

THE BUWAYHID DYNASTY OF BAGHDAD

By
MAFIZULLAH KABIR

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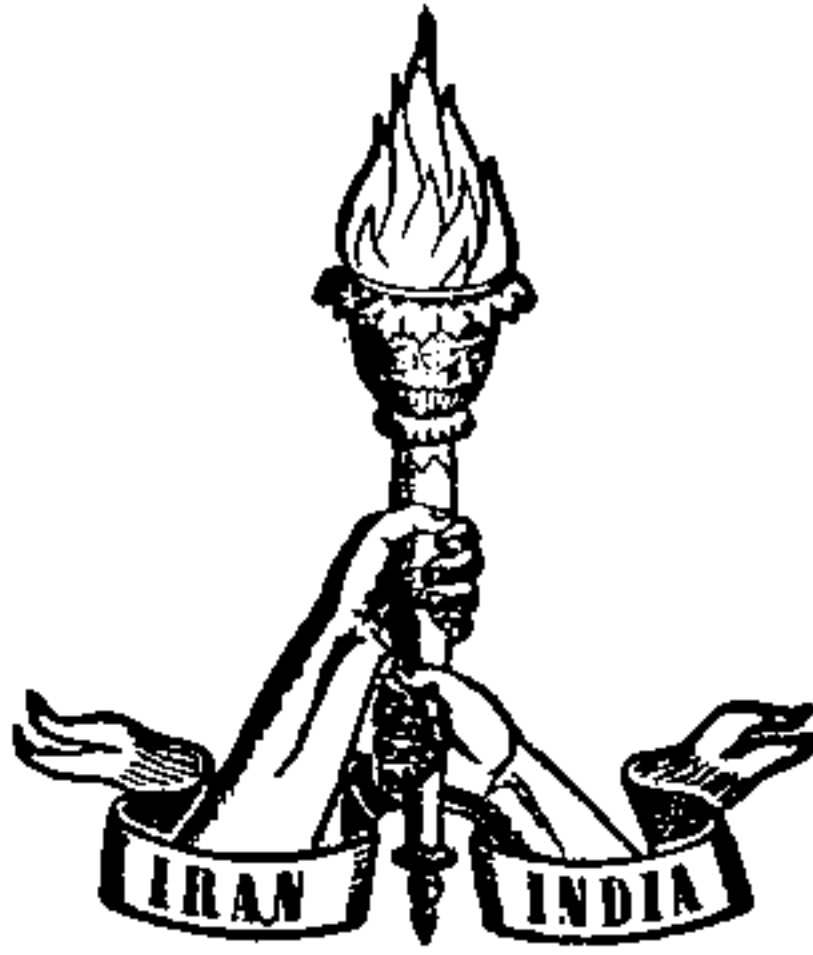
THE BUWAYHID DYNASTY OF BAGHDAD

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By

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To
The Memory of the late Harold Bowen
who first initiated me into historical Research
as
a humble tribute

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The present book is a revised edition of my dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, submitted to the University of London in 1953. Eleven long years have since elapsed as it was not possible to get a publisher for the book earlier. Thanks to the Iran Society, Calcutta, the work is now being presented to scholars and general readers. I am particularly thankful to its indefatigable secretary, Dr. M. Ishaque, who kindly undertook the responsibility of publishing the work.

The chapters of the book remain the same except for chapter X (Cultural development under the Buwayhids of Baghdád), which is an addition. Beginning with an introduction (chapter I) which summarises the rise of the Buwayhids, the first part of the book deals with the political history of the dynasty. The first three chapters (chapters VII, VIII and IX) of the second part deal with administrative institutions. Cultural development is discussed in chapter X and finally the last two chapters (XI and XII) discuss respectively the relationship of the Amírs to the 'Abbásid Caliphs and the religious background to the rise and fall of the dynasty.

On this occasion I recall with a deep sense of gratitude the beloved memory of my supervisor the late Mr. Harold Bowen, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, who initiated me into methods of historical research and to whose memory the work is being presented as a humble tribute. To Professor Bernard Lewis, the present Head of the Department of History and Professor C. H. Philips, the Director of the School I owe a great debt for the lively seminars they arranged at the School while I was a student there. My thanks are due to Professor V. Minorsky and Professor A. Lambton, whose valuable suggestions as external examiners, I have tried to incorporate in the present work. I am also thankful to Dr. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, my friend and fellow researcher at the School.

My student Mr. Zakiuddin Ahmad helped me in preparing the index. My thanks are also due to him.

University of Dacca
25 May, 1964.

M. Kabir

ABBREVIATIONS

Authors and Books:

Ath.	Ibn al-Athír. Ed. Tornberg. Leyden 1867-74.
B.H.	Bar Hebraeus. Gregory Abú'l-Faraj Beyrut, 1890.
Dh.	Dhahabí. B.M. Ms. or. 48 and 49 (referred to as Vols. I and II).
E.I.	<i>Encyclopaecia of Islam.</i>
Fih.	<i>Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadím.</i> Leipzig, 1871.
G.M.S.	Gibb Memorial Series.
H.	<i>Hilál al-Sábi.</i> Part VIII of the chronicle published with Vol. III of " <i>The Eclipse of the Abbasid Empire</i> ".
H A.	<i>Hudúd al-'Álam.</i> Ed. Minorsky, London. 1937.
I A.U.	Ibn Abí 'Uṣaybi'ah <i>'Uyún al-Anbá.</i> Cairo, 1882.
I.H.	Ibn Hawqal. Ed. De. Goeje. Leyden, 1876.
Ibn Isf.	Ibn Isfandiyar. <i>Ta'rikh Tabaristán.</i> Tr. Browne, London, 1905.
I.J.	Ibn al-Jawzí. <i>al-Muntazam.</i> Hyderabad, 1938-43.
I.J. Adh.	Ibn al-Jawzí K. <i>al-Adhkiya'.</i> Cairo, 1308 H.

Ist.	Iṣṭakhrí. Ed. De. Goeje. Leyden, 1890.
Ibn Khall.	Ibn Khallikán. Tr. De slane. Paris, 1842
Le Str.	Le Strange. <i>Baghdad during the Caliphate. The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate.</i>
M.	Miskawayh. Vols. I and II of " <i>The Eclipse</i> ". Oxford, 1920-1.
M.Kh.	Mir Kháwand, Ed. Wilken, Berlin, 1935.
Mas.	Mas'údí. Murúj. Paris, 1861-77.
Maw.	Máwardi. <i>Aḥkám al-Sulṭāniyyah.</i> Bonn, 1853.
MU. MS.	<i>Munich' Manuscript 'Arab. 378</i> (Catalogue no. 952, Suppl. p. 157).
Muq.	Muqaddasí. Ed. De Goeje. Leyden, 1906.
S.	Abú Shujá' Rúḍhráwarí. <i>Dhayl.</i> Vol. III of " <i>The Eclipse</i> ".
Sibt.	Sibt ibn al-Jawzí. <i>Mir'át.</i> B. M. Ms. Vol. II or. 4619.
Tan. N.	Tanúkhí, <i>Nishwár al-Muḥáḍarah</i> Ed. and tr. Margoliouth. Parts I, II and VIII.
Tan. f.	Tanúkhí. <i>al-Faraj Ba'd al-Shiddah.</i> Cairo, 1903.
Wuz.	<i>K. al-Wuzará</i> of Hilál al-Ṣábí. Beyrut, 1904.
Yaq. Irsh.	Yáqút. <i>Irshád al-Arib.</i> G.M.S. 1907-26.
Yaq. Buld.	Yáqút. <i>Mu'jam al-Buldán.</i> Leipzig, 1866-70.

Yat.	<i>Tha'álíbí's Yatímah</i> . Damascus, 1302 H.
Kr. I and II.	<i>Kremer's budgets of al-Rashid and al-Muqtadir</i> (see Bibliography).
Journals:	
A.J.S.L.L.	<i>American Journal of Semitic Language and Literature</i> .
B.I.F.A.O.	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archaeologie</i> .
B.S.O.A.S.	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> .
I.C.	<i>Islamic Culture</i> , Hyderabad.
J.A.	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> .
J.R.A.S.	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> .
N.C.	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> .

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CHAPTER I

THE BUWAYHIDS UP TO THE ACCESSION OF 'IZZ AL-DAWLĀH

(a) *The rise of the Buwayhids*

The Buwayhids belonged to a stock whose existence on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, in the region known in Islamic times as 'Daylam' has been traced back to antiquity.¹ Though the name Daylam was eventually applied to all the provinces in that area,² yet Daylam proper (al-Daylam al-Khāṣṣah), the original habitat of the Daylamites, was a well-defined region bounded by Ṭabaristān to the east, Jibāl to the south, Gílān to the north-west and the Caspian Sea to the north-east. It was a mainly mountainous region, forming as it were an ante-room to Gílān, and stretching from the Caspian littoral, between the rivers Safíd Rúd and Shálús over part of the Elburz range as far south as Qazwín.³ Its inhabitants were hardy and warlike, and though they fought in Achaemenian, Parthian and Sassánian times as volunteers in the Persian army the Persians never succeeded in subjugating them effectively.⁴ They are said by al-Bírúní, in a somewhat obscure passage, to have had a patriarchal family system, which was only overthrown on their conversion to Islām in the ninth century.⁵ Before this, according to al-Mas'ūdī, they lived in ignorance of any established religion—and so were not, as might have been expected, Zoroastrians.⁶

According to al-Muqaddasí, the Daylamites unlike their neighbours—the Gílites (the inhabitants of Gílān) were endogamous. He saw a man with his own eyes running after a woman with an open knife to punish her for marrying a stranger.⁷ Their women enjoyed a social equality with the men and participated in their business.⁸ Al-Muqaddasí

1 Minorsky, *Les domination Des Dailamites*, Paris, 1932 p. 3.

2 The Muslim geographers of the tenth century define Daylam as the area consisting of Gílān, Daylam, Gurgán, and sometimes Rayy and Ṭabaristān 1st. 204-214; Ibn, Haw, 267; Muqaddasi, 353, Hudūd, 136.

3 Minorsky, 2, 26.

4 *Ibid.* 4.

5 Bírúní, *Athār.* 224, Mino. 4.

6 Mas'ūdī, *Murúj* IX, 4.

7 Muq. 368-9.

8 Abú Shujá' 313; H.A. 136.

also records the fact that they held public lamentation for the dead, which usually lasted for three days.¹

The great fortress of Qazwín stood on the frontier of the Daylam country and provided a base for muslim penetration into it. Nevertheless, all attempts on the part of the Caliphs during the Umayyad and the early 'Abbásid periods to gain a durable hold on these mountainous regions proved a failure.² Eventually however Islám was introduced into them by other means. In the latter half of the third and the beginning of the fourth Islamic centuries two Zaydite Imáms in turn were successful in establishing independent dynasties in the neighbouring province of Ṭabaristán and they succeeded in converting some of the people not only of Ṭabaristán itself but also of Daylam and Gílán to the Zaydite form of Shí'ism. The Imáms in question were Ḥasan b. Zayd who established himself in Ṭabaristán in 250 A.H. and was later succeeded by his brother Muḥammad, and Ḥasan b. 'Alí al-Utrush (the deaf) who occupied Ṭabaristán in 301;³ and they contrived not only to secure the allegiance of these tribesmen but also to enlist them as enthusiastic fighters for their form of the Faith. After the death of al-Utrush a civil war broke out between his son and son-in-law; and this provided an opportunity for a number of Daylamite and Gílite adventurers to rise into prominence as military leaders. Among these were Mákán b. Kákí who began his career in the service of al-Utrush, and Asfár b. Shírúyah and Mardáwíj b. Ziyár who both distinguished themselves in the service of the Sámánids of Khurásán and Transoxania. It was as fighters in the army of Mákán b. Kákí that the brothers 'Alí and Ḥasan, the sons of Abú Shujá' Buwayh made their first appearance on the historical scene.

From the struggle for supremacy between these three adventurers, Mardáwíj emerged victorious, Asfár was killed, and Mákán, in spite of the fact that he was backed by the Sámánids, was defeated and driven out of Ṭabaristán. On the defeat of Mákán at the hands of Mardáwíj, the Buwayhid brothers who had been in his service now sought his permission to join Mardáwíj's ranks and this was their first step towards prominence.⁴

1 Muq 369; Ibn Isf. 233, Miskawayh (M.) II, 137, Rukn al-Dawlah lamented for his brother 'Imád al-Dawlah for three days. M. II, 132, while ill Mu'izz al-Dawlah lamented in the habit of the Daylamites (و زدد على نفسه على عادة الديلم)

(الديلم)

2 Min. 5

3 *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II. Pt. i. pp. 277-8; vol. IV. Pt. ii. 1060.

4 M. I. 275-77.

The danger to which the Caliphate might be exposed by this movement of the Daylamites was realised by some of the Caliphs and their generals. Nevertheless, no great importance was attached to the defence of this frontier. Tanúkhí relates how the Caliph al-Mu'tadid,¹ on hearing the news of the secret entry of a Daylamite into Qazwín, stopped in the midst of his drinking to send orders to the governor (of Qazwín) requiring him to be vigilant in observing the comings and goings of people to and from Qazwín so that if the Daylamites were plotting some attack it might be frustrated. The Caliph further remarked that the Daylamites were the wickedest and most treacherous nation in the world and what was worse, the most courageous. "If Qazwín falls", said he, "they will spring upon me from behind my throne and sieze the capital itself".²

However, not everyone at the Court of Baghdád was as perspicacious as al-Mu'tadid; for the next man — a general — to appreciate the Daylamites at their true worth some twenty-five years later was not listened to. This was Ibn Abi'l-Sáj, Commander of the Caliph al-Muqtadir's forces in Adharbayján. In 314 Ibn Abi'l-Sáj was ordered to move southward to fight the Qarmatians who had now long been established in Bahrayn and from whom an attack on Kúfah was now apprehended. Ibn Abi'l-Sáj on receiving the order replied:

"I am on a frontier more dangerous than that against the Byzantines and am opposite a barrier stronger than that of Gog and Magog. If I abandon it, something more grievous than the affairs of the Qarmatians will befall and this might even cause a destruction of the empire on all sides".

But the men in authority at Baghdád still did not take these 'husbandmen', as they called the Daylamites, very seriously and supposed Ibn Abi'l-Sáj to be meditating a rebellion himself. But their employment of Ibn Abi'l-Sáj against the Qarmatians was in the event a failure, since he was defeated, captured and later killed.³ The result of his departure from the northern frontier was the immediate rise of the three adventurers we have referred to: Mákán, Asfár and Mardáwíj, the kaleidoscopic changes of whose fortunes eventually placed Mardáwíj in possession of Rayy, Isfahán and Tabaristán.⁴ Nor was Mardáwíj's success merely ephemeral, for he was to prove the founder of a dynasty: the Ziyárid. His ambition was indeed for something even more spectacular, for after later conquering Khúzistán

1 Al-Mu'tadid (279-289) passed this order during the wazirate of 'Ubaydu'lláh ibn Sulaymán who died in 288 A.H.

2 Tanúkhíy *Nishwar al-Muhadara* Vol. I, pp. 153-54.

3 *Ibid.* 156; M. I. 172-178.

4 M. I. 162, 276.

he even contemplated marching on Baghdád itself with the aim of restoring the Persian empire.¹

After the Buwayhid brothers had entered his service the eldest, 'Alí, was appointed by Mardáwíj as governor of Karaj in Jibál.² But Mardáwíj soon after began to have doubts of his loyalty and revoked the appointment; on which 'Alí moved southwards and after defeating the 'Abbásid governor of Fárs (in 322) obtained possession of the province.³

After this singular victory the wily 'Alí called a halt to his military ambitions and in order not to aggravate Mardáwíj concluded with him a treaty whereby he agreed to pay him homage and read his name in the Khutbah. 'Alí even sent Mardáwíj his own brother Ḥasan as a hostage for fulfilment of these undertakings.⁴ Then in 323 Mardáwíj was assassinated in the prime of his life by some of his Turkish bodyguard.⁵ This opened up further opportunities for the Buwayhid family. Thus Ḥasan, the second Buwayhid brother, not only managed to escape from the custody in which Mardáwíj had held him as a hostage but at once embarked on further campaigns with the result that within five years after occupying Isfahán he was in a position even to threaten Rayy, the very seat of Mardáwíj's government.⁶ The death of Mardáwíj gave rise to a troubled political situation in which various persons fought for supremacy: namely, Washmagír his brother and successor; Mákán who now re-appeared in the field; and the latter's nephew Ḥasan b. Fírúzán who succeeded him; and Ḥasan b. Buwayh himself. The last two effected a matrimonial alliance and jointly wrested Tabaristán and Gurgán from Washmagír, whom they obliged to take shelter with the Sámánid governor of Khurásán.⁷ Ḥasan was thus left in possession of Rayy, Isfahán and Tabaristán but his hold on them was precarious, since up to the year 344 he was obliged to contend with a Sámánid army which came almost every year to the help of Washmagír. In 344 however he concluded a treaty with the Sámánids by which he was to hold Rayy and Jibál as their feudatories on payment of an annual sum, leaving Washmagír, their ally, thenceforth retaining Tabaristán and Gurgán.⁸

1 *Ibid.* 316; I.J. VI. 268.

2 M. I. 279.

3 *Ibid.* 295-6; 297-8.

4 *Ibid.* 302; Ibn al-Athír, Tornberg ed. (Ath.) VIII. 213-4.

5 M. I. 310; Ath. VIII. 222; Ibn al-Jawzí (I.J.) VI. 268.

6 M. I. 315, 352; Ath. VIII. 242.

7 M. II. 8; Ath. VIII. 292-3.

8 M. II. 161; Ath. VIII. 384.

The success of Aḥmad, the third and the youngest of the Buwayhid brothers was destined to be much more spectacular. He was favoured by the unstable situation which existed in the Caliphate at that time. When because of the stoppage of the revenues from the provinces the Wazírs of the Caliphs found it impossible to run the administration successfully, the Caliph al-Rádí in 324 accepted the offer of a rebel revenue-farmer Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Rá'iq to take it over, called him to Bagḥdád, and invested him with comprehensive powers over the army and the revenues, conferring upon him the title of Amír al-Umará.¹ This development marked the end of the power and dignity of both the Caliphs and their Wazírs. Moreover, it resulted in attempts by various adventurers to obtain this office for themselves. Ibn Rá'iq had a rival in his own general Bajkám, who defied his authority and established himself in Wásit. Similarly two brothers Abú 'Abdu'lláh and Yúsuf, of the name al-Barídí (from the employment of their father as a post-master — Baríd), soon after Ibn Rá'iq had left for Bagḥdád established themselves in Baṣrah and Ahwáz. Then there were the Ḥamdánids — Ḥasan and 'Alí, the sons of 'Abdulláh b. Ḥamdán, who contrived to establish practically as independent chiefs in Mawṣil, Diyár Bakr and Diyár Rabí'ah and on whom the Caliph al-Muttaqi later conferred the titles of '*Náṣir al-Dawlah*' and '*Saif al-Dawlah*'. Ibn Rá'iq, Bajkam, the Barídís and the Ḥamdánids all fought for supremacy and all in turn obtained their chances to rule in Bagḥdád.

In this confusion Aḥmad b. Buwayh contrived gradually to increase and extend his power. During the Amirate of Ibn Rá'iq he occupied Ahwáz in alliance with the Barídís (who had recently been expelled from it by Bajkam) and thereafter retained it for himself.² This afforded a jumping off place for Aḥmad's further adventures. During the Amirate of the Ḥamdánid Náṣir al-Dawlah in Bagḥdád (330-1) he turned against his former allies — the Barídís, and, obtaining from the Ḥamdánids an investiture for Baṣrah, tried to snatch it also away from the Barídís, though without success.³ Then, after the expulsion of the Ḥamdánids, when an officer of the Turks, Túzún by name, eventually succeeded Náṣir al-Dawlah as Amír al-Umará and pursued the Ḥamdánids in their retreat to Mawṣil, Aḥmad took the opportunity to advance from Ahwáz as far as Wásit with the intention of capturing Bagḥdád itself (332). He duly occupied Wásit where his secretary Abú Ja'far al-Saymarí, won the goodwill of the people by

1 M. I. 351; Ath. VIII. 241; Suli 85.

2 M. I. 378-83; Ath. VIII. 254-57.

3 M. II. 37; Suli 233.

remitting unjust taxes.¹ But Túzún after successfully establishing peace with the Hamdánids hastened back to oppose him. A battle ensued on the Diyálá, as a result of which Aḥmad was obliged to withdraw, with much loss of men and baggage.² Towards the end of the year 333 Aḥmad again wrested Wásit from the Barídís; but Túzún, accompanied by the new Caliph al-Mustakfí (for he had meanwhile deposed al-Muttaqí), soon compelled him to withdraw from it.³ With as able a man as Túzún at the helm in Baghdád Aḥmad's opportunities for pursuing his great design were limited.

But the long-awaited opportunity for Aḥmad arrived when Túzún died in Muḥarram 334. He was succeeded as Amír by Abú Ja'far b. Shírzád, who had been his secretary but was quite unequal to the post. He soon alienated the people by resorting to indiscriminate exactions in order to obtain funds he required; whereupon Yinál Kushá, the governor of Wásit, invited Aḥmad b. Buwayh to come to Baghdád and replace him. Aḥmad accordingly entered Baghdád all but unopposed on 11 Jumádá ii, 334. The Turkish troops, the Amír Ibn Shírzád and the Caliph al-Mustakfí first went into hiding. Later, however, the Turks departed for Mawṣil on which the Caliph re-appeared and whether sincerely or not expressed his joy at Aḥmad's arrival. He conferred on Aḥmad the title of '*Mu'izz al-Dawlah*' and the titles of '*Imád al-Dawlah*' and '*Rukn al-Dawlah*' respectively on 'Alí and Ḥasan-his brothers. He further permitted all of them to use these titles and their kunyah on the coinage.⁴ Some eleven days after his entry into the capital, however, Mu'izz al-Dawlah suddenly deposed the Caliph alleging that the latter had been conspiring against him, and raised to the throne in his place, under the title al-Muṭi'li'lláh, a cousin, a son of al-Muqtadi.⁵

(b) *Amirate of Mu'izz al-Dawlah.*

(334-356 A.H./946-967 A.D.)

Mu'izz al-Dawlah remained *Amír al-Umará* from 334 up to his death in 356. Although he was obliged during these twenty-two years to fight for his position with various rivals and rebels against his authority and had repeated troubles with his somewhat heterogeneous troops, in comparison with the previous period 'Iráq under his dominion enjoyed a fair measure of peace. His position as Amír was challenged almost at the outset by the Hamdánid Náṣir al-Dawlah, who as we

¹ Suli 258-9.

² M. II. 50-51, 77-8; Suli 262; Ath. VIII. 305-6.

³ Ath. VIII. 334; M. II. 55.

⁴ M. II. 83-5.

⁵ M. II. 86-7.

mentioned, had himself been created Amír al-Umará (by al-Muttaqí in 330) and still regarded himself as the holder of that office. On the other hand Mu'izz al-Dawlah could regard the Ḥamdánids as his feudatories by virtue of his being invested with the administration of the whole Caliphate. It was therefore clear that he must try conclusions with Násir and he accordingly led an expedition against him up the Tigris to 'Ukbará. Násir, however, instead of waiting to meet him seized the opportunity of his absence from the capital to advance on it himself, engaging Ibn Shírzád to declare for him and organise the administration in his name. By the time Mu'izz got wind of this, Násir was already in possession of the quarters on the east bank of the river, where he had sought to reinforce his position as legitimate Amír by re-issuing the coinage of 331, bearing the superscription of al-Muttaqí. All Mu'izz could do, accordingly, was to hasten back and occupy al-Karkh, on the west bank, before Násir seized that too; and when Mu'izz's forces were thrown back in a battle of boats on the river, he came so near accepting defeat as to contemplate a retirement to Ahwáz. All was saved, however, by a last minute stratagem. By luring most of the Ḥamdánid troops at night to one point on the river with a great blaze of torches and beating of drums, he succeeded in surprising them at another, crossing all but unopposed and thus taking Násir in the rear. The Ḥamdánids were thrown into irretrievable confusion and Násir forthwith abandoned the city and fled back to 'Ukbará.¹

So far unable was he to contemplate any further opposition that he immediately agreed to terms, which, though they fell far short of his aspirations, were by no means disadvantageous. He was to retain Mawṣil and Diyár Bakr, his southern frontier on the Tigris being drawn at Takrit. For these provinces he was to pay no tribute, but had only to supply some provisions to the capital. One curious provision added to the treaty was that Syria and Egypt would form part of his dominions, for which he was to pay the usual tribute paid by the Ikhshídíd Md. b. Ṭughj — although the nearest he ever came to any control of those countries was the establishment of his brother Sayí al-Dawlah in Aleppo. Even these concessions, however, were far from welcome to the supporters of Násir; and he was at once faced with a rebellion on the part of his troops. This, moreover, he succeeded in suppressing only with help from Mu'izz, who instead of taking advantage of his predicament, was magnanimous enough to answer his appeal.² (335).

Nevertheless, perhaps because Násir al-Dawlah was all the same

¹ M. II. 89-94.

² M. II. 108-110.

too temptingly weak for him to resist it, Mu'izz two years later (337) attacked him again, invading his territories as far as Mawṣil and Naṣībīn. But he was unable to defeat him decisively as he no doubt had intended, since at this juncture he was obliged to answer an appeal by his brother Rukn al-Dawlah for help against an attack by the Sāmānids; and the detachment of the necessary troops from his army left it too weak for him to risk further fighting. Leaving his deputy al-Ṣaymarī to settle the terms of peace, Mu'izz al-Dawlah returned to Baghdād. It was decided that Nāṣir should pay eight million dirhams a year from the revenues of Mawṣil, Diyār Rabī'ah, Diyār Mudar, Raḥbah and Syria. He should further acknowledge the Buwayhid suzerainty by an inclusion in the Khutbah throughout his dominions of the names of Mu'izz, his son Bakhtiyār and his eldest brother, 'Imād al-Dawlah. Al-Ṣaymarī was, however, unable to obtain the signature of Nāṣir to this treaty and further negotiation reduced the tribute to no more than three million dirhams.¹

This agreement was duly observed for the next eight years. But in 345 Nāṣir, seeing Mu'izz to be preoccupied with an extremely serious revolt of his Daylamite troops at Ahwāz, was tempted to try his luck again. He did not this time venture an attack in person, but sent two of his sons to descend on Baghdād in Mu'izz's absence.² They were too late, however. Mu'izz, having successfully suppressed the revolt, reached Baghdād before they did; and he was naturally much incensed at Nāṣir's behaviour. Not only did he remonstrate with him in the most vigorous terms, but he charged him with gross ingratitude, reminding him how he had come to his rescue when threatened by his own soldiery. On this Nāṣir duly apologised, and in 347 undertook to pay an annual tribute of two millions and also to pay two millions down. But it was not long before Nāṣir again considered it safe to defy Mu'izz. After fulfilling his promise one year he broke it the next — with the result that Mu'izz again came against him, occupied Mawṣil and Naṣībīn, and forced Nāṣir to take refuge with his brother in Aleppo.³ Nevertheless, a compromise was once again arrived at — but one which left Nāṣir notably worse off than before. All his territories were now formally (though not in actuality) transferred to Sayf al-Dawlah against an annual tribute of two million nine hundred thousand.⁴ (348).

It was evident, however, that the Ḥamdānids were far from willing tributaries, and sure enough a crisis arose between them and Mu'izz some

1 M. II. 115-117.

2 *Ibid.* 162.

3 *Ibid.* 168-171.

4 M. II. 172, 174.

four years later in 353. How it began is not clear, but it appears to have been connected with Násir's desire to see his son Abú Taghlíb acknowledged by the Caliph as his heir. For this acknowledgment he offered the payment of ten thousand dínars and he also undertook to pay three million dirhams on account of tribute for the years 352, 353 and 354, of which he would pay five hundred thousand down. But for reasons unknown, Mu'izz not only rejected these suggestions but sent yet another expedition against the Hamdánids. And this time he did by no means so well. His troops were so far from carrying all before them that the Hamdánids won several engagements, and Abú Taghlíb took some of Mu'izz's officers prisoner. Eventually, whether or not Abú Taghlíb's succession was formally acknowledged, he contrived to secure for himself the right of farming the revenues of his father's territories on condition only that he should pay six hundred thousand dirhams down as arrears and undertake to pay six million two hundred thousand for four subsequent years ending in 357. He also undertook to release the Buwayhid prisoners.¹

Meanwhile, soon after his establishment in the capital, Mu'izz had succeeded in asserting his authority over Baṣrah, which it was essential for him as ruler of 'Iráq to control. Baṣrah, as we have indicated, had been for some considerable time under the virtually independent rule of the Barídí family, its possession having devolved by 336, when Mu'izz sent an expedition against it, on Abú al-Qásim, a son of one of the two founder brothers. Abú al-Qásim made no attempt to oppose this expedition, but instead fled to Hajar, the Qarmaṭian's head quarters in Baḥrayn. Baṣrah thus fell to Mu'izz almost without a blow;² and Abú al-Qásim later came to Baghdád and submitted to him, being compensated with lodging and a handsome fief.³

The acquisition of Baṣrah, however, involved Mu'izz in a conflict with the Qarmaṭians which continued intermittently up to his death. Whether or not originally urged to do so by al-Qásim, they claimed that in approaching Baṣrah he had trespassed on to their territories but Mu'izz received their representations with a contemptuous rejection,⁴ and as a consequence in 341 the Qarmaṭians sent a large force against Baṣrah by land which their ally, Ibn Wajíh, the ruler of 'Umán, assisted with a flotilla of warships. Mu'izz al-Dawlah, however, got wind of this in time to send his Wazír al-Muhallabí to Baṣrah before Ibn Wajíh

1 M. II. 203-206.

2 *Ibid.* 112; Ath. VIII. 352-353.

3 M. II. 115! Ath. VIII. 351.

4 M. II. 112; Ath. VIII. 352; I.J. VI. 356-357.

appeared before it and duly repelled the latter's attack.¹ (341) For the next fifteen years or so Mu'izz al-Dawlah had his hands too full with other engagements to devote further attention to this frontier, but in 354 he took advantage of Ibn Wajih's death to send an envoy to his successor Náfi' inviting him to pay him allegiance, mention his name in the *Khutbah*, and inscribe it on the currency. Náfi' complied with all these proposals; but his people objected to this agreement and drove him out, inviting the Qarmatians to occupy the country. On this Náfi' sought refuge with Mu'izz al-Dawlah,² and two years later the latter determined to seize 'Umán for himself. He accordingly prepared an expedition jointly with his nephew 'Adud al-Dawlah, the ruler of Fárs; but he died before its object was attained; whereupon the official to whom he had confided the command of his forces hastened back to the capital, leaving the province to 'Adud al-Dawlah's representative.³

Another area that Mu'izz al-Dawlah was naturally concerned to assert his authority over was the *Baṭīḥah*—'The Great Swamp', into which both the Tigris and the Euphrates in those days discharged their waters, and which covered an area fifty miles across and very nearly two hundred miles in length between Wásit and Baṣrah.⁴ Here however he was less successful than he no doubt expected, for the *Baṭīḥah* consisted of a vast expanse of reeds punctuated by open lagoons, much of which could be navigated only by small skiffs propelled by poles,⁵ and being thus all but impenetrable to strangers, afforded to its inhabitants a practically impregnable defence.

It was ruled by a certain 'Imrán b. *Sháhín*, a native of the neighbouring *Jámidah* where he had committed some crime and sought refuge from the local government in these inaccessible swamps. There he gathered round him a number of fishermen and outlaws like himself out of whom he formed a robber band which successfully flouted the authority of the government. The *Barídís* while in possession of Baṣrah entrusted him with the protection of *Jámidah* and that part of the *Ahwáz* district which lay in the *Baṭīḥah*. This considerably strengthened 'Imrán's position and he collected an even large number of followers with whose help he extended his authority over the whole Swamp.⁶ The Buwayhid attack on 'Imrán was conducted by Mu'izz's

1 M. II. 144; Ath. VIII. 372-373.

2 M. II. 213; Ath. VIII. 417-418.

3 M. II. 217-218, 237; Ath. VIII. 420, 426.

4 Le. str. Eastern Caliphate, 26.

5 Duri: *Tarikh al-'Iráq*, 8.

6 M. II. 119; Ath. VIII. 362.

deputy and friend, Abú Ja'far al-Saymarí who dealt him so shrewd a series of blows that he fled, leaving his family and friends to be taken prisoner. But on the death in 338 of 'Imád al-Dawlah, Mu'izz instructed al-Saymarí to abandon his operations in the Batīḥah and proceed to Fārs in order to regulate its affairs. These were settled by the installation in Shíráz, in accordance with the will of 'Imád, of 'Adud al-Dawlah, son of Rukn al-Dawlah;¹ whereupon Mu'izz sent another expedition against 'Imrán, now under a Daylamite officer named Rúzbahán. 'Imrán had prepared a number of hiding places in various parts of the Batīḥah in which he could take shelter in the event of a foreign invasion. On Rúzbahán's approach he accordingly went to ground but on discovering his whereabouts Rúzbahán attacked him, only to suffer a severe defeat.²

'Imrán now became all the more contumacious, his followers going so far as to exact protection money from any government officials, Turks, or Daylamites, who might happen to pass their way; so that in due course the road to Baṣrah by water became virtually closed to all traffic. On having his attention drawn to this by the complaints of his commanders and officers Mu'izz al-Dawlah in 339 sent another expedition against 'Imrán commanded jointly by Rúzbahán and his Wazír al-Muhallabí. But Rúzbahán to bring discredit on the Wazír pressed him hard to try an open encounter and on his doing so loitered in the rear and fled as soon as the fighting began. 'Imrán's tactics were to lay ambushes in the cross-channels, from which as soon as al-Muhallabí charged his men sprang out and attacked the Buwayhid troops jostling and confusing them in the unfamiliar waterways. Many of al-Muhallabí's followers were killed and he himself escaped death only by swimming to safety. Mu'izz al-Dawlah was therefore compelled to make peace with 'Imrán on the latter's terms: namely an exchange of prisoners and 'Imrán's appointment as governor of the Batīḥah as a Buwayhid vassal.³

After this for five years 'Imrán abode by this compact but in 344 a rumour of Mu'izz's death emboldened him to lay hands on a convoy taking money and merchandise from Ahwáz to Baghdád. All that Mu'izz could do was to protest on which 'Imrán returned the money—but appropriated the merchandise.⁴ Hence Rúzbahán was once again sent against him, but before ever attacking him, himself rebelled. No further steps were taken against 'Imrán who was in fact left unmolested

1 M. II. 120; Ath. VIII. 362.

2 M. II. 130; Ath. VIII. 368.

3 M. II. 130-131; Ath. VIII. 368-369.

4 M. II. 158-159; Ath. VIII. 382-383.

again for the next twelve years. In 356, however, when Mu'izz al-Dawlah set out on his expedition against 'Umán, he decided on reaching the Batíḥah. He died however before anything decisive happened ; and Bakhtiyár, his son and successor, on his accession made peace with 'Imrán.¹

Throughout his reign Mu'izz al-Dawlah had trouble from time to time with his soldiery which mainly consisted of Turks and Daylamites. Both were inclined to rebel whenever opportunity offered. Thus immediately after his establishment in Baghdád the Daylamites mutinied over a question of pay, abusing and vituperating him without restraint ; and, though he was able to satisfy their officers by assigning them fiefs, to appease the rank and file he had to resort to extortion and other questionable devices.²

The Turks also mutinied on several occasions and as a rule for reasons connected with their pay ; but by far the most formidable of all these rebellions was that led by the Daylamite officer Rúzbahán who had had such uniform ill-success against 'Imrán b. Sháhin. This, in which Rúzbahán was assisted by his brothers Bullaká and Asfár, took place in 345. Its cause is obscure ; but judged by what occurred its object was nothing less than the overthrow of the Buwayhid dynasty. It began, as we have indicated, when Rúzbahán was for the third time on his way to attack 'Imrán. But not only did Bullaká then simultaneously rebel in Shíráz and Asfár rebel in Ahwáz but even the Daylamites in Baghdád broke into violent revolt complaining to Mu'izz in insulting language of a delay in the receipt of their pay and deserting to Rúzbahán in ever growing numbers. Mu'izz on this, immediately confided the protection of Baghdád to his commander-in-chief, Subektekín,³ and himself proceeded against Rúzbahán to Wásit.⁴

Mu'izz al-Dawlah did not trust even the Daylamites who had remained faithful to him. In order to engage Rúzbahán and his partisans he was obliged to cross the Tigris, but refused to allow them to accompany him. He relied instead on his corps of Turkish slaves and particularly his 'Ghilmán al-Dár' or palace-retainers, whom he addressed as his sons in the most appealing tone. These Turkish slaves duly flung themselves against Rúzbahán and his Daylamite followers

1 M. II. 231; Ath. VIII. 424.

2 M. II. 96; Ath. VIII. 342.

3 *Subektekín*: Sü-beg-tegin. We use this spelling as it is considered etymologically more probable by Barthold. (Turkistán down to the Mongol invasion, p. 261, f.n. 1.)

