the Queen-mother's favour.—*D*abbi, who was afraid of the Queen-mother, did not accept this counsel,

[1] See above, p. 299. [2] Meetings for condolence.

and again appealed to Badr, who replied that he had advised him to the best of his ability, but if he was bent on another course, he could count on Badr's assistance.— *D*abbi remained where he was for a second year, wherein he put his affairs in order, discharged his obligations, and secured his possessions. Now he placed great confidence in Abu 'Ali *H*usain b. Qasim the Marshal, called the *Khatir*, and communicated to him his intentions. This man was a treacherous enemy of his, and assured him that his design was sound; for, he said, no-one can fill your place. If you quit it, you will be received by Badr in Sawah, and will obtain help and support from him. The Queen-mother and the army, fearing him, will grant you your own terms, and you will come back with renewed strength and repute.

The qa*d*i Abu'l-'Abbas Barudi continues: Abu'l-*H*asan Bundari, who was *D*abbi's correspondence clerk and secretary, narrated as follows to me: Abu'l-'Abbas the Competent (*D*abbi) he said, communicated to me the counsel given him by the Kha*t*ir, and I said to him: The man is deceiving you, (**451**) and is no loyal friend. Once your foot is removed from its place, the whole situation will be changed and pass out of your power.— He assured me that after the favours which he had lavished on the Kha*t*ir it was impossible that the latter could give him other than sound advice.

On the night of his flight he left his palace with its contents, furniture, goods and chattels, with seventy retainers, and started accompanied by his son Abu'l-Qasim, his clerk Abu'l-*H*asan Bundari, a Turkish retainer and such servants as he required; he halted one parasang from the town. In the morning the news spread, and the people were agitated. The army gathered, and invited the Kha*t*ir to address them. He said: This fellow has decamped after emptying the treasury, appropriating the cash, distracting the provinces, and dis-

organizing everything. Resources are now scanty, distress is manifest, and claims are numerous. If you are satisfied with the sums which Fakhr al-daulah used to distribute to you, I will guarantee them, and do my best to procure them and divide them among you. If you want something else, then you had best see to yourselves and select your own manager.—When they heard this and recognized its soundness, they told him that they were satisfied with his management and content with what he offered them; and they promised him their loyal obedience and support.—He undertook the administration, seized the goods found in *D*abbi's palace, which were of great amount, called in his moneys and those of his dependents, assigned away his estates and fief, spoke of him in his letters as A*h*mad b. Ibrahim the Incompetent, and had him insulted and reviled from the pulpits. He did his utmost to injure and humiliate him, and things kept going.

Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi reached Barujird. Neither Badr nor any of his followers came out to welcome him, only Badr sent some one to give him a regular allowance. He would however take (**452**) only a little of it, and chiefly spent his own money. Indeed after accepting some five thousand dirhems in base metal he requested to be relieved of the payment made him by Badr b. *H*asanawaihi, and it was withdrawn. He was joined by his followers from different regions, but his authority was lost and his chances spoiled, and he bitterly regretted what he had done.

The qa*d*i Abu'l-'Abbas states that he was at the time in Barujird, and was consulted by Abu'l-*H*asan Bundari about his affairs. My reply, he said, was: He had better resign himself to the loss of his fief and estates, and leave them to their present holders. He should also endeavour to mollify the Queen-mother, Majd al-daulah, and the commanders of the army as best he can, and

withdraw them from the Khaṭir. If he does this, these people will obey him and enable him to compass his end. —Abu'l-*H*asan said: For this he would require some 200,000 dinars. We abandoned our post and spoiled our fortunes for the sake of 200 dinars, which we refused to disburse.

Khaṭir maintained himself for a period of seventeen months, after which he was arrested. Abu Sa'd Mohammed b. Isma'il b. al-Faḍl hastened to Rayy from Hamadhan, trading on his connexion with the Queen-mother, his high position, vast estates, resources and power. Badr b. *H*asanawaihi was unwilling that he should succeed in his enterprise owing to his bad opinion of him, and his resentment of an injury which he had done him. He therefore despatched Abu 'Isa Shadhi b. Mohammed to Rayy to escort Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi with three thousand men and restore him to his ministry, and make him again vizier. He wrote an emphatic letter on the subject wherein he ordered this to be carried out without opposition.

When the party halted in the neighbourhood of the city, and the letters of Badr b. *H*asanawaihi had been delivered, messages to the same effect having, as we have seen, been already transmitted, the Queen-mother, Majd al-daulah, and the commanders of the army sent to Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi, bidding him enter, as his restoration to power had been arranged, and he would be welcome. (**453**) Only certain faithful friends whom he had among the people sent to him information to the effect that the ostensible were not the real intentions towards him, and that it had been arranged that he should in violation of these pledges be arrested. He took alarm and retired.