4 M. II. 162-163; Ath. VIII. 385-386.

and utterly routed them ; after which Mu'izz to the utter astonishment of the Daylamites of the capital immediately returned to Baghdád with Rúzbahán as prisoner and on the advice of his counsellors forthwith put him to death by drowning him in the Tigris. His brother Bullaká was equally unsuccessful in Shíráz being quickly overcome by Ibn al-'Amíd, the Wazír of Rukn al-Dawlah. As for Asfár, the third brother, who had rebelled in Ahwáz, nothing is recorded of how he fared ; and the whole incident was brought to an end with the dismissal of Rúzbahán's Daylamites and the imprisonment of their officers — an operation carried out at the Amír's request by al-Muḥallabí.¹

The natural result of this Daylamite revolt was that thenceforward it became Mu'izz's policy to favour the Turks at the Daylamites' expense. The Turks were now the recipients of all his favours, all the higher ranks in his forces now being bestowed on them. Moreover since he subsequently found it difficult to pay them in the ordinary way, he allocated the revenues of Wásít, Baṣrah and Ahwáz to the payment of their salaries.²

In 356 when he was on his way to attack 'Imrán b. Sháhín and the ruler of 'Umán Mu'izz al-Dawlah was attacked while at Wásít with severe diarrhoea. Leaving Subektekín to fight 'Imrán, he returned to Baghdád, where he appointed his son, 'Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtiyár, as his successor. Knowing that he was going to die he summoned the theologians and the jurists, made show of repentance for his sins (*tawbah*), gave away most of his property in alms, manumitted his slaves and returned large sums that had been improperly seized. He died soon after on 17 Rabi' ii, 356.³

The effect of Mu'izz's reign was to establish the Buwayhids in Baghdád as a hereditary dynasty of Amír al-Umará's destined to rule there for one hundred and thirteen years from the date of his own establiment to the coming of the Saljukids in 447 A.H./1055 A.D. In spite of his preoccupation with military affairs, Mu'izz contrived to devote time to civil improvements. Among the most precious of these was the repair of some of the canals upon which the prosperity of 'Iráq depended. The Nahr Rufí, the Bádúrayá Canal and the network known as the Nahrawánát were all restored during his reign and so great was his personal interest that at Bádúrayá and the Nahrawánát he even participated in the work by carrying earth in his qabá as an example to the soldiery employed in the operation. As a result,

1 M. II. 163-166; 173; Ath. VIII. 386-387; 'Awfí f. 191b-193a.

2 M. II. 173-174; Ath. VIII. 387.

3 M. II. 231; I.J. VII. 39.

Baghdád and its surroundings recovered some of their lost prosperity and Mu'izz's reign became deservedly popular.¹

At the death of Mu'izz al-Dawlah the territories of the Eastern Caliphate were divided as follows. The Caliph by this time had lost control of all territory but his own Diyá' al-Khidmah, that is to say, his 'Crown Estates'. The province of 'Iráq, including Wásit and Baṣrah, and the province of Ahwáz passed into the hands of 'Izz al-Dawlah as Mu'izz al-Dawlah's successor. The province of Fárs was now, since the death of 'Imád, in the hands of 'Adud al-Dawlah, the son of Rukn al-Dawlah; and Rukn al-Dawlah himself held sway over Rayy, Isfahán and Hamadán. Such, accordingly was the Buwayhid share. Further afield, the territories of Tabaristán and Gurgán were ruled by Washmagír, the Ziyárid, while to the north and west Adharbayján was in the hands of Ibráhim b. Marzubán of the Sálárid dynasty. Kirmán and Sijistán were ruled respectively by two independent chiefs, Abú 'Alí b. Ilyás and Abú Aḥmad Khalaf b. Abí Ja'far, and Khurásán and Transoxania by the Sámánid Mansúr II b. Núh who though acknowledging the Caliph's suzerainty was for all practical purposes independent.

The territory to the north-west of 'Iraq, the provinces of Jazírah and Aleppo (North Syria) were in the hands of the Hamdánids, the first being ruled by Abú Taghlíb, son of Náṣir al-Dawlah and the second by Sayf al-Dawlah. Náṣir al-Dawlah's celebrated brother, who, though in name a feudatory of the Caliph, was again practically independent. Sovereignty over the two Holy Cities of Makkah and Madínah was contested by the Ikhshídids (to be succeeded two years later by the Fátimids) and the Buwayhids; while Baḥrayn, Yamámah and part of the Baṣrah and Kúfah districts were all under the independent rule of the Qarmatians. Egypt and Southern Syria were again ruled by the Ikhshídids, to fall only two years later into the hands of the Fátimid al-Mu'izz li dín-illáh. Such was the political situation when 'Izz al-Dawlah Bakhtiyár succeeded his father Mu'izz al-Dawlah in Baghdád.

1 M. II. 165; I.J. VII. 39.

CHAPTER II

BAKHTIYAR 'IZZ AL-DAWLAH

Abú Mansúr Bakhtiyár, the eldest son of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, was nominated successor to his father as early as 344¹ and was given the title of '*Izz al-Dawlah*' by the Caliph al-Mu'ti' while his father was still alive in 348.² In 350 Mu'izz al-Dawlah had fallen seriously ill, and fearing that he was going to die, had handed over his palace, his horses, his slaves and all the affairs of government to Bakhtiyár, instructing the Wazír al-Muhallabí and the commander-in-chief, Subektekín, to assist him in their administration.³ Mu'izz had not been destined to die, however, for another six years; but before his death in 356 he again appointed 'Izz al-Dawlah as his successor;⁴ and the latter on his death made good his claim by a timely distribution of largesse to the army leaders. He was also assisted in his passage to the throne by three days of incessant rain which kept in doors all those who might have opposed him. To celebrate his accession he determined to make peace with all his father's enemies, instructing Subektekin to come to terms with 'Imrán b. Sháhín, and himself making peace with Abú Taghlíb, the Hamdánid of Mawşíl.⁵

Before his death Mu'izz al-Dawlah had counselled Bakhtiyár to act on the advice of his uncle, Rukn al-Dawlah, and also that of his cousin, 'Adud al-Dawlah, the ruler of Fárs, who was senior to him and more skilled in administration. Mu'izz further charged his son to confirm the two departmental heads, Abu'l-Fadl and Abu'l-Faraj ibn al-'Abbás ibn Fasánjas in their posts.⁶ As regards the troops, the policy he recommended was that Bakhtiyár while conciliating the Daylamites, should cultivate the attachment of the Turks so that he might depend on them in any conflict that might arise between himself and the Day-

1 M. II. 158; I.J. VI, 377; Ath. VIII, 383.

2 M. II. 176.

3 M. II. 182; I.J. VII, 2; Ath. VIII, 397.

4 M. II. 230.

5 M. II. 232; Ath. VIII, 425.

6 Abu'l-Faraj ibn Fasánjas was *Sáhib al-Diván* and Abu'l-Fadl *Sáhib Diván al-Nafaqah* and both of them had been acting jointly as wazír after the death of Muhallabí. (M. II, 198).

lamites. Mu'izz warned him particularly not to take any important step except in collaboration with Subektekín, the Turkish commander-in-chief of the army.¹

Bakhtiyár disregarded most of these instructions. Like many eldest sons of upstart monarchs, he was utterly inept in statecraft and administration, preferring to devote himself to sport, amusement and wine drinking and passing most of his time in the company of buffoons, singers and musicians.² He consequently fell under the influence of favourites, and to begin with, was completely dominated by Shírzád ibn Surkháb, his secretary for Persian correspondence,³ whose advice he followed to the detriment of state affairs.⁴

In his policy towards the Daylamites and the Turks he was from the outset perverse enough to ignore his father's advice. Not only did he fail to conciliate the Daylamites as both his tribal feeling and religious opinions might have inclined him to do, but he also failed to support the Turks wholeheartedly. So far was he from conciliating the Daylamites indeed, that one of his first actions was to banish the Daylamite chieftains for no better reason than that he wished to seize their fiefs and property for himself. In consequence these chieftains and their followers revolted; and though Bakhtiyár then sought the help of the Turks, the Daylamites proved too strong for them and he was obliged to pacify them by returning the fiefs he had confiscated from the chieftains, and granting the rank and file one-third of their pay as a gratuity. But this was to invite the Turks to pursue a similar course. They too organised a mutiny demanding whatever sums had accumulated from the revenues assigned to them by Mu'izz al-Dawlah, and a continuation of Mu'izz's policy of favouring them for promotion.⁵ Moreover in due course both they and the Daylamites perceived that it would be to their mutual advantage to combine and support each other's claims; with the result that Bakhtiyár had to promise them all they demanded, although he was far from possessing the means to fulfil their demands even partially. His chief concern, accordingly, came to be the appointment of Wazírs capable of furnishing him with money—by whatever means they could devise.⁶

This acute financial difficulty thus experienced by Bakhtiyár was

1 M. II. 234-235; Ath. VIII, 426.

2 M. II. 235; Ath. VIII, 426.

3 الكاتب الفارسية

4 M. II. 237.

5 See above, p. 13.

6 M. II. 235-237.

largely due to his father's policy. For though he had inherited the territories of 'Iráq and Ahwáz he benefitted little from the revenues of either, since, as we have mentioned, towards the end of his reign Mu'izz al-Dawlah had assigned those of Baṣrah, Wásit and Ahwáz as pay for the Turks. Further because of Mu'izz al-Dawlah's policy of granting fiefs to his military officers even in Sawád, the area from which revenues were to be drawn was still more diminished.¹

At this juncture Abu'l-Faḍl, who was one of the two departmental heads referred to above, undertook to find funds wherewith to pay the soldiery in the hope of being promoted to the wazirate and also canvassed Bakhtiyár's favourite Shírzád with the same object. His task was facilitated by the absence of his rival Ibn Fasânjas (the other departmental head) who towards the end of Mu'izz's life had assumed the command of the expedition against the ruler of 'Umán. Abu'l-Faḍl promised Shírzád if he were appointed Wazír not only an initial bribe but also a regular sum to be paid to him annually. Abu'l-Faḍl then proceeded to collect money as best as he could, partly by fining the courtiers and partly by somehow extracting revenues from the tax-payers. By this means he was able for a time to satisfy the Daylamites. As regards the Turks, however, he thought it best to follow the practice of Mu'izz al-Dawlah in sending them to collect the revenues from the various regions that had been assigned to them. Hence they too were satisfied; and for the current year he was able to keep things going.²

In the meantime Ibn Fasânjas having learnt of these proceedings on the part of Abu'l-Faḍl while still in 'Umán, handed the province over to a deputy of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah and returned post-haste to Baghdád. Abu'l-Faḍl and Ibn Fasânjas then sat down together to draw up two separate estimates of state income and expenditure. Ibn Fasânjas's was a purely theoretical one, which showed a balanced expenditure. Abu'l-Faḍl, on the other hand, took pains to omit such items of revenues as had fallen into disuse and made provision in his estimate for extraordinary expenditure, with the result that it showed a deficit, to balance which, however, he proposed certain expedients. These estimates were discussed in the presence of Shírzád, who asked both of the ministers to agree on the principles to be followed and to continue in their present positions. In secret, however, he favoured Abu'l-Faḍl, who in due course, in 357, was appointed Wazír. On appointment he received a qabá, that is, a gown, a sword adorned with gold and a horse with a gold saddle. He was also presented with a fief worth fifty thousand

¹ See below, Chapter IX.

² M. II. 237.

dínars such as was usual in the case of Wazírs, and some of the Daylamite body-guards were allocated to his service. Ibn Fasânjas was asked to continue as before in charge of the '*Díwán*' and though he had no intention of doing so he ultimately agreed for fear of having his wealth confiscated, this being the usual fate of all the dismissed officials.¹

Abu'l-Faḍl remained Wazír for two years and two months.² During the first year (358) his administration of the finances was remarkably successful. He was able not only to collect a sum of thirty million dirhams from Sawád (including Kúfah) but also obtained twelve million from Wásit and Baṣrah and another thirty million from Ahwáz.³ But, as we shall see, the adoption of a wise and consistent fiscal policy was made impossible by the rise to positions of influence of several unscrupulous persons, who then fought among themselves for power, while Bakhtiyár played only too completely into their hands.

Though, from early in his reign Bakhtiyár had fallen completely under the influence of Shírzád, as time went on, the latter's enmity towards Subektekín and the Turks brought about his fall; and Bakhtiyár was ultimately persuaded to order his banishment.⁴ The fall of Shírzád exposed Abu'l-Faḍl to a hostile alliance, largely engineered by a protégé of the late favourite. This was a certain Abú Qurrah, who from humble beginnings had risen to be farmer of the revenues of Wásit. Curiously enough during the reign of Mu'izz al-Dawlah Abu'l-Faḍl had himself appointed Abú Qurrah his deputy to strengthen his hand against Ibn Fasânjas. But subsequently Abú Qurrah had bribed his way into the favour of Shírzád, and now on Shírzád's exile, which deprived him of his main support, he cast about for other allies. One obvious choice was the disgruntled Ibn Fasânjas, and another was Subektekín, to whom he now offered the bribes he had been in the habit of giving to Shírzád. The result was that Ibn Fasânjas, Abú Qurrah and Subektekín soon set on foot a conspiracy against Abu'l-Faḍl, their aim being that Ibn Fasânjas should be made Wazír and Abú Qurrah the head of the Díwán; and when Ibn Fasânjas undertook to exact from Abu'l-Faḍl and his associates a sum of nine million dirhams Bakhtiyár readily agreed to their proposal. Abu'l-Faḍl was accordingly arrested; Ibn Fasânjas became Wazír; and Abú Qurrah, while duly being appointed Sáhib al-Díwán, was allowed to continue farming the revenues of Wásit as before. (359).⁵

1 M. II. 241-242.

2 I.J. VII. 61.

3 Ibn. Haw., 163, 169, 178.

4 M. II. 257-260.

5 M. II. 260-263.

Ibn Fasânjas and Abú Qurrah soon fell out, however, quarrelling over petty questions of honours and titles. Abú Qurrah wished to take the title '*Ra'ís*', because Ibn Fasânjas had held it while he was *Sáhib al-Díwán*, and having a so far well justified confidence in the efficacy of bribes, offered *Bakhtiyár* money first for this privilege and then for that of having drums beaten at his gate—this having been accorded temporarily to both Ibn Fasânjas and Abu'l-Fadl under Mu'izz al-Dawlah. *Bakhtiyár* granted both these requests: but this greatly annoyed the Wazír, who had desired to combine the titles and be known as '*Wazír-ra'ís*'. He took his revenge by demanding payment of money due from Abú Qurrah and placing him under arrest. But on second thoughts, to avoid upsetting Subektekín he released him and allowed him to go to Wásit. Shortly afterwards, however, he learnt that *Bakhtiyár* had been offered bribes from another quarter, by an official whom he proposed appointing as *Sáhib al-Díwán* but with authority over the Wazír! This naturally horrified Ibn Fasânjas, who, rather than exposing himself and the wazirate to such humiliation, preferred the reinstatement of Abú Qurrah, which duly took place.¹

It was easier, however, to reinstate Abú Qurrah than to mollify him after this affront; and Abú Qurrah soon had a chance of getting his own back. For apart from the revenues of Sawád, since those of Basrah and Ahwáz had been allocated to the remuneration of the Turks, there were no revenues on which the Wazírs could depend but those of Wásit; and they were controlled by Abú Qurrah. Nor was Ibn Fasânjas able to fulfil his promise regarding the extraction of money from Abu'l-Fadl and his colleagues. He feared, therefore, that any moment *Bakhtiyár* might arrest him and decided that his only course was to visit Wásit himself and see whether he could not raise some money by personal intervention. But this was to play into Abú Qurrah's hands. As soon as he had departed Abú Qurrah secretly made arrangements for the release and reappointment of Abu'l-Fadl and then, in order to convince *Bakhtiyár* of the Wazír's inability to raise funds, hurriedly proceeded to Wásit to prevent Ibn Fasânjas from obtaining money.²

Failing to realise anything in Wásit, Ibn Fasânjas decided to go to Ahwáz to see if he could manage something there. But Abú Qurrah then wrote to *Bakht-Tekin*, the Turkish commander in charge to warn him of the Wazír's intentions, with the result that *Bakht-Tekin* informed *Bakhtiyár* that the sums allocated to the Turks and their entertainment

1 M. II. 264-266.

2 M. II. 267-268.

swallowed up all the dues and a great deal more besides. This convinced Bakhtiyār that Ibn Fasānjas was entirely incompetent and so in reply he ordered Bakht-Tekín to arrest him. At the same time in Rajab, 360 he released and reinstated Abu'l-Faḍl as Wazír. Ibn Fasānjas's wazirate had lasted thirteen months.¹

During his second wazirate Abu'l-Faḍl thought it prudent to conciliate Subektekín by confirming Abú Qurrah in the Díwán and appointing the latter's brother as treasurer to Bakhtiyār. Moreover, on order from Bakhtiyār and Subektekín, Abu'l-Faḍl and Abú Qurrah entered into a solemn covenant to act in concert. To please the Amír himself Abu'l-Faḍl created a separate Díwán to deal with his private property. But as far as the collection of revenues was concerned, things had changed for the worse since he had first been appointed Wazír. The only expedient for raising money that Abu'l-Faḍl could suggest to Bakhtiyār was an attack on 'Imrán with the two-fold purpose of seizing his treasure and giving employment to the army. As we shall relate, an army was duly sent against 'Imrán but failed to achieve any success.²

Immediately after the reappointment of Abu'l-Faḍl, Bakhtiyār arranged a series of matrimonial alliances between the chief officers of the Turkish and Daylamite troops in the hope of putting an end to their hostility. He set an example himself by the marriage of his son Murzubán with the daughter of Bakht-Tekín Ázádrúyah, the general we mentioned above as commanding at Ahwáz. This ceremony was followed by an elaborate oath taking, the Daylamites and the Turks swearing amity to one another and loyalty to their leaders, Bakhtiyār and Subektekín, who exchanged oaths themselves.³ After this it seemed for a time as if things would go better.⁴

1 M. II. 269, 284; Tan. N. I. 216-216; I.J. VII. 61. Tan. N, II, (I.C. 1932, p. 387) gives interesting details about Abu'l-Faraj and his father Abu'l-Faḍl al-Abbás b. Fasānjas. During the reign of 'Alí b. Buwayh ('Imád al-Dawlah) in Fárs, Ibn Fasānjas served under him, sometimes as secretary and sometimes as deputy to the provincial governors, and thus he amassed a good fortune of fifty million dirhams. His son Abu'l-Faraj, according to Tanúkhí, had been Sáhib al-Díwán, in 'Iráq for twenty-eight years, after which he was appointed wazír and served in that capacity for thirteen months. He further says that at the time of his dismissal Abu'l-Faraj's fine was fixed at one million two hundred thousand dirhams.

2 M. II. 284.

3 Such an oath would presuppose an equality of status between the Amír and his army commander-in-chief. This is to be explained by the fact that under Bakhtiyār the two sections of the army—the Daylamites and the Turks were so hostile to each other that they looked upon Bakhtiyār and Subektekín as their respective leaders without any reference to their position in the state.

4 M. II. 283.

But Subektekín and Abu'l-Fadl were suspicious of each other. Abu'l-Fadl suspected Subektekín of favouring Ibn Fasânjás; on Abu'l-Fadl's releasing him under a heavy bond the ex-Wazír had found shelter with one of Subektekín's dependants.¹ Subektekín, on the other hand, was displeased with Abu'l-Fadl on account of the treatment meted out to Abú Qurrah. For as a result of a number of complaints of the oppression and tyranny to which he had subjected the people of Wásit, Bakhtiyár dismissed Abú Qurrah and he was then sent to Ahwáz, where on being put to the torture by Bakht-Tekín he died. (360)² Such indeed was the anger of Subektekín at Abú Qurrah's death that Bakhtiyár and Abu'l-Fadl conceived the unhappy notion of seeking to undermine his authority with the Turkish troops to whom they now made up with the object of persuading them to adopt Bakht-Tekín in place of Subektekín as their leaders. To improve Bakht-Tekín's fortune he was now granted a contract for farming the revenues of Wásit in addition to those of Ahwáz. But the loyalty of the Turks to Subektekín was too strong and genuine for any such policy to succeed, and its only result was to humiliate Abu'l-Fadl, who in the end was compelled to present himself as a suppliant at Subektekín's gate and sue for peace. As for Bakhtiyár, he also sought to conciliate Subektekín by conferring upon him the Daylamitish title of '*Ispahsalár*'.³

Meanwhile in 362 (971-2 A.D.) Bakhtiyár was faced with trouble of a more serious kind—the necessity of organising some adequate resistance to the Byzantines, who in that year raided as far into Muslim territory as Nasíbín.⁴ Baghdád was first made aware of this highly alarming movement by the arrival of a number of refugees from Diyár Rabí'ah and Diyár Bakr, who on being joined by some of the inhabitants of 'Irâq entered the mosques, and prevented the recital of the *Khutbah* by way of protest against the neglect by the Caliph of his duty to defend the *Dáru'l-Islám*. They even forced their way into al-Mu'tí's

1 M. II. 286.

2 M. II. 289.

3 M. II. 292-293.

4 The Byzantine empire underwent a military revival after the death of the emperor Romanus II. His widow Theophania married successively Nicephorus Phocos and John Zimisces the two heroes of the age. They reigned one after the other as colleagues and guardians of her infant sons Basil II and Constantine VIII. "The twelve years of their military command" (963-975 A.D.) says Gibbon, "form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals." (Gibbon, Ed. Bury. Vol. VI. 60-61). The raid, referred to above, was one of the successive raids of the period and it occurred during the rule of John Zimisces whom the queen married in 969 after she had murdered her husband Nicephorus. (Oman, Byzantine Empire, 232-233).

palace and reproached him, in insulting terms, for failing to summon the Faithful to a *Jihád*. But the unfortunate Muṭī' was of course helpless to do anything of himself. The executive power was in the hands of Bakhtiyár; and Bakhtiyár was at the moment away from the capital, ostensibly on a visit to the tomb of 'Alí at Kúfa but actually on a hunting expedition. The leading men of Baghdád accordingly set out to remonstrate with him for his neglect of the interests of the Muslims and for frittering away his energy in fighting a faithful Muslim such as 'Imrán b. Sháhín (with whom Bakhtiyár was then at war), while sparing the infidel Byzantines. Bakhtiyár appeased them by promising to make peace with 'Imrán and issue a call to the *Jihád*. He also instructed Abú Taghlib to make ready provisions and fodder for a campaign and sent his new favourite Ibn Baqíyyah (about whom we shall soon hear much) to Baghdád, asking Subektekín to be reconciled to the Wazír and take command.¹

On receipt of this appeal Subektekín assembled the Muslims and raised their hope of energetic reprisals. His call to arms was answered by large numbers of volunteers very variously equipped. Instead of placing them under various commanders, for training, however, Subektekín elected to keep them under his own control to form a sort of reserve. But the assemblage of so many people under no proper discipline resulted in the outbreak of disturbances. These volunteers were sharply divided into two camps—the Sunnah and the Shí'ah—and fell to fighting among themselves; while parties of bandits and stragglers appeared in Baghdád and added to the confusion in which the Turks assassinated a perfect of police. The Wazír, Abu'l-Fadl, favoured the Sunnah and sent one of his chamberlains to deal with the Shí'ah of the Karkh quarter. But the method he adopted was to set fire to this part of the city so that the whole area from the market of the copper-smith's to that of the fishermen's was burnt down. The whole Karkh quarter, which besides being the particular Shí'í stronghold was also the main business centre, was completely destroyed; and this led to a dispute between the Wazír Abu'l-Fadl and the Naqíb of the 'Alids as a result of which the latter was dismissed.²

Meanwhile Bakhtiyár concluded peace with 'Imrán and returned to Baghdád where he proceeded to fine the Caliph al-Muṭī' a sum of four hundred dirhams, alleging that it was to be spent on the Holy War.

1 M. II, 303-304; I.J. VII, 60; Sibte B.M. Ms. II, f. 168a-b; Ath. VIII, 454-455; Dha. B.M. Ms. f. 10b.

2 M. II, 305-306, 308-309; I.J. VII, 60; Sibte. II, f. 168b-169a; Ath. VIII, 455, 462; Dh. I, f. 10b.

but really in order to use it himself.¹ In the end all this talk of the Holy War in Baghdád indeed came to naught. The only effective response to the call for participation in it came from those who were directly affected by the Byzantine raids and a force sent against the enemy by Abú Taghlíb, the Hamdánid, under his brother, Hibatu'lláh, defeated and captured the principal Byzantine commander (Domestic) after which, for the time being, no further reference to the Byzantines occurs in the chronicles.² The second wazirate of Abu'l-Fadl lasted for a period of two years and a half from Rajab, 360 to Dhu'l-Hijjah, 362. But so far as the collection of the revenues went, he was not as successful as he had been during his first term of office. Being faced with a diminution in the revenues from regular sources he resorted to a system of wholesale confiscation, extorting all he could from merchants and craftsmen, Dhimmís and Muslims alike. He used a gang of informers and spies for this purpose. He consequently became extremely unpopular. Prayers were said for his removal not only in mosques, churches and synagogus, but also in secular meeting places and assembly rooms.³

But with all this Abu'l-Fadl failed to raise enough money to satisfy Bakhtiyár who now pinned his hope on his new favourite, Ibn Baqiyyah. This Ibn Baqiyyah was a man of very humble origin. He had entered the Buwayhid service as one of the assistants to Mu'izz al-Dawlah's kitchen-master;⁴ and the latter eventually appointed him as his agent for the collection of the revenues of Takrít and what were known as "Upper Toll Houses"⁵ on the Tigris, of which he held the tax-farm. After the death of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, Ibn Baqiyyah bribed Bakhtiyár into giving him the post of kitchen-master himself; and while in this office continued to furnish him with ten thousand dirhams a month, in exchange for which Bakhtiyár promised to help him against the clerks and the departmental heads. Ibn Baqiyyah now also became a habitual

1 M. II, 307-308; Ath. VIII, 455-456.

2 M. II, 312; al-'Azdí B.M. Ms. fol. 13 a-b; Ath. VIII, 461. In his letters to Rukn al-Dawlah (Sábi's letters, 43-45, 53-56) Bakhtiyar claims to have supplied Abú Taghlíb with troops for this battle. The letters further claim that heads of the slain enemies numbering over a thousand were sent from the frontier to Baghdád. This official version of the battle finds its echo in the later chroniclers, (I.J. VII, 60; Sib. II, f. 168b; Dh. I, f. 106) except in Ibn al-Athir who clearly says that Bakhtiyár made no contribution whatsoever to this frontier battle and this is quite in keeping with the description of Miskawayh.

3 M. II, 308.

4 صاحب المطبخ

5 المأمير العليا

guest at his private assemblies and entertainments, amusing him with all kinds of buffoonery, and continually lavished presents on him—of male and female slaves, of horses, donkeys and falcons—with the result that he completely won his heart.¹

In contrast Abu'l-Fadl gradually lost ground with Bakhtiyár. The incident of the Karkh fire and his dismissal of the 'Alid Naqíb had earned him the resentment of the Shí'ah. Neither was he on much better terms with General Subektekín, the leader of the Turks and the hero of the Sunnah. Not only had he enraged Subektekín by the part he was thought to have played in the execution of Abú Qurrah, but also by his tactless purchase of a Turkish page whom Subektekín was deeply attached to, but had sold in a moment of anger.² Abu'l-Fadl further made enemies by his severity to some upstarts about the court, who now combined against him, proposing that Ibn Baqiyyah should arrest Abu'l-Fadl and himself become Wazír. Ibn Baqiyyah was not qualified, in the historian's phrase, even "to carry an inkpot in front of a Wazír," but such an invitation was not to be declined; and when he found that both Subektekín, who was glad of the opportunity to gratify his spite against Abu'l-Fadl, and Bakhtiyár, to whom Ibn Baqiyyah could do no wrong, agreed, he duly arrested Abu'l-Fadl together with all his friends and associates (Dhu'l-Hijjah, 362). Robes of honour were then bestowed on him as Wazír, when he was also given the title of '*al-Náṣih*' and addressed by the Caliph by his *Kunyah*. Up to the very day of his appointment he remained in charge of the kitchen, presenting dishes to Bakhtiyár in person. Indeed, he wished to continue doing so, but Bakhtiyár not unnaturally considered this beneath a Wazír's dignity. Apropos of Ibn Baqiyyah's sudden elevation, people used to say '*min al-ghadārah ila'l-wizārah*' i.e. 'from dish to wazirate'. As for Abu'l-Fadl he was fined a hundred thousand dínárs and then handed over to an 'Alid who avenged the Karkh fire by poisoning him.³

This was typical of Ibn Baqiyyah's methods, and having exhausted the money forthcoming from Abu'l-Fadl and his associates, he began using such tyranny and injustice in his general dealings as to make the misdeeds of Abu'l-Fadl pale into insignificance. The consequence was an alarming increase of lawlessness and banditry, which quickly reduced the provinces to ruin. The agents of the government were unable to collect the taxes, being defied by petty chieftains who set themselves up in the villages and at the same time oppressed the local populations.

1 M. II, 285-286.

2 M. II, 309.

3 M. II, 313, Ath. VIII, 462; I.J. VII, 61; Ibn Khall. III, 273; Safadí I, 100.

Food supplies failed and warring factions divided the army.¹ For, although the wazirate of Ibn Baqiyyah witnessed a temporary reconciliation of the Turks with the Daylamites (as of Subektekín Bakhtiyár), their alliance proved too fragile to serve the offence given to the Turks by the drunken behaviour of a single demented Daylamite, and the two factions were soon fighting again as wantonly as ever.²

Let us now turn to Bakhtiyár's foreign policy; his relations with other potentates of the age. In these he followed in the footsteps of his father, trying to enforce payment from some unwilling tributaries at the point of the sword. As virtual successors to the authority of the Caliphate Mu'izz al-Dawlah and his son could regard the Hamdánids of Mawṣil and the ruler of the Baṭīḥah as their vassals. It was for this reason, as we mentioned above, that during his second wazirate Abu'l-Fadl when short of revenue suggested to Bakhtiyár an attack of 'Imrán b. Sháhín, the ruler of the Baṭīḥah. Although Bakhtiyár had concluded peace with 'Imrán on his accession, it had been merely because he had then been otherwise preoccupied; and despite his father's lack of success against the bandit ruler, Bakhtiyár seems now to have regarded this suggestion of Abu'l-Fadl's as offering a reasonable opportunity of exacting tribute from 'Imrán while at the same time giving his soldiery some better employment than rioting at the capital. The expedition was led by Abu'l-Fadl in person. He set out in Shawwál, 360, only two months or so after assuming office. But although he adopted new tactics, by damming the mouths of all canals and waterways leading into the marshes and constructing a dyke large enough for the whole army to farch right up to 'Imrán's capital fortress itself, 'Imrán found a simple remedy to defeat him. Whenever the waters began to rise, his men, unobserved by Bakhtiyár's guards, would make slight breaches in some portion of the dyke which quickly caused it to collapse so that the labour of a whole year would be destroyed in one hour. If the guards were too vigilant to allow of this, on the other hand, 'Imrán would merely shift his whole headquarters to some other strong-hold in the marshes. It thus became evident that the campaign might drag on indefinitely, and the army grew discontented and mutinous. In the end, as we have related, Bakhtiyár was obliged to make peace on account of the alarm caused in Baghdád by the Byzantine's advance into Jazírah, and needless to say the terms did not include any agreement on 'Imrán's part to pay tribute.³

Another similar suggestion of Abu'l-Fadl's had been an expedition

1 M. II, 314; Ath. VIII, 463.

2 M. II, 314-315; Ath. VIII, 463.

3 M. II, 295-298; Ath. VIII, 449-450.

to Mawṣil; but he did not remain in office long enough to carry it out. However Ibn Baqiyyah also thought this a promising plan. The only difficulty was to find some excuse for such an attack. For Bakhtiyār had hitherto remained on good terms with Abū Taghlib. Indeed he had only recently made a treaty with him, when he had not only given Abū Taghlib one of his daughters in marriage (for a wedding gift of a hundred thousand dīnārs) but had also renewed Abū Taghlib's contract for his provinces for four years.¹ However, a pretext, though an exceedingly flimsy one, was duly found. It was given out that in recent letters Abū Taghlib had failed to address the new Wazīr in proper form. Abū Taghlib tried accordingly to make amends in his next letters by giving the Wazīr his full titles. But Ibn Baqiyyah then thought of a different grievance. Some years before two brothers of Abū Taghlib's—Ibrāhīm and Ḥamdān—had sought refuge from him in Baghdād and although Ibrāhīm had recently been persuaded to return secretly by Abū Taghlib, Ḥamdān still remained and now urged Bakhtiyār to avenge his wrongs. In Rabī'i, 363 accordingly when Ibn Baqiyyah had been no more than three months in office Bakhtiyār set out for Mawṣil accompanied both by the Wazīr and Subektekīn. Their forces advanced up the Tigris in two divisions, the Amīr and Ibn Baqiyyah taking the road to the west of the river and Subektekīn the road to the east of it. But on reaching Mawṣil, Bakhtiyār found that Abū Taghlib had eluded him and himself made for Baghdād; whereupon he sent Ibn Baqiyyah back to capital and ordered Subektekīn to cross the river and if possible prevent the Ḥamdānid forces from reaching their goal. Subektekīn duly complied, coming up with Abū Taghlib at Awānā, where the two armies encamped in close proximity.²

But it then appeared that Subektekīn had no intention of fighting. The absence of Bakhtiyār in far-off Mawṣil and the existence of a vast army under his own control in the neighbourhood of Baghdād tempted him to a coup. And so after a few half-hearted skirmishes between the opposing armies, Subektekīn entered into a secret agreement with Abū Taghlib. It was proposed that Subektekīn should first arrest the Caliph together with Ibn Baqiyyah and members of Bakhtiyār's household and then openly revolt, while Abū Taghlib should go back to Mawṣil and fight Bakhtiyār, who had only a small army with him. They would thus overthrow the dynasty. Such was the plan. But something, it is not certain what, prevented Subektekīn from carrying it out. He vacillated; and ultimately the proposal fell through. After making some overtures for peace, accordingly, Abū Taghlib hurriedly went back to

1 M. II, 283.

2 M. II, 315-318; Ath. VIII, 464-465.

Mawṣil to attack Bakhtiyār, while at the request of Ibn Baqiyyah Subektekín very grudgingly again started at the head of the army to help Bakhtiyār. But before he could reach Mawṣil, Abú Taghlib dictated terms to Bakhtiyār and the latter had no alternative but to accept them. On the way back Bakhtiyār was joined by Ibn Baqiyyah and Subektekín; and though they once more forced their entry into Mawṣil, which was again evacuated by Abú Taghlib, and both the parties charged and countercharged each other of the violation of the recently concluded agreements, in the end peace was re-established between them.¹

The treaty was something of a triumph for Abú Taghlib; for though he agreed to resume the payment of his tribute, a deduction was to be made from the first payment of all that Bakhtiyār had collected from the Mawṣil district during his occupation. It was further agreed that Abú Taghlib's wife, the daughter of Bakhtiyār, should be brought to him and that a title should be conferred on him. In due course, accordingly, the Caliph al-Muṭī' entitled him '*Uddat al-Dawlah*'—officially as a reward for Abú Taghlib's victory over the Byzantine army and his capture of its commanding general, but there is little doubt that he was so favoured simply because he had got the better of Bakhtiyār.²

We may now turn to the policy adopted by Bakhtiyār towards the Turks. After his return from Mawṣil he found himself shorter of money than ever. He had no funds wherewith to pay the army, whose discontent and consequent truculence became, in the highest degree, alarming. On the advice of Ibn Baqiyyah accordingly, he decided to get rid of his Turkish troops. But headed as they were by Subektekín, an immediate attack on them was impracticable. It was, therefore, decided that Bakhtiyār and the Wazír should first go to Wásit and 'Ahwáz, dismiss Bakht-Tekín Ázádrúyah from his governorship, and then, thus strengthened by the possession of those provinces, use them as a base for operations against Subektekín. But the whole policy was ill-conceived, for Bakhtiyār foolishly left his mother, brothers, children, wives and treasure, and most of his arms and horses in Baghdád and so within easy grasp of Subektekín.³

However, on reaching Ahwáz, Bakhtiyār duly arrested Bakht-Tekín Ázádrúyah, his secretary, Sahl b. Bishr, and another Turkish commander Bektíjúr, Subektekín's father-in-law. He then seized Subektekín's fiefs in Ahwáz and sent orders to Baṣrah for the issue of a pro-

1 M. II, 218-321; Ath. VIII, 465.

2 M. II, 321; Sábi's letters 174; Ath. VIII, 365-366.

3 M. II, 323-324.

clamation against the Turks whereby the other troops were permitted to attack them.¹ At the same time he sent a message by carrier-pigeon to his mother and his brother, Abú Ishāq, telling them to spread the news that he was dead, so that when Subektekín came to the palace to offer his condolences they could put him under arrest. Subektekín, however, was too wary to be taken in by such tricks. On receiving the news he simply sent a message of condolence and duly discovered from messengers dispatched by his own followers that the whole thing was a fraud. He then assembled the Turkish troops at Baghdád and told them how Bakhtiyár had treated their comrades. The Turks thereupon invited him to make himself Amír but Subektekín hesitated to take such a step. Instead he made overtures to Abú Ishāq, the brother of Bakhtiyár, suggesting that he should become Amír, and assuring him of the loyalty of all the Turks. But Abú Ishāq was prevented by his mother from accepting the proposal and the energetic lady rallied the Daylamites stationed in Baghdád against Subektekín. After three days of battle, however, Abú Ishāq and his mother were obliged to surrender; on which Subektekín allowed them and the women and children of the palace to proceed to Wásit. Some of the Daylamites fled, while others submitted.²

The Caliph al-Muṭī' also made an attempt to leave the capital; but Subektekín obliged him to return to the palace, where he was placed under a mild surveillance. The Caliph at this date was suffering from the consequences of a paralytic stroke he had had in 360. He had difficulty both in speaking and moving, and though he did his best to conceal these disabilities, Subektekín now called upon him to abdicate in favour of his son al-Tá'i'lláh (Abú Bakr Abdu'l-Karím). This he accordingly did, the deed of abdication being signed by witnesses before the Qadí al-quḍát on 13 Dhu'l-qa'dah, 363.³ On the following day the new Caliph conferred robes of honour upon Subektekín, tied him a banner and created him Amír with the title '*Naṣr al-Dawlah*'.⁴

During the fighting with Abú Ishāq the Sunnī populace had risen in Subektekín's favour and he had rewarded their leaders by giving them military rank. They now greeted his Amirate with enthusiasm

1 *Ibid.*, 325.

2 M. II, 325-327.

3 M. II, 327-328; Tan. N. II, (I.C. 1932) p. 187; I.J. (VII, 66) quotes the deed of abdication.

4 I.J. VII, 67; Sibb. II, f. 172a. It is significant that Miskawayh suppresses this investiture of Subektekín. Tanúkhí, cited above, says that even before the deposition of al-Muṭī' Subektekín had usurped power and styled himself Amír al-Umárá.

and proceeded to a wholesale persecution of the Shí'ah. The Shí'ah entrenched themselves in the Karkh quarter, and there ensued a series of fights in which Karkh was burnt a second time. The result was that this primarily religious dispute took on a political colour, the Shí'ah fighting in the name of Bakhtiyár and the Daylamites, and the Sunnah siding with Subektekín and the Turks.¹

Meanwhile in Ahwáz the position of Bakhtiyár had quickly deteriorated. The mutinous Turks gathered in the surrounding country and their fellow countrymen from Başrah came to remonstrate with him, while Bakhtiyár's Daylamites told him they dared not fight the Turkish cavalry. After some hesitation Bakhtiyár decided to release Azádrúyah and make him 'Hájib al-Hujjáb' in the place of Subektekín. He further declared an amnesty for the Turks of Başrah; all to no purpose; nothing would appease them. His only course was therefore to leave Ahwáz; and on hearing that his mother, brother and family were proceeding to Wásit, he decided to join them.²

In Wásit Bakhtiyár assumed the pose of a beneficent ruler, announcing from the pulpits the remission of certain taxes on flour and foodstuffs. He then applied to various other potentates for help. He wrote to his uncle Rukn al-Dawlah in Rayy; to his cousin 'Adud al-Dawlah' in Fárs; to Abú Taghlib the Hamdánid, imploring his personal help and that of his army; and to 'Imrán b. Sháhín', to whom he sent robes of honour, asking his daughter's hand in marriage and requesting him to send a force by water. From 'Imrán' he received a refusal to both suggestions. Having so recently fought the Buwayhids, he said it was impossible to expect his forces to help them. Rukn al-Dawlah sent an affectionate reply and though he excused himself on grounds of old age from coming in person to Bakhtiyár's assistance, promised to send forces from Rayy under the command of his Wazír, Abu'l-Fath ibn al-'Amíd, and from Fárs under that of his son 'Adud al-Dawlah'.³

'Adud al-Dawlah', however, had his own ideas about the future of 'Iráq'. He had been following events in that province and observed into what confusion Bakhtiyár's mismanagement and the misconduct of his Wazírs had plunged it, so that Bakhtiyár's authority no longer commanded any respect. 'Adud' also cherished a number of grievances against Bakhtiyár, who not only competed with him in rank, but had refused certain special requests of his for some rare documents and singing girls and Arab horses. He bore all these things in mind,

¹ M. II, 327, 328; I.J. VII, 68; Ath. VIII, 468.

² M. II, 328-329; Ath. VIII, 473.

³ M. II, 329-331; Ath. VIII, 473.

and though he wrote to his father promising his co-operation, it was secretly his intention to let the situation deteriorate still further, so that he could then appear on the scene and settle matters to suit himself.¹

Meanwhile the Turks were not prepared to let Bakhtiyár alone. They besieged him in Wasit and he was reduced to extremities.² He kept on writing to both his uncle and his cousin. But it was only after a series of protests from Rukn that 'Adud al-Dawlah at length set out from Fárs; on which Abu'l-Fath also set out from Rayy. 'Adud al-Dawlah spared no pains to equip himself adequately with men and arms. Indeed his preparations went far beyond what were required merely for a relieving expedition, which, having done its work, should then be withdrawn. It is clear from the whole elaborate equipment with which he set out that his intention from the first was to conquer his cousin's provinces and set himself up in them.³

Before 'Adud reached his destination, however, events took a new turn. Subektekín now sent word to Bakhtiyár proposing the division of the provinces under their control and their co-operation without the intervention of any third party. His suggestion was that Bakhtiyár should retain Ahwáz and Basrah for himself and the Daylamites, and surrender Baghdád and Wásit to Subektekín himself and the Turks. The proposal was rejected, however, by Bakhtiyár's Daylamites; whereupon Subektekín prepared for war with Bakhtiyár in earnest.⁴ By way of improving his case he enlisted the help of the Caliph, in whose name he sent a warning to Bakhtiyár and set out against him with both al-Tá'i and al-Mutí'. At Dayr 'Áqúl (about halfway to Wásit from Baghdád), however, they received two letters from Bakhtiyár, one addressed to Subektekín and the other to the Caliph. In the first Bakhtiyár sought to persuade Subektekín to return to his obedience, recalling the favours he had received from him in the past. In his letter to al-Tá'i, on the other hand, Bakhtiyár warned him against Turkish treachery, reminding him in particular of the treatment of al-Muttaqi by the Turkish Amír Túzún. He also promised to increase the Caliph's fiefs in Sawád so that he should enjoy additional revenues amounting to thirty

1 M. II, 331-332; Ath. VIII, 473.

2 Bakhtiyár's condition could not be worse. During the siege he and his Daylamites on one occasion took up a position in a palm grove, where the Turks were unable to move freely with their horses. Every now and then, however, some enterprising Turk would succeed in penetrating it, on which Bakhtiyár would remind him of the favours shown to him by himself and his father. This, he found, would soften the man's heart: he would lower his eyes and withdraw, preferring someone else than himself to be the instrument of the Amír's death. (M. II, 332).

3 M. II, 332-333; Ath. VIII, 474.

4 M. II, 334; I.J. VII, 68.

thousand *dínars* annually, and invited him to join him in *Wásit*.¹ While *Bakhtiyár's* opponents were still in *Dayr 'Áqúl*, however, during *Muharram*, 364 the situation was altered by the death first of *al-Mutí'* and then of *Subektekín* himself after an Amirate of a little more than two months. But this did nothing to change the attitude of the Turks who persisted in their mutiny and made *Alptekín*, a freed man of *Mu'izz al-Dawlah*, their leader.² *Bakhtiyár's* position in *Wásit* becoming untenable, he crossed to the west of the *Tigris*, on which the Turks who persisted in their mutiny and made *Alptekín*, a freed man of *Mu'izz al-Dawlah*, their leader.² *Bakhtiyár's* position in *Wásit* becoming untenable, he crossed to the west of the *Tigris*; on which the Turks followed suit and surrounded his camp, assaulting it now from one side and now from another. This fighting, in which the *Daylamites* reached the verge of defeat, continued some seven weeks and while thus beleaguered *Bakhtiyár* again appealed both to *Abú Taghlib* and to *'Adud*. To the latter he now took a very humble tone saying that if anyone had a claim to his kingdom it was *'Adud* rather than the Turks.³ At the same time he made an attempt to win over *Alptekín* by offering him the command-in-chief of the army with the title *'Ispahsalár*'.⁴

In reply to *Bakhtiyár's* appeal *Abú Taghlib* hurried to *Baghdád*. But his intention was less to assist him than to plunder the city which was then virtually minus any proper government. At this point a rumour reached *Alptekín* that *'Adud* and *Abu'l-Fath* had entered the capital, on which he abandoned the fight against *Bakhtiyár* and hastened thereto. But *'Adud al-Dawlah* had actually been making for *Wásit* where on meeting *Bakhtiyár* he suggested that they should go together to *Baghdád*, *Bakhtiyár* proceeding up the west bank of the river and himself up the east. Meanwhile *Alptekín* on his way to *Baghdád* had sent a raiding party against *Abú Taghlib* whom they attacked and forced to flee ignominiously back to *Mawsil*. But on reaching *Baghdád* *Alptekín* soon found himself closely besieged. For *Bakhtiyár* had written to several tribal chieftains asking them to raid the outskirts of *Baghdád* and prevent supplies from reaching the Turks, while supplies were simultaneously cut off by *Abú Taghlib*.⁵

In *Jumádá i*, 364 *Alptekín* and the Turks came out to engage *'Adud*

1 M. II, 334; *Šábi's* letters, 227, 238, both dated 8 *Muharram*, 364.

2 M. II, 334; *Ath.* VIII, 474.

3 M. II, 334-336; *Šábi's* letters, 24; *Ath.* VIII, 474. In his letter to *'Adud* this time *Bakhtiyár* is said to have quoted a verse supposed to have been addressed to *'Alí* by *'Uthmán* while besieged by the rebels:—

فان دنت ما لو لا فكن خيراكل - و الا فاد ركنى و لما امزق

(M. II, 336).

4 *Šábi's* letters, 263, this letter says that it was preceded by another.

5 M. II, 338-339.

al-Dawlah in the plain lying between the river Diyálá and the city of Madá'in,¹ to the east of Baghdád. The battle opened with a charge by Bakhtiyár's troops led by Abú Isháq and Ibn Baqiyyah. But this was thrown back in confusion. 'Adud's personal squadron in the centre then made a renewed attack, and against this, the Turks were unable to hold their ground. Many were killed and the rest were driven back to the bridges over the Diyálá in crowding across which a large number were flung into the river and drowned. The survivors fled to Takrít taking with them the Caliph al-Tá'i and in consequence of his departure "no Khutbah was read," as Ibn al-Jawzî says, for any Imám for about two months "between 20 Jumádá i and 10 Rajab".² 'Adud al-Dawlah then entered Baghdád in a triumphal procession by the Shammásiyyah gate,³ and Bakhtiyár wrote to Rukn al-Dawlah giving him full details of their victory. Bakhtiyár still failed to realise what that victory meant for him.⁴

For 'Adud was far from having abandoned his secret plan. His intention was still to seize Bakhtiyár's possessions for himself; but he dared not do so at once for fear of public opinion on the one hand, and out of respect for the sentiments of his father on the other. He was obliged, therefore, to have recourse to a stratagem which should both furnish further proof of Bakhtiyár's incapacity and cause the soldiery, as it were, to thrust the sovereignty of Baghdád on him himself. His scheme was first to incite the army leaders against Bakhtiyár and then to advise Bakhtiyár to meet the mutineers sternly threatening, unless they submitted, to abdicate; after which he ('Adud al-Dawlah) would offer his mediation. Things went precisely as 'Adud had planned and when the rebellion had assumed formidable dimensions, Bakhtiyár duly implored 'Adud to mediate. But far from mediating between them 'Adud al-Dawlah called the army leaders to a conference, announced Bakhtiyár's abdication of his own free will; and claimed that as the successor and heir of 'Imád al-Dawlah he himself was the real ruler of all the Buwayhid dominions, both Mu'izz and Bakhtiyár having been no more than his deputies in 'Iráq.⁵ He further told them that he had accepted the Amír's abdication and was assuming the sovereignty himself. The army acquiesced; and 'Adud placed Bakhtiyár and his brothers in custody. (4 Jumádá ii, 364).⁶

1 The old Sassanian capital Ctesiphon.

2 I.J. VII, 75.

3 M. II, 340-341; Ath. VIII, 477.

4 Šābi's letters, 10; details of the campaign are more or less the same as those of Miskawayh.

5 On the relationship among the early Buwayhid brothers and the question as to who among them was Amír al-Umárá, please see note at the end of the chapter.

6 M. II, 342-343.

The Caliph al-Tá'ī' disliked Bakhtiyár. Having, as we have seen, been raised to the throne by Subektekín, from the moment of his accession he had been ranged among Bakhtiyár's enemies; and so, when he heard of Bakhtiyár's abdication, he was relieved and set out from Takrit for the capital, while Alptekín and his remaining Turks departed for Syria. 'Adud al-Dawlah decided to treat the Caliph with what had become an unwonted deference. He went out of the city to greet him on his return and ordered the Caliph's palace to be freshly furnished with articles befitting the latter's dignity. He further confirmed the Caliph in his possession of the '*Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah*' (or Crown Estates).¹ of some of which his father and he had been deprived owing to encroachments on the part of the dependants of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and later, of those of Bakhtiyár. On the Caliph's return, letters, were issued in his name announcing the establishment of 'Adud al-Dawlah as Amír and omitting all mention of Bakhtiyár.²

'Adud al-Dawlah next proceeded to make arrangements for the administration. This in general was confided to his Christian Wazír Naṣr b. Hárún; another Christian Sahl b. Bishr, (former secretary of Bakht-Tekín in Ahwáz) was given the contract to farm the revenues of Ahwáz; and the various districts of Sawád were allotted to his own agents.³ Moreover two local potentates requested and received formal investiture at his hands in their possessions, namely 'Imrán b. Sháhín, the ruler of the Baṭīḥah and the Ḥamdánid, Abú Taghlib, so that it seemed as if 'Adud's authority was pretty well established in 'Iráq.⁴

He met, however, with open defiance from two quarters, which before long made his position untenable. Thus a son of Bakhtiyár's named Marzubán, who had been his governor of Baṣrah, declined to recognise 'Adud's authority and addressed a plaintive note to Rukn al-Dawlah informing him of the treatment accorded to his father and uncles,⁵ while Ibn Baqiyyah, whom 'Adud had appointed to farm the revenues of Wásit, Takrít, 'Ukbará and Awáná, began busily organising a coalition of the vassal rulers against him.⁶ Though nothing much came out of these negotiations, Ibn Baqiyyah obtained some help from the ever unreliable 'Imrán and contrived not only to resist but even to defeat a force that 'Adud sent against him.⁷

1 ضياع الخدمة literally 'Estates of the Service'.

2 M. II, 343-344; I.J. VII, 75; Šábi's letters, 160.

3 عمال

4 M. II, 346-347.

5 M. II, 345.

6 M. II, 347.

7 M. II, 347 says Ibn Baqiyyah came out against 'Adud while Ath. VIII, 479 provides the additional information that he defeated a detachment sent against him by 'Adud.

What was decisive, however, was the attitude of Rukn al-Dawlah who was horrified by his son's behaviour. He promptly replied to Marzubán's letter encouraging him to maintain himself in Baṣrah and promising him all sorts of help. He also wrote to Ibn Bakiyyah and Abú Taghlib, with the result that almost all the provincial governors and neighbouring rulers withdrew their support from 'Adud whose supplies were consequently cut off from all directions. All that remained under his control was the immediate neighbourhood of Baghdád, and there too public opinion was not slow to turn strongly against him.¹

But 'Adud al-Dawlah was not ready to yield without a struggle. He saw that it was essential, if possible, to win over his father and decided to despatch Abu'l-Fath ibn al-'Amíd with a message to him. He prepared a carefully-worded memorandum in three parts, for successive presentation to Rukn al-Dawlah, the first containing an appeal, the second two alternative proposals and the last a warning, hoping that by gradually making concessions to his point of view, he would be brought round. The gist of his appeal was that in the interest of the Buwayhid family 'Adud should be left in possession of 'Iráq, since his withdrawal would produce anarchy and the probable loss of the province to the Buwayhids altogether. Ibn al-'Amíd was first to communicate this much and watch the results. If Rukn's reactions were not favourable, the Wazír was then to put forward the two alternative proposals. The first proposal was that 'Adud should receive 'Iráq as a fief from his father on payment of an annual tribute, when Rukn might then either leave Bakhtiyár and his brothers with 'Adud or receive them at his Court in Rayy. The alternative proposal was that Rukn al-Dawlah should himself come to 'Iráq and send 'Adud to Fárs and Bakhtiyár to Rayy. (For so great was 'Adud's malice against Bakhtiyár that in no circumstances would he consent to Bakhtiyár's remaining in Baghdád.) Finally, if the appeal and the two alternative proposals failed to produce any effect, Ibn al-'Amíd was to sound a note of warning. If 'Adud was to leave Baghdád at all, he was to say, he would do so only after killing Bakhtiyár and his two brothers, leaving the city to its fate, to be ruled by anyone whom fortune might favour.²

It was not, however, considered advisable to send Ibn al-'Amíd straight to Rukn without first sounding his feelings. Two envoys were accordingly deputed to undertake this task. But when these envoys duly appeared before Rukn al-Dawlah he at once realised the purport of their message and seizing his lance brandished it in such a way that

1 M. II, 347-348; I.J. VIII, 75.

2 M. II, 348-349.

the envoys withdrew in alarm. Later, however, he calmed down and recalled them and said:

“Say to him (he did not even name ‘Adud al-Dawlah); was your expedition for the purpose of helping my nephew or of appropriating his realm? Many a time did I go to the help of Hasan b. Fíruzán,¹ a stranger to me, and on all those occasions risked my life fighting Washmagír and the ruler of Khurásán. Then when I had won the victory and conquered the territory I handed it over to Hasan and returned home, without accepting from him so much as dirham as reimbursement. All this I did in quest of a fair name and for the maintenance of chivalry. Do you now claim gratitude from me for the couple of dirhams which you have expended on me and my nephews and then appropriate their dominions.”²

Shortly before this visit, when Rukn al-Dawlah had received Marzubán's letter informing him of the arrest of Bakhtiyár and his brothers by ‘Adud, he had thrown himself down from his seat, rolled on the ground and foamed at the mouth. For several days he had denied himself food and drink, and incidentally thereby brought on a disease from which he never fully recovered. He gave it out that his brother Mu‘izz al-Dawlah had appeared to him in a dream, biting his finger and saying reproachfully:

“Brother, is this the way you promised to take my place (as protector of) my wife and children?”³

Despite the fact that the envoys had thus aroused Rukn's anger, the plan of sending Abu'l-Fath to Rayy with ‘Adud's message was nevertheless carried out. He was at first denied an audience, but later, on the intercession of certain persons, obtained one, at which, however, before he could put forward ‘Adud's proposals, Rukn bade him go and release Bakhtiyár unconditionally and withdraw the two armies of Fárs and Rayy from ‘Irâq. Thus all ‘Adud's schemes foundered. However, though he was obliged to release Bakhtiyár, he did so only on certain conditions: namely, that Bakhtiyár should kiss his carpet like a feudatory, receive ‘Irâq as one of his deputies, and mention his name in the Khutbah. But Bakhtiyár, though he pretended to agree, did not take these conditions seriously and never seems to have fulfilled them.⁴

1 See above, (p. 4), Hasan b. Fairúzán was Rukn's ally and together they fought the Sámánids.

2 M. II, 350.

3 M. II, 351.

4 M. II, 352.

Once free of 'Adud Bakhtiyár naturally devoted his chief energies to securing his own position. But neither he nor Ibn Baqiyyah, whom he now restored to the wazirate with the additional title '*Násir al-Dawlah*, seem to have appreciated its weakness. For Bakhtiyár's sole protection against further trouble with 'Adud lay in Rukn's displeasure with his son. But not long after Rukn and 'Adud were reconciled. Indeed, fearing the approach of death, Rukn al-Dawlah not only composed his differences with 'Adud al-Dawlah, but also appointed him his sole successor, at a conference in Isfahán. Bakhtiyár was duly alarmed and sent a messenger to the conference begging Rukn's continued protection against 'Adud. But though at the request of his father 'Adud al-Dawlah assured him of his good intentions at the same time he warned Bakhtiyár to be careful in his future activities. For in the meantime Ibn Baqiyyah had sought to widen the gulf between Bakhtiyár and 'Adud. To this end, for instance, he engineered a marriage between al-Tá'i' and Bakhtiyár's daughter, Sháhnáz.¹ In face of the threat accompanying 'Adud's assurances, therefore, he urged Bakhtiyár to fortify himself against any emergency by forming alliances with others. 'Adud's brother Fakhr al-Dawlah, who had grievances against him was found to be very ready for such an alliance. So also was Hasanawayh, the leader of the Barzikání Kurds. In pursuance of this policy both Fakhr al-Dawlah and his army-commander Sahlán b. Musáfir were confirmed in their possessions, but as governors appointed by the Caliph and not as deputies of 'Adud, according to the previous arrangement made by Rukn, while Ibn Musáfir was given the title '*Ismat al-Dawlah*.² Bakhtiyár further sought the friendship both of Abú Taghlib and 'Imrán b. Sháhín, and then finally declared that after the death of Rukn he was to become the head of the Buwayhid family. The Caliph was also induced to confer fresh honours on Bakhtiyár and Ibn Baqiyyah.³

Bakhtiyár, however, had really very little to offer these new allies whose response was therefore only at most lukewarm and all these moves on his part did less in fact to strengthen his own position than to exasperate 'Adud al-Dawlah who now only awaited a favourable moment to attack him a second time. This came soon, with the death in Muharram, 366 of his father,⁴ on which in due course he set out from Fárs for 'Iráq. Bakhtiyár and Ibn Baqiyyah decided to oppose him and proceeded to Ahwáz where they encamped.⁵ It soon became

1 M. II, 364.

2 M. II, 364; Sábí's letters, 96 and 178.

3 M. II, 365.

4 I.J. VII, 83.

5 M. II, 365-366.

evident, however, how precarious the position of Bakhtiyár was. At a first encounter the van of his army was routed at Rámhurmuz. Moreover he had insufficient funds with which to pay his troops, with the usual consequence that they became insubordinate. The position of 'Adud al-Dawlah was far superior. He had plenty of money, provisions, engines of war, and a number of fighting elephants, so that when on 11 Dhu'l-qa'dah, 366 a battle took place Bakhtiyár, who committed the tactical folly of placing the cavalry in front of the infantry, and who was also deserted by some of his generals, was soon routed. He and Ibn Baqiyyah fled from the battlefield and sought safety in Wásit.¹

Meanwhile Baṣrah too was lost to Bakhtiyár as a result of a feud between the Arab tribes, Muḍar and Rabí'ah, in which the former supported 'Adud while the latter fought for Bakhtiyár. The rout of Bakhtiyár in Ahwáz provided an incentive to the Muḍar who now gained the upper hand and obliged Bakhtiyár's son Marzubán to decamp. The victorious Muḍar then wrote to 'Adud, asking for a governor to be sent to Baṣrah on his behalf.²

At Wásit, however, Bakhtiyár was again joined by many Daylamites and Turks. Fresh troops also came from Baghdád and Baṣrah; and Bakhtiyár ordered horses, arms, tents and pavilions to be sent to him from the capital. He was thus again well-equipped and exchanged messages afresh with Ḥasanawayh, Fakhr al-Dawlah and Abú Taghlib. But it is pretty clear from all his subsequent activities that he had in fact little further intention of fighting. For at this juncture there occurred an incident which though in itself somewhat ridiculous, nevertheless profoundly effected the course of events. This was the capture by 'Adud of a Turkish youth, a favourite of Bakhtiyár's; and so deeply attached was Bakhtiyár to this youth that he felt his loss much more than the loss of his kingdom. He was consumed with grief and refused all normal food and drink, declining absolutely to attend to all governmental affairs. His whole attention was concentrated on negotiations with 'Adud for the restitution of the boy for whom he offered two handsome slave girls in exchange, on which 'Adud, whom his anxiety only amused, agreed to surrender him. His doing so turned out a masterly stroke. For when the boy was in due course returned, Bakhtiyár was so much overjoyed that he became entirely oblivious of policy and informed 'Adud's envoys that he was now ready to go back to Baghdád on any conditions 'Adud might choose to impose on him.³

1 M. II, 367-369; Ath. VIII, 494.

2 M. II, 370; Ath. VIII, 494.

3 M. II, 372, 375; Ath. VIII, 495.

These proceedings on the part of Bakhtiyár vexed Ibn Baqiyyah whose only concern had been to keep Bakhtiyár and 'Adud in bad terms. At the time Ibn Baqiyyah was quartered on the western side of Wásit, while Bakhtiyár was on the eastern side and when 'Adud's envoys arrived to deliver up the boy to Bakhtiyár, Ibn Baqiyyah took alarm and suspected that 'Adud had demanded his own arrest and surrender. He therefore sent a word to the Amír asking him to go back to Baghdád, leaving him himself in charge of the war against 'Adud, on which Bakhtiyár mollified him by showing to him 'Adud's message and promising him his co-operation in his future policies.¹ Soon, however, one of Bakhtiyár's new favourites Ibráhím b. Ismá'il (whom he had only recently promoted to the position of commander-in-chief) informed Bakhtiyár that the Wazír was conspiring to assault him and suggested his arrest as a remedy which would further ease down his relationship with 'Adud. Whether or not Ibn Baqiyyah so designed, Bakhtiyár believed it and though he hesitated for a moment, decided the next to act accordingly. When therefore the next time Ibn Baqiyyah crossed over to meet him, he put him under arrest, while 'Adud's envoys still in his court suggested his surrender to 'Adud. (Dhu'l-Hijjah 366)² Bakhtiyár's advisers however, warned him that if the Wazír was surrendered uninjured he would then remain as his enemy in 'Adud's court. It was therefore finally decided that he should be blinded and then surrendered, which duly took place in Rabí'i, 367³ and five months later 'Adud had him, trampled to death by elephants.⁴ Bakhtiyár then decided to oppose 'Adud no further, and in due course made up his mind to accept his suzerainty; on which 'Adud sent him the appropriate robes of honour. Bakhtiyár now left Baghdád with the intention of proceeding to Syria. He inscribed 'Adud's name on his banners and promised to read the *Khutbah* in 'Adud's name wherever he went. On his departure 'Adud entered the capital and made it known that Bakhtiyár had returned to his allegiance.⁵ The Caliph went out to receive him, gave him the additional title of *Taj al-Millah*, fastened a banner for him and presented him with robes of honour.⁶

1 M. II, 373.

2 M. II, 374, 377.

3 M. II, 374, 377.

4 M. II, 380.

5 M. II, 377-378; Sábí's letters, 190.

6 Sábí's letters, 182, 192. The tying of two banners for 'Adud, and the granting of the privileges of having his name introduced in the *Khutbah* in Baghdád and the beating of drums, mentioned by both Ibn al-Jawzí and Ibn al-Athir under the year 367 (I.J. VII, 87; Ath. VIII, 507) are some later events which we will discuss in their proper place.

On setting out for Syria Bakhtiyár was accompanied by Hamdán, a brother of Abú Taghlib, to escape from whose enmity he had for some years lived in Baghdád as mentioned before. Before they left 'Adud had cautioned Bakhtiyár against making any movement against Abú Taghlib, with whom he had concluded a treaty.¹ Nevertheless when Bakhtiyár and Hamdán reached 'Ukbará on the Tigris, Hamdán suggested that they should make an attack on Mawşil; and despite Bakhtiyár's undertakings to 'Adud they proceeded northwards up the river with this intention. When, however, they reached Takrít Abú Taghlib sent his secretary to Bakhtiyár suggesting the surrender of Hamdán, in return for which Abú Taghlib offered to join Bakhtiyár in a last attempt to recover his territories from 'Adud al-Dawlah. In total disregard of his agreements both with 'Adud and with Hamdán, Bakhtiyár accepted this proposal too, duly surrendering his protégé, whom Abú Taghlib forthwith imprisoned. Bakhtiyár and Abú Taghlib then set out for Baghdád together.²

On hearing of these developments 'Adud al-Dawlah sent out the vanguard of his army against them under a certain Abu'l Qásim Sa'd, who easily defeated that of Bakhtiyár. But in the ensuing battle between the main forces, which took place in Shawwál, 367 at Qaşr al-Jiṣṣ³ at Sámarrá the Daylamites on both sides fought so steadfastly that for a time the issue remained uncertain. In the end, however, an especially vehement charge by 'Adud's troops completely routed Bakhtiyár's whole army, most of his followers perishing in the fight, and his ally Abú Taghlib being wounded in his flight from the field. Bakhtiyár himself was captured, on which 'Adud ordered him to be killed forthwith.⁴

Bakhtiyár remained Amír al-Umará in Baghdád for eleven years. He had none of the qualities requisite in a royal personage and though praised by some historians for his charity,⁵ must be accounted a disastrous failure. The core of his ill-success lay in his addiction to pleasure and frivolous amusements and his dependence on unscrupulous favourites and Wazírs for the conduct of the administration. His financial problems were all along acute; but the attempts he made to solve them were no more than haphazard. The court intrigues in

¹ M. II, 378.

² M. II, 378-380; Ath. VIII, 508.

³ al-Qaşr al-Jiṣṣ or the Gypsum palace built by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim on the Isháqí Canal. Ibn Serapion, JRAS., 1895, p. 19; also described by Yáqút (Buldán IV, 110) as situated above the Hárúní palace built by al-Wáthiq at Sámarrá.

⁴ M. II, 380-381; al-Azdí, f. 15a; Ath. VIII, 508.

⁵ Ibn. Kh. I, 250; Dh. I, f. 98b.

which he himself joined with ardour only added to his misfortunes. Under him the people suffered severely from the tyranny of wazírs, court officials and revenue farmers alike. Abu'l-Faḍl, Abu'l-Faraj ibn Fasánjas, Abú Qurrah and Ibn Baqiyyah, the four officials whom he raised to position of responsibility one after another brought nothing but evil both on him and on his people, without any ultimate solution of the problem with which they were chiefly concerned—the finances, and though some of them, particularly Abu'l-Faḍl showed at times considerable ability, their hands were often tied down by the atmosphere of rivalry and intrigue.

Bakhtiyár's financial policy was conditioned by the difficulty he experienced from the first in satisfying the demands of the army. But far from conciliating the principal officers with whose help he could have kept the rank and file under effective subjection, as we have seen, he soon antagonised Subektekín and thereby not only destroyed his sole means of controlling his insubordinate Daylamites but alienated his Turkish mercenaries as well.

Physically Bakhtiyár was exceedingly powerful. He is said to have been able to take a bull by the horns and overthrow it.¹ But in character he was weak and vacillating, appearing often not to know his mind. He would embark half-heartedly on some enterprise and then abandon it in mid-career. Thus after his release from prison by 'Adud al-Dawlah in 364 he solemnly agreed to read 'Adud's name in the Khuṭbah; but all his subsequent activities were in direct contradiction of this agreement, being designed to restore himself to sovereign rule. Similarly though he then formed an alliance with Abú Taghlib, Ḥasanawayh and Fakhr al-Dawlah against 'Adud he did practically nothing to give it effect, and in the end, was only too glad to accept the latter's suzerainty merely to obtain the return of his favourite slave boy. Finally, as we have just related, agreeing to lead an expedition into Syria he was first induced by Ḥamdán to attack Abú Taghlib and then induced by Abú Taghlib to attack 'Adud al-Dawlah. Such being his temperament, it is hardly surprising that all he achieved was to bring disaster on himself.

¹ I.J. VII, 89; Dh. I, f. 98b.

[Note: The contention of 'Adud, referred to above in the text, page 26, that 'Imád was Amír al-Umará and both Mu'izz and Bakhtiyár were his deputies in 'Iráq finds its echo in a passage in Ibn al-Athir (VIII, 364) and needs some explanation. The question as to who among the early Buwayhid brothers received the title and the office of Amír al-Umará offers perplexities on account of the confusing nature of the historical texts. Miskawayh relates on the eve of the death of 'Imád al-Dawlah that the Caliph then addressed the second brother Rukn as Amír al-Umará in 'Imád's place (M. II, 120) while elsewhere he mentions that Mu'izz in 344 nominated his son Bakhtiyár as his successor and gave him the title Amír al-Umará, Rukn being still alive. (M. II, 158). Presumably Mu'izz himself was Amír al-Umará and nominated his son as such. Ibn al-Jawzi is likewise confusing, saying once that on the eve of his entry into Baghdád Mu'izz received the title and the office of Amír al-Umará from the Caliph (VI, 340), and yet again stating that 'Imád was entitled Amír al-Umará by the Caliph (VI, 365). Numismatic evidences are almost lacking as it was not customary to inscribe this title on coins, the only one being available was, however, struck by 'Imád al-Dawlah (Lanepoole II, 198-197). The explanation we can offer to all these confusions is that while Mu'izz and his son were actually Amír al-Umará, it being highly unlikely that 'Imád, who never met the Caliph nor ever came to Baghdád should have received that office at all, 'Imád and Rukn, as elder brothers and heads of the family, one after the other might have felt tempted to combine their headship of the family with the covetable title of Amír al-Umará, 'Imád going so far as to inscribe it even on coins.]

CHAPTER III

'ADUD AL-DAWLAH

(A.H. 367-372/A.D. 978-983)

Abú Shujá' Fanná Khusraw, the eldest son of Rukn al-Dawlah, started his political career as ruler of Fárs, in which position he succeeded his uncle 'Imád al-Dawlah in 338 according to the latter's will.¹ Though his possession of Shíráz was temporarily disturbed in 345 during the revolt of Rúzbahán, when the latter's brother Bullaká occupied Shíráz, it was quickly restored on Bullaká's defeat by Abú'l-Fadl ibn al-'Amíd, his father's Wazír.² Like all other princes of the Buwayhid house Abú Shujá' received in 351 from the Caliph al-Mutí' a title—that of 'Adud al-Dawlah.³ We have of course had frequent occasions to mention him under it in connection with the doings of both his uncle Mu'izz and his cousin Bakhtiyár. As regards the early part of his career, accordingly we will confine ourselves to those events on which we have not hitherto touched. The most notable of these were his acquisition, in addition to his patrimony of Fárs, of both 'Umán across the gulf to the south of it, and Kirmán to the south-east.

His conquest of Kirmán occurred during the early years of Bakhtiyár's reign. Kirmán was at that time divided more or less into two different political zones. To the north and west there ruled a semi-independent chieftain named Abú 'Alí Muḥammad ibn Ilyás, owing nominal allegiance to the Sámánids.⁴ The comparatively mountainous regions to the east and south were inhabited by the tribes of Bilúş and Qufş each in a mountain stronghold: the *Jabal al-Báriz* and the *Jabal al-Qufş*.⁵ In the event of a foreign invasion of their country the Bilúş

1 M. II, 120-121; Ath, VIII, 364.

2 M. II, 166; Ath, VIII, 387. Tha'alibí's Yatimah (Vol. III, p. 10) mentions a letter written to Bullaká during his revolt by Abú'l-Fadl ibn al-'Amíd, the sheer force of argument of which brought Bullaká back to submission. Cf. Ibn al-Sayrafí, *Díwán*, Cairo ed., p. 120-121, tr. in BIFAO, Vol. XI (1914), p. 89. For revolt of Rúzbahán and his brothers, see above.

3 M. II, 192; Ath, VIII, 404.

4 Utbí-Maníní II, 116; M. I, 353, Sámánid commander besieging Ibn Ilyás.

5 Ist., 220-221; I.H., 165; H.A., 123-124.

The Qufş, according to Istakhri and Ibn Hawqal, were Zoroastrians and though converted to Islām only after the Abbásids had come into power remained nevertheless unsubjugated. The Saffárid Ya'qúb and 'Amr captured some of their chiefs.

and the Qufṣ often fought as one under their own leaders. The first clash of the Buwayhids with these rulers of Kirmán took place as early as 324, when the adventurous Aḥmad ibn Buwayh (Mu'izz al-Dawlah) made an attack on the province. Though Ibn Ilyás withdrew before him, Aḥmad suffered severe reverses in his encounter with 'Alí b. Kallawayh leader of the Bilūs and the Qufṣ, escaping only with the loss of one of his hands. Aḥmad succeeded afterwards in defeating both Ibn Ilyás and Ibn Kallawayh; but before he could consolidate his gains he was recalled by his eldest brother 'Alí ('Imád al-Dawlah),¹ so that Kirmán thus remained in the hands of these chieftains.

After his establishment in Baghdád Mu'izz al-Dawlah, in order to win Ibn Ilyás over to his side from the Sámánids, in 348 obtained from the Caliph a diploma of investiture for him as governor of Kirmán.² In reality, however, Ibn Ilyás was rather a brigand than a ruler in the ordinary sense and in partnership with the robbers and the bandits of the Qufṣ and the Bilūs he acquired vast wealth, which he deposited in his fortress at Bardashír. From the moment of his inheritance of Fárs 'Adud al-Dawlah kept an eye on developments in Kirmán, desiring himself to lay hands on this hoard; and to further this design joined in a quarrel that broke out between Ibn Ilyás and his sons, with the result that being worsted by his father the eldest son Alyasa' sought refuge with 'Adud. On this occasion the latter exerted himself to reconcile them.³ But in 357, after Ibn Ilyás, on having a paralytic stroke, had abdicated in Alyasa's favour and retired to end his days under the protection of his first patrons, the Sámánids, at Bukhára,⁴ 'Adud al-Dawlah succeeded in causing a wholesale desertion of Alyasa's Daylamite troops by sending some of his soldiers ostensibly as refugees

The Bilūs, according to Ibn Hawqal, were the followers of the Fātimid al-Mu'izz and if this be true the Fātimid missionary activities must have reached these obscure regions.