Abu Sa'd (Mohammed b. Isma'il) was now invested with the vizierate, and proceeded to magnify his office by his wealth and the produce of his estates, which enabled him to bestow on Majd al-daulah and the Queen-mother

such gifts as satisfied them, and on the notables such amounts as secured their loyalty. He was however haughty and arrogant in his dealings and in the habit of using rough language with the army. This rendered him unpopular with them. They conspired against him, and he fled to Barujird after making his peace with Badr b. *H*asanawaihi. The Kha*t*ir resumed his vizierate, and demanded that Badr should address him as vizier. Badr declined, and the Kha*t*ir in turn declined to address Badr as " our lord." Relations between the two became strained and open hostilty resulted. The Kha*t*ir wrote to the provincial rulers stirring up their animosity against Badr, and depreciating his power ; he entered into communications with Badr's son Hilal, and urged him to rebel. This was one of the chief reasons for the course which Hilal adopted towards his father. We hope presently to recount this story and the result of what went on between the Kha*t*ir and Badr.

Account of the cause for the dissatisfaction of Badr b. Hasanawaihi with Abu Sa'd Ibn al-Fadl, and his treatment of the latter when he fled to him from Rayy.

I was told the following by the qa*d*i Abu'l-'Abbas Barudi : Abu Sa'd Ibn al-Fa*d*l had, he said, been Majd al-daulah's finance-minister for Hamadhan, the two Mah,[1] Suhraward and Abhar, and was in the habit of giving Shams al-daulah a fixed portion of the produce of those regions. Now Badr b. *H*asanawaihi started purchasing a *khan* (bazaar or factory) in Hamadhan in his own name, where he installed a dealer, to sell all the choice products of his own dominions. All the bales were to come thence and were loaded there.[2] (**454**) Twelve hundred thousand dirhems were offered him for the profits of this khan, if it were established. He sent ABU GHALIB Ibn Ma'mun Saimari to Hamadhan to set

[1] Mah al-Kufah and Mah al-Basrah.

[2] This seems to be the sense of the text, which is likely to be corrupt.

it up and make a contract with any one who wished to farm it. Abu Sa'd Ibn al-Fadl was unwilling that this should be settled, as he fancied it would lead to the revenue of Hamadhan passing out of his hands. He therefore suborned certain Dailemites to assault Abu Ghalib. He was quartered in the residence of Abu 'Abdallah Mohammed b. 'Ali b. Khalaf Nirmani who was Badr's representative in Hamadhan; the Dailemites made a sudden attack on the house, and Abu Ghalib fled and returned to Barujird. He declared that a lot of property which he had with him had been plundered, wrote an account of the matter to Badr, and requested his permission to distrain on the estates of Abu Sa'd Ibn al-Fadl for the equivalent of what had been seized. Permission having been granted he seized goods to the value of 50,000 dinars. When Abu Sa'd heard of this, he said: *I suppose that Yahya b. 'Anbar* (a known brigand) *has been raiding my estates and seizing my goods.* Badr, when he heard this, was vexed. Meanwhile the Khatir was arrested in Rayy, and Abu Sa'd Ibn al-Fadl hurried thither, being anxious to be made vizier. Badr, unwilling that this should come about, despatched Abu'l-'Abbas Dabbi with Abu 'Isa Shadhi and three thousand men to establish him in the vizierate, with the results which we have already described. Abu Sa'd Ibn al-Fadl held office for two years, after which he got into difficulties, the army mutinied against him, and he fled; it is asserted that he was let down from the roof of a house in a basket. He sought the protection of Badr b. Hasanawaihi, and before the latter had heard of him was in Karaj whence he made his way to Sabur Khwast where Badr was. The latter received him honourably, assigned him good quarters, and transmitted to him three hundred head of sheep with numerous other stores, including a load of white sugar. He had transmitted no such gifts (**455**) to Abu'l-'Abbas Dabbi; only he was aware that Abu Sa'd was a man of lavish

munificence. And indeed he distributed or consumed the whole of these gifts the day they reached him. After spending a few days with Badr he proceeded to Barujird.