According to the author of the E. I. the southward migration of the Qufṣ and Bilūs (Koch and Beloch), who up to the Arab conquest inhabited Northern Persia, to Kirmán, Sijistán, Makrán and Sind may be connected with various invasions from Central Asia commencing with the White Huns. In the fourth century of the Hīrah they are found living side by side in Kirmán. Repeatedly chased by 'Adud al-Dawlah, Maḥmūd of Ghaznah and finally by the Seljukid occupation of Kirmán and Sijistán they found their way into Makrán and spread into the Indian border where they gave their name to the province of Beluchistan, (now a province of Pákistán). E. I., I, ii, 627-628.

¹ M. I, 353-356; Kirmání, 66; Ath. VIII, 424-244.

² Apparently without any financial obligation on the part of Ibn Ilyás M. II, 176.

³ M. II, 250-252; Ath. VIII, 432-433; 'Utbi II. 116-117.

⁴ M. II, 252; 'Utbi II, 116-117; Ath. VIII, 433.

to seek asylum with him but actually to seduce them. In consequence Alyasa' was left only with a few trusted followers and retainers, so that 'Adud al-Dawlah, on taking the offensive in Ramadán 357 succeeded without much difficulty in overrunning Kirmán. In due course Alyasa's stronghold, Bardashír, with all his father's treasure fell into his hands, on which Alyasa' also fled to Bukhárá, where his arrival coincided with his father's death.¹

On his conquest of Kirmán 'Adud al-Dawlah was confirmed as its ruler by the receipt of a diploma from the Caliph together with robes of honour and a deed of investiture. 'Adud al-Dawlah then gave Kirmán nominally to his eldest son Abú'l-Fawáris Shírzíl, but actually left his army commander-in-chief Górgír ibn Jastán to govern it on his behalf.² Moreover the ruler of Sijistán, Abú Aḥmad Khalaf, known as '*Ibn Bání*', now acknowledged 'Adud's suzerainty by introducing his name into the *Khutbah*.³

The Buwayhid possession of Kirmán was, however, to be disputed, —by one of the other sons of Ibn Ilyás, Sulaymán, in concert with the tribesmen of the Qufṣ and the Bilūs. Sulaymán in 359 was furnished with an army by the Sámánids, with which he went to Kirmán and incited the Qufṣ and the Bilūs to attack Górgír. Górgír, however, defeated them between Jiruft and Bamm, Sulaymán and his chief supporters being killed in battle. The Qufṣ and the Bilūs nevertheless continued to oppose him under a leader of their own; but on 'Adud's reinforcing Górgír, he completely routed and dispersed them in Šafar, 360, with the loss to them of some five thousand of their leaders and fighting men.⁴ The victory enabled the Buwayhid forces to penetrate further into their country and, after dealing them successive blows, to reach Hurmuz and capture Tíz and Makrán on the Persian Gulf. They then proceeded to attack both a community of heretical

1 M. II, 253; 'Utbi II, 118-119; Kirmání, 68; Ath. VIII, 433.

2 M. II, 253; 'Utbi II, 119; Ath. VIII, 433. On 'Adud's conquest of Kirmán he received congratulatory letters from Bakhtiyár, Ibn Baqiyyah and Ibráhím al-Šabí, Bakhtiyár's Secretary of the Board of chancery. (Šabí's letters, 56, 59, 64).

3 M. II, 253; Ath. VIII, 433. Khalaf was a descendant, through his mother Bání, of 'Amr, the Saffárid, his father being appointed governor of Sijistán by the Sámánids on account of his popularity for his Saffárid descent. (For details see JRAS., 1901, p. 523-524). A patron of letters *Khalaf* had a commentary of the Qur'án compiled by the scholars of his court ('Utbi I, 375; Nöldeke, 205-206). More of him and his son, see below.

4 M. II, 298-299; Ath. VIII, 451; J. H., 200.

Khurramís¹ inhabiting those regions and the inhabitants, called ‘Jásakiyya’² of an island in the gulf, many of whom they either arrested or put to death.³

Even so, however, the establishment of Buwayhid rule over Kirmán was still to be challenged—by the most courageous of its tribes—the Bilūs under their leader ‘Alí ibn Muḥammad al-Bárizí. They marauded throughout the province and beyond its borders, pillaging and robbing travellers not only on the roads of Kirmán itself but also on those of Sijistán and Khurásán. However, on ‘Adud al-Dawlah’s reinforcing his garrison with a vast array of Daylamites, Gilites, Turks, Arabs, Kurds and Zutt⁴, his commander stormed the Báriz mountains and forced al-Bárizí’s son to surrender their strongholds. Moreover in an open fight he killed almost all their fighting men. The survivors were removed from these mountains and replaced by skilled cultivators and other peaceful folk. The plains were then given over to agriculture and the mountains cleared of brigands.⁵ After this the Buwayhid commander renewed his operations against other robbers on the coast of Tíz and Makrán and also in the islands including that of the Jásakís. By the year 361, accordingly, Kirmán was pretty well subjugated;⁶ and though ‘Adud had still to deal with another rebellion there in 364, led by a rebel revenue-farmer, a rebel Sámánid general and yet another member of the Ilyás family, quarrels among the insurgents themselves enabled ‘Adud’s Wazír and general, Muṭahhar, to suppress it both swiftly and with but little fighting.⁷

1 *The Khurramiyya*: the well-known heretical sect discussed in E. I., II, ii, 574-575. ‘Alí b. Buwayh (‘Imád al-Dawlah) was the first Buwayhid to storm some of their fortresses in Fárs in 321 (M. I, 278), on which some of these might seek asylum in the coastal regions where ‘Adud’s general found them.

2 Jáshak, Jásak or Kháshak as differently spelt. ‘Jásak’ according to Yáqút is an island between ‘Umán and Kish, the inhabitants being hardy boatmen. (Buld. II, 9) Le Strange is inclined to identify the island with what is now known as ‘Kishm’. (Caliphate, 251).

3 M. II, 299; Ath. VIII, 451-452.

4 Zutt—The Zotts according to the author of the E. I. (Vol. IV, pt. ii, 1235) migrated for some reason or other from India into Persia and from Persia into Hither Asia and Europe. Their early rebellion under Ma’mún was finally suppressed in 834 A.D. It seems a river in the Batīḥa derived its name from them. (Yáqút, Buld. II, 930). Their joining in ‘Adud’s army was not unlikely but we are not sure whether they were by this time converted to Islam. We have later one instance of a son of a Zutt—a Muslim appointed as a prefect of police in Baghdád (S., 179). The Jaths as fierce fighters are well-known in India.

5 M. II, 299-300; Ath. VIII, 452.

6 M. II, 300-301.

7 M. II, 360-361; Ath. VIII, 482-483.

The addition of Kirmán to his original patrimony of Fárs raised 'Adud al-Dawlah to the position of a powerful sovereign, almost equal in rank with the Sámánids. A treaty of peace was therefore concluded between him and Manşúr b. Núh, the latter marrying 'Adud's daughter. In 361 'Adud sent the general who had finally subdued Kirmán for him together with ten selected judges, nobles and Shaykhs to Bukhárá to sign the treaty on his behalf. It is significant that unlike the former treaties of 'Imád and Rukn with the Sámánids this treaty imposed no monetary obligation on 'Adud.¹ The power of the Sámánids was in fact by now declining, whereas the recognition of 'Adud by the Caliph on the one hand and by the Sámánid ruler on the other encouraged him to enhance his own by further conquests; so that within the next decade he was to become the most powerful ruler in the Eastern Caliphate.

As we have indicated his next concern was to assert his authority over 'Umán, jutting out, as it does, into the Persian Gulf opposite his newly conquered province of Kirmán, since its proper subjugation was essential to his control of that sea. After the death of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, Ibn Fasánjas, who had but recently subdued it, had returned to Baghdád leaving one of 'Adud's deputies as governor. But this deputy was killed in a rising of some Zanj slaves who inhabited those regions; on which 'Adud al-Dawlah sent his general Tughán, then in Kirmán, against them. The Zanj were soon overcome; but in 363 in the remoter part of the province several bandits and bad characters assembled in the hills and declared for one of themselves as king. They too, however, were no less easily defeated by his Wazir, Mutahhar, who then restored order throughout the country.²

It was now that 'Adud began to cherish the ambition of becoming also the ruler of Baghdád; and in the very next year, as we have seen, he took the opportunity of answering Bakhtiyár's appeal for help in order to further this design, which, however, he succeeded in accomplish-

1 M. II, 311-312; Šabí's letters, 92.

The letter in Šabí's collection gives interesting details about 'Adud's campaign in Kirmán and also of his treaty with Manşúr b. Núh. 'Adud's occupation of Kirmán, according to it, was part of a larger plan under which Rukn was to attack Washmagír's son Bístún, the ally of the Sámánids, while 'Adud was to keep the Sámánids busy by his operations in Kirmán. The letter claims that through the mediation of 'Adud Manşúr b. Núh returned to the obedience of the Caliph al-Mu'ti. Neither 'Uthbí nor Gazdízi mentions this treaty.

For earlier treaties of 'Imád and Rukn with the Sámánids see M. II, 109 and M. II, 161; Ath. VIII, 384.

2 Ath. VIII, 474-475; M. II, 360.

ing only after Rukn al-Dawlah's death. It will be remembered that Bakhtiyār fought against 'Adud at Qaṣr al-Jiṣṣ in alliance with Abū Taghlib, the Hamdānid. On their defeat, accordingly, which took place in Shawwāl 367, 'Adud decided to follow up his success by depriving Abū Taghlib of his possessions, namely, the three provinces of Diyār Rabī'ah (of which Mawṣil was the capital), Diyār Bakr (of which the two chief towns were Mayyāfāriqīn and 'Amid), and Diyār Mudar (of which the chief towns were Raḥbah and Raqqah on the Euphrates).

On 'Adud's approach Abū Taghlib, in accordance with Hamdānid practice, immediately withdrew from Mawṣil, taking with him the available food supplies and all his officials and tax-collectors with the object of making it untenable by 'Adud. 'Adud, however, was prepared for these tactics and arrived, not only with sufficient supplies, but also with a number of Mawṣilīs formerly resident in Baghdād, with whose help he was able to set up a temporary administration. He entered Mawṣil in Dhu'l-qa'da (a month after Qaṣr al-Jiṣṣ), and when Abū Taghlib sought to make peace, refused his terms, professing to find Diyār Rabī'ah preferable as a residence to 'Irāq.¹ Instead he pursued him into Diyār Bakr, on which Abū Taghlib, who had halted at Mayyāfāriqīn abandoned it too. His chief officers and the greater part of his army thereupon deserted to 'Adud² and the latter then himself returned to Baghdād, leaving the further conduct of the campaign to his general Abū'l-Wafā.

Abū Taghlib's position appeared indeed to be hopeless. He succeeded nevertheless in twice defeating 'Adud's forces and making his escape into Byzantine territory, where he was received as an ally by Bardas Sclerus, a general then in revolt against the joint emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII. But his new ally was shortly afterwards defeated, whereupon Abū Taghlib was obliged to return to Muslim territory.³ For a time he was able to remain in 'Amid, but on the fall of Mayyāfāriqīn after a siege of several months by Abū'l-Wafā, he was deserted by all his remaining adherents and fled to Raḥbah. From there he made another attempt at concluding peace with 'Adud; but when all the latter would offer him was the grant of some fiefs on condition of his surrender, Abū Taghlib regarding this as too great a humiliation and fearing perhaps 'Adud's real intentions, decided instead to seek refuge in Syria and, if he could, obtain help from the Fātimid al-'Aziz.⁴

¹ M. II, 382-384; Ath. VIII, 508-509.

² M. II, 385-386; Ath. VIII, 509.

³ M. II, 386-388; al-'Azdī B. M. Ms. f. 15a; Ath. VIII, 509-510.

⁴ M. II, 388-392; Ath. VIII, 511-512.

In Syria, however, he became involved in warfare among the local tribes and was killed in battle in Šafar 369.¹

In the meantime, all Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabī'ah having submitted to 'Adud's rule, he had next proceeded to subdue the third province Diyār Mudar. He subdued it easily enough in conjunction with Abū Taghlib's first cousin, Sa'd al-Dawlah the son of Sayf al-Dawlah who had succeeded his father as the ruler of Aleppo and had declared for 'Adud on his final defeat of Bakhtiyār.² As a reward for his loyalty and assistance 'Adud took over the direct administration only of the Raqqah district, leaving the rest of the province to be governed by Sa'd as his dependent.³ The only part of Abū Taghlib's former dominions that still remained unconquered was now the region lying to the east of Mawṣil, of which the chief fortress was that of Ardumūsh. It alone offered any serious resistance, and when its warden on surrendering was paraded by 'Adud before the remaining strongholds, mounted on a mule, in contrast with other wardens, who, having shown no fight, were magnificently mounted on horses, the defenders of the said strongholds duly capitulated one after the other.⁴

By the end of 368, accordingly, 'Adud had added the whole of Jazīra and the rest of the former Ḥamdānid possessions to his dominions, and, leaving Abū'l-Wafā in Mawṣil to reorganise their administration, was able to return to Baghdād in triumph. A series of triumphal arches were erected for his reception; al-Tā'i' went out to Qaṭrabbul to meet him;⁵ and a few days later granted him two unprecedented privileges. Not only was his name now included in the *Khuṭbah* after that of the Caliph from the pulpits of Baghdād, but 'Adud was permitted to have music played at his palace gate at three of the five times of prayer. The playing of this music known as the *Nawbah* or *ṭabl khāna*, at all five times of prayer had hitherto been reserved to the Caliph himself. Henceforth, accordingly, it was only by the larger number of daily *nawbahs* that the Caliph's superiority continued to be marked. Incidentally this was a privilege that Mu'izz al-Dawlah had sought in vain to obtain from al-Mutī'; so that 'Adud was the first Muslim potentate other than a Caliph to enjoy it.⁶

1 M. II, 401-404; al-'Azdi f. 15b-16a; Ath. VIII, 513-514.

2 Tārīkh-i-Halab, 172-173.

3 M. II, 391-392.

4 M. II, 392-394; al-'Azdi f. 15a; Ath. VIII, 512; Tanūkhī, faraj, 136-137.

5 M. II, 395; I. J. VII, 92; Sibṭ. II, f. 175a.

6 M. II, 396; I. J. VII, 92; Sibṭ. II, 175a.

The granting of the privilege of *Nawbah* by Mu'izz to his secretaries (see

'Adud al-Dawlah was now accepted as the undisputed ruler of 'Iráq. He perceived that the chief obstacle to the establishment of effective government in Baghdád and its dependencies had been the perpetual depredations of the various tribes of the province. For to the east of the river Tigris, on the eastern borders of 'Iráq, there were many Arab tribes who in alliance with the Kurds of Jibál were in the habit of plundering Sawád—the most fertile part of 'Iráq's territories. Chief among these tribes were the Banú Shaybán of the Shahrazúr district who would, when pursued, take shelter in the fortress of that place, which belonged to the Kurds and was known for its invulnerability.¹ Similarly to the west of the Euphrates, on the frontiers between 'Iráq and Jazíra, there lived a number of Arab tribes notable among whom were the Banú Asad led by Dabbah ibn Muḥammad al-Asadí. Dabbah was a man of blood, who rendered the roads unsafe, plundered the villages, robbed and raped and even violated the sanctity of the tomb of al-Ḥusayn. For about thirty years he had entrenched himself in the fortress of 'Ayn Tamr below Hit in the desert.² 'Adud al-Dawlah considered the taming of these tribes a prerequisite for the establishment of effective government in Baghdád. He decided first to attack the Banú Shaybán of Shahrazúr and so detach them from the Kurds, against whom he would proceed in turn.

The operation was swift and successful. The army he sent against them in Rajab 369 was commanded by his Christian general Abú'l-'Alá'Ubayd-allah ibn al-Fadl. On his encamping near Shahrazúr the city was thrown open to him while the Banú Shaybán fled northwards in the direction of the Lower Zab. On this Abú'l-'Alá proceeded to Daqúqá and entered into correspondence with them. By this he lured them into approaching him with assurance of security, but then attacked them at night, killing at least two hundred of their fighting men and taking eight hundred more prisoner.³ Two months later 'Adud sent another army to 'Ayn Tamr against Dabbah and this was equally successful. At their approach Dabbah fled to the desert leaving his followers and womenfolk to be taken captive, on which 'Ayn Tamar was also occupied by the Buwayhid troops.⁴

Although it was 'Adud's intention, after subduing the Banú

above) was presumably without permission from the Caliph and intended to be purely temporary, though Abú Qurrah later quarrelled over it.

1 M. II, 398.

2 M. II, 414; I.J. VII, 100-101.

3 M. II, 398-399; I.J. VII, 114; Ath. VIII, 416.

4 M. II, 414; I.J. VII, 100-101; Ath. VIII, 522.

Shaybān, to proceed against the Kurds of Jibāl, before doing so he resolved if he could, to assert his authority over the Baṭīḥah, which as will be remembered, had for many years been controlled by ‘Imrān ibn Shāhin. Every attempt made so far by the Buwayhids to defeat him had failed. But in Muḥarram 369 ‘Imrān died and his death encouraged ‘Aḍud to move against his son and successor Ḥasan. The large army assembled for this purpose was commanded by one of his Wazīrs, Muṭahhar, who adopted the same policy repeatedly tried by his predecessors, namely, the damming up of the channels discharging water into the marshes in order to dry them up and the construction of a causeway, whereby the army could approach the enemy fortress on foot. A great deal of money was lavished on this enterprise, which, moreover, brought navigation on the Tigris to a standstill with the result that no dues were forthcoming from merchandise usually transported by the ships in question. Nor were Muṭahhar’s siege tactics effective. For at the season of the spring floods Ḥasan, like his father before him, contrived to breach some of the dams so that the marshes again became full of water. ,Muṭahhar was of an impatient temper and, as a commander, used only to frontal attacks with decisive results. He accordingly tried to defeat Ḥasan in the open field, but equally without success. This was a new experience and so vexed was he by this failure and so despondent regarding his future treatment by ‘Aḍud al-Dawlah, that he committed suicide. ‘Aḍud was indeed much put out by his ill-success but to save his face sent Abū’l-‘Alā to conclude a truce with Ḥasan b. ‘Imrān. A final settlement was left for further discussion, but in the meantime Ḥasan was to make an immediate money payment.¹

As for the Kurds of Jibāl, operations against them were also facilitated by the death in the same year, 369, of their leader Ḥasanawayh ibn Ḥusayn of the Barzikānī tribe, upon which the latter’s sons began fighting among themselves for the inheritance. This Ḥasanawayh had been a considerable potentate, who had allied himself with both Bakhtiyār and ‘Aḍud’s brother Fakhr al-Dawlah. On Rukn’s death, Fakhr had succeeded in Hamadān, while their other brother Mu’ayyid al-Dawlah had managed to get Rayy and Isfahān.² In making

1 M. II, 409-412; Ath. XIII, 515-516.

2 According to Rukn’s division of his empire Fakhr al-Dawla was to receive the whole of Jibāl, while Mu’ayyid was to get only Isfahān. As Fakhr was Rukn’s son by his Ziyarid wife, the two other brothers were from the beginning inimical towards him, so after Rukn’s death Mu’ayyid managed to get not only Isfahān but also Rayy while Fakhr was confined to Hamadān.

war on the Kurds, accordingly, 'Adud had a further object in view, namely, the subjection of Fakhr and Mu'ayyid. Moreover, by so advancing north-eastwards he might, he saw, extend his rule still further, by seizing Gurgán and Tabaristán, from the Ziyarid Qábús, the son of Washmagír, who in alliance with the Sámánids had maintained his father's attitude of hostility to the Buwayhids. 'Adud's first step, however, was to send missives both to his brothers and Qábús demanding allegiance of all three. Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah, who was always to remain loyal to 'Adud, replied offering his submission. On the other hand, Fakhr al-Dawlah, according to Miskawayh, replied in a tone indicating that he considered himself 'Adud's equal, while Qábús was cautious and evasive.¹

The sons of Hasanawayh split into three main groups, one of which submitted to 'Adud, one attached itself to Fakhr, and the third under Hasanawayh's son Bakhtiyár sought to maintain its independence in the fortress of Sarmáj, in which all Hasanawayh's stores and treasure had been deposited. 'Adud al-Dawlah's forces were commanded by three generals, Abú'l-Fath Muzaffar, Abú Naṣr Khwashadhah and Abú'l-Wafá; and shortly after he himself had set out from his camp on the eastern side of Baghdád, he received news that his army had already entered Hamadán. There was little, if any, fighting, since most of Fakhr al-Dawlah's followers including his minister Muḥammad ibn Hamdawayh were won over by the diplomatic advances of Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah, with the result that Fakhr fled first into Daylam and thence to Gurgán where he sought refuge with Qábús.²

'Adud al-Dawlah's first action on reaching Jibál was to make for Sarmáj, which he quickly took by storm, and having seized its contents made himself master of all other fortresses in that region.³ He then proceeded to Qarmisín where he arrested four of the sons of Hasanawayh (including Bakhtiyár) together with all their clerks, dependents and followers. Hasanawayh's other sons he treated more generously, appointing one named Badr their tribal chieftain;⁴ and though two of these other brothers later revolted, resenting Badr's supremacy, their

He was thus driven to alliance with Bakhtiyár, through whom he received the investiture for the territories in his possession, lest these too were wrested from him. (See above, 68). His alliance with Qábús and Hasanawayh are also to be explained in this way. (Cf. Miles, Numismatic History of Rayy, p. 167-168, 169).

¹ M. II, 412, 415; Ath. VIII, 519-520.

² M. II, 415-416; Ath. VIII, 520; 'Utbī I, 106-107.

³ M. II, 416.

⁴ S., 9.

rebellion was ruthlessly suppressed, and Badr maintained in his chieftainship.¹ As regards the administration of this newly acquired territory, 'Adud al-Dawlah decided to partition it by adding Hamadán and Niháwand to the area under the control of Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah as a reward for his loyalty and annexing Dínawar and Qarmisín to the territories of 'Iráq. In Šafar, 370 he moved to Hamadán where he took up residence in the palace of Fakhr al-Dawlah and there received the Šāhib Ismá'il ibn 'Abbád, his brother Mu'ayyid's Wazir, with whom he discussed the question of revenue-collection in the two districts surrendered to Mu'ayyid. To please the Šāhib 'Adud presented him with robes of honour, granted him some fiefs in Fárs, and finally committed to his care a number of troops—all deserters from Fakhr al-Dawlah's army—to serve in that of Mu'ayyid.²

Having thus disposed of Jibál, 'Adud was now free to pursue his design of still further enlarging his empire. His first move was to address a joint remonstrance as from himself and Mu'ayyid to Qábús demanding the surrender of Fakhr al-Dawlah in exchange for a money payment and the cession of some territory. Qábús, as he had expected, sent him a defiant reply;³ on which, to endow the proposed campaign with an air of legality, 'Adud requested the Caliph to draw up a decree depriving Qábús of Gurgán and Tabaristán and conferring them instead on Mu'ayyid. The Caliph obligingly complied, and Mu'ayyid, thus authorised, started out at the head of a large army for Astarábád. Qábús's capital. Qábús, after hastily digging trenches around the city, withdrew into it, but at the same time made all preparations for a fight, should it be necessary. Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah encamped at some distance from the city fearing to advance nearer, since there was no water in its vicinity. While he was exploring the possibility of directing some into an accessible valley, his Daylamites opened an offensive, which Qábús came out with his garrison to resist. Although at this first encounter the Daylamites were routed, on Mu'ayyid's return Qábús withdrew, and after a week, during which the Buwayhid troops recuperated, Mu'ayyid attacked again with his whole army, upon which Qábús took to flight. He sought refuge in Níshápúr, whither Fakhr al-Dawlah had gone before him; and thence they applied for help to the Sámánid Núh b. Mansúr.⁴

Núh b. Mansúr still regarded himself as the rightful ruler of Jibál.

¹ S., 11-12.

² S., 10-11; I.J. VII, 103; Ath. IX, 4.

³ S., 15; 'Utbi I, 107-108; *Qábúsnáma* (Tr.), 232, 'Awfi f. 210a. *Qábúsnáma* even relates that 'Adud asked Qábús to administer poison to Fakhr in case he was not willing to surrender him to 'Adud.

⁴ S., 15-17; Ath. IX, 18; Ibn Isf., 226; 'Utbi I, 108-109.

On 'Adud's occupation of Hamadán, his Wazir Abú'l-Hasan al-'Utbí had sent him a demand for the despatch to Bukhárá of two thousand robes, half of which were to be embroidered with the name of Núh himself, a quarter with that of al-'Utbí and the rest with that of Abú'l-'Abbás Tásh, the Samanid commander-in-chief in Khurásán. 'Adud's first reaction was one of fury. But the Šāhib Ibn 'Abbád persuaded him that it would be politic to accede.¹

In face of this further aggression on 'Adud's part, and the appeal of the fugitives for his help, Núh duly instructed the said commander-in-chief to assist in recovering their territories² and though 'Adud al-Dawlah seized the opportunity provided by the arrival in Baghdád of a Sámánid envoy to complain of the asylum offered by his master to the 'wicked son' (as he called his brother Fakhr al-Dawlah) and Qábús and to invite Núh to enter into a convention regarding the surrender of the two fugitives, nothing came of these negotiations.³ Tásh marched from Níshápúr with his deputy Fá'iq on Gurgán.

It was now the turn of Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah to withstand a seige in Astarábád. He had at his disposal not only his own troops but also others sent to reinforce him by 'Adud. Besides, Astarábád was effectively fortified with high walls and protected by the trenches which he imitated Qábús in digging round them. The Sámánids accordingly found it impossible to force an entry and were obliged to contain the city in the hope of starving Mu'ayyid out. At the end of two months Mu'ayyid in fact saw that if he was not to be reduced he must attempt a fight; but his first encounter with the beseigers proving indecisive, he decided on the one hand to await a fortunate conjunction of the stars predicted by his astrologer⁴ and on the other to try a little judicious bribery of Tásh's lieutenant Fá'iq. The latter proved highly effective: when the appointed hour came, on Mu'ayyid's charging with his whole army, Fá'iq duly took to flight, and although Tásh and Fakhr al-Dawlah

1 Utbí I, 365-372; Ibn Isf., 91; 'Awfí, f. 219a.

2 'Utbí I, 109-110; Ath. IX, 8; Ibn Isf., 226.

3 Abú Shujá' 24-26 gives a detailed description of the proposals of 'Adud given to the Sámánid envoy which is mostly difficult to follow. 'Utbí refers indirectly to the offer of money by 'Adud to both Tásh and Núh for the surrender of his brother ('Utbí I, 141). Gardízi, in his characteristic brief way is silent about these relationships. If we carefully read the text of Abú Shujá' it becomes clear that 'Adud offered the revenues of Gurgán, Tabaristán, Qúmís, Dámaghán and even Kirmán to the Sámánids for the surrender of the two fugitives. 'Adud threatened in case they did not comply that they would both lose the money and the fugitives. The case of Abú Taghlib who had harboured Bakhtiyár was mentioned as an example.

4 Abú'l-Fadl.

held their ground for some time their forces also at length gave way, on which they fled in Qábús's wake to Níshápur. Mu'ayyid then proceeded to Gurgán and occupied that province too. He was about to follow up his success with an invasion of Khurásán when he received news of the death of 'Adud al-Dawlah.¹ Otherwise, as Gardízi observes, he might have ruined not only Tásh but Khurásán itself.² This victory over Tásh marks the climax of 'Adud's territorial expansion and military power.

On Shawwál 8, 372 'Adud al-Dawlah died of epilepsy the symptoms of which had appeared as early as 369 when he started on his expedition to Jibál. This was followed by a brain-disease called by Miskawayh 'Lethargos'. He died aged 49 years and some months, having been Amír al-Umará in Baghdád for five years.³

By the date of his death 'Adud al-Dawlah wielded authority over a vast empire extending from the shores of the Caspian on the north to beyond the Persian Gulf on the south and from the borders of the Great Desert on the east to beyond the Euphrates on the west,⁴ an area surpassing in extent the dominions of any of his contemporaries, such as, the Sámánids and Fátimids. Of this area Fárs, Arraján, Kirmán, 'Umán, 'Iráq and Jazíra were under his direct control, while Rayy, Isfahán, Hamadán, Niháwand, Gurgán and Tabaristán were ruled on his behalf by his brother Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah, and part of Jibál by Badr ibn Hasanawayh, the Kurdish chieftain of that region. As for more outlying provinces, the ruler of Yaman sent him present at least once in 370,⁵ to the east of Kirmán Sijistán acknowledged his supremacy; according to Muqaddasí, in Sind (Manşúra) his name was mentioned in

1 'Utbí I, 110-114; Ath. IX, 8-9; S., 27; Gardízi., 50.

2 Gardízi., p. 50 - وگر نی خراسان و تاش را لاش کردیدی

Muqaddasí, a Sunní zealot, considers the death of 'Adud al-Dawlah and the decline of the Buwayhids a punishment of God for 'Adud's attack on the Sámánids. He further says that it was as a result of a prayer by the Sámánid prince Nuḥ that 'Adud and his brother Mu'ayyid died one after another so soon after their victory over the Sámánids. (Muq. 338 f.n. 339).

3 M. II, 416; S., 75; I.J. VII, 117.

Cyril Elgood in his 'Medical History of Persia', p. 154, considers 'Adud's illness to have been what one would now call 'Uraemia'.

4 See map.

5 I.J. VII, 105; Ath. IX, 7.

In Jumádá ii, 370 the ruler of Yaman sent to 'Adud many presents, among which was a piece of 'Anbar weighing 54 ratls. Muqaddasí says that Yaman even read the Khuṭba for 'Adud. (p. 338).

the Khutbah; ¹ while Sa'd al-Dawlah, the Hamdānid of Aleppó, though sometimes also obliged to pay tribute to Constantinople, ² likewise acknowledged 'Adud al-Dawlah's suzerainty.

'Adud al-Dawlah's political importance resulted in his being approached diplomatically by his two most powerful neighbours: The Fātimid al-'Azíz bi'lláh and the Emperors, Basil II and Constantine VIII. Al-'Azíz sent two embassies to Baghdád, one in 369 and one immediately after its return at the end of that year. His object on the second occasion was to conclude an alliance with 'Adud against the Byzantines. 'Adud's reply was favourable; but in the event nothing came of this proposal. ³

As for the embassies from the Byzantines the first was sent by General Bardas who, as we have seen, after his defeat by the brother Emperors Basil and Constantine took shelter in Muslim territory at Mayyáfáriqín. He then sent his brother to solicit 'Adud's favour, whereupon the Emperors also sent an envoy to oppose Bardas's suit. The latter was the more successful. 'Adud al-Dawlah was induced to arrest Bardas Sclerus along with his brother, son and a number of followers who remained in confinement at Baghdád till the days of Šamsām al-Dawlah, 'Adud's son and successor. In reply to the Emperors' embassy moreover the Amír sent in turn two envoys to Constantinople both in 371, namely, the Qádí Abú Bakr al-Báqilání and a certain Ibn Shahrám. The latter attempted to bargain with the Emperor Basil over the surrender of certain frontier fortresses which the Byzantines had taken from the Muslims, over the question of the revenues of Aleppo and Edessa and over the surrender of Bardas Sclerus. But little came of his attempt. In the end agreement was reached only on the question of the release of Bardas and by the time the Byzantine envoy, returning with Ibn Shahrám, arrived at Baghdád 'Adud al-Dawlah was already gravely ill and shortly afterwards he died. ⁴

1 al-Muqaddasí's remark (p. 400) that the Khutba was read in the name of the Daylamites even in China should not be taken seriously. As for the recital of 'Adud's name in the Khutba in Manşúra, the chief city of Sind, al-Muqaddasí provides with further evidence that after 'Adud's death a messenger from Sind visited the court of 'Adud's son (presumably Sharaf al-Dawlah) in Shíráz, while al-Muqaddasí was present there (p. 485).

2 Tributes on account of Aleppo and Edessa, a topic of the terms of treaty between 'Adud and the Byzantines. (See below 102).

3 M. II, 412; Ibn Taghrivardí IV, 124-125, Al-'Azdí, f. 516.

4 S., 28-38; Ath. IX, 11-12; Amedroz has brought forth from various sources the details of these embassies and proved the reliability of Miskawayh, Abú Shuja' and Ibn al-Athir by comparing them with contemporary Byzantine sources. See, *An Embassy from Baghdád to the Emperor Basil II*, JRAS., October 1914. p. 915-932.

'Adud al-Dawlah seized the opportunity of the first Fātimid embassy to have new honours conferred on him by al-Ṭā'i with elaborate ceremony. Ibn al-Jawjī gives a vivid description of the occasion. The Caliph, he says, sat on the throne surrounded by a hundred retainers, all clad in magnificent apparel and girt with swords. Before the Caliph was set the most sacred relic of Islām—the Qur'ān of the Caliph 'Uthmān; on his shoulders hung the mantle of the Prophet; he held in his hands the Prophet's staff and was girt in his sword. The Caliph was at first screened from public eye. Only after the Turks and the Daylamites had entered unarmed and the nobles and officials of state had ranged themselves on both sides of the hall of audience according to their rank was the curtain before him raised,¹ on which 'Adud al-Dawlah prostrated himself to kiss the ground before him, then rose up and kissed the ground again—seven times. He was then invited to approach nearer and again he kissed the ground twice, after which he kissed the Caliph's feet. The Caliph stretched out his right hand and bade 'Adud sit; but it was only after repeated injunctions that he would do so. "With what eagerness we have been waiting for a meeting with you!" said the Caliph, to which 'Adud al-Dawlah replied—"My excuses are well-known." The Caliph then said, "I have decided to delegate to you the duties God has laid on me—the affairs of my subjects in the east of the world and in the west, and the management of all the dominions, except my private estates, my belongings and what is behind my doors." These words of investiture were next repeated before the personal representatives of 'Adud al-Dawlah and the Caliph, the former consisting mostly of army officials and 'Adud's secretary and the latter of the Naqibs of the 'Abbāsids and the 'Alids and some judges.

The Caliph now commanded his servant to present 'Adud al-Dawlah with robes of honour. This was done and 'Adud clad in these heavy robes made as if to kiss the ground but was unable to do so because of their weight; on which the Caliph excused him and invited him to be seated. Then the Caliph ordered two flags to be brought in which he tied in 'Adud's honour. One of these flags was of the kind bedecked with silver usually presented to Amirs, but the other was of the kind bedecked with gold, until then reserved for the heir-apparent. Moreover none before 'Adud al-Dawlah had been honoured with the presentation of two banners at a time. Then his diploma of investiture was read out and this too was an unprecedented honour since it was not the custom

1 When the curtain was raised a commander Ziyād by name became so awe-struck by the dignity and grandeur of the Caliph that he asked in Persian "Is this His Majesty God Almighty?" (I.J. VII, 99).

to read the diploma even of an heir-apparent in his presence. On all previous occasions such diplomas had been handed over to heirs-apparent unopened. The Caliph then presented 'Adud with a second sword, a first having already been handed over to him along with the robes.

When the ceremony was over 'Adud al-Dawlah asked the permission of the Caliph to have another gate of the palace opened for him, as he considered it a bad omen to turn back. A horse was forthwith harnessed for him and he rode away, with troops marching behind him. Three days later the Caliph sent 'Adud al-Dawlah a number of presents including a tunic of gold thread, a golden tray and a crystal beaker with drinks and on the next day again 'Adud's treasurer Abú Naṣr distributed alms to the people.¹

'Adud's purpose in causing such an elaborate ceremony to be performed was two-fold. Being a Shī'ī he could not claim outright sovereignty over the Sunnī populace, so he accepted his authority as if delegated to him by the Caliph, the head of the Sunnī people. This ceremony impressed people and 'Adud's rank and position as a high royal personage made its mark on the mind and imagination of the Caliph's subjects. The second aim was to allow the foreign envoy present at that time to form a high opinion of the Caliph and his Amīr, so that any pretensions on the part of the Fāṭimid Caliph to rival the Eastern Caliphate in pomp and grandeur might be nullified.

With the same end in view, of winning over the Caliph and his orthodox Sunnī followers, 'Adud al-Dawlah arranged a marriage between the Caliph al-Tá'ī and his eldest daughter. His wedding gift was one hundred thousand dīnárs.² 'Adud's hope was that should a son be born to her he would have him declared as the Caliph's successor, so that the Caliphate and the Amirate might be united in the same dynasty.³ 'Adud al-Dawlah was not a pioneer in this respect. His cousin and predecessor Bakhtiyár had also given to al-Tá'ī a daughter in marriage though he seems to have had no such plan in mind.

On the other hand, after his return in Jumádá ii, 370 from his victory

1 I.J. VII, 98-100; Dh. I, f. 14a-b.

2 According to another report of Ibn al-Jawzī, Sibṭ and Taghribardī two hundred thousand dīnárs.

3 M. II, 414 (Trans. vol. V, 454 is misleading); I.J. VII, 101. Sibṭ II, f. 175b; Taghribardī IV, 135. Yáqūt (Irshád V, 265) relates a funny story as to how al-Tá'ī avoided the company of his wife, 'Adud's daughter, for fear of having a son by her. Abú Shujá' also says that al-Tá'ī disliked her and deprived her of conjugal rights. (S., 20).

in Jibál. 'Adud al-Dawlah felt strong enough to inflict certain humiliations on the Caliph. Before his entry into Baghdád he sent Muḥammad ibn 'Umar, the 'Alid on a mission to the Caliph. The 'Alid called on al-Ṭā'i at midnight and informed him that it was 'Adud's wish that he should go out to meet him. Al-Ṭā'i could not but express his readiness to do so, though at heart he was shocked since it had never been the custom for a Caliph to go out and meet an Amír. Al-Ṭā'i accordingly met him the next day on the Tigris.¹

'Adud al-Dawlah was by far the greatest of all the Buwayhid rulers. A master of detail, he looked personally into the minutest affairs of government and the state. Like that of most great monarchs his time was wisely divided between serious administrative business and enjoyment and relaxation. The historians supply us with a time-table to which 'Adud generally adhered. Early in the morning he would rise and take his bath and then dressing himself would perform the morning prayer. He would then receive his ministers and members of his staff. His secretary, 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Yúsuf, would take his seat in 'Adud's presence and place his inkstand before him. His Wazír would then seek permission to enter. The Wazír would be asked about previous business and would then discuss with 'Adud any fresh occurrences and the line of action to be taken about them. The two marshals of the Daylamites and the Turks would then have a similar audience.²

As the day advanced the prince would ask about the arrival of the posts, for which there was a fixed time. If they were late, inquiries would be instituted about the cause of delay. If it were due to the negligence of any official, he would be punished severely. We are told by Abú Shujá' for instance that, in one case of only a slight delay in the delivery of a despatch, three thousand lashes in all were inflicted on the carriers and the officials of the post between Shíráz and Baghdád; while another postman had his hand cut off for appropriating a money-parcel. By such means 'Adud contrived to maintain a notable regularity in the postal service and the posts came from Shíráz to Baghdád—a distance of about six hundred miles—within seven days.³ When the posts arrived the letters were taken into 'Adud's presence. He would select those addressed to him personally and send the rest back to the post office for distribution among the addressees. He would then read the letters one by one and pass them over to 'Abdu'l-'Azíz. After 'Abdu'l-'Azíz had also read them, he would receive instructions from

1 I.J. VII, 104.

2 S., 40.

3 S., 40-41; I.J. VII, 114.

'Adud regarding the replies. 'Adud al-Dawlah would send such letters as he thought fit to his Wazir with his comments in a memorandum. Having finished with his correspondence 'Adud would call for a repast and eat heartily, while a physician would attend him and reply to his questions regarding the nutritive value of different dishes. He would then take a nap, after which he would perform his midday prayer.¹

The afternoon was set apart for enjoyment, which, however, did not exclude a little light work. He would go to a room set aside for drinking and pass the time in the company of boon companions, entertainers and musicians, showing a keen interest in the music played and asking questions about the songs sung, yet finding time in the midst of these amusements to go through some of the replies to the letters submitted to him by the secretary and suggest additions and omissions. This assembly would continue till the first part of the night, when the prince would retire to his bedroom.²

Such was his usual routine. On ceremonial occasions, however, his day would be spent otherwise. He would then show himself to the Daylamites in the morning hours, listening to every complaint made by individual suitors.³ The afternoon assemblies on such occasions, particularly on the occasion of his birth day, were very gorgeous. 'Adud would enter into a large hall of audience which would be brilliantly decorated. The astrologers, the musicians and a select few of his boon companions would be permitted access to him, and among them again only two or three would be allowed to sit in his presence. Then, while the company amused themselves with drinking and singing, 'Adud would receive courtiers, officials, secretaries, governors and the leading citizens of the state, who would come to congratulate him on the New Year or whatever the occasion might be. The poets would then enter and sing his glory. It is curious to note that in spite of the fact that this drinking and singing was indulged in quite openly, 'Adud

¹ S., 41; I.J. VII, 114.

² S., 41; I.J. VII, 115. We have in Yáqūt the details of two such evening assemblies of 'Adud. One was in Neháwand where he went on his Jibál expedition. The song of famous singers was followed by a recital of classical poems and improvisation of new ones by the companions (Irshád VI, 254-256). The place of the second assembly is not mentioned; most probably it was held in Baghdád. When on that occasion a song was sung 'Adud asked his companions to tell at once who the writer was and who the composer. The answer having been given by one boon companion 'Adud asked Tanúkhí, another Nadim to improvise a poem in imitation of it, which he accordingly did. (Irsh. VI, 257).

³ S., 41-42.

nevertheless, in deference to the religious law, was careful not to admit any pious man or judicial authority on such occasions.¹

Not only did 'Adud al-Dawlah regulate affairs of state with great care, he devoted even more attention to those of his own household, looking into details connected with the stores and the kitchens, allowances and salaries, as minutely as into those of public affairs. 'Abú Shujá', who had access to some of his memoranda relating to the education of his children, reports that their time was devoted partly to the development of their intelligence and character, partly to suitable recreation. After his departure from Fárs to 'Iráq, his instructions continued to be scrupulously carried out in Fárs.²

Unlike any other Buwayhid ruler 'Adud al-Dawlah was the real master of his army. He saw the dangers of adopting an opportunist policy towards the army such as that followed by Mu'izz al-Dawlah or the vacillating policy pursued by Bakhtiyár. He therefore accorded an equal treatment to both the Daylamites and the Turks. His payment of the army was regular, and in order to cope with it he increased the number of the staff in the Army Secretariat. He would never entertain any claim for supplementary payments, and though on rare occasions, such as victories, he paid gratuities to the army, he made it very clear that such payments were purely occasional, and no demands based on their receipt would be entertained in future.³

He would never on any account permit a payment to the army to be delayed even by as little as one or two days beyond its due date. On one occasion, for instance, he is reported to have taken to task his treasurer, Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah, for a slight negligence in transmitting the allowances of some retainers stationed in al-Qaṣr. 'Adud then explained to him how such negligence can provide an opportunity for troops to grow rebellious and lose all respect for authority.⁴

He was equally insistent on strict discipline in other respects, declining to tolerate the slightest breach. Thus Abú Shujá' relates another story, how when a military officer interfered with the normal functioning of the Army Secretariat by forcing a clerk to prepare a draft for him, he was forthwith transferred from the capital.⁵

Like all good Muslim rulers 'Adud al-Dawlah was notably charitable. After his victory at Qaṣr al-Jiṣṣ and his investiture with the post of Amír al-Umará, he distributed twenty thousand dirhams in charity.⁶ A similar distribution was made next year, when the Caliph invested

1 Yaq. Irsh. VI, 258-259.

3 S., 43.

5 S., 46-47.

2 S., 43, 70.

4 S., 45.

6 I.J. VII, 87.

him with fresh honours.¹ At the commencement of every financial year 'Adud used to give away a considerable sum in charity and write instructions to the provincial financial ministers to hand these sums over to the judges and the leading men for distribution among the indigent. Usually he gave three thousand dirhams but on one occasion when an order for thirty talents (thirty thousand dirhams) was passed by mistake by the treasurer, he allowed it to be paid.²

Very often he used to vow that he would give away money if his wishes were fulfilled. His vows would be something such as this:—

“When I have completed my study of Euclid, I shall give twenty thousand dirhams in charity, and when I finish the book of Abú 'Alí (a book of grammar), I shall give fifty thousand dirhams. For every son born to us I shall give ten thousand dirhams and if born of such and such wife (naming a favourite wife) I shall give fifty thousand; while for every daughter I shall give five thousand, and if from that wife then thirty thousand.”³

'Adud al-Dawlah paid particular attention to the pilgrim routes. Various forms of outrage and violence to which they had been subjected were stopped and the routes were cleared of brigands and bandits. A gesture was also made to remove the duties from the pilgrim caravans, though his success in this respect was most probably prejudiced by his love of money. For Muqaddasí, shortly after his death, found various taxes of this type still being imposed on the pilgrims in Baghdád, Basrah and Kúfah.⁴ The pilgrim routes were furnished with facilities for water-supplies. Water wheels were set up, wells dug and springs made to flow. 'Adud also sent gifts to the Ka'bah and to the members of the noble families resident in Makkah and Madínah and other indigent persons there,⁵ and provided new allowances for the Mu'adh^{dh}ins, Imáms, Qur'án-readers, and the strangers and the poor who had taken shelter in the mosques and were uncared for.⁶

Nor was it only his Muslim subjects who benefitted by 'Adud al-Dawlah's charity. He ordered his Christian Wazír Naṣr ibn Hárún to build anew the churches and cloisters which lay in ruins and also to distribute money to the indigent and the needy of the Christian community.⁷

¹ I.J. VII, 100.

³ I.J. VII, 115; S., 66.

⁵ M. II, 407.

⁷ M. II, 408; Ath. VIII, 518.

² S., 66; I.J. VII, 114

⁴ Muq., 133-134.

⁶ M. II, 404-405.

'Adud al-Dawlah was also a great lover of building and spent large sums over building projects. He ordered the houses and streets of Baghdád to be reconstructed, since they had suffered greatly during the long period of general lawlessness, riots and warfare preceding his arrival. He began with public mosques which were all in a completely ruinous condition. Buildings that were beyond repair were demolished and replaced with fine new ones. He also ordered the restoration of suburban mosques providing them with fresh trust funds (wuqúf). He depended for the realisation of these plans on the Naqíb of the 'Alids.¹

He compelled owners of plots which had suffered from fire and devastation during the riots to restore them to perfect condition. Those who could not afford this were allowed to borrow from the Treasury. When the owner was untrustworthy or absent, a trustee was provided with adequate sums to act for him. Special attention was paid to the houses and dwellings on the banks of the Tigris. Courtiers and high officials who were assigned houses on the river bank were ordered to do their best to restore and beautify them.²

Among the most important of these buildings was the palace of Abú'l-Fadl (the Wazír of Bakhtiyár) in Western Baghdád on the junction of the Sarát Canal and the Tigris. The palace included a garden of ten jaríbs³ (36,000 sq. ells) filled with palms and other trees, fragrant herbs, flowers and rare exotics. Bakhtiyár had demolished the palace and sold the materials. 'Adud al-Dawlah ordered the restoration of the garden and likewise gave orders for the replantation of the garden of al-Záhir, which belonged to the palace of the celebrated calligraphist 'Alí ibn Muqlah and was situated in the middle of Eastern Baghdád.⁴ Near Quṭrabbul (north-west of Western Baghdád) he planted another garden known as 'Al-Tájí' which included an area of 1,700 jaríbs (6,120,000 sq. ells).⁵

In Eastern Baghdád 'Adud al-Dawlah constructed a new palace for himself on the site of that formerly inhabited by Subektekín and called the 'Dár al-Mamlakah. This was situated in the upper part of the Mukharrim quarter.⁶ In the rebuilding the greater part of the former structure was destroyed except the portion called al-Bayt

1 M. II, 404-405.

2 M. II, 405.

3 1 jaríb is equivalent to 3,600 sq. ells (ذراع مكسرة) Khwárizmí, 66.

4 M. II, 405.

5 I.J. VII, 114.

6 Mukharrim was the quarter south of Rusáfah and Shammásiyyah between the Khurasán road and Nahr al-Mu'alla. (Le Strange, Baghdád, p. 168).

al-Sittíní (the Hall of Sixty ?).¹ This hall was converted by ‘Adud into the hall of private audience to meet his wazírs. Other parts of the building were converted into a hall of public audience. The domed porticoes adjacent to Bayt al-Sittíní were used as offices for the secretaries of state, while in the great court (سجن) the Daylamite bodyguards had their quarters during the summer.² ‘Adud al-Dawlah enlarged the Maydán (polo field) of Subektekín, doubling it in size, and laid out a garden over it. He purchased many houses large and small and demolished them with the help of elephants - an operation which alone cost him two million dirhams. For the irrigation of the new garden ‘Adud al-Dawlah first thought of setting up water-wheels on the Tigris; but on reflection he saw that these would be insufficient and instructed his engineers to construct an aqueduct from the ‘Kháliš’ canal to bring water through the desert and the suburbs direct to the garden. This cost him another three million dirhams. ‘Adud is said also to have spent another five millions over the palace and would have spent more, had not death overtaken him before he could execute his plans of pulling down the buildings occupying the place between his palace and the garden of al-Záhir and raising new constructions on them.³

Le Strange (p. 234-235) has it that ‘Adud al-Dawlah rebuilt the palace of Mu‘izz al-Dawlah. Khatíb and Ibn al-Jawzî, however, clearly state that the Dár-al Mamlakah on the site of which ‘Adud built his palace and garden, had belonged to Subektekín (Khatíb I, 105; I.J. VII, 77). The palace of Mu‘izz al-Dawlah, which he built at a cost of 15 million dirhams in the Shammásiyyah quarter (not the Mukharrim) was not used by his successors. Ibn al-Jawzî says (VIII, 31) that Bakhtiyár, the son of Mu‘izz al-Dawlah did not make use of this building except for the review of troops. The palace he lived in was that called the ‘Dar al-Gharābah’ which had formerly belonged to the Caliph al-Muttaqi (for Bāb al-Gharābah see Yāqūt, Bul. III, 783). Consequently the palace of Mu‘izz al-Dawlah fell into ruin. When later Bahá al-Dawlah (379-403 A.H.) reconstructed the Mu‘nisiyyah Palace in the Suq al-Thalátha, some of the bricks he used were taken from the remains of the ‘Mu‘izziyyah. Among these there was also a gilded teak roof that had covered the banqueting-hall; and this too he wished to appropriate. Unfortunately the removal was mismanaged and its only result was the final collapse in 418 of the entire building.

- 1 The translation of al-Bayt al-Sittíní as the ‘Hall of Sixty’ rendered by Le Strange and also retained by us is tentative. I have not been able to find any reference to the number ‘sixty’ in this context. In the circumstances we are only left to guess and the number might have reference to either pillars or windows or measurement or even the capacity of the hall.
- 2 Khatíb I, 105; I.J. VII, 77. These houses were in ruins at the time of Hilál al-Sábi and the hall of private audience was rendered into a stable by Jalál al-Dawlah. When Tughril Beg came to Baghdád he reconstructed this house in 448 and it existed till 450 when a fire burnt it. (Khatíb I, 105; I.J. VII, 77-78).
- 3 Khatíb I, 105-107; I.J. VII, 77-78.

'Adud's building activities were not confined to Baghdád. Before he ever came to Baghdád indeed he carried out one of his most ambitious projects at Shíráz and we are fortunate in having an eye-witness description of his palace by Muqaddasí who never saw its equal either in the east or west, and could only suppose that the prince had built it in imitation of one of the palaces of Paradise. This palace, he says, by virtue of its magnificence was enough to seduce an ordinary man to worldly pleasures and only an ascetic would be capable of drawing lessons from it. 'Adud al-Dawlah surrounded the palace with orchards and gardens, digging wells in the midst of them. He caused water to flow into its different parts and also contrived to keep some of the upper rooms cool by a constant sprinkling of water on the roof. The palace, which was domed, consisted of 360 rooms, no two rooms being alike in construction or internal decoration. In decorating some of the rooms he imitated Chinese porcelain, in others the walls were inlaid in marble, while still others were gilded and engraved with paintings¹

Near Shíráz 'Adud built a military cantonment for the army when the city became overcrowded and could not afford quarters for the large army. To this, which was also called '*Súq al-Amír*', he gave, after himself, the name of '*Gard-i-Fanná Khusraw*'. In course of time it developed into a small town in which business flourished and earned 'Adud an annual revenue of sixteen thousand dínárs.²

Other building operations of 'Adud al-Dawlah included the restoration and reconstruction of some of the sanctuaries held in esteem by the Shí'ah. The Caliph al-Mutawakkil had won the lasting hatred of the Shí'ah by demolishing the sanctuary of al-Husayn in Karbalá more than a hundred years before (236).³ During the time of the Dá'í al-Kabír Muḥammad ibn Zayd who was a contemporary of the 'Abbásid Caliph al-Mu'tadid (279-289), the latter allowed him not only to send monetary help to the 'Alids in 'Iráq but also to restore the sites

1 Muq. 449 f.n. 450-451; Fárshnámah has a short notice of it (p. 133); Guzidah, 421.

2 Fárshnámah, 132; Guzidah, 421; Shíráznámah, 34. The site of the town has been identified with a village still known as Shíb-i-Bázár-i-'Adud al-Dawlah to the south-east of Shíráz, Le Str., Geography of Ibn al-Balkhí, p. 38 and f.n.

Yáqūt (Buldán IV, 258) says that 'Adud first arrived there on 22 Rabi' i. 354 and the day was observed every year as a festival which usually lasted for seven days. People assembled from different parts of the country, ate, drank and made merry. The city fell into ruins after 'Adud's death.

3 Isfahání Maqátil, 385-386; Ibn Isf., 158.

of the tombs of 'Alí and Ḥusayn so that these tombs were covered with small constructions. 'Adud al-Dawlah paid particular attention to these shrines and erected fine new buildings over them. The tomb of 'Alí was surrounded with bazaars and marketplaces and according to the dying injunction of the prince he himself was buried in its neighbourhood.¹ 'Adud also added some new constructions to the cemetery of al-Kázimayn—the tombs of Músá al-Kázim and Muḥammad, his grandson, the Seventh and the Ninth Shī'ī Imáms—and the Mashhad al-'Askarí—the tombs of 'Alí al-'Askarí and his son Al-Ḥasan, the Tenth and the Eleventh Imams, at Sámarrá.² But by far the most useful of his buildings was the hospital called after him, the *'Bimáristán al-'Adudí* a detailed description of which will follow in the chapter on cultural development.

To 'Adud al-Dawlah there also goes the credit of restoring the irrigation system of Baghdád. The numerous canals³ and their dependent channels (some of which are mentioned by Miskawayh) that irrigated people's gardens and provided drinking water in the areas far from the Tigris had become silted up, and people were faced either with drinking the polluted water of the wells or with the trouble of fetching water from the Tigris. Moreover, owing to the destruction of many dams and weirs, at the time of the spring floods people suffered great hardships from inundation. Mu'izz al-Dawlah had already repaired some breaches in the Nahrawán canal and also in the canals of the Bádúrayá district (the southern part of Baghdád) but much remained still to be done; and 'Adud al-Dawlah now gave orders for the redigging of them all.⁴ He also repaired breaches in the weirs, the most important of which were the Sahaliyyah dam and the 'Dam of the Jews' on the

1 Ibn Isf., 158 Teheran ed. 224; corrected by Tabarí III, 2147-2148; Ibn Khall. II, 484; Zāhír, 169.

2 Zāhír, 169.

3 The greatest of these canals taken from the Tigris was the Mahrawan Canal from which directly or indirectly the lands of Eastern Baghdád were irrigated. The two important canals of Western Baghdád were Nahr 'Isá which took its rise from the Euphrates, and the Dujayl which formerly fed itself from the Euphrates but later on from the Tigris. All other canals of W. Baghdád were derived from one of these sources (Le Strange, Baghdád, 49). The two important branches of N. 'Isá were the Sarāt and the Karkhiyya (the latter again had several branches known as N. al-Bazzázín N. al-Dajāj N. al-Qallá'in and N. al-Tábiq) which irrigated the southern part of W. Baghdád, namely the Karkh and the Sharqiyya quarters, while another northern branch of N. 'Isá—the Khandaq together with a branch of Dujayl known as al-Batatiyya watered and irrigated the northern part of W. Baghdád—the Harbiyya quarter. (Le Strange 50-55).

4 M. II, 406.

Nahrawán canal.¹ Moreover he built entirely new dams, not only in the Baghdád area, but elsewhere, the most important of these being the Band-i-Amír or Band-i-mír near Shíráz on the river Kur.²

He also restored canals that had fallen into disuse in Sawád and rebuilt many of their sluices and weirs. Clay, lime, cement and all the other necessary materials were provided and the inhabitants were persuaded to undertake the repairs themselves, while watchmen and guards were posted to look after them.³ 'Adud is also credited with having enlarged the Nahr al-Bayán which joined the Blind Tigris (Dijlah 'Awra') and the Dujayl of Ahwáz⁴ while near Istakhr he had a large reservoir dug, which was known as Hawd-i-'Adudí.⁵ The Band-i-Amír and the Hawd-i-'Adudí were regarded as marvels of engineering skill and the story of their construction survived in the later Persian proverb which says of 'Adud that 'he built a mountain amidst the sea and dug a sea out of a mountain.⁶

The bridges of Baghdád (that is bridges of boats) also received his attention. He found them in a dilapidated condition; the one known as 'the Bridge of Baghdád' in particular being near to collapse. It was risky to cross it, especially on horseback. It was narrow, frail and overcrowded. 'Adud al-Dawlah broadened it to the extent of a wide road and protected it with railings, posting guards over it. The bridges over the main canals such as Nahr 'Isá, the Sarát and the Khandaq were similarly in a ruinous condition, being only occasionally repaired by private enterprises. It would constantly happen that cattle, women, children or weaklings who crossed them would fall down. 'Adud al-Dawlah built them all afresh.⁷ On the Sarát alone he repaired two great bridges—the 'Atíqah and the Jadídah.⁸

We have seen that 'Adud al-Dawlah was interested in gardening. He was equally interested in all kinds of agricultural plantation. Thus he made arrangements for the cultivation of foreign fruits, and he introduced indigo-plantation into Kirmán. His interest in agriculture is also apparent in his settlement of a group of agriculturists between Fárs and Kirmán and the devotion of the whole region to farming.⁹

1 S., 69 ; I.J. VII, 114.

2 Fársnámah, 151 ; Guzidah, 421 ; Nuzhat Tr. Le Str., 66 Shíráznámah, 32-33.

3 M. II, 406-407 ; S., 69 ; Ath. VIII, 518.

4 Muq. 419 ; Le Str., J.R.A.S., 1895, 308-309.

5 Fársnámah, 156 ; Nuzhat, 72 ; Shíráznámah, 33.

6 M. Kh., 30 ; Shíráznámah, 33 ; Minorsky: Civil and Military Review in Fárs, Bulletin of the S.O.A.S. Vol. X, Part i, 1939, p. 152.

7 M. II, 406.

8 I.J. VII, 114.

9 I.J. VII, 114 ; M. II, 300-301.

On the other hand, in spite of his charity, his humanitarian activities and his interest in agriculture, 'Adud was extremely covetous of money. Historians relate a number of stories regarding his extreme parsimony. He ordered his revenues to be increased from 320,000,000 dirhams to 360,000,000 so as to make the daily income one million dirhams.² In spite of his enlightenment, again he was at times extremely cruel. Thus he ordered a slave girl, his attachment to whom prevented him from carrying out his daily work, to be drowned;³ and most of his punishments for breaches of law were in the form of bodily mutilation.⁴ He had Ibráhím b. Hilál al-Şábí, the great prose-writer, imprisoned simply because the latter wrote some letters to him on behalf of Bakhtiyár, in whose service he then was.⁵

However, against these unpleasant traits must be set his achievement in restoring law and order in Baghdád—a city which had long suffered from anarchy and rebellion. His first concern was to suppress various refractory tribes of the region; and to make law and order easily enforceable in the capital city 'Adud forbade the carrying of arms by anyone except police officers or members of the paid infantry on duty. Anyone else found carrying arms was arrested, imprisoned and fined.⁶ He was also helped in this respect by an elaborate secret intelligence service which enabled him to keep abreast of happenings not only in every quarter of his own empire but also in far off countries like Egypt outside it.⁷

The anarchy prevalent up to his time in Baghdád was largely due to the religious riots between the Shí'ah and the the Sunnah; and 'Adud al-Dawlah adopted a very cautious policy in dealing with them. He diagnosed as the cause of these troubles the bigoted preaching of the religious leaders and story-tellers and he stopped this by a royal decree:

“No one” he declared, “is to preach or tell stories either in the public mosque or in the streets. None is permitted to seek favour of God (التوسل) in the name of any companion of the Prophet. He who wishes to seek favour should simply read the Qur'án.”⁸

In this way 'Adud struck at the root of the Shí'í-Sunní controversy. For it was on the vexed question of the religious standing of some of the companions of the Prophet that the Shí'ah and the Sunnah mainly differed. He adopted a policy characteristic of neither the Shí'ah nor the Sunnah, permitting only in this connection the reading of the Qur'án, the authority of which was not disputed by any Muslim. He followed

1 S., 72-74.

2 I.J. VII, 116.

3 S., 42.

4 See above.

5 S., 21.

6 S., 58.

7 S., 60-64.

8 I.J. VII, 88.

neither the policy of the 'Abbásid Caliphs of declaring the Sunnī tenets to be the official form of Islam in total disregard of the sentiments of the sectaries,¹ nor, though himself a Shī'ī, the policy of Mu'izz and Bakhtiyār of allowing the Shī'ah to have free play in open celebration of their religious ceremonies to the annoyance of the Sunni majority. The result was entirely satisfactory. At least during his regime in Baghdád we hear of no further religious troubles. Not only was 'Adud free from religious bigotry in his treatment of the Muslims of different sects, but his dealings with his Christian subjects also speak of his justice and enlightened toleration. He did not hesitate to appoint Christians of merit to positions of responsibility. His Wazír was the Christian Naṣr ibn Hárún, who was left in charge of the entire administration of Fárs when 'Adud came to Baghdád. One of his generals was a Christian, Abú'l-'Ala 'Ubayd Alláh ibn al-Faḍl by name. 'Adud's charities, as we have already seen, benefitted Muslims and non-Muslims alike. He asked his Wazír to build anew the churches and cloisters which lay in ruins and also to distribute money to the indigent and the needy of the Christian community.² ,

Like a typical medieval despotic ruler 'Adud al-Dawlah was severe in upholding the law and even despised the idea of being acclaimed as a popular hero, for he considered that popularity could be won only at the expense of efficiency in government and administration. Thus we learn that on his way back to Baghdád from his campaign in Jibál he sent Muḥammad ibn 'Umar the 'Alid in advance to Baghdad to prevent people from greeting him with 'prayer and loud cries' on pain of death and his arrival in Baghdád this time was accordingly made in complete silence.³ 'Adud was ruthless, rigorous and sometimes even barbarous in the interests of law and order. Thus on one occasion he ordered the impalement of a delinquent for simply stealing a piece of cement.⁴ He also sent poisoned confectionery to certain Arabs of the desert who were in the habit of disturbing the pilgrim routes,⁵ and poisonous 'Halwá' to certain refractory Kurds.⁶ However, it may be held that such methods were in the circumstances justified, resulting as they did in the comparative peace and prosperity enjoyed by the people of Baghdád and its dependencies under his regime.

1 See below, Chapter XII.

2 I.J. VII, 114.

3 I.J. VII, 104.

4 S., 56.

5 S., 57.

6 I.J. Adh., 38.

CHAPTER IV

SAMSAM AL-DAWLAH AND SHARAF AL-DAWLAH

(372-6/983-987); (376-9/987-9)

At the time of 'Adud's death (Shawwál, 372), his eldest son Abú'l-Fawáris Shírzíl (later known as Sharaf al-Dawlah) was away in Kirmán, 'Adud having appointed him Governor of that province.¹ 'Adud's death was concealed for sometime and another of his sons, Abú Káljár Marzubán was declared heir-apparent, the Caliph al-Tá'i' conferring on him the title Šamsám al-Dawlah.² It was only on the occasion of the 'Áshúrá mourning next year (373) when Šamsám's position had already been pretty well established that 'Adud's death was made public, official condolence for him being duly observed in the palace as well as in the market places. Towards the end of Muḥarram, Šamsám al-Dawlah rode to the Caliph's palace for his investiture. The Caliph now also entitled him '*Shams al-Millah*, bestowed on him seven robes of honour, a black turban, a collar, two bracelets, a crown and a horse with gold saddle and also tied him two banners. The populace of Baghdád acclaimed his accession, as they had done that of his father, by erecting arches.³

On his accession Šamsám al-Dawlah appointed two of his brothers, Abú'l-Husayn and Abú Táhir Fírúزشáh to rule jointly over Fárs, instructing them to hasten to Shíráz before Abú'l-Fawáris from Kirmán could seize it. But when the two accordingly reached Arraján they learnt that Sharaf al-Dawlah, (as Abú'l-Fawáris was entitled), had already done so, on which they fell back on Ahwáz. There Abú'l-Husayn declared himself independent with the title '*Táj al-Millah* and even maintained himself by defeating and killing a general whom Šamsám sent against him. He then mustered a large army, proceeded to Baṣrah and after successfully occupying the city installed his brother Abú Táhir Fírúزشáh who now assumed the title Diyá al-Dawlah.⁴

1 S., 28. Yahyá b-Sa'id al-Antákí relates a funny story that, during the illness of 'Adud al-Dawlah he called his eldest son Abú'l-Fawáris from Shíráz to Baghdád. Owing to the dominance of the eunuch Shukr it was not possible for anyone to see 'Adud, and even Abú'l-Fawáris was also denied an interview with his father. Abú'l-Fawáris thought that his father was dead and forcibly entered the room, where he found him still living. For this misdemeanour 'Adud banished him to Kirmán. (Quoted by Amedroz in f.n. Eclipse. III, pp. 77-78).

2 S., 78.

3 S., 84; 'Utbi-Maníní II, 112-3; I.J. VII, 120.

4 S., 79-80.

As for Sharaf al-Dawlah, his position in Fárs was well secured. Reaching Shíráz he killed Naṣr b. Hárún, 'Adud's Christian Wazír and viceroy for Fárs, against whom he had some grievances. He then proceeded to release a number of 'Adud's officers whom the late Amír had kept confined in the city fortress as prisoners. They were Kúrtekín b. Justán,* one of 'Adud's generals, whom Sharaf now designated Commander-in-Chief of his army with the title *Ispahsálár*; Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah, another of 'Adud's generals; two ex-Naqíbs of the 'Alids—Abú Aḥmad and Abú'l-Ḥasan, and the ex-Qadí al-quḍát, Abú Muḥammad b. Ma'rúf. With these officers won over to his side, Sharaf al-Dawlah ventured to make a bid for the empire.¹

'Adud's death was followed within less than a year by the death of his brother, Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah, the ruler of Rayy, Isfahán, Hamadán and Gurgán. This profoundly affected the fate of these territories. Mu'ayyid's Wazír, the Ṣāhib Ismá'il b. 'Abbád wrote to Fakhr al-Dawlah, 'Adud's other brother, who had long been a refugee in Khurásán seeking in vain to recover his lost territories from his brothers—inviting him to come to Gurgán to assume the government. This he accordingly did; and soon after, on the Ṣāhib's initiative, a reconciliation was effected between him and his nephew, the Amír al-Umará Ṣamṣám. The Caliph then confirmed Fakhr in his possessions and entitled him *Falak al-Ummah*, (374).²

Thus within less than two years of 'Adud's death there arose out of his empire five independent principalities:—'Iráq, Baṣra, Ahwáz, Fárs and Kirmán, and Rayy and Gurgán. The last mentioned was able to maintain its independent existence because of its geographical situation, whereas the independence of Ahwáz and Baṣra was only a temporary phase, since these provinces were sooner or later to be annexed to either 'Iráq or Fárs. The real struggle for power now ensued between 'Adud's successors in 'Iráq and Fárs, who as his heirs could justifiably lay claim to his whole empire. It was to continue intermittently up to the very end of the Buwayhid rule.

The first phase of this struggle was the quarrel that now broke out between Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah, whom the Caliph invested with authority over the whole empire of 'Adud, and Sharaf al-Dawlah, who as 'Adud's eldest son could rightly claim the sovereignty of all his possessions. As for Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah his authority was far from

* Miskawayh names him Kúkír i.e. Górgír.

1 S., 80-82.

2 S., 97-98.

being well-established in 'Irāq. In Baghdād itself his position with the Turkish soldiery was extremely precarious. Thus immediately after his accession in 373 the Turkish soldiery mutinied and, though their revolt was suppressed, Ṣamṣām was nevertheless left weaker by the desertion of some Turkish troops to Sharaf in Fārs. With this conspiracy was associated no less a man than the late Amīr's secretary 'Abdu'l-'Azīz ibn Yūsuf,¹ who undaunted by this setback engineered a yet more formidable military plot two years later under the leadership of a powerful Commander, Asfār b. Kardawayh. The conspiracy was carefully planned and set on foot when Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah fell ill in 375, its aim being to declare openly for Sharaf al-Dawlah and raise to the throne as his vassal the prince Abū Naṣr, (another of 'Adud's sons, who later became Amīr al-Umarā with the title Bahā al-Dawlah). The plot was however divulged by a partisan of the conspirators, Fúlād b. Mánādhar, a courageous general, who changed sides and offered to fight on behalf of Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah, and in fact did so, defeating the conspirators, who were taken completely by surprise and were obliged to flee from Baghdād. The Caliph, on the occasion of this victory, bestowed fresh honours on Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah and also rewarded Fúlād by giving him the title '*Ispahsalār*'.²

Neither was Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah's authority over the provinces unchallenged. We have seen how he had lost control over Ahwāz and Baṣrah, not to speak of Fārs and Kirmān, so that Sharaf al-Dawlah was now the more powerful of the two. Even in Jazírah there arose difficulties for Ṣamṣām. In Diyār Bakr, the northernmost part of Jazírah, there appeared a powerful Kurdísh brigand-chieftain—Bád b. Dúshang. 'Adud's conquest of a greater part of Jazírah had had the effect of intimidating this Bád, who had sought shelter on the frontiers of Diyār Bakr amidst the mountains. But the death of 'Adud encouraged him to come out of his mountain stronghold and raid into the adjoining territories. Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah deputed the Hájib Abú'l-Qásim Sa'd to lead a force against Bád, but so unsuccessful was the general against him that Bád not only occupied Mawṣil but even aspired to seize the throne of Baghdād itself. Sa'd was therefore reinforced by another general Ziyār; but he had already decided to make peace with Bád; and a treaty was duly concluded by which Bád not only received the whole of Diyār Bakr but also half of Túr 'Abdín (374). Diyār Bakr was thus lost for good to the Buwayhids.³

In one respect, however, Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah was successful, and

1 S., 96.

2 S., 104-106.

3 S., 84-87.

that was against the Qarmatians. After Mu'izz al-Dawlah's death the Qarmatians became more or less friendly with the Buwayhids, receiving fiefs from Bakhtiyár in Saqy al-Furát and from 'Adud al-Dawlah in the Wásit district.¹ On 'Adud's death, however, they made bold to attack Baṣrah, on which its inhabitants bought them off (373).² Soon after they received an envoy from Sharaf al-Dawlah and being strengthened by an alliance with him³ they took Kúfah and pronounced his name in the Khuṭbah there (375).⁴ Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah was at that time engaged in suppressing the rebellion in Baghdád. But as soon as he could he sent an army against the Qarmatians, who were not only defeated twice near Jámí'ayn but were ultimately driven out of Kúfah.⁵

Let us now turn to the relationship between Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah and Sharaf al-Dawlah. An armed conflict between them was only a question of time. As a matter of fact the struggle had already started in a disguised form—in the plot arranged on behalf of Sharaf al-Dawlah in Baghdád, and in the Qarmatian's occupation of Kúfah. Then the territories of 'Umán provided, as it were, the first test ground for the actual struggle between the brothers, for here after Sharaf al-Dawlah had appointed a certain Abú Ja'far Ustád Hurmuz as his governor of the province Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah contrived to win him over on which Sharaf sent another of his officers to 'Umán, namely Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah, who succeeded in defeating and capturing Ustád Hurmuz and reclaiming the province for his master.⁶

An actual armed conflict between Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah and Sharaf al-Dawlah was, however, delayed because of the restraining influence exercised by the officers of both the sovereigns. In Shíráz the courtiers of Sharaf al-Dawlah were divided into two groups on the issue of his moving against 'Iráq. One group led by Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah favoured his remaining in Fárs, pointing out to him that it was his birthplace and that from the time when 'Adud had left Fárs for Baghdád he had had neither peace nor happiness, and this group to begin with prevailed, while another group, led by Abú'l-Ḥasan the 'Alid, urged Sharaf to attack 'Iráq. Likewise Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah under the influence of his Wazír thought it prudent to come to terms with his brother, to whom he actually sent a goodwill mission in 375 offering his homage and obedience, expressing his readiness to proclaim Sharaf's sovereignty

1 S., 109.

2 I.J. VII, 121-122.

3 S., 101-102.

4 S., 109 ; I.J. VII, 126.

5 S., 109-111 ; I.J. VII, 126-127.

6 S., 100-101.

and to govern 'Iráq as his feudatory. This naturally appealed to Sharaf al-Dawlah who replied by sending to him Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah to settle the terms of agreement, and at the same time asking for imperial robes, a title, the introduction of his name in the Khutbah and the surrender of the prince. Abú Naṣr, together with a requisition for some engines of war, furniture and slaves.¹ Khwáshádhah was successful in arranging the terms of this settlement, all the demands made by Sharaf al-Dawlah being conceded except the surrender of the prince Abú Naṣr. The treaty was divided into three parts, the first part dealing with matters of common concern to both princes, and the second and the third relating to the rights and obligations of the two signatories individually. In the preamble a declaration was made to the effect that both the parties agreed to fear God and be loyal to the Caliph al-Tá'i'. The common section referred to the friendly feeling subsisting between the two brothers, their readiness to afford each other help against common enemies, their agreement not to encroach on each other's territories, and lastly an undertaking not to harbour any fugitive, deserter or rebel from each other's dominions. Sharaf al-Dawlah's rights over Ṣamsám al-Dawlah obliged the latter to acknowledge him as his overlord, showing him due respect and mentioning his name in the Khutbah in Baghdád. As for Ṣamsám's rights in relation to Sharaf the latter was to keep his hands off all Ṣamsám's territories and frontiers, guaranteeing their inviolability both on his behalf and on behalf of his followers, treating Ṣamsám as befitted an elder brother's treatment of a younger.