The qa*d*i Abu'l-'Abbas continues: Abu'l-'Abbas *D*abbi declined to come out to meet him, pleading gout, but sent his son Sa'id Abu'l-Qasim to represent him in paying his respects. I went out with him. The two (*D*abbi's son and Abu Sa'd) saluted each other, and proceeded to enter the town, *D*abbi's son going first. At the end of the day *D*abbi mounted a litter and proceeded to visit him; as he entered Abu Sa'd was leaving the lavatory and adjusting his dress. The latter went forward to meet *D*abbi and kissed his chest as he lay in the litter. *D*abbi addressed Abu Sa'd as *vizier*, whereas the latter when vizier in Rayy had in his correspondence with *D*abbi addressed him as *Chief Ustadh*. At this meeting *D*abbi determined by addressing the other as *vizier* to teach him that loss of office did not remove the title vizier. They never met again after this occasion.

In this year Muhadhdhib al-daulah founded his palace in Saliq.[1] He furnished it with a vast court, lofty buildings and splendid saloons. He built it in royal style, and employed in it quantities of teak, etc. The result was exceedingly magnificent and imposing. I saw it in his days, and it was worthy of an ambitious monarch. Nowhere have I seen so vast and spacious a court. It was on the Tigris with windows and balconies over the water. It was destroyed in 419 A.H., the very foundations being removed, and every trace removed as utterly as if it had been an expanse of sand. The reason for this was that during the period of anarchy the finance-officers sold portions of it to the stipendiaries[2] and this commencement excited the cupidity of the army, who destroyed the whole.

[1] Yaqut mentions this palace, adding that it was in ruins in his time.

[2] *i.e.*, troops who were paid in coin instead of by fief.

(**456**) In this year Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Is*h*aq, former secretary of Abu'l-*H*asan Mohammed b. 'Umar, fled in concealment to Fars.

Account of this matter and of his subsequent career till he was put to death.

When Abu'l-*H*asan went to Baghdad with the Sa*h*ib Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Mamma on the terms which we have recorded,[1] he threw off the mask; he arrested and fined a number of traders, on frivolous pretexts; he also placed the Catholicos in custody, and subjected him to gross humiliation. He also endeavoured, as has been seen,[2] to arrest Abu Ya'qub 'Alawi. When this attempt failed, and he learned of Abu'l-*H*asan Ibn Ya*h*ya's return to Wasit and the weakening of Abu Nasr Sabur's power, he went into concealment, departed to Awana, and remained there for a short time. He then contrived to get to the Marsh, whence he proceeded to Fars in a *muraqqa'ah*, relying on the relations between himself and Abu'l-Kha*tt*ab.[3] He became the guest of Abu'l-'Ala 'Ubaidallah b. al-Fa*d*l, who entertained him honourably. Here he commenced sending messages to Baha al-daulah on subjects which led to his being talked about, in consequence of which Abu'l-'Ala took alarm and was afraid some mischief might befall him on his account. Abu'l-*H*asan therefore left his house incensed against him. He was received by Baha al-daulah, who believed that he would prove a trustworthy agent, and despatched him to the district Shaqq al-Rudhan, which at that time was reserved for the private purse. He assumed control, fixed its revenue, and transmitted thence to Baha al-daulah such sums as secured him in favour. This annoyed Abu Ghalib Mohammed b. 'Ali who at that time was discharging the duties of vizier and Abu'l-Fa*d*l Ibn Sudmand after him. When Baha al-daulah pro-

[1] Above, iii. 410. [2] Above, iii. 411.
[3] Who was at Baha al-daulah's court.

ceeded to Ahwaz to fight against Abu'l-'Abbas Ibn Wasil, the vizier Abu Ghalib arrested Abu'l-*H*asan, and imprisoned him in the royal palace for a time till misery left its mark upon him. (**457**) The vizier then heard that Baha al-daulah had been making inquiries about him, and saying: *What is that poor wretch Abu Ishaq doing?* The vizier, fearing lest he might receive a letter ordering him to despatch the man to Baha al-daulah's presence, adopted the following expedient for dealing with him. Summoning him from his prison to a private interview, he told him that Abu Ghalib *H*asan b. Mansur had got possession of Kirman, appropriated its revenue, and withheld from him what he had hoped to obtain thence. My intention, he said, is to send you there ostensibly to fix the revenue; when you have established yourself there, I will make you governor and deliver Abu Ghalib into your hands, to scrutinize his conduct and make him refund what he has embezzled. I am aware that you are reduced by misery and need something to restore your elegance: I am therefore giving you a draft on Abu 'Abdallah Ibn Yusuf Fasawi for 20,000 dirhems which you are to spend on this object. You should arrive at Fasa before me, realize the money, and purchase equipment and cattle. I will follow you thither, and make the final settlements between us after which I will send you off.—He proceeded to transmit to him clothes and money from his own stores.