When all these points were agreed, the Caliph held an assembly of nobles, judges and witnesses and ordered a letter to be addressed to Sharaf al-Dawlah giving him the new title *Zayn al-Millah* and announcing that he was made Amír al-Umará²

But before Khwáshádhah could reach Shíráz with the message his absence provided an opportunity for the 'Alid's group to persuade Sharaf al-Dawlah to lead an expedition against 'Iráq. Sharaf accordingly wrote to his brother the prince Abú'l-Husayn (*Tájal-Millah*) offering to confirm him in his possession of Ahwáz if in return he would ensure a safe passage to Sharaf's army through his dominions to 'Iráq. Abú'l-Husayn, however, mistrusted his intentions and prepared for a struggle. When in due course Sharaf's army advanced, therefore, a battle ensued at 'Askar Mukram at which Abú'l-Husayn was deserted by his Daylamites and Turks, who declared for Sharaf al-Dawlah and

¹ S., 118, 120.

² S., 124-126.

he fled to Isfahán. There, however, he was arrested and then put to death at the orders of Fakhr al-Dawlah.¹

Sharaf al-Dawlah now entered Ahwáz and from there he sent his general 'Alá ibn Ḥasan to Baṣrah to arrest his other brother the prince Abú Táhír Fírúزشáh and take over its administration himself. Governors and finance officials from all over 'Iráq now came to Ahwáz offering Sharaf al-Dawlah their submission, notable among them being the governors of Wásit, Kúfah and Nahrawánát. He was also joined by various companies of Daylamites and Turks, so that when at last, feeling secure of his position he next proceeded from Ahwáz to Wásit it was at the head of a vast army magnificently equipped. His private camels alone numbered 13,000; while 1,800 grooms and servants looked after his horses. Compared to this, Samsám's position in Baghdád was extremely precarious. Even his Daylamites now mutinied surrounding his palace, demanding their pay and then declaring for Sharaf al-Dawlah. The mob also rioted, breaking open the police prison and releasing the prisoners, while Samsám's officers, courtiers, administrators and agents kept deserting to Sharaf's camps at Ahwáz and Wásit.²

At this juncture two suggestions were made to Samsám by two of his generals Ziyár and Fúlád. Ziyár recommended a strategic evacuation to 'Ukbará to enable them to distinguish between their sincere adherents and their opponents. If they were joined, he said, by a sufficient number of troops, they would then turn back and begin their offensive against Sharaf al-Dawlah. If on the other hand their numbers turned out to be small, they would go on to Mawṣil to join Sa'd, the general in command there, leaving Sharaf al-Dawlah to get on as best he might in face of the quarrels that would inevitably break out between his Daylamites and Turks. Fúlád on the other hand suggested that they should write to Badr b. Ḥasanswayh and Fakhr al-Dawlah and ask their cooperation in allowing them to proceed by way of Isfahán to Fárs. At the back of both these suggestions lay a conviction that in any case Sharaf al-Dawlah would find his position untenable in 'Iráq because of the Turkish-Daylamite quarrels and would consequently soon come to terms.³

But Samsám al-Dawlah became extremely perturbed at the predicament with which he was faced and disregarded both these suggestions. Instead he decided to surrender to Sharaf al-Dawlah, and proceeding straight to his camp in Wásit he kissed the ground three times before

1 S., 121-123; 'Utbí II, 113.

2 S., 127-128.

3 S., 129-130.

him. The two generals, Ziyár and Fúlád, who accompanied Samsám to Sharaf's court, were severely dealt with, the former being put to death, and the latter imprisoned.¹ Samsám also became virtually a prisoner in the hands of Sharaf al-Dawlah. Sharaf al-Dawlah then proceeded to Baghdád and encamped in the neighbourhood. There were as many as 19,000 Daylamites, but only 3,000 Turks in his army and the consequence of this discrepancy was that the Daylamites, confident in their superior number, forthwith fell upon the Turks fighting and chasing them in all directions. But in so doing they themselves became confused; on which, the Turks finding a space where they could manoeuvre their horses, charged them simultaneously from the front and the rear: with the result that the Daylamites were completely routed. The defeat of the Daylamites revealed the wisdom of Ziyár's advice. Had Samsám been in 'Ukbará now, this would have afforded him a golden opportunity to return and fight Sharaf al-Dawlah.

When the riot between the two sections of the army subsided, Sharaf al-Dawlah entered Baghdád and encamped on the parade ground in front of the *Dár al-Mamlakah*. The Caliph rowed up the river to congratulate him, while he himself came out to meet the Caliph and kissed the ground before him. Sharaf al-Dawlah then tried his best to bring about a reconciliation between the Daylamites and the Turks. On the day of the 'Id al-Fiṭr (I Shawwál, 376) he held a public reception, at which both Samsám al-Dawlah and Abú Naṣr (Bahá al-Dawlah) made obeisance to him. Samsám al-Dawlah was afterwards conveyed to Fárs and confined in a fortress.² His Amírate had lasted four years.

Sharaf al-Dawlah remained Amír from Shawwál, 376 to his death in Jumádá ii, 379. His short reign of a little more than two and a half years was characterised by a further loss of prestige on the part of the Buwayhids. Being annoyed at the partiality displayed by Badr b. Hasanswayh towards Fakhr al-Dawlah, Sharaf al-Dawlah sent his general Qaratekín to fight him. But though at the approach of Qaratekín Badr fled, he soon after made a counter-attack on the Buwayhid army and obliged Qaratekín to flee for his life. On his return from the campaign Qaratekín was duly executed by Sharaf al-Dawlah, and its only result was to enhance the power of Badr who now became the undisputed master of western Jibál.³

Nor was Sharaf al-Dawlah much more successful in maintaining his authority over the north-western frontier. When the Hájib Sa'd.

¹ S., 131-132; I.J. VII, 137.

² S., 133-134; Ath. IX, 34-35.

³ S., 139-140.

who had been in charge of Jazírah, died in Mawṣil the Kurd Bád plucked up courage to violate his treaty agreement and occupy the whole of Túr 'Abdín whereas according to the treaty only half was to be his. However, Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah was now sent to Mawṣil; and since he suffered from shortage of funds owing to the enmity of Sharaf's Wazír at the capital he distributed some lands in the plain of Diyár Bakr, which might otherwise have fallen into the hands of Bád, as fiefs to the Arabs of Banú 'Uqayl and Banú Numayr. These Arabs now fought fiercely against Bád. Up to the death of Sharaf al-Dawlah therefore the position in Jazírah was this; Bád was in possession of Túr 'Abdín and the mountainous region of Diyár Bakr, while the open plain remained in the hands of Banu 'Uqayl and Banú Numayr.¹

Sharaf al-Dawlah died of a kind of dropsy in Jumádá ii. 379.² During his last illness he was persuaded to pass an order for the blinding of Ṣamṣám, who had been confined in a fortress of Fárs. A farrásh, sent to carry out this operation, although he reached Fárs after the death of Sharaf, nevertheless succeeded in blinding Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah, who, in spite of this retained some of his eyesight.³

During the two short reigns of Ṣamṣám al-Dawlah and Sharaf al-Dawlah (372-379), the rulers of the neighbouring Baṭíḥah remained friendly with the Buwayhids. This was as much because it was undergoing a number of vicissitudes, as also because the Buwayhids themselves were too occupied otherwise to pay any attention to it. And though a civil war among the successors of 'Imrán ultimately resulted in the usurpation of the throne in 373 by a chamberlain of 'Imrán' he was nevertheless, successful in receiving his formal investiture from Baghdád,⁴ as was also his successor Abú'l-Ḥasan, whom Sharaf al-Dawlah entitled Muhadh-dhib al-Dawlah. The Baṭíḥa under Muhadh-dhib al-Dawlah again became a refuge for persons in distress and other fugitives.⁵ We shall learn much about him afterwards.

1 S., 143-145. Ath. IV, 42.

2 I.J. VII, 148; S., 152.

3 S., 149-150; Ath. IX, 42.

4 S., 88-89; Ath. IX, 45-46.

5 S., 134-135.

CHAPTER V

BAHA AL-DAWLAH

(379-403 A.H./989-1012 A.D.)

Abú Naṣr Fírúz Khwáshád,¹ son of 'Adud al-Dawlah, the hero of the military plot of the year 375 succeeded his brother Sharaf al-Dawlah in Baghdád in 379. He was faced on his accession with a formidable rebellion of the troops who demanded a gratuity for the occasion. Though Abú Naṣr made bold to tell them that the Treasury was empty, he nevertheless promised to melt down all his gold and silver plate and pay them with the resultant coin, on which the rebellion subsided.²

Soon after he exchanged messages with the Caliph al-Tá'î and this resulted in their swearing oaths of loyalty. The Caliph then came to his palace to condole with him on his brother's death; and five days later he rowed to the Caliph's palace where he was duly invested with the Amirate, presented with robes of honour and entitled '*Bahá al-Dawrah wa Diyá al-Millah*'. After an exhibition of elaborate pomp and pageantry, Bahá al-Dawlah returned to his palace.³

Bahá al-Dawlah remained Amír al-Umará for twenty-four years from the date of his accession to his death in 403 A.H. Though comparatively long, his reign was singularly barren of great events and resembled in many respects the reign of Bakhtiyár, marked as it was, by the rise and fall of wazírs and administrators in quick succession with the consequent prevalence at court of instability, intrigue and rivalry. The beginning of his reign was occupied by a long-drawn struggle for the supremacy between himself and his brother Šamšám with the consequent rise into prominence of a number of small but powerful independent dynasties in 'Iráq. His reign also witnessed the complete collapse of the hitherto powerful Sámánid dynasty in Khurásán and Transoxania and the rise in its place of the new Turkish dynasty of the Ghaznavids.

Yet even during this period of decline Bahá al-Dawlah like his predecessors could still pose as the maker and unmaker of Caliphs for, persuaded by one of his courtiers, in 381 he deposed the Caliph al-Tá'î

¹ See for the name Khwáshád. J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 779 n. 2.

² S., 151; I.J. VII, 148.

³ S., 152-153; I.J. VII, 148-9; Ath. IX, 43.

and raised to the throne his cousin Abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad, with the title al-Qádir bi'lláh.¹ On the other hand towards the latter part of his reign the Caliph was encouraged by his prolonged absence in Shíráz to make strenuous efforts to reassert his authority.²

Of his long reign Bahá al-Dawlah spent the first four years (379-383) only in Baghdád, then holding his court in Wásit and Baṣrah for the next six years. These years he chiefly spent in fighting his brother Šamšám al-Dawlah for the possession of Fárs, but he was able to occupy it only in 389 after Šamšám's death. For the remaining fourteen years of his life he chose to remain in Shíráz, his favourite city, leaving the administration of 'Iráq in the hands of his deputies in Baghdád and concentrating his interests almost on the affairs of Fárs, which was his favourite province.

Immediately after his accession Bahá al-Dawlah was called upon to deal with an expedition against Ahwáz on the part of his uncle Fakhr al-Dawlah of Rayy. Fakhr al-Dawlah's Wazír, the Šāhib Ismá'íl b. 'Abbád, had long cherished the ambition of exercising his authority as Wazír in Baghdád, and considering Sharaf al-Dawlah's death a suitable opportunity coaxed his patron into undertaking an expedition to 'Iráq. They agreed to launch an attack first on Ahwáz, it being the most vulnerable part of Bahá's possessions. For the governor of Ahwáz had grievances against the authorities in Baghdád and was only too ready to make common cause with the invaders. Bahá al-Dawlah's attention was drawn to this affair only when Ahwáz had already fallen, almost without a blow, and he then sent his general 'Ubaydu'lláh at the head of an army against Fakhr al-Dawlah. A battle took place near Ahwáz on a river valley which at the time of actual operations was flooded, thus putting Fakhr al-Dawlah's troops at a disadvantage. Unaccustomed to such natural phenomena they took it to be the result of a strategic opening of some dykes by the enemy for the purpose of drowning them. They were completely routed and retired to Ahwáz. Further operations were not possible on the part of Fakhr al-Dawlah for not only did his allies prove lukewarm but his own troops became dissatisfied with his miserly habits, with the result that they began deserting, and he had no alternative but to withdraw to Rayy, on which 'Ubaydu'lláh easily occupied Ahwáz for Bahá al-Dawlah.³

Meanwhile Bahá al-Dawlah had to deal with the eldest son of the late Amír, named Abú 'Alí who during his father's last illness had

1 S., 201.

2 See below chapter X.

3 S., 163-171; Ath. IX, 44-45.

been sent to Fárs to take possession of it. But before he reached his destination his father died and Šamšám al-Dawlah who had been confined in a fortress, contrived not only to escape but also to establish himself in Fárs. Abú 'Alí was then induced by Bahá al-Dawlah to come to Baghdád, whereupon he was arrested and later put to death.¹

After the withdrawal of the army of Rayy from Ahwáz, as we have mentioned, Bahá al-Dawlah turned his attention to Fárs and thus involved himself in a struggle with Šamšám al-Dawlah which dragged on for about eight years. During these years he organised four main expeditions against him, sometimes leading them in person. Thus in 380, in the second year of his accession, Bahá al-Dawlah moved to Ahwáz and sent 'Ubaydu'lláh with an army to Arraján. 'Ubaydu'lláh stormed the fortress and easily took possession of Arraján, on which Šamšám al-Dawlah sent an army to oppose him under Fúlád b. Mánádhār. The two armies encamped on two sides of a bridge near Khwábdán, but what followed was not so much a trial of strength as a play of strategy. For the wily Fúlád soon outwitted both 'Ubaydu'lláh and his Turks. He let loose many camels without attendants on his side of the bridge, and this lured the Turks to cross over to be cut off by five hundred Daylamites who suddenly appeared from behind a hill and killed them all to a man. Fúlád then pretended to open negotiations for peace with 'Ubaydu'lláh, solely in order to spring a surprise attack on him, with the result that 'Ubaydu'lláh was obliged to retire to Arraján. There too on account of food shortage 'Ubayd's existence becoming untenable he negotiated a treaty with Fúlád on condition that Šamšám al-Dawlah should retain Fárs and Arraján, while 'Iráq and Ahwáz should go to Bahá al-Dawlah (381).²

But this treaty could hardly satisfy Bahá al-Dawlah who after only two years (383), ordered 'Ubaydu'lláh again to go to Ahwáz with the secret intention of leading another expedition into Fárs, but Šamšám al-Dawlah got to know of this and his army was also on its move to Ahwáz. 'Ubaydu'lláh came out to fight with it but before he could receive adequate reinforcements from Baghdád, he was not only defeated but taken prisoner. This highly alarmed Bahá al-Dawlah who promptly moved in person to Wásit, establishing his court there and then deputing a Turkish commander Tughán to take command at Ahwáz.³

Tughán and his Turks quickly reversed the situation occupying Sús and Jundísábúr, spreading out swiftly over all the districts of Khúzistán and everywhere overtaking the Daylamites by forced marches.

1 S., 159-163.

2 S., 182-185; 199.

3 S., 252-254.

The final engagement took place in Tall Tá'ús and the Daylamites in spite of their numerical superiority were routed by the strategic defence and charge devised by Tughán, with the result that most of them were taken prisoner, and of these almost all were forthwith massacred. Ahwáz having been evacuated, Tughán proceeded to occupy it.¹

Unfortunately, however, Tughán died in 385, on which Šamšám al-Dawlah sent his Wazír at the head of a large army from Arrajá against Bahá's garrison. Bahá al-Dawlah came from Wásit to Ahwáz to supervise the defence, but his commanders were defeated, and even some of his personal slaves, who joined the battle were all put to the sword. As a result Bahá al-Dawlah was obliged to seek safety in flight, returning to Wásit in a sorry condition,² and though it was now the turn of Šamšám's Wazír and commander-in-charge to die, he was able to replace him with a still more capable general in Abú 'Alí b. Ustádhurmuz, who in numerous engagements inflicted successive blows on Bahá's Turks, driving them out of Khúzistán altogether when they rejoined Bahá al-Dawlah in Wásit.³(387). Meanwhile Bahá al-Dawlah also lost control over Basra where a partisan of Šamšám not only rebelled but also ejected Bahá himself who had gone to fight against him.⁴

In this predicament Bahá al-Dawlah's Wazír Abú 'Alí b. Ismá'il, whom he honoured with the title al-Muwaffaq persuaded him in 388 to undertake yet another expedition against Šamšám's forces. But at first it fared no better than the others. Ibn Ustádhurmuz faced him resolutely and in a number of engagements left him and his army short of provisions so that he was on the point of retiring in disgust, when, fortunately for him events took a new turn.⁵

At this time two sons of Bakhtiyár Abú'l-Qásim and Abú Naṣr, who had been kept confined in a fortress by Šamšám al-Dawlah, succeeded in coaxing their warders into letting them escape, on which they roamed about enlisting a number of Kurdish tribesmen in their service. They were further joined by some Daylamites whom Šamšám al-Dawlah had recently dismissed and being thus strengthened Abú'l-Qásim wrested Arraján from Šamšám's followers, while Abú Naṣr planned to capture Shíráz itself. Šamšám al-Dawlah became extremely perturbed, as was his wont, and left Shíráz in the company of some Kurds in the hope of joining his general Ibn Ustádhurmuz at Ahwáz. No sooner had he started, however, than these Kurds, whether or not in

1 S., 255-257

2 S., 266-268.

3 S., 294.

4 S., 271-274.

5 S., 310, 315-316.

complicity with Bakhtiyár's sons, turned on him and plundered his camp so that he was obliged to seek safety in a village named Dúdmán near Shíráz. Meanwhile in his absence from Shiraz, Abú Naṣr easily established himself there, on which the headman of Dúdmán, in expectation of some reward, captured Šamsám unawares and handed him over to Abú Naṣr's followers, who quickly put him to death (Dhū'l-Hijjah, 388). When his head was brought before Abú Naṣr, he said, "this is a custom established by your father", meaning thereby the execution of Bakhtiyár by 'Adud al-Dawlah.¹

The rising of Bakhtiyár's sons and the murder of Šamsám al-Dawlah left Bahá al-Dawlah master of the situation. For Abú 'Alí Ibn Ustádhurmuz decided not to resist Bahá al-Dawlah any longer, and after some negotiations surrendered with all his Daylamites (389).² Khúzistán now lay open before Bahá al-Dawlah, who together with the Wazír al-Muwafffaq, now set out for Fárs, being joined on their way by Ustádhurmuz, father of Abú 'Alí. (the general whom we have just referred to as having surrendered). The storming of Shíráz was a very easy task for them and though Bakhtiyár's sons held out for a time they were ultimately defeated and driven out. Abú Naṣr seeking refuge in one place after another in Fárs and Abu'l-Qásim finding his way to the Baṭíḥah. On this Bahá al-Dawlah came and settled in the palace at Shíráz. He now felt pity for his brother Šamsám al-Dawlah, against whom he had fought so long without success, so that to avenge his death he now gave orders for the village of Dúdmán to be first pillaged and then burnt. Šamsám's remains were then carried with due honour to the mausoleum of Shíráz and duly interred there (389).³

The Wazír al-Muwafffaq then decided to go in pursuit of the sons of Bakhtiyár (390). He received on this occasion fresh honours from Bahá al-Dawlah, who now entitled him '*Umdat-al-Dawlah*', and permitted him to have five Nawbahs a day at his gate.⁴ Meanwhile Bakhtiyár's son Abú Naṣr was joined by a number of Daylamites, Turks, Zuttis, and Kurds in the company of whom he swiftly moved from one place to another in Fárs. Proceeding thence to Kirmán he defeated Ustádhurmuz, Bahá's governor of the province, and thus became master of the greater part of Kirmán. Al-Muwafffaq after ceaselessly pursuing through the length and breadth of Kirmán, finally overtook him near Dárzín, where he routed him and while then trying to escape Abú Naṣr was killed.⁵

¹ S., 312-315.

² S., 315-321.

³ S., 326-327.

⁴ H., 345, 348.

⁵ S., 348-358; 'Utbi II, 115, gives the name of Abú Naṣr as Salar b. Bakhtiyár entitled Núr al-Dawlah.

Though the authority of Bahá al-Dawlah over Kirmán was again challenged in 390-1 when Táhír, son of Khalaf, of Sijistán attacked and occupied the province. Ústádhurmuz quickly restored his authority there, attacking Táhír and obliging him to retire to Sijistán.¹ Sijistán itself was in 391 to fall in the hands of Maḥmúd b. Subektekín on which friendly relations were established between him and Bahá al-Dawlah, Kirmán remaining a Buwayhid province.²

Thus Bahá al-Dawlah subjugated Ahwáz, Fárs and Kirmán, and during the remaining thirteen years of his life he was left more or less undisturbed in his possessions. But his long absence from Baghdád and his major preoccupation with Fárs campaign favoured the establishment, in the immediate neighbourhood of Baghdád and in Jazírah, of a number of a strong independent dynasties.

To begin with conditions in Jazírah, a tri-partite struggle for supremacy was in progress there and of this Bahá al-Dawlah's governors at Mawṣil were helpless spectators. The three parties were Bád and his Kurds, two scions of the Ḥamdánid family and the Arabs of the Banú 'Uqayl, whom Khwáshádhah had so recently favoured with the grant of certain fiefs in Diyár Bakr. The Ḥamdánids and the 'Uqaylids effected an alliance and obliged Khwáshádhah to evacuate Mawṣil, which they occupied. (379).³ The 'Uqaylid leader Muḥammad b. Musayyib then began an offensive against Bád and the Kurds, which ultimately resulted in the defeat and death of Bád.⁴ Once having got rid of Bád, however, Muḥammad ibn Musayyib fell upon his Ḥamdánid allies and succeeded in occupying not only Mawṣil but also its surroundings,⁵ with the result that Bahá's next governor of Mawṣil was obliged to recognise Ibn Musayyib's power by giving him, according to a treaty, half of the dependencies of the city.⁶ On the death of Muḥammad, however, his brother Muqallad again attacked the governor who abandoned Mawṣil in fear for life (386).⁷ Thus encouraged Muqallad proceeded to extend his power occupying not only Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah commonly known as al-Qaṣr to the East of Lower Euphrates but also, other places on the western bank.⁸ His followers even raided Baghdád itself, on which Bahá al-Dawlah was so far alarmed as to conclude a treaty with him.⁹ According to this Muqallad got all he claimed. He received

1 H., 375-381; Táríkh Sístán, 347-8

2 H., 386; 'Utbí II, 119-120.

3 S., 174-176.

4 S., 176-178.

5 S., 179.

6 S., 239-240

7 S., 280-281.

8 S., 283.

9 S., 283-285.

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from the Caliph the contract not only for Mawṣil but also for Kúfah, Qaṣr and Jámi'ayn— the chief cities on the pilgrim route from Baghdád. He also received the title '*Husám al-Dawlah*' and was appointed sole representative (Za'im) of the Arabs. His tribute as revenue-farmer of Mawṣil was fixed at one million Giyáthí¹ dirhams, besides an immediate payment of 10,000 dínárs. This treaty enhanced Muqallad's power almost without entailing any obligation on him; for though he chose to make the immediate payment, he never sent the annual tribute.² He indeed stepped into the position of the Hamdánids and posed as rival of the Buwayhids. Thus, after adding both Daqúqa and Kháníjár to his dominions,³ he carried on secret correspondence with some of the Daylamite chiefs of Baghdád with the purpose of occupying the city itself. But like Mardáwíj before him, in Safar 391 he was assassinated by one of his Turkish slaves and was succeeded by his son Qirwásh.³

Qirwásh was similarly ambitious and during the next year after his father's death he made further encroachments on the Buwayhid territories occupying Madá'in, and though Bahá al-Dawlah's deputy in Baghdád led an expedition against the 'Uqaylids and after being himself once defeated, ultimately succeeded in worsting them near Kúfah, a change of governor in Baghdád resulted in the Uqaylids remaining unmolested.⁴ Moreover in 396 the Caliph al-Qádir conferred upon Qirwásh the title of '*Mu'tamid al-Dawlah*', and confirmed him in all his possessions.⁵

Meanwhile Diyár Bakr, the northernmost part of Jazírah, had been undergoing similar changes. When Bád was killed at the hands of the 'Uqaylids, as we have seen, his sister's son Ḥasan b. Marwán withdrew to Diyár Bakr and established himself in Mayyáfáriqín, and during the confusion that arose, owing to the war between the Hamdánids and the 'Uqaylids, and later between the 'Uqaylids and the Buwayhids, Ibn Marwán was left undisturbed in his possession of Diyár Bakr. The dynasty that he thus established, called the Marwánid, continued to rule for about a century. He was succeeded in turn by two of his brothers Sa'íd and Aḥmad, the latter being confirmed in his possessions in 403 by the Caliph al-Qádir and given the title '*Naṣr al-Dawlah*.'⁶

At about this time yet another dynasty, called the Mazyadid, was

¹ Giyáthí named after Bahá's title Giyáth al-Ummah, S. 293-94.

² H., 372.

³ H., 389-92.

⁴ H., 419-427; Ath IX, 121.

⁵ I.J. VII, 230; Dh. I, f. 23a.

⁶ I.J. VII, 262. The history of this dynasty is discussed in details by Amedroz in JRAS, 1903, p. 123.

founded by Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí b. Mazyad of the Banú Asad, on the lower reaches of the Euphrates, on what then formed part of the territories of the 'Uqaylids, its chief city being Jámi'ayn, on the site of which, later, there arose the city of Hillah. Flourishing at the cost of both the 'Uqaylids and the Buwayhids, Ibn Mazyad turned to good account Bahá's absence from Baghdád pushing his raids into the vicinity of Wásit itself, where Bahá al-Dawlah was at that time holding his court. A Buwayhid army sent against him in 387 proving unsuccessful he was accordingly confirmed in his possessions by a treaty.¹ His annual tribute was later fixed at 40,000 dínárs,² and though in 397 he joined a rebel Buwayhid army chief in seizing Baghdád itself,³ it did not preclude him from becoming again reconciled for the Caliph soon entitled him *Sanad al-Dawlah*, assigning to him some of the territories that had formerly belonged to the 'Uqaylids.⁴

Besides the establishment of these three dynasties, those already existing were now gathering in strength, as the Buwayhid power declined. The ruling chiefs of these were Muhadhhib al-Dawlah, the ruler of the Batíhah and Badr b. Hasanawayh, the ruler of western Jibál (Kurdistan). During his hard days, while in Wásit, Bahá al-Dawlah was obliged to ask for loans more than once from Muhadhhib al-Dawlah and to strengthen their friendship also established a matrimonial alliance with him. Bahá al-Dawlah also gave him the territories of Lower Wásit for an annual tribute of one million three hundred thousand dirhams.⁵ The occasion soon arose for Muhadhhib al-Dawlah to be repaid for his friendship. For when in 394 one of his army chiefs rebelled and usurped the power in the Batíhah obliging him to seek shelter in Baghdád, Bahá al-Dawlah, by sending several expeditions against the usurper succeeded in the end in reinstating him (397).⁶

As we have seen the Kurdish chief Badr had succeeded during the Amirate of Sharaf al-Dawlah in inflicting a disastrous defeat on a Buwayhid army. He now again gave offence to Bahá al-Dawlah by engineering a coalition with a rebel Buwayhid army chief for the siege of Baghdád.⁷ On this 'Amíd al-Juyúsh, Bahá's deputy in Baghdád, proceeded against him. But Badr felt so secure in his mountain-stronghold that he sent a note to the Buwayhid governor reproaching him for his rash project and reminding him of the Buwayhid ill-success

1 S., 295-296.

2 I.J. VII, 223.

3 Ath. IX, 136, (rebellion of Abu Ja'far al-Hajjaj).

4 I.J. VII, 233.

5 S., 254, 257.

6 Ath. IX, 127-130, 137-138.

7 Ath. IX, 136.

against the 'Uqaylids who were within so short a distance of Bagh^hdád and warning him what might befall him like Sharaf al-Dawlah's general Qaratekín in the case of a defeat. Instead Badr invited him to make peace, offering him money with which to please his master. This he accordingly did without risking a fight.¹ Later when old age undermined Badr's physical strength he found himself unable to deal with a rebel son, and then invited the Buwayhids to storm the Kurdish fortress in which this son had established himself. Hence a Buwayhid army under the Wazír Abú Ghálib b. Khalaf duly undertook the necessary expedition and defeated Badr's son, after which although the victors plundered Badr's hoard, they then restored the fortress to him (400).²

We may now turn to the condition of Bagh^hdád at this period. After 384 when Bahá al-Dawlah finally left Bagh^hdád he was represented there by his deputies. From the time of the death of 'Adud al-Dawlah, the city had reverted to lawlessness and anarchy, and now the Amír's absence worsened the situation. Not until the year 392--when Bahá al-Dawlah sent to Bagh^hdád Abú 'Alí ibn Ustádhurmuz, the Daylamite chief who had surrendered to him after Šamsám's death--were law and order restored there. Bahá al-Dawlah first appointed Ibn Ustádhurmuz governor of Ahwáz with the title '*Amíd al-Juyúsh*' and then in 392 made him governor of 'Iráq.

The appointment of 'Amíd al-Juyúsh as governor of Bagh^hdád was welcomed because of the skill in administration and the keen sense of justice which he had already displayed as governor of Ahwáz. On his appointment he wrote to the leading persons of the capital promising them fair treatment. He entered Bagh^hdád in Dhú'l-Hijjah, 392, when the streets were decorated in his honour and arches were set up. Dirhams were showered upon him in a number of places and blessings bestowed on him. This reception of 'Amíd al-Juyúsh recalls the reception earlier accorded to 'Adud al-Dawlah and perhaps it was in fact even heartier. On arrival he paid a courtesy visit to the two princes Abú Shujá' and Abú Táhir, the sons of Bahá al-Dawlah and then took up residence in a palace at the Bá^hb al-Sha'ír.³

Thus appointed 'Amíd al-Juyúsh remained in Bagh^hdád for eight years and seven months and proved the most successful administrator of our period after 'Adud al-Dawlah himself. The son of Abú Ja'far Ustádhurmuz, who had been one of the Hájibs of 'Adud al-Dawlah, 'Amíd al-Juyúsh inherited the military tradition of the 'school of 'Adud' to which his father belonged, so that we find him applying the same

1 Ath. IX, 138-139.

2 Ath. IX, 149-152.

3 H., 438.

principles in the administration of Baghdád as had been applied by 'Adud. Like 'Adud he was ruthless in upholding the law, and like him again he realised that the public performance of religious ceremonies was the root cause of all the religious riots and the consequent lawlessness and anarchy. In the second year of his arrival, therefore, he prohibited the Sunnah and the Shí'ah from public observance of their religious ceremonies.¹ Free from religious bigotry, he treated the Shí'ah and the Sunnah, the 'Alids and the 'Abbásids alike. He ordered that the capture of an 'Alid bandit must be coupled with that of an 'Abbásid one and both should be drowned together in the Tigris in broad daylight, so that it might set an example to the public. He also arrested a number of Turkish chieftains along with their dependents and supporters who had tyrannised over the people. As a result rogues and malefactors of every description fled away out of fear for him. By his ruthless measures he effectively put an end to the civil strife that had distracted the capital and established a stable government so that not only the city itself but also the roads leading to it became safe.²

Among the executed was a certain 'Alid called Abú 'Alí al-Karrámí, who used to violate the people's homes and commit atrocities of every kind. To avoid arrest this man took shelter with an influential 'Alid officer. But 'Amíd al-Juyúsh was no respecter of persons in matters of law and discipline and his chamberlain entered the house of the said officer and arrested the criminal in his presence. When Baghdád was thus made free of them the gangs of bandits were then pursued into the neighbouring districts and other towns, and having no refuge or stronghold left to them fled far away, so that people were at last delivered from their scourge and in a similar way he proceeded to deal with certain criminal clerks and officials who were in league with the bandits, drowning a number of them at different times.³ In particular Abú'l-Qásim ibn al-'Ājiz, who had for sometime been administrator of Baghdád before him was decapitated and his head was paraded on both sides of Baghdád while his trunk was thrown into the Tigris.⁴

As already mentioned 'Amíd al-Juyúsh prohibited the Sunnah and the Shí'ah from public celebration of their religious ceremonies and thus put a stop to religious quarrels. But during his absence in Kházistán in 398 sectarian strife again broke out so that on his return 'Amíd not only banished a Shí'í faqíh, Ibn al-Mu'allim, whom he considered mainly responsible but also banned the holding of religious assemblies by the

1 H., 458; I.J. VII, 222.

2 H., 439.

3 H., 439-440.

4 H., 442.

preachers with the result that situation again returned to normal, on which, however, he allowed Ibn al-Mu'allim to return and also permitted the preachers to resume their assemblies after taking from them a guarantee that they would in no way incite people to religious strife.¹

'Amíd al-Juyúsh was equally successful in organising the administration, re-establishing some of the old Díwáns, and creating some new ones particularly those relating to the army. He also revised the rolls of the army, classified troops and removed those unfit for service.²

The administrative measures taken by 'Amíd al-Juyúsh produced the desired effect. Ibn al-Jawzí tells us how 'Amíd ordered one of his slaves to carry on his head a silver tray full of gold dínárs all the way from al-Najmá to the 'Upper Toll Houses'³ and not to resist anyone trying to snatch the tray from him but simply to recognise the place. The slave came back at midnight to inform 'Amíd al-Juyúsh that not a single individual had even approached him though he had travelled throughout the whole city.⁴

Ibn al-Jawzí relates another story to illustrate 'Amíd's integrity and honesty—qualities so conspicuous by their absence in the administrators of those days. When an Egyptian Christian died in 'Iráq leaving behind some property 'Amíd's deputy Abú 'Alí al-Rukhkhají suggested that the property should be deposited in the government treasury till an heir to the deceased could be traced. But 'Amíd declined to include it in the treasury, though temporarily. After some time a brother of the deceased arrived and duly received the property back. The man went back to Egypt and to an assembly of traders related what had occurred to their admiration. The traders only wished they could enjoy such security as was afforded by the regime of 'Amíd al-Juyúsh.⁵

'Amíd al-Juyúsh died in 401, on which Bahá al-Dawlah appointed Abú Ghálib b. Khalaf, who had been his Wazír, to succeed 'Amíd in the administration of Baghdád, with the title of *Fakhr al-Mulk*. As an administrator, *Fakhr al-Mulk* was equally successful except in one important respect that, in religious matters he was inclined to the *Shí'ah*

1 I.J. VII, 237-238.

2 H., 442-443 for his re-organisation of the Diwans, (see below Chapter VII).

3 Al-Najmá was to the extreme south of western Baghdád and the Ma'ásir al-álá to the extreme north of it. (Michael, Ma'ásir, 64-5).

4 I.J. VII, 253.

5 I.J. VII, 253. 'Utbi (Vol. II, 116) has a short notice of 'Amíd though he considers 'Amíd's successor *Fakhr al-Mulk* greater as a ruler.

and the first thing he did was to lift the ban of 'Amíd al-Juyúsh on the Shí'í ceremonies, so that in 402 the 'Áshúrá ceremony was revived.¹

One of his concerns was the safety of the pilgrim routes, which were now infested by the Khafája Bedwins and he asked the Mazyadid 'Alí who was now a faithful ally of the Buwayhids to pursue them and their leader. 'Alí was successful not only in arresting some of these robbers with their leader whom he sent to Baghdád but also in releasing many pilgrims who had been imprisoned by the Khafája and had been given up for lost.²

But Fakhr al-Mulk was chiefly famous for his charities and works of welfare. He may be said to have inherited 'Adud al-Dawlah's tradition as regards charitable activities while 'Amíd al-Juyúsh inherited it as regards administrative and military matters. Fakhr al-Mulk made occasional contributions towards the maintenance of the cemetery of Quraysh in Baghdád, and the tombs of 'Alí and Husayn in Kúfah and Karbalá. On the days of the 'Íds he used to distribute clothes, food and money among the indigent. He used also to attend the public mosque for prayers and bestow charities on the Khatíbs and Mu'adhhdhins. He contributed much towards the release of prisoners from the qádi's prison.³ Those who were in prison for debts of paltry sums such as ten dirhams were at once released after he had paid these dues on their behalf while those who owed more were released on bail. Similarly he released people from the police prison⁴ when the offences were trivial and the offenders' repentance sufficient. For all these activities people prayed for him in the public mosques and markets.⁵

Fakhr al-Mulk took a special interest in the repair of breaches in the dams which had again been neglected after the death of 'Adud al-Dawlah particularly since in the very year of his assumption of office there occurred a great flood of the Tigris by which many weirs were broken.⁶ Fakhr al-Mulk accordingly undertook the repair of the "Dam of the Jews" on the Nahrawán Canal going personally to the place, taking a bundle of reeds in his hands and throwing them down into the breach; whereupon the workers followed his example by carrying earth with which to repair it, on their heads. The Wazír

1 I.J. VII, 254.

2 I.J. VII, 260-261.

3 حبس القاضي

4 حبس المعونة

5 I.J. VII, 256. By sheer mistake these activities are attributed to Bahá al-Dawlah by Levy in 'A Baghdád Chronicle', p. 168.

6 I.J. VII, 251-252.

remained there throughout the night, supervising the work of people, till the breaches were mended. The whole country again flourished under his regime and he was able in the same year to raise 10,000 Kurrs in crops and 50,000 dínárs in cash as revenue.¹

Here we may undertake a brief review of the position of the Buwayhid army under Bahá al-Dawlah. During this period the garrison of Baghdád came to be more and more exclusively composed of Turks, though the Daylamite element was still not altogether absent, whereas in Fárs and Ahwáz the army was mainly Daylamite. The struggle between Bahá al-Dawlah and Šamšám al-Dawlah was virtually therefore a struggle between the Turks and the Daylamites, and the ultimate victory of Bahá al-Dawlah implied a victory for the Turks. The Daylamites suffered a great deal in the process and the Buwayhid rulers deliberately suppressed this free soldiery in favour of slave Turks. We may give here a few instances of the manner in which the Daylamites were crushed. When Šaraf al-Dawlah entered Baghdád in 376 there was a serious Daylamite rising against the Turks. But when ultimately the battle resulted in a defeat of the Daylamites, the Turks killed 3,000 of them.² Then the accession of Bahá al-Dawlah was again followed by a Daylamite-Turkish riot as a result of which the power of the Turks was further increased.³ Finally when in 384 Tughán gained a victory over the Daylamites of Šamšám al-Dawlah he massacred about 2,000 Daylamite prisoners.⁴

Even Šamšám al-Dawlah, while ruling in Fárs, started a purge in his army though, as mentioned, it mainly consisted of Daylamites. In 388 he instituted a strict inquiry into the genuineness of their origin and as a result a large number of Daylamites were dismissed.⁵ This mistaken policy led in the end to his death. For the disbanded Daylamites joined the sons of Bakhtiyár, at whose hands, as we have seen, Šamšám al-Dawlah lost his life.⁶

After the death of Šamšám al-Dawlah the relics of his Daylamite army entered into the service of Bahá al-Dawlah under their leader Abú 'Alí ibn Ustádhurmuz (later known as 'Amíd al-Juyúsh). During the rule of the latter in Baghdád the Turks and the Daylamites were equally well-treated under their respective marshals. But on the whole the power of the Daylamites was on the decline as a result of the events

1 I.J. VII, 100; MU. MS., f. 86.

2 S., 133.

3 S., 158.

4 S., 256-257.

5 S., 312.

6 See above, 162.

that we have related. The Turks were gathering strength with what consequence we shall see during the reign of Jalál al-Dawlah.

One important event of great significance in the Eastern Caliphate that took place during the reign of Bahá al-Dawlah was the fall of the Sámánids of Transoxania and Khurásán. The Sámánid power, though a rival of the Buwayhid, acted as a sort of bulwark against the westward movement of the Turkish or Turkoman tribes from the east. The Sámánids succumbed to the rivalry and jealousy of their army chiefs. In 389 Maḥmúd of Ghaznah having defeated the Sámánid ruler 'Abd al-Malik in Marw and wrested Khurásán from him, wrote a letter to the Caliph al-Qádir declaring his allegiance to him and so far the first time the name of al-Qádir was announced from the pulpits of Khurásán (since on the deposition of Al-Tá'i the Sámánids had declined to recognise al-Qádir).¹ Then six months after the defeat of 'Abd al-Malik at the hands of Maḥmúd, the Ilak Khán Abú Naṣr Aḥmad b. 'Alí of the Qarákhánid dynasty of Turkestan occupied Bukhárá, the last stronghold of the Sámánids and took 'Abd al-Malik and his relations captive.² Though for a time the Ghaznavids and the Qarákhánids quarrelled among themselves over the division of the Sámánid empire the fall of the Sámánids paved the way for the westward migration of a number of vigorous Turkish tribes and thus upset the whole balance of power, as we shall see.

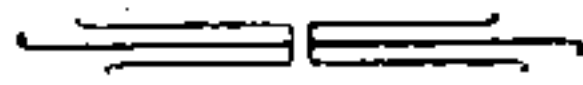
Bahá al-Dawlah died of the same disease as his father—epilepsy—in Arraján in Jumádá ii. 403.³ His twenty four years' rule saw a gradual decline in the Buwayhid power. New forces were taking shape on the horizon and in these respects his reign is very significant though uneventful from the point of view of the Buwayhids' destiny. The historians wrote rather harshly of him. It was said that he was a tyrant, an oppressor, a shedder of blood and ill-tempered, so that his boon companions, for instance, would run away from him out of fear and that none among the Banú Buwayh was more tyrannical and more ill-tempered than he. He was given to imposing heavy fines and in one

¹ H., 340-341.

² H., 373-374.

³ Ath. IX, 169; I.J. VII, 264; Sibṭ II, f. 190 b; 'Utbi II, 20 and all other later chroniclers give the date of Bahá's death as 403 A.H. Miles in his 'Numismatic History of Rayy' (p. 183) raises the evidence of one or two coins of Bahá al-Dawlah dated 404 and accepts Rabí' i 404—the date given by Hamdu'lláh Mustawfí (p. 430)—as the date of Bahá's death. But the fact that in Rabí' i, 404 the formal investiture for Bahá al-Dawlah's son Sultán al-Dawlah was held in Baghdád during his absence in Shiráz (MU. MS., f. 12a; I.J. VII, 266), and also the fact that the weight of universal evidence is for 403 are conclusive enough to set aside the two coins, one from Rayy and another from Madinat al-Salám, these being still issued in Bahá's name before the formal investiture for his son was held.

way and another amassed vast wealth. But he was at the same time very niggardly.¹ The censure of the historians is due perhaps to Bahá al-Dawlah's failure to display any of the good qualities of his father 'Adud al-Dawlah. For as a matter of fact all the vices mentioned as being his were indulged in no less by his father, the greatest of the Buwayhids.



¹ I.J. VII, 264; M. MS., f. 10a-b.

CHAPTER VI

SUCCESSORS OF BAHÁ AL-DAWLAH IN BAGHDAD

(A.H. 403-447)/(A.D. 1012-1055).

(A.H. 403-416).

(a) SULTAN AL-DAWLAH AND MUSHARRIF AL-DAWLAH

Before his death at Arraján (Jumada ii, 403), Bahá al-Dawlah wrote a letter to Fakhr al-Mulk in Baghdád announcing the nomination of his son Abu Shuja (Sultán al-Dawlah) as his successor and asking Fakhr al-Mulk to take an oath of allegiance for him from the army.¹ After the death of Bahá al-Dawlah, Sultán al-Dawlah proceeded from Arraján to Shíráz and entrusted the government of Basrah and Kirmán to his brothers Abú Táhir Rukn al-Dín (later known as Jalál al-Dawlah), and Abu'l-Fawáris respectively.²

Like his father Sultán al-Dawlah decided to remain in Shíráz, and 'Iráq was governed by the deputy Fakhr al-Mulk as before. In his absence next year (Rabi i, 404), the formal investiture of Sultán al-Dawlah took place in Baghdád. Fakhr al-Mulk went to the Caliph's palace where he convened a meeting of officials and ordinary people at which the Caliph's secretary read out the letter of investiture. As had now become usual, the Amír also received a series of titles from the Caliph. Towards the end of his life Bahá al-Dawlah had received from the Caliph a second pair of titles; '*Qiwám al-Dawlah Safiy Amír al-Mu'minin*' in addition to the original titles '*Bahá al-Dawlah wa Diyá al-Millah*'.³ The titles now given to Sultán al-Dawlah were even lengthier; namely, '*Imád al-Dín Sharf al-Dawlah Mu'ayyid al-Millah Mughíth al-Ummah Safiy Amír al-Mu'minin*'.⁴ In addition to the usual robes of honour, flags and horses the Caliph sent to the Amír a special sword instructing the servant in whose care it was conveyed to gird Sultán al-Dawlah with it so that by means of it, 'he might conquer the East and the West.' The presents were conveyed by two important officials to Shíráz where Sultán al-Dawlah delightedly donned the robes.⁵ But the gorgeous ceremony had unfortunate consequences, for Mahmud b. Subektekin on receiving news of it objected to the Caliph's use of

¹ MU. MS., f. 10b.

² Ath. IX, 169, M. Kh., 45.

³ H., 418.

⁴ MU. MS., f. 12b.

⁵ MU. MS., f. 12b; I.J. VII, 266-267; Dh. II, 4a.

the words, 'conquer the East and the West' as he considered this to be a privilege reserved for himself, and despatched a note of protest. The Caliph al-Qádir had to apologise and mollify Maḥmūd by sending him presents.¹ In a similar assembly held the next year (405) the Caliph confirmed Abú Tāhir Rukn al-Dín in his governorship of Baṣrah giving him the title of '*Jalál al-Dawlah wa Jamál al-Millah*.'²

From early in his reign Sultán al-Dawlah fell under the influence of some court officials who formed themselves into a sort of junta which deprived him of all real power. These people together with, the Wazír whom they chose were known as *Mudabbirín li 'l-Dawlah*, "the managers of the State".³ There were three of them; Abu'l-Khaṭṭáb Ḥamzah ibn Ibráhím, the astrologer, who had already become an influential Courtier under Bahá al-Dawlah; Abú Mansúr Mard-dost, who belonged to the entourage of al-Muwaffaq, Bahá al-Dawlah's Wazír; and Abu'l-Misk 'Anbar called al-Aṭhír, a eunuch in the personal service of the late Amír.⁴

One of the first actions of this group was the execution of Fakhr al-Mulk, who, as we have seen, had so efficiently managed the affairs of Baghdád since the death of 'Amíd al-Juyúsh. In 406 Sultán al-Dawlah moved from Shíráz to Ahwáz, probably in order to acquaint himself with the affairs of Khúzistán and 'Iráq. Urged by Abu'l-Khaṭṭáb he invited Fakhr al-Mulk to pay him a visit. Fakhr al-Mulk at once took alarm and declined to obey till he had received a safe conduct from Abu'l-Khaṭṭáb. He also took the precaution of presenting Sultán al-Dawlah and his Courtiers with immense and valuable gifts. As a result no opposition was offered to his peaceful return to Baghdád.⁵

But he had hardly been back three months in Baghdád when letters came from Abu'l-Khaṭṭáb and al-Aṭhír making him to hasten again to Ahwáz in order to take part in the struggle that had broken out between Sultán al-Dawlah and his brother Abu'l-Fawáris, the ruler of Kirmán. On this occasion Fakhr al-Mulk seems to have had no such misgivings as before. In any case he immediately set out and duly took part in the fighting. The invitation was nevertheless a trap; one day, when riding out to the battlefield he was set upon by Abu'l-Khaṭṭáb's retainers and held under arrest; and though Sultán al-Dawlah was personally

1 MU. MS., f. 12b.

2 MU. MS., f. 17b.

3 MU. MS., f. 42b.

4 For details about the origin, the development and the breakup of this junta see below, Chapter VII.

5 MU. MS., f. 23b-24a.

opposed to his execution, he was prevailed upon to sanction it. (Rabí' i, 407).¹

In Baghdád the entire wealth of Fakhr al-Mulk was confiscated. A sum of 630,000 dínars was found to have been in his possession besides land and other property. This sum had been deposited with various people, but was traced by his former deputy, Abú 'Alí al-Rukhkhají. Incidentally a considerable proportion of this money had been lodged with Hilál al-Sábí, the well-known historian, who had been patronised by Fakhr al-Mulk; and this on account of his services as an historian he was not obliged to disgorge. Fakhr al-Mulk was, as we have seen, of a charitable disposition and among his papers was now found a will, by which he had bequeathed one-third of his property to certain 'Alids, 'Abbásids, and impoverished persons, all of whom he mentioned by name. During his lifetime Fakhr al-Mulk had been the author of various good works and building enterprises. Thus in Baghdád he built a hospital, repaired a bridge, and constructed a palace in the *Harím al-Táhirí*, (the palace of the famous Táhirid family),² known as '*al-Fakhriyyah*'. He was profuse in his charity to many jurists in 'Iráq and Khúzistán. He made it a custom to distribute *Hahwá* (sweets) on the 15th of Ramadán and every day he provided cloth for the clothing of some thousand beggars.³ Dhahabí is inclined to place him higher in rank, as a statesman and a general, than even Muhallabí, Ibn al-'Amíd and Ismá'il ibn 'Abbád. For he was equally versed in the arts of war and government.

A patron of learning, al-Karkhí's book on algebra called '*al-Fakhri*' was written for him.⁴ The execution of Fakhr al-Mulk was in fact a disaster for Baghdád, which thenceforward was to be the scene of all but perpetual disturbances.

In this struggle with his brother Abú'l-Fawáris Sultán al-Dawlah was in the end successful, though to begin with he suffered some reverses. Their quarrel began, when urged by some of his Daylamite troops, Abu'l-Fawáris elected to invade Fárs in Sultán's absence from

¹ MU. MS., f. 33a-33b.

² Al-Harím al-Táhirí was the palace of the famous Tahirid family occupying a part of Zubaydiyyah fief in Western Baghdád overlooking the Tigris. With the growth of the power of the Amír al-Umará this palace became a sort of state-prison for the deposed Caliphs such as al-Qáhir and al-Muttaqí, who ended their days in it. (Le Strange, *Baghdád*, 119-120.) By the time of Fakhr al-Mulk the palace was in a state of ruins and he chose this site for his palace of *al-Fakhriyyah*.

³ I.J. VII, 286-287; MU. MS., f. 33b; Ath. IX, 182; Dh. II, f. 60b.

⁴ Ibn Khall. III, 279. For Fakhr al-Mulk as a patron of learning, see Chapter X.

Shiráz. Sultán, however, succeeded not only in defeating him but also in chasing him out of his own province of Kirmán; so that Abu'l-Fawáris was obliged to seek refuge with Maḥmūd ibn Subektekin in Khurásán. Maḥmūd even espoused his cause assisting him with the loan of one of his leading generals; with the result that Abu'l-Fawáris not only recovered Kirmán but turned the tables on Sultán by evicting him from Shiráz. Having achieved this, however, Abu'l-Fawáris fell out with Maḥmūd's general who promptly returned to his master. This left Abu'l-Fawáris comparatively defenceless; on which Sultán al-Dawlah seized the opportunity to take the field against him again and again drive him out of both Fárs and Kirmán. This time Abu'l-Fawáris appealed for help to Muḥad^{dh}hib al-Dawlah, the ruler of the Baṭīnah, and as he was assisted with supplies by his younger brother Jalál al-Dawlah from Baṣrah, Sultán al-Dawlah judged it advisable to come to a settlement with him by which Abú'l Fawáris was restored to the government of Kirmán.¹ He was confirmed in this by the Caliph, who now entitled him Qiwám al Dawlah (409).²

The death of Fakhr al-Mulk, as I have remarked above, was followed by an outbreak of lawlessness and anarchy in the whole of 'Iráq. Not only Baghdád but also Wásit became the scene of incessant conflicts between the Shí'ah and the Sunnah with consequent heavy loss of life and property. As his new governor of 'Iráq Sultán al-Dawlah appointed Ibn Sahlán 'a man of tyranny and violence' after Abú 'Alí al-Ruk^{kh}khají had expressed his inability. Sultán al-Dawlah gave Ibn Sahlán the title of Falak al-Mulk, advancing to him a sum of one million dirhams for the management of the administration. Ibn Sahlán went first to Wásit, where he duly punished the bandits, after which he proceeded to Baghdád (Rabi ii, 409) where his arrival had the effect of dispersing the bad characters of that city too. To put an end to the Shí'í-Sunní strife Ibn Sahlán banished a group of particularly bigoted 'Abbásids, a measure which he balanced by also exiling a fanatical Shí'í faqíh, Abú 'Abdu'lláh Ibn al-Nu'mán. As a final measure he surrounded both the Karkh quarter, the stronghold of Shí'ism and the Báb al-Baṣrah, the centre of Sunní fanaticism with his Daylamite soldiery, who once at the helm of affairs proceeded to amuse themselves at the expense of the citizens. Thus, for instance, they compelled citizens anxious to celebrate the fast to drink wine, and perpetrated similar other excesses. Consequently Ibn Sahlán became unpopular with the Turks and the population in general with the result that the Turks sent a deputation to Sultán al-Dawlah, who was then in Wásit, complaining

¹ Ath. IX, 207-208; M. Kh., 45-46; MU. MS., f. 30b, 34b; 'Utbi Manini II, 206-215.

² I.J. VII, 292; Dh. II, f. 7a.

of Ibn Sahlán. In order to pacify them Sultán al-Dawlah promised to go in person to Baghdád: whereupon Ibn Sahlán took fright, left Baghdád and moved from place to place, ending up in the Baṭīḥah.¹

Sultán al-Dawlah according to his promise came to Baghdád towards the end of the year 409 and settled there. He insisted, in spite of the Caliph's protests, on having five nawbas at his gate.² He now appointed as Wazír first Abú Ja'far ibn Fasánjas and later Dhú'l-Sa'adatayn Abú Ghálib.³ But they seem to have had little real power since the affairs of the government were still in fact managed by the junta. During the wazirate of Dhú'l-Sa'adatayn Sultán al-Dawlah and "the managers of the State" made an attempt to induce al-Sharábi (who had succeeded Muhadhhib al-Dawlah in the Baṭīḥah) to surrender Ibn Sahlán. Al-Sharábi, however, refused as it was against the established tradition of the Baṭīḥah to deliver up any fugitive. Sultán then, on the advice of the junta, sent an army against al-Sharábi, who was duly captured and the Baṭīḥah itself was occupied. But Ibn Sahlán escaped and found shelter with Jalál al-Dawlah in Baṣrah.⁴

Though it was at the request of the Turkish soldiery that Sultán al-Dawlah had come to stay in Baghdád, after no more than one year it became apparent that he was unable to satisfy their demands in the matter of pay. In 411 the army revolted, the leaders deciding to depose him in favour of his youngest brother Abú 'Alí (later known as Musharrif al-Dawlah). On this Sultán al-Dawlah first tried to put Musharrif under arrest but on second thoughts sent a note to him asking him to leave Baghdád. He would perhaps have done so, if he could, but the revolted Turkish soldiery would not allow him to. When, however, they next approached him and asked him to assume the powers of government, he declined to shoulder a responsibility that had proved too heavy for his eldest brother. Eventually, on the insistent demand of the Turkish soldiery, it was decided between the brothers that Musharrif al-Dawlah should stay in Baghdád as deputy of Sultán al-Dawlah, while the latter should rule over Ahwáz and Fárs. The agreement was concluded with a mutual swearing of oaths in the presence of the chiefs of the Daylamites and the Turks. Further it was settled that neither prince would appoint Ibn Sahlán as Wazír, presumably because he was unacceptable to the Turks in Baghdád who were not only unwilling to be directly controlled by him, but also feared that if

1 MU. MS., f. 366; Ath. IX, 216-217.

2 For the quarrel of the Caliph with the Amír over this privilege, see below, Chapter XI.

3 MU. MS., f. 37b; Ath. IX, 219-220; I.J. VII, 290.

4 MU. MS., f. 40a; Ath. IX, 217.

Sultán al-Dawlah appointed him it would result in the abrogation of this agreement.¹

Sultán al-Dawlah, however, lost no time in disregarding this stipulation. Without even waiting until he should reach Ahwáz he summoned Ibn Sahlán from Baṣrah and made him Wazír, endowing him with additional titles,² even allowing him the privilege which the Caliph still grudged the Amír al-Umará himself—of having five nawbas daily at his gate.

The appointment of Ibn Sahlán as Wazír by Sultán al-Dawlah was a signal for war which broke out afresh between him and Musharrif al-Dawlah. Ibn Sahlán enlisted the services of the Daylamites, called them from near and far, gave them money and presents and proceeded to Wásit to fight Musharrif al-Dawlah who on his side appeared with a force of Turks and Arabs and halted on the western side of the city. Fierce fighting ensued and though some of the Daylamites deserted from Ibn Sahlán, the battle raged long. Musharrif al-Dawlah was advised by the junta that had accompanied him in the battle-field (consisting of Marddost, Abu'l-Khaṭṭáb and al-Aṭhír who continued to manage the government after even Sultán had left Baghdád) to declare himself formally Amír for, hitherto, he had been merely a deputy for his brother; and to appear on the field of battle so that Ibn Sahlán's Daylamites might hail him as the real Amír al-Umará and surrender to him. Musharrif al-Dawlah still wavered in his mind for he disliked a complete breach with his brother; but he was at length persuaded to fall in with this plan on which the Daylamites, though, as usual, they began by fiercely resisting, afterwards surrendered. Their desertion placed Ibn Sahlán in an exceedingly precarious position and though he entrenched himself in the citadel of Wásit, he was soon reduced to such sore straits for want of supplies that he decided to surrender, negotiating with Musharrif al-Dawlah to enter his service. But Musharrif al-Dawlah had in fact no intention of so employing him, and on his appearance promptly arrested and later blinded and killed him. Musharrif al-Dawlah, while still in Wásit, was now declared '*Sháhansháh*' from the pulpits; and ordered five nawbas to be played at the five hours of prayer (Dhú'l-Hijjah, 411).³ Moreover, in Baghdád

1 MU. MS., f. 42a.

2 'Amíd al-Dawlah wa Za'im al-Ummah *Shams al-Dín* in addition to *Falak al-Mulk* which he had conferred upon him earlier.

3 MU. MS., 42b-44a; Ath. IX. 224; M. KH. 46-47.

As regards the title of *Sháhansháh* and its recital in the *Khutbah* Musharrif could have it done while still in Wásit, for, its recital in Baghdád had not still become customary and its recital in the Arabic form of '*Malik al-Mulúk*' sixteen years later by Jalál al-Dawlah even with the permission of the Caliph

after this victory the Khutbah was read for him, the name of Sultán al-Dawlah being withdrawn (Muḥarram, 412).¹

The news of the surrender of Ibn Sahlán and later that of his arrest greatly perturbed Sultán al-Dawlah. He now moved from Shíráz to Arraján intending to decide the issue with Muḥarrif al-Dawlah. The latter also crossed over to the eastern side of Wásit proposing to set out against his brother; but the Turks in his service became clamorous for their pay and instead of accompanying him returned to Baghdád. Muḥarrif al-Dawlah was consequently left with the Daylamites who had only recently surrendered to him. Nevertheless, these Daylamites professed their eagerness to fight Sultán al-Dawlah and asked for someone to lead them. Muḥarrif al-Dawlah sent his Wazír Dhú'l-Sa'adatayn Abú Ghálib to lead them; but it now appeared that the Daylamites had actually intended treachery from the first and on reaching Ahwáz they declared for Sultán al-Dawlah and killed Abú Ghálib.² When Sultán al-Dawlah heard the news of Abú Ghálib's death he was naturally much relieved. He himself returned to Shíráz and sent his son Abú Kálíjár who was only twelve to rule over Ahwáz.³

Muḥarrif al-Dawlah was now in a sad predicament. He dared not leave Wásit without coming to an arrangement with his brothers. He tried to make up for his reverses by concluding a peace treaty with Jalál al-Dawlah; but peace with Sultán al-Dawlah was, at that stage, much more necessary for him. Actually two persons came forward on behalf of these two sovereigns to make a settlement. They were Abú 'Alí al-Rukhkhají (who was made by Wazír Muḥarrif with the title of '*Mu'ayyid al-Mulk*' after Dhú'l-Sa'adatayn's death), and Abú Muḥammad ibn Mukram *al-Awḥad*, the Wazír of Sultán al-Dawlah. It was decided that 'Iráq would remain in the hands of Muḥarrif (this time not as Sultán's deputy), while Sultán would be secure in his possession of Ahwáz and Fárs. Both took oaths not to trespass on each others dominions (413).⁴

Muḥarrif al-Dawlah could now move from Wásit to Baghdád which he reached in Muḥarram 414. So proud did he feel at his

was considered blasphemous by the mob who pelted the Khatib with brickbats. (I.J. VII. 97-98).

As for the beating of drums (Nawbas) Muḥarrif al-Dawlah on his return to Baghdád remained satisfied with three times instead of five which he could freely do while in Wásit without incurring the displeasure of the Caliph.

1 MU. MS., f. 53a; Ath. IX, 228; M. Kh., 47.

2 MU. MS., f. 53a, 54a, 55b; I.J. VII, 3; Ath. IX, 228; M. Kh., 47.

3 I.J. VII, 3; MU. MS., f. 54a-b.

4 MU. MS., f. 57a; Ath. IX, 230; M. Kh. 47.

achievement that like his powerful predecessors he asked the Caliph al-Qádir to come and receive him on the way. Accordingly the Caliph came accompanied by two of his sons, the Naqíbs of the 'Alids and 'Abbásids and the chief Qádí, Musharrif al-Dawlah kissed the ground before the Caliph and then entered the Dár al-Mamlakah.¹

Luckily for Musharrif al-Dawlah in the following year his brother Sultán al-Dawlah died as a result of a drinking bout in Shurár at the age of thirty-two (415).² When the news of his death reached Baghdád the Wazír Abu'l-Qásim al-Maghribí (who had succeeded Mu'ayyid al-Mulk in the wazirate as the result of a court intrigue engineered by al-Athír, a member of the famous junta), assembled the Turks, the Daylamites and others to take a fresh oath of allegiance for Musharrif al-Dawlah. This would suggest that a section of the army and the people till then had looked upon Sultán al-Dawlah as the real Amír al-Umará since he was the nominee of the late Amír Bahá al-Dawlah. The Wazír called the Naqíbs of the 'Alids and 'Abbásids, the chief Qádí and a group of witnesses to arrange the performance of the oath-ceremony. Strangely enough the Caliph who himself usually organised such functions was not called; nor was his permission sought. The Caliph not unnaturally took offence at this omission and threatened to leave the capital. This frightened Musharrif al-Dawlah who had to allay the suspicion of the Caliph by a mutual taking of oaths with him (Safar, 415).³

Musharrif al-Dawlah was destined, however, to enjoy the Amirate of Baghdád only one year after this oath-taking, for, he died in Rabí'í, 416. The choice of an Amír al-Umará was now the task of the

1 I.J. VII, 12; MU. MS., f. 59b; Ath. IX, 233.

2 Qiftí, 411; Ath. IX, 236; I.J. VIII, 17; MU. MS., f. 63a.

Sultán al-Dawlah died of excessive drinks for some days and nights, Qiftí mentions a story how the physician Abū'l-'Alá was called to attend him at the last moment and he feared to cup him and wanted that the Wazír al-Awḥad should be present with him. While these negotiations were going on Sultán al-Dawlah died. (Qiftí, 411).

As for the date of the death of Sultán al-Dawlah, Ibn al-Athír and Qiftí say that it occurred in Shawwál, 415 but as both Ibn al-Jawzī and the MU. MS., state clearly that after the death of Sultán al-Dawlah the oath between Musharrif al-Dawlah and the Caliph al-Qádir took place on the 11th of Safar, 415 it is probable that Sultán al-Dawlah either died very early in 415 or if the month of Shawwál is to be taken seriously in Shawwál of the previous year (414).

The text of Ath. has it that Sultán died at the age of 22 which is impossible as he is mentioned by Abū Shujá' (p. 324) in 389 in connection with his appointment as governor of Ahwáz. I.J. and MU. MS., give the figure as 32 which is very likely.

3 I.J. VIII, 15-16; MU. MS., f. 63a.

all-powerful Turkish soldiery, who wavered between Jalál al-Dawlah and Abú Kálíjár, the son of Sultán al-Dawlah. First they decided that Jalál al-Dawlah should be Amír al-Umará and accordingly read his name in the Khutbah. Jalál al-Dawlah, however hesitated to come to Baghdád as he had no money to satisfy the demands of the army. These troops therefore inclined towards Abú Kálíjár, as being the nominee of Sultán al-Dawlah. They therefore now read his name in the Khutbah and wrote to him to come to Baghdád. Abú Kálíjár promised to do so but he could not for the moment afford to leave for Baghdád, being engaged in a war with his uncle Abu'l-Fawáris, who after the death of his father contested with him the possession of Fárs.¹

In Baghdád meanwhile a period of lawlessness had begun during the life-time of Musharrif al-Dawlah and on his death disorders became more and more frequent. Bandits and evil characters appeared on both halves of the city raiding houses and plundering property at night by the light of torches and candles. Musharrif al-Dawlah and his troops were unable to bring the situation under control. The bandits burned the houses of important people. For instance some inhabitants of the Báb al-Basrah (a Sunnite quarter) burnt the house of Murtadá, the Naqíb of the 'Alids, whereupon some 'Alid bandits, so we are told, took vengeance by entering people's houses and torturing them till they yielded up their hidden treasure. Many police officers were killed in this confusion which continued after the death of Musharrif al-Dawlah up to the end of the year.

Being unable to deal with the situation the army in Baghdád sent for reinforcements to Wásit and many of the army commanders (Ispahsalárs) came and entered Baghdád. They sent an ultimatum to the bandits requiring them to leave the city, but as this went unheeded the Turks and the Ispahsalárs equipped themselves in battle array and on the morning of the 20th Muharram (417) declared a regular war against the bandits by the beating of drums and the blowing of horns. They attacked al-Karkh and its surroundings, killed many of the bandits and burnt down street after street. The inhabitants of al-Karkh and the Sharíf al-Murtadá sought refuge in the palace of the Caliph. When the situation came under control al-Karkh had still to suffer and pay a collective fine of 1000,000 dínárs imposed upon the inhabitants. With no Amír in Baghdád and the Turkish army absolutely supreme it is no wonder that the whole price of lawlessness was to be paid by al-Karkh, which was the Shí'í stronghold.² Meanwhile the Turks and their officers had grown weary of waiting for Abú Kálíjár. In the absence of an

1 MU. MS., f. 65a; Ath. IX, 243-244.

2 I.J. VIII, 24; MU. MS., f. 65a-65b; Ath. IX, 248. M. Kh., 49-50.

Amír the country was on the verge of ruin on account of the depredations of the Arab tribesmen, the Kurds and also the bandits. Among the troops there could not be any unity of purpose for want of a leader. So the Turks made a representation to the Caliph appealing to him in the sincerest language:

“You are our lord and master of our affairs: we have none else except you. At the death of Musharrif al-Dawlah we chose Jalál al-Dawlah in the hope that he would look after our affairs but he failed to do so. We then chose Abú Kálíjár considering that he would fulfil what he had promised but still we are worse off than ever. We are thankful to your honour for not opposing us in any of those decisions, but we realise that we have committed wrong and are now thoroughly repentent. We have none amongst us to unite our words and we like that you would kindly send for Jalál al-Dawlah asking him to come and assume the reins of government.”

The Caliph replied:

“You are our friends and children of our state. The first thing that we want of you is unanimity. First we decided for Jalál al-Dawlah but you wanted us to cancel it and though we did it accordingly it is improper both on your and our part. Then you changed your minds and took oath for Abú Kálíjár: so it would be unjust to cancel it again without proper reason. We carry on our shoulders heavy trusts for the Banú Buwayh and it would be unlawful to betray. Will you therefore leave us for sometime so that we may write to Abú Kálíjár and know his view.”¹

The Caliph then wrote to Abú Kálíjár remonstrating for his neglect of duty and inaction. But there was no reply from him and his conduct needs some explanation here. Shortly after the death of his father he was engaged in a war with his uncle Abu'l-Fawáris who following the death of Sultán al-Dawlah hastened to Shíráz and occupied it. Though Abú Kálíjár succeeded in ejecting his uncle from Shíráz, a revolt of the Daylamites who had a soft corner for Abu'l-Fawáris, compelled him to evacuate it. For some time Abú Kálíjár reconciled himself to the loss of Fárs and concluded a treaty with his uncle. But the unpopularity of Abu'l-Fawáris and his Wazír who oppressed people in Fárs provided a further opportunity for Abú Kálíjár to take action against his uncle and establish himself in Shíráz finally in 417.²

It was these preoccupations on the one hand and the attitude of his Wazír al-'Ádil (Bahrám b. Máfannah) that prevented Abú Kálíjár

¹ MU. MS., f. 67a-b; I.J. VII, 29; Ath. IX, 254; M. Kh., 49

² Ath. IX, 236-238; 238-239; M. Kh., 48-49.

from going to Baghḍād. After his final establishment in Fārs Abú Kálíjār made al-ʿĀdil his Wazír and administrator in Fārs (418) and it was this Wazír whose influence finally checked his temptation of becoming entangled in the affairs of Baghḍād though as we shall see he was offered the post repeatedly by the rebellious Turkish soldiery.¹

In the absence of any reply from Abú Kálíjār the *Khutbah* was again read for Jalál al-Dawlah who at last in Ramadán 418 started for Baghḍād. The Caliph as usual came out to meet him on the Tigris. Jalál al-Dawlah then entered the Dār al-Mamlakah. He, however, fell out with the Caliph over the question of the nawbahs which he wanted to have five times a day but to which the Caliph objected as being a competition of the Amír with him in rank. Jalál al-Dawlah as a protest gave up nawbahs altogether so that the Caliph had to yield and permit him all the five as originally claimed.²

(b) *Jalál al-Dawlah (418-435)*

The fact that Jalál al-Dawlah was called to Baghḍād by the Turkish soldiery meant that he was always to remain at their beck and call. The Turks were prepared at the most to tolerate him in the Amirate whereas he had no real control over them, so that they were even able repeatedly, on falling foul of him, to oblige him actually to quit the capital. Thus although Jalál al-Dawlah remained Amír al-Umará for about seventeen years, yet almost every year he had to face a mutiny on the part of these troops. On no less than five occasions (in 423, 424, 427, 428, 431) he was forced to leave his palace, twice taking shelter in the Karkh quarter with the Naqíb of the ʿAlids, and on three other occasions removing from Baghḍād altogether to beg help from one vassal ruler or another. The history of the reign of Jalál al-Dawlah is, therefore, the history of these endless series of rebellions and uprisings to which were added the Shíʿí-Sunní riots which we propose to discuss later. The sequel to such military uprisings and religious riots could be nothing but complete lawlessness and anarchy and for the first time organised banditry and free-booting on the part of professional criminals (ʿAyyárs) became a regular feature of life in both the western and eastern quarters of Baghḍād. It would be no exaggeration to say that during the whole reign of Jalál al-Dawlah there was hardly any effective government in the city.

The causes and nature of the military revolts were briefly as follows. The Amír remained perpetually incapable of paying the Turkish soldiery, since his direct authority was now confined merely to the capital and

1 MU. MS., f. 70a, 120a-b.

2 I.J. VIII, 30; MU. MS., f. 70a; Ath. IX, 254-5; M. Kh., 49-50.

its immediate environs. He did his best, it is true, to raise funds for the purpose by various methods, as for instance, the fining of officials,¹ the selling of gold and silver ornaments, jewels, clothes, utensils and other household goods.² But the sums thus obtained could hardly satisfy the troops, who very often took the law into their hands and proceeded to collect money on their own account. Thus once they plundered gold and silver ingots which the Amír had ear-marked for the minting of coin,³ while on another occasion they laid hands on the Amír's own 'private domains' appropriating therefrom fifty-four Sábúrí dinárs. They even proceeded to collect the Jawálí, that is, the poll tax, which was the Caliph's prerogative, interfered with the mint and then imposed duties for their own benefit on commodities imported into the capital from Mawṣil,⁴ while on still another occasion they removed Jálal's horses from his stables.⁵

Though the troops often charged Jalál al-Dawlah with his addiction to pleasure and luxury his condition was sometimes in reality no better than a mere pauper's. In 422 he became so utterly destitute that he let loose his horses for want of fodder, at the same time dismissing his courtiers, bed-makers and attendants and closing the gate of his palace.⁶ Even so coveted a privilege as that of the daily five *nawbahs* was now dropped, since the men who performed them were all dismissed.⁷

The prestige of the Amír and the sanctity of his person were thus quite destroyed. The Amír himself was conscious of this so that when in 423 the revolted Turks roughly handled the Wazír 'Amíd al-Dawlah, dragging him along the street, tearing his clothes and removing his turban, Jalál al-Dawlah, was able to console him by saying that son of Bahá al-Dawlah as he was, he himself had had to suffer even worse things from the Turks.⁸ How the Amír was actually treated can best be realised from one or two examples. During the revolt of the year 424 the Turks laid hold on him when he came out to hear of their complaints. They then conducted him on foot to the bank of the Tigris, made him embark on a boat, in which they rowed about with him, then made him land and stand for some time in the broiling sun, and finally kept him confined in a mosque.⁹ During the rebellion of the year 423, again, when the Amír asked for some money and a few retainers

1 MU. MS., f. 70b.

2 I.J. VIII, 35; MU. MS., f. 74a-b; Ath. IX, 257-258.

3 I.J. VIII, 35; Ath. X, 257.

4 I.J. VIII, 78.

5 *Ibid.*, 72-73.

6 I.J. VIII, 64; Ath. IX, 287 (422 A.H.).

7 I.J. VIII, 57; MU. MS., f. 96a.

8 Ath. IX, 288 (423 A.H.).

9 I.J. VIII, 72-73; MU. MS., f. 104a; Ath. IX, 293.

to accompany him in his exile, the soldiers granted him only twenty men and some sixty dīnārs, so that the unfortunate prince had to sell his clothes and furniture in the market and then seek shelter with Kamāl al-Dawlah Abū Sinān, the 'Uqaylid ruler of 'Ukbarā.¹

Sometimes Jalāl al-Dawlah tried to solve his problem by making up to the higher army-officers; but it seems when the interests of the rank and file conflicted with those of the officers, the Turks would turn equally hostile to their leaders and sometimes even proceeded to fight them on their own account. Thus in 422 they organised a revolt against two high officers named Yildirikh and Bārstughān and obliged them to leave Baghdād.² But usually on other occasions the soldiery and their leaders were united in opposition to the Amīr.

Jalāl's quarrel with his army was complicated by several other factors. For from the very beginning of his reign the Turkish troops of the capital were rightly or wrongly obsessed with the idea that his nephew Abū Kálījār, the ruler of Fārs and Ahwāz, might prove a better ruler; so that whenever they revolted they also sent an invitation to Abū Kálījār, asking him to come to Baghdād where on three occasions (in 416, 423 and 428) the Khutbah was actually read for him.

The revolts of the years 427 and 428 were closely linked up with pro-Abū Kálījār activities in Baghdād carried on by the commander-in-chief (the Hājib al-Hujjāb) Bārstughān. In 427 the Turkish troops instigated by the Hājib professed their allegiance to Abū Kálījār, from whom, they confessed, they had received money and letters. This mutiny resulted in Jalāl's leaving his palace, going for shelter to the house of the 'Alid Naqīb and thence proceeding northward into the territories of the 'Uqaylids. The rebellion ended as usual in Jalāl's return and as he laid the whole responsibility for the revolt at the door of Bārstughān, the latter thought it prudent to seek refuge in the palace of the Caliph; and all attempts of Jalāl al-Dawlah to eject or capture him proved fruitless.³ In the following year (428) while Bārstughān was still in the Caliph's palace the army again revolted and obliged Jalāl al-Dawlah to seek shelter in the house of the 'Alid Naqīb in Western Baghdād. The Turks then assembled before the Caliph's palace demanding that Bārstughān should emerge and assume their leadership. With the Caliph's consent accordingly Bārstughān came out, paid the troops and made a declaration establishing government in the name of Abū Kálījār, on which Jalāl al-Dawlah was so much alarmed that he left Western Baghdād for Awánā.⁴

1 Dh. II, f. 15b-16a; I.J. VIII, 64; MU. MS., f. 101a-b; Ath. IX, 288 (423 A.H.).

2 Ath. IX, 286.

3 MU. MS., f. 108a-109b; I.J. VIII, 89; Ath. IX, 303.

4 MU. MS., f. 111a-112b; Ath. IX, 308.

The temptation to oust his uncle was too much for Abú Kálíjár who accordingly sent an army to Wásit. There the local Turks also declared for him and the combined force forthwith drove out al-Malik al-'Azíz, Jalál's son and representative in Wásit. In Baghdád despite the Caliph's unwillingness the Turks compelled the Khatíb of the mosque of al-Baráthá to pray for Abú Kálíjár and two weeks later similarly compelled the mention of his name in the Khutbah in all the other mosques of the capital. The Caliph continued to emphasise the unlawfulness of such action. Yet the Turks went even further and had coins struck in Abú Kálíjár's name with the legends 'al-Malik al-'Ádil Sháhánsháh'.¹ Shortly afterwards, however, Jalál al-Dawlah succeeded with the help of some Kurds and Arabs and some provincial rulers in re-establishing himself on the West bank. He even repulsed an attack of Bárstughán on that part of the city. But, on the news of the approach of Abú Kálíjár's general Shiháb al-Dín, his supporters panicked and he again withdrew to the north. In due course Shiháb al-Dín arrived whereupon the Turks again obtained control over Western quarters.²

From his exile Jalál al-Dawlah now addressed letters to both Abú Kálíjár and the latter's Wazír al-'Ádil inviting them to a settlement but meanwhile in spite of his reinforcement by Shiháb al-Dín the star of Bárstughán had begun to sink. For Abú Kálíjár finally made up his mind not to go to Baghdád, on which the Turks became disunited and deserted the general. In this predicament Bárstughán decided to leave the capital, so that Jalál al-Dawlah was able to re-enter it without opposition, accompanied by two powerful vassal rulers, Dubays the Mazyadid and Hasan al-Khafájí. The army rejoined him and Jalál now deputed their leaders to pursue Bárstughán, himself following in their wake. They overtook Bárstughán in the neighbourhood of Dayr al-'Áqúl and on his falling from his horse in the fight he was easily captured and killed, Jalál al-Dawlah then hurried to Wásit and re-established his son there. The rebellion of Bárstughán lasted (from his coming out of the Caliph's palace till his death) for six months and ten days. The Khutbah in Baghdád was then restored to Jalál al-Dawlah.³

Jalál now addressed two more letters to Abú Kálíjár and al-'Ádil both of whom accepted his advances. This was because of the attitude of al-'Ádil who all the while insisted on his own inability to accompany Abú Kálíjár to a foreign and unknown land such as 'Iráq, and though

1 Covernton discusses a coin of Abú Kálíjár dated 428 with the same legends, see Numismatic Journal, fourth series, Vol. III, 1903, p. 178.

2 MU. MS., f. 112b-113b; Ath. IX, 308-309.

3 MU. MS., f. 115a-116b; Ath IX, 309; I.J. VIII, 91.

Abú Kálíjár had already sent his general Shiháb al-Dín to Baghdád he was finally constrained to fall back. As a result both the princes swore an oath of fidelity to each other, and it was settled that Jalál al-Dawlah should rule from Wásit to Baghdád while Abú Kálíjár should rule over the region from Baṣrah to Fárs (429).¹ The settlement was further strengthened by the marriages of a son and a daughter of Abú Kálíjár with a daughter and a son of Jalál al-Dawlah. These marriage ceremonies were marked by much mirth and gaiety and strangely enough despite his usual penury Jalál al-Dawlah was able to afford ordering dínars and dirhams to be thrown to the people in the streets of Baghdád (431).² After this alliance with Abú Kálíjár Jalál was left more or less undisturbed in his possessions till his death. But the problem of paying the soldiery remained insoluble and he had still to face another mutiny in 431.³

Thus Jalál's reign was mostly occupied with recurring revolts of the army. These together with the religious riots gave rise to a confused state of lawlessness in which the 'Ayyárs, Shuṭṭárs or Ḥarāmiyyah (as the criminals are variously called) flourished only too luxuriantly. These criminals who probably found it difficult because of several social factors to earn an honest living,⁴ had appeared in Baghdád as early as the beginning of the ninth century of the Christian era, so that throughout the whole of the tenth century they were a constant scourge. But for the first time during the reign of Jalál al-Dawlah we find them organised in bands, trained in a military fashion, carrying arms and perpetrating organised banditry in open defiance of authority.

We have seen how for about two years before the coming of Jalál al-Dawlah to Baghdád these criminals carried on their depredations. Henceforth we hear of them almost every year. The police officers and police guards suffered gravely at their hands, not to speak of the general public whose life and property were always insecure. On one occasion these bandits obliged the prefect of police (صاحب المعونه) to flee for his life.⁵ On another they set fire to his house.⁶ Once they killed five guards on duty⁷ and again broke open the police prison in

1 MU. MS., f. 120a-121a; Ath. IX, 309-310; I.J. VIII, 96.

2 MU. MS., f. 125b-126a. Ibn al-Athír puts the event under 429 (IX, 309-310).

3 I.J. VIII, 104-105; Ath. IX, 321.

4 An attempt to discuss the rise of the 'Ayyárs from the economic standpoint has been made by Duri, *Tarikh al-'Irāq al-Iqtisādī*, p. 93.

5 I.J. VIII, 54.

6 *Ibid.*, 88.

7 *Ibid.*, 45.

Western Baghdád killing some of the staff.¹ Even the troops were helpless before them. The situation became all the more complicated when the bandits, under their leader Abú 'Alí al-Burjumí, entered into a pact with the leaders of the army, who thereupon offered the bandits refuge in their quarters during the daytime, while at night they would issue forth and prey on the public.² The Shí'í-Sunni riots provided them with further opportunities. For the bandits themselves were sharply divided into two religious camps, each of which was supported and protected by the community to whose tenets it subscribed, the Sunni 'Ayyárs being also assisted by the Turkish soldiery.³

The rise of Abú 'Alí al-Burjumí, the leader of these criminals, lends peculiar interest to their movements. Al-Burjumí lived on a mound, amidst a thicket in Eastern Baghdád, five farsakhs long, surrounded by water. We hear of him first in 421 and thenceforth up to 425 his name inspired awe and terror in the heart of every individual in Baghdád. Beginning with Eastern Baghdád he and his companions eventually extended their operations on to the western quarters also. Such alarm did al-Burjumí come to inspire indeed that the inhabitants of the various quarters of Eastern Baghdád such as al-Ruṣáfah, Báb al-Táq and Dár al-Rúm dared not mention his name without adding the epithet 'The Commander' (al-Qá'id),⁴ and it is significant that a Turkish army chief on the occasion of the circumcision of his son thought it wise to please al-Burjumí by offering him lambs, fruit, drinks and presents.⁵

At length in 424 a group of commanders were commissioned by the authorities to deal with al-Burjumí in his strong-hold. But incredible as it may seem al-Burjumí made bold to face the regiments employed and twitted them for troubling to come to his house when every night he was in the habit of visiting theirs in the city. He then gave them the option of retiring or challenging him by entering his stronghold; and so lacking in self-confidence were the army leaders that they dared not accept the challenge but retired after negotiating a peace.⁶

Such an ignoble discomfiture to the army and the further depredations of the 'Ayyárs that naturally followed it exasperated the public, who at the next Friday prayer pelted the Khaṭīb in the mosque of

¹ I.J. VIII, 91.

² *Ibid.*, 72; MU. MS., 103b.

³ I.J. VIII, 78-79.

⁴ I.J. VIII, 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

al-Ruṣāfah protesting that the Khutbah should be recited either in the name of al-Burumí or for no one.¹

In 425 al-Burjumí went so far as to levy contributions on revenue-collectors. Thus he approached the revenue-collector of the 'Upper Toll Houses' at the Qatí'at al-Raqíq (in northern part of Western Baghdad); on which the latter agreed to pay him ten dínars every month from the proceeds of his collection, offering al-Burjumí two boats, which he proposed using for the protection of the area. At the same time he continued his robberies in the eastern quarters, then crossing to the west and raiding other quarters presumably because they declined to pay him protection money.² After this we are scarcely surprised to learn that the bandits were finally themselves put formally in charge of the protection of the city and were actually assigned the revenues usually due to the welfare officials from the market-places and further revenues which had been formerly exacted by the prefect of police from taverns and singing girls.³ At the same time they were officially designated commanders.⁴

However, it would appear that this alliance between the authorities and the bandits was not of long duration. For the latter soon resumed their activities under cover of a struggle between the Shí'ah and the Sunnah.⁵ Neither the Caliph nor the Amír could do anything to overcome al-Burjumí and it was not until the 'Uqaylid Qirwásh b. Muqallad put a price on his head and subsequently laid an ambush for him, that he was ultimately captured. Al-Burjumí offered Qirwásh large sums for his release but to no purpose and he was drowned in the Tigris in Ramadán 425.⁶

The activities of the criminals, however, did not cease even after the death of al-Burjumí. They still took shelter in the houses of the Turks, whence they came out at night; and even sent an ultimatum to the authorities demanding the dismissal of the new prefect of police. Indeed their activities went on unabated, they levied contributions on the religious retreats (زوايا) of the ascetics and publicly ate and drank during the fast of Ramadán quite undamped by the death of their

1 *Ibid.*, 75.

2 I.J. VIII, 76-77.

3 وفسح لهم في جباية ما كان اصحاب المصالح يجبونه من الاسواق و اعطوا ما كان لصاحب المعونة من ارتفاع المواخير والقيان -

4 I.J. VIII, 78.

5 *Ibid.*, 78-79.

6 I.J. VIII, 79; MU. MS., 104b; Ath. IX, 298-299.

leader.¹ This state of affairs continued till 429, after which Jalál al-Dawlah by virtue of his alliance with Abú Káljár regained some of his lost authority.

Jalál al-Dawlah died of inflammation of the liver in Sha'bán, 435 at the age of 51.² His authority was ultimately confined to Baghdád and its environs. For by that time though Wásit was still held by his son al-Malik al-'Azíz, Baṣrah and Khúzistán had been added to the territory held by Abú Káljár. During the seventeen years of his reign all real power had passed into the hands of the Turkish soldiery. It was frequently alleged by them against him that he was wholly addicted to luxurious living and failed to consider their interests. But this was certainly no true picture; as we have seen, the unfortunate Amír was at one time at least reduced to dispensing with even his personal attendants, porters and bed-makers. On the otherhand he cannot be exonerated from the charge of weakness and incapacity as a ruler, though it appears from a story related by Hilál that at times he tried to preserve the interests of the ordinary people against the aggression of his troops.³ At least on one occasion moreover he behaved in a highly unbecoming fashion, holding a drunken revel in the very gardens of the Caliph himself sitting under a tree drinking, while his flutist discoursed seductive airs—a most improper proceeding, for which, on coming to his senses, he asked the Caliph's forgiveness.⁴ Jalál was fond of games and hunting and was especially devoted to polo.⁵ At the same time he was a fine calligraphist and a friend of notable pious doctors as al-Dínawarí and al-Qazwíní. As a faithful Shí'í, duly respectful of the Imáms, he made a point of walking on foot for at least one farsakh on his visit to the Shrines of 'Alí and Husayn.⁶

(c) *Abú Káljár and al-Malik al-Rahím (436-447).*⁷

When Jalál al-Dawlah died, his eldest son al-Malik al-'Azíz was in Wásit. His younger sons,⁸ who were in Baghdád, appealed in touching tones to the Turks and their leaders, asking them to protect the interests of their family. The Turkish soldiery was moved by this appeal and

1 I.J. VIII, 82, 83.

2 I.J. VIII, 116, 118; Ath. IX, 353.

3 I.J. Adh., 40.

4 I.J. VIII, 67-68.

5 *Ibid.*, 68; Adh., 40.

6 Ath. IX, 353; *Guzída*, 431; I.J. VIII, 118; MU. MS., f. 156a-b.

7 For this section I am greatly indebted to late Bowen, H.C., my revered supervisor on whose article, 'The Last Buwayhids', (JRAS, 1929, p. 225) I have largely drawn.

8 Jalál left besides al-'Azíz, five other sons and as many as fifteen daughters (I.J. VIII, 118).

accordingly wrote to al-Malik al-'Azíz to come to Baghdád. Yet when Abú Kálíjár sent them a handsome consignment of solid gold from Fárs they immediately inclined instead towards him. This was of course quite natural, seeing what the army had already done for him on several occasions in Baghdád even during the life-time of Jalál al-Dawlah. Abú Kálíjár also sent ten thousand dínars as a present for the Caliph, with the result that the *Khutbah* was read for him in Baghdád in Safar 436 within six months of Jalál's death.¹ On the other hand al-Malik al-'Azíz, who at the invitation of the Turks had already started for Baghdád, was deserted half-way at al-Nu'mániyyah even by his own Turks, who turned back to Wásit and declared for Abú Kálíjár too. Al-'Azíz was consequently left helpless and spent the next five years moving from one provincial court to another begging assistance to assert his rights but all to no effect. He visited in turn the Mazyadíd Dubays, the 'Uqalid Qirwásh, Abú'l-Shawk, the Amír of Hulwán, the Seljukid Ibráhím Inál (half-brother of Tughril Beg) and finally the Marwánid Naṣr al-Dawlah. Twice he failed in his attempts to recover his fortunes, once making a raid on Baghdád itself and, after the death of Abú Kálíjár, another on Baṣrah. He eventually died in Rabī'ī, 441 at Mayyáfáriqín while with the Marwánid Naṣr al-Dawlah.²

Under Abú Kálíjár the Buwayhid territories of 'Iráq, Fárs and Kirmán were again united. He was popular not only with the soldiery in Baghdád but also with the various vassal rulers of 'Iráq. This was because unlike his uncle Jalál al-Dawlah's his regime in Fárs and Ahwáz was comparatively free of disturbances a circumstance largely due to the wise administration of his Wazír al-Ádil ibn Máfannah, who, however, died in 433 before his coming to Baghdád. Abú Kálíjár therefore arrived in 'Iráq with a good reputation and was acclaimed as ruler not only in Baghdád itself but also in the territories of the various provincial rulers whose allegiance to the Buwayhid Amírs had till then been decidedly undependable. These rulers were: Abú'l-Shawk, the Amír of Hulwán, Dubays the Mazyadid, and Naṣr al-Dawlah the Marwánid.³ It seemed for a time that under Abú Kálíjár the whole empire of 'Adud al-Dawlah except for the territories formerly under the House of Rayy had been revived. But it was only apparently so, for in reality all power had passed into the hands of the vassal rulers.

After visiting the shrines of Kúfah and Karbalá Abú Kálíjár duly entered Baghdád in Ramadán, 436 accompanied by only one hundred

1 I.J. VIII, 117, 119; Ath. IX, 352-353, 358; MU. MS., f. 138a-b.

2 Ath. IX, 353-354, 376; Dh. II, f. 194a, 197a, M. Kh., 52-53.

3 Ath. IX 358

horsemen, this to allay the suspicion of the Turks. The Caliph entitled him *Muhyi al-Din* on this occasion. Abú Kálíjár, however, fell out with the Caliph over the perennially vexed question of the *nawbahs* and despite the Caliph's protests insisted on having them played for him five times daily.¹

During the four years' rule of Abú Kálíjár in Baghdad (436-440), we find the hitherto unmanageable soldiery acquiescing in his authority and this can only be explained by the fact that he had enough money to pay them by virtue of his mastery not only of Baghdad and its dependencies but also of Ahwáz, Fárs, Kirmán and even 'Umán. Still the star of the Buwayhids was fast sinking and the rise of the Seljukids as successors to the now decadent Ghaznavid dynasty shifted the balance of power unfavourably for them. Abú Kálíjár was alive to this fresh danger which clearly menaced the eastern part of his kingdom. For this reason for the first time in its history he ordered the construction of the city walls around Shíráz. These walls commenced in 436 were completed in 440 (the year of his death).²

Luckily for Abú Kálíjár he was not drawn into any direct trial of strength with the Seljukids. It is true that when Ibráhím Inál late in 437 pushed his raids into the south-western Jibál Abú Kálíjár prepared to challenge him. But he was, perhaps fortunately, prevented from doing so by a large number of deaths among his transport animals.³ However, Abú Kálíjár realised very soon the true significance of the Seljukid incursions and reckoning that the only way to put a temporary check to them was by an alliance, in 439 he proposed a treaty to Tughril beg. The latter welcomed his move and duly instructed his brother Ibráhím Inál to stop further encroachment on the Buwayhid territories. The alliance was further strengthened by matrimony when Tughril married a daughter of Abú Kálíjár and Abú Kálíjár's second son Abú Mansúr Fúlád Sutún married a daughter of Tughril's elder brother Chagrí Beg Dá'úd.⁴

Abú Kálíjár, however, was not to enjoy the fruits of this alliance for long. Little more than one year after the conclusion of this pact (in Jumádá i, 440) he died at Khannáb in Kirmán. He had gone there to fight the governor of the province, who on being defeated by the

¹ Ath. IX, 236; I.J. VIII, 119; MU. MS., 137a.

² Ath. IX, 359, Yaq. Buld. III, 343; Fársnámah, 133.

³ Ath. IX, 359.

⁴ Ath. IX, 365-366; M. Kh. 53. Shortly before his death Jalál al-Dawlah also sent an embassy to Tughril.

Seljuqid Qawurd, a son of Chagri Beg, had allied himself with the invader. On this account after Abú Kálíjár's death, Kirmán was lost to the Buwayhids.¹

Before becoming Amír al-Umará Abú Kálíjár had fallen under the influence of the Ismá'ílí propaganda conducted from Shíráz by a Fátimid missionary known among the Ismá'ilis as al-Mu'ayyad fi'l-Dín al-Shírází. In about 431 when Abú Kálíjár, after suppressing a revolt in Başrah, returned to Shíráz, al-Mu'ayyad first entered into correspondence with him, inviting him to accept Ismá'ilism and claiming, absurdly of course, that most of Abú Kálíjár's forefathers had belonged to that religion.² In due course Abú Kálíjár succumbed to this propaganda, which was also skilfully disseminated among his Daylamite troops.³ But soon for various reasons Abú Kálíjár was obliged to sever all connections with the missionary. For not only a group of his courtiers including the Qádí al-quḍat of Shíráz persuaded him that the missionary was inciting the soldiery to revolt but the Caliph al-Qá'im coming to know of al-Mu'ayyad's activities sent orders to him asking him to get rid of the Dá'í.⁴ Meanwhile Jalál al-Dawlah died in 435 and Abú Kálíjár was negotiating with the Caliph to become Amír al-Umará in his place and it was not possible unless he had severed all connections with the missionary of the anti-Caliphs.⁵ It was only then that Abú Kálíjár passed orders banishing the Dá'í beyond the Euphrates and forbidding him on pain of death to return to 'Abbásid territories.⁶

Abú Kálíjár was succeeded by his eldest son Abú Naşr Khusraw Fírúz, who was in Baghdád at the time of his death. Abú Naşr summoned the leaders of the army and took the oath of allegiance from

1 Ath. X, 373; Kirmání, 69; M. Kh. 53.

2 Sirat al-Mu'ayyad, 13-15.

3 Fárshnámah, 119.

4 Sirah, 63-64.

5 Sirah, 73-74.

6 Fárshnámah, 119.

Al-Mu'ayyad in his autobiography does not mention his banishment; he says that Abú Kálíjár sent a letter asking him to go to the Imám in Egypt and then return in an opportune moment. (Sirah, 73-74). Another letter of Abú Kálíjár to him written on his way to Egypt is quoted in the Sirah (76-78). If al-Mu'ayyad is to be believed wholly we are to assume that in secret Abú Kálíjár still had a soft corner for the Dá'í though for political considerations he had to ask him to leave.

On the other hand the only casual reference to al-Mu'ayyad by Abú Shujá' would suggest a severe treatment like that described in the Fárshnámah, for Abú Shujá' compares Abú Kálíjár's treatment of al-Mu'ayyad with al-Hákim's execution of his guardian Arjuwán. (S., 232).

them. He then asked the Caliph al-Qā'im to introduce his name into the Khutbah and grant him the title *al-Malik al-Rahīm*. Though the Caliph objected to the title on the ground of its being one of the epithets reserved for the Deity, the prince was nevertheless invested with the Amirate with due pomp and pageantry and despite the Caliph's disapproval continued to be called 'the merciful prince'. Abū Kálījār's second son Abū Maṣṣūr Fúlād Sutún who was with him in Kirmán at the time of his death now occupied Fárs¹ and thenceforward disputed with al-Malik al-Rahīm the possession of both Fárs and Khūzistān. The death of Abū Kálījār thus gave rise to a confused civil war in which there joined not only the two protagonists al-Malik al-Rahīm and Fúlād Sutún, but also other sons of Abū Kálījār as suited their interests. Besides the long Buwayhid tradition of civil war between whichever members of the dynasty held 'Irāq and Fárs respectively, Fúlād's Seljukid connection aggravated the situation. Moreover al-Malik al-Rahīm, though unintentionally, threw another of his brothers into the arms of the Seljukids. In 444 he quarrelled with this brother, Abū 'Alī, and evicted him from Baṣrah, whereupon Abū 'Alī sought refuge in Isfahán with Ṭuḡhril beg, who received him with enthusiasm, gave him a Seljukid lady to wife, and promised him help against al-Malik al-Rahīm.²

The cleavage among the sons of Abū Kálījār was thus complete and it was the allies of the Seljukids—Fúlād Sutún and Abū 'Alī— who held the balance in their hands. After variable fortunes Fúlād finally at the end of 445 recovered Shíráz from another brother, allied with al-Malik al-Rahīm, and included the name of Ṭuḡhril beg in the Khutbah, though he did not altogether drop that of al-Malik al-Rahīm.³ Next year Abū 'Alī, reinforced with Ṭuḡhril Beg's Turkmans, occupied Ahwáz, so that al-Malik al-Rahīm was finally driven back into 'Irāq.⁴ For though he was temporarily recognised in Shíráz by a local chieftain Fúlād al-Daylamí, on his ejection of Fúlād Sutún from that city,⁵ the end of al-Malik al-Rahīm was in fact very near, since in 'Irāq itself a quarrel between the two highest dignitaries in the state paved the way for the unopposed entry of Ṭuḡhril Beg into Baghdád. It is to these circumstances that we shall now turn.

The immediate cause of Ṭuḡhril Beg's coming to Baghdád was the personal antagonism of Abū'l-Háarith Arslán al-Basásírí, the Turkish commander of al-Malik al-Rahīm to Ra'ís al-Ru'asá Ibn al-Maslamah,

¹ I.J. VIII, 136; Ath. IX, 374; M. Kh., 53.

² Ath. IX, 403-404, 407.

³ Ath. IX, 408-409; M. Kh., 54.

⁴ Ath. IX, 414.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 415.

the Caliph's Wazír (the Caliph's secretaries having by now again come to be called Wazírs).¹ Al-Basásírí, who had begun his career as a slave in the personal employment of Bahá al-Dawlah, had risen to be military governor of Western Baghdád, to which post he had been promoted by Jalál al-Dawlah as long before as 425 in order to deal with increasing lawlessness and anarchy.² Since then he had contrived to extend his power and influence in the state by his success in keeping in check the various tribal chieftains of the neighbourhood³ and had even attained to a position of confidence in the counsels of the Caliph al-Qá'im.⁴

But things had changed for al-Basásírí when the Caliph appointed Abú'l-Qásim Ibn al-Maslamah as his secretary and entitled him not only '*Ra'is al-Ru'asá*' but also '*Jamál al-wará Sharaf al-Wuzará*'.⁵ Both al-Basásírí and Ibn al-Maslamah now came to hold key positions in the administration, the former as the chief army commander and the latter as the Wazír of the Caliph and they soon began to quarrel. Besides, al-Basásírí was a Shí'í while Ibn al-Maslamah was a fanatical Hanbalí Sunní. Each of them accused the other of plotting with their co-religionists, Ibn al-Maslamah charging al-Basásírí with secret correspondence with the Fátimids, and al-Basásírí abusing Ra'is al-Ru'asá for his secret sympathy with the Seljukids. This being in the background of their minds it needed but little to set them at actual logger-heads.

In al-Basásírí's quarrel with Quraysh ibn Badrán (the successor to the 'Uqaylid Qirwásh) Ibn al-Maslamah allied himself with the latter. Al-Basásírí duly took offence at this, and waylaying some of the boats belonging to relations of Ibn al-Maslamah, levied tolls on them. Further he proceeded to stop the salaries not only of Ibn al-Maslamah and all the Caliph's attendants but actually of the Caliph himself. However, in the following year (447) an opportunity arose for Ibn al-Maslamah to retaliate, when al-Basásírí was absent with al-Malik al-Rahím in Wásit. In Baghdád the religious zealot obtained the Caliph's permission to enforce the laws of the *Sharí'ah* relating to such matters as wine drinking and probably at the instigation of Ibn al-Maslamah broke some six hundred jars of wine that were being conveyed by a Christian attendant of al-Basásírí's to Wásit. Following this, Ibn al-Maslamah incited the Turks against al-Basásírí by persuading them that it was al-Basásírí who was at the root of all their miseries. On this the Turks came to the

1 See below end of chapter XI.

2 Ath. IX, 298.

3 *Ibid.*, 382-3, 383, 406 for his relations respectively with Qirwásh, Abú'l-Shawk and Dubays.

4 I.J. VIII, 212.

5 I.J. VIII, 119, 151

Caliph's palace and sought his permission to plunder al-Basásirí's house and on receiving his approval, first pillaged and then set fire to it. Ra'ís al-Ru'asá then abused al-Basásirí to the Caliph alleging that he had been in regular correspondence with the Fátimid al-Mustansir; with the result that the Caliph wrote to al-Malik al-Rahím requiring him to break with al-Basásirí and threatening him unless he did so with the loss of his own authority. At the same time the Caliph wrote to Tughril Beg who was then in Rayy inviting him to come to Baghdad.² Tughril Beg had in fact already decided to do so giving it out that he proposed performing the pilgrimage to Makkah and then proceed to Syria to put an end to the rule of the Fátimids. On learning of his intention al-Malik al-Rahím came to Baghdád while al-Basásirí duly parted from him and went to Rahbah¹ where he entered into correspondence with al-Mustansir whom he proclaimed in the local Khutbah.³

Before starting on his journey to the capital Tughril Beg wrote letters to the Caliph declaring his loyalty and obedience and to the Turks of Baghdád promising them fair treatment and in the last week of Ramadán al-Qá'im ordered the Khatibs of the capital to insert Tughril's name in the Khutbah after his own but before that of al-Rahím. By this time the Seljukid army had drawn near the city, and when Tughril Beg asked the Caliph's permission to enter it, Ra'ís al-Ru'asá went out to the Nahrawán canal to welcome him, along with all the chief dignitaries, civil and religious, of Baghdád. Tughril's Wazir 'Amíd al-Dawlah Abú Naṣr al-Kundurí advanced to meet them; and on the 25th of Ramadán, 447 the Seljukid army entered Baghdád.³

On Tughril's approach al-Malik al-Rahím had left it to al-Qá'im to negotiate on his behalf with the conqueror, and no steps were in fact at first taken against him. But a rising of the population against the Ghuzz (as they called the Turkmán invaders) was laid at his door and he was accordingly arrested together with his supporters within a few days of Tughril's arrival. His name was then omitted from the Khutbah at the end of Ramadán, 447 (December 1055). He was first confined in the fortress of Sírawán in the Southern Jibál and then transferred to the fortress of Tabarak in Rayy, where he died in 450.⁴ Thus the Baghdád branch of the Buwayhid dynasty came to an end after a rule of one hundred and thirteen years and four months according to the lunar calendar (from 11 Jumádá ii, 334 to the end of Ramadán, 447).

1 Now a territory of the Mirdasids.

2 I.J. VIII, 163-164; Ath. IX, 417-418; Subkí, *Tabaqát* III 273, al-Mu'ayyad says in his autobiography how he exchanged messages with al-Basásirí when the latter encamped at Rahbah. (*Sirah*, 98-100, 116-119).

3 Ath. IX, 419; I.J. VIII, 164.

4 Ath. IX, 420-421, 448; I.J. VIII, 164-165; Subkí III, 273; M. Kh., 56

PART TWO

CHAPTER VII

The Central Administration under the Buwayhids

The territories that fell under Buwayhid rule were administered more or less in the traditional 'Abbásid fashion. For the Daylamites had had hardly any experience of government when, in a very short space of time, from living a simple tribal life they rose to be the masters of vast regions; and it was natural, therefore, that they should take over, as far as they were able, the system by which these regions had previously been governed. Already before their rise into prominence the Daylamites had become proverbial for their savagery. We have noted how the Caliph al-Mu'tadid regarded them as the wickedest of all nations.¹ In Baghdád to compare a man with a Daylamite came to be the worst anyone could say of him, so that, when deploring the conduct of the Turkish soldiery, for instance, people would say, "Are these Turks we're under, or Daylamites?"² Almost all the early Daylamite rulers indeed proved tyrannical. Asfár ibn Shíruyah, oppressed the people he subjected so cruelly that on one occasion all the men, women and children of Qazwín assembled to beseech God's help against him.³ Mardáwíj ibn Ziyár likewise oppressed the people under his rule, regarding them merely as a means for his own aggrandisement, and actually reduced many taxpayers to destitution merely in order to build himself a golden throne.⁴ The eldest of the three original Buwayhid brothers, 'Imád al-Dawlah though renowned for his affection for his brothers as well as for his shrewdness, was by no means a good ruler, his sole concern being the accumulation of money;⁵ and as for second of them, Rukn al-Dawlah, such was his small regard for the maintenance of law and order that on receiving a complaint from a caravan looted by some Kurdish brigands, he is said to have remarked that the latter too required food. It was indeed only the personality of his Wazír the Ibn al-'Amíd which somehow lent stability to his administration.⁶

It was thus, possessed only of the traditions of a predatory horde,

1 See above, chapter I.

2 Tan. N.I., 157.

3 M.I., 161-162.

4 M.I., 162, Yaq. Irsh. VI, 144.

5 M.I., 300.

6 M.II., 281.

and with little or no experience of settled government, that the Buwayhids became the masters of wide tracts of the 'Abbásid Caliphate, including its centre. Most of these were in a state bordering on anarchy. During the confusion ensuing on the death of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, owing to the all but incessant fighting that characterized the rule of the various *Amír al-Umarás*, the splendid administrative machinery built up by a generations of able rulers and ministers had to a great extent broken down. For this was dependent for its proper working on the control from Baghdád of many provinces: whereas at the advent of the Buwayhids the area under the direct control of the central government had shrunk so much as to consist of no more than 'Iráq itself. This rendered it peculiarly difficult for Mu'izz al-Dawlah and his successors in Baghdád to provide their numerous Turkish and Daylamite soldiery with regular pay; but although the maintenance of this soldiery was to them of the first importance, no attempt to solve this problem by any regular system was ever made, except under 'Adud al-Dawlah. The structure of the central government was maintained more or less as before, innovations were, however, introduced here and there, and in particular a system of military fiefs was tried, though for want of administrative skill it was never regularized even as much as it came to be later under the Seljukids, not to mention the systems adopted under the Mamluks of Egypt, the Ottomans, or the Mughals in Indo-Pakistan continent.

An attempt will be made in this and the following chapters to describe the innovations introduced by the Buwayhids and to determine what parts of the traditional system they kept in being. To begin with we shall deal with the *Díwáns*, or Departments of State and, as far as we are able, with the organization of the posts and the intelligence service. In the next chapter the organization of the army will be discussed in brief; another chapter will be devoted to the financial administration; and finally we shall consider the relationship subsisting between the Caliph, as head of the traditional system, and the *Amír al-Umara*, the new *de facto* head of the state.

The Dawáwin

The various central *Díwáns* or administrative departments created under the early 'Abbásids* were for the most part retained by the

* The *Díwáns* under the 'Abbásids are discussed by Von Kremer Tr. Khudá Bakhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, pp. 237-8 and by Mez. *Renaissance of Islam* Tr. Khudá Bakhsh pp. 76-81. To mention the most important ones, they were, (1) *Díwán al-Kharáj* dealing with administration of revenue.

Buwayhids. Only some re-arrangements, particularly of those concerned with revenue, took place from time to time. The Buwayhids, indeed, could hardly afford to do away with them, but because of the general instability, and the frequency with which Wazírs and the subordinate administrative staff were changed, the Díwáns worked somewhat haphazardly under their regime. The very first act of Mu'izz al-Dawlah in 334 just after his entry into Baghdád, in order to satisfy the demands of the army, was to distribute many crownlands, lands abandoned by fugitives and so ownerless, and lands paying revenues to the Treasury, as fiefs among his soldiers. As a result, as we are told by Miskawayh, "many of the Díwáns became superfluous: their controlling departments (Azimma) were likewise, so he reports, abolished; and consequently all the remaining offices were amalgamated into one."¹

This passage in Miskawayh appears to need some explanation. For, despite his assertion to this effect, we find references to most of the old central Díwáns throughout the Buwayhid period. What he seems to have meant is that for the time being all the offices concerned with revenue were so amalgamated. Under the old regime the central revenue department (Díwán al-Kharáj) had under it different zonal departments dealing with the revenues of the various provinces, such as the Díwán of the two 'Iráqs, the Díwán of the Sawád, the Díwán of the west and of Egypt, the Díwán of Syria and the Díwán of the East.² Some of these Díwáns had already been suppressed as the territories with which they were concerned ceased to be administered from Baghdád. On the eve of Mu'izz al-Dawlah's entry the only province administered from the capital was 'Iráq. This was divided into three revenue zones, (a) The Sawád and Kúfah (b) Wásiṭ and (c) Baṣrah; and there were at Baghdád corresponding departments to deal with the revenues of these three areas. In fact, however, both Wásiṭ and Baṣrah had passed into the hands of the Barídís, who though nominally revenue-farmers, actually paid no contribution to the Treasury. On Mu'izz's arrival,

(2) Díwán al-Nafaqah dealing with expenditure. (3) Díwán al-Jund- the army department. (4) Díwán al-Mawáliwál-Ghilmán dealing with slaves and freed prisoners. (5) Díwán al-Birr wa'l-Ṣadaqāt dealing with charities. (6) Díwán al-Tawqí' dealing with complaints of individuals against the decisions of government officers. (7) Díwán al-Naẓr fi'l-Mazálim—the court trying the above complaints. (8) Díwán al-Baríd wa'l-Akhabár—the post and intelligence department. (10) Díwán Faḍḍ wa'l-Khátam—the opening and sealing department and (11) Díwán al-Azimma, the controlling departments auditing the expenditure of the various departments. For details of the last see Amedroz, Abbasid administration in its decay, J.R.A.S., 1913, Vol. II., 829-832.

¹ M.I., 96, 99; Ath. VIII, 342.

² Wuz. 123-4; Jahshiyári, 167.

therefore, only Sawád was available as a source of revenue and this he proceeded to reduce by the distribution of fiefs, as mentioned above.

Presumably the one Díwán into which all the revenue offices were amalgamated was the Díwán al-Sawád. The suppression of the Azimma was, of course, a serious step. No doubt it was taken because both Amír al-Umará and his favourite officials were averse to having their expenditure audited. It is true that we find a reference to a Díwán al-Zimám under 'Amíd al-Juyúsh, that is to say at the very end of the tenth century, but this was evidently a restoration made at that time as part of the reorganisation effected by that officer.¹

Under the 'Abbásids there had existed an official entitled '*Ṣāhib al-Díwán*' or the Head of the Department,² who acted as a sort of secretary to the Wazír, being responsible to him for the activities of the revenue departments; and this office was also retained by the early Buwayhids. Thus Mu'izz al-Dawlah during the wazirate of al-Muhallabí appointed Abú'l-Faraj ibn Fasánjas *Ṣāhib al-Díwán*³ and he continued in that office for twenty eight years, after which he himself became Wazír, but the *Ṣāhib al-Díwán* whom he then appointed had so firm a control of the provinces that he was able to prevent the Wazír from collecting any revenue.⁴ In contrast to this, Ibn Baqiyyah later reduced the power of his *Ṣāhib al-Díwán* so much that the office became a mere sinecure,⁵ and