Abu'l-*H*asan took the bait, supposed this tale to be true, and the intention behind it sincere. Meanwhile the vizier instructed certain *Zutt* to follow Abu'l-*H*asan and murder him. They proceeded to waylay the caravan in which he was. One of them knew Abu'l-*H*asan by sight and pointed him out to the others. They made him dismount, and told him that he was a relative of of the vizier who had hostages of theirs; they were going to keep him in charge until the vizier released their friends. They proceeded to remove him to a ravine

where they cut his throat. They permitted the rest of the caravan to proceed unharmed.

*A*hmad, chamberlain of Abu'l-*H*asan, was in his company, and ascertained (**458**) the real facts of the case. He talked about them. The vizier Abu Ghalib heard of this and was afraid that they might get to the knowledge of Baha al-daulah from this source. Summoning the man he made him fair promises of good treatment and paid him a considerable sum. He continued to favour him during the whole of his time in Fars.

My authority for this story is Abu 'Abdallah Fasawi, who added that such was Baha al-daulah's concern about Abu'l-*H*asan that he sent one of his confidential bed-makers, who penetrated the guard of retainers in Shiraz, twelve hundred in number, besides those who were outside the palace, to warn him against Abu Ghalib Ibn Khalaf, and be careful lest he fall victim to a plot. But the matter was foreordained of God.

YEAR 393.[1]

Commenced Monday Nov. 9, 1314, of the era of Alexander (1002 A.D.), and Roz Marasfand (29) of the month Aban (VIII) 371 of the era of Yazdajird.

'Amid al-Juyush prohibited the inhabitants of Karkh and Bab al-*T*aq from mourning in the *Martyria* on the tenth of Mu*h*arram, and hanging sackcloth in the streets. He also prohibited the inhabitants of Bab al-Basrah and Bab al-Sha'ir from similar performances in memory of the death of Mus'ab b. Zubair.[2]

On Rashn (17) of the month Adhar (IX)=Thursday —5 Mu*h*arram (Dec. 3, 1002) Abu Ghalib Mohammed b. 'Ali b. Khalaf was arrested, and the vizierate conferred on Abu'l-Fa*d*l Mohammed b. Qasim b. Sudmand on Khurdadh (6) of the month *Bahman* (XI)[3]=Wednesday 14 Rabi' i (Jan. 22, 1003).

[1] Began Nov. 10, 1002. [2] Celebrated Muharram 17, above iii. 342.
[3] Wanting in the original.

(**459**) *Account of the doings of Abu'l-Fadl and how he came to be appointed.*

He was one of the clerks who accompanied Abu Mansur Ibn *Salih*an from Fars to 'Iraq in the days of Sharaf al-daulah.[1] He did secretarial work in his office with other writers for a time, and then was made governor of 'Ukbara, was transferred thence to a commissionership in Ahwaz, and was gradually promoted till he became Marshal of the Dailemites. He became prominent in the time of Muwaffaq, after whose death he proceeded to Kirman, as recorded above.[2] When the vizier Abu Ghalib Ibn Khalaf returned from Siraf, and learned of Ibn Sudmand's return from Kirman after settling the affairs of the province and transmitting such sums to the treasury as obtained for him the favour of Baha al-daulah and secured his position at the latter's court, Abu Ghalib was displeased, and at the instigation of mischief-makers arrested him, deprived him of his honours and compelled him to undergo various humiliations in making up the sum at which his fine was fixed and which was demanded of him. After emerging from this reverse he wrote a letter to Baha al-daulah, making *H*usain the Barber and his wife the go-betweens, wherein he brought charges against Abu Ghalib and offered a large sum for him. Baha al-daulah was impressed by what he said with reference to the estate of Farrukhan [3] and what Abu Ghalib had got out of it. He therefore assented to his proposals, instructed him to arrest the vizier, and gave him control of affairs in his place. On the day fixed for the arrest Abu'l-Fadl entered the palace of the vizier Abu Ghalib, attired in two *qamis* (tunics) and a *rida* (cloak) in the style of a discharged and unemployed official. After presenting himself and paying homage in the vizier's saloon, he left the vizier's presence and sat

[1] Above, iii. 137. [2] Above, iii. 431.
[3] Above, iii. 433.

down in the vestibule. He had arranged the procedure in the arrest the previous night, and had instructed each of his own followers to secure one (460) of the vizier's followers. He now proceeded to arrest the vizier, his staff and attendants, and inflicted on each one a fine proportional to his rank and the office which he had held. Abu Ghalib's fine was fixed at 100,000 Qasani dinars worth 4,000,000 dirhems at the present rate. Abu'l-Fadl tried hard to make him pay the money down, and went to the length of using violence and torture, but did not succeed.——

The MS. breaks off here.

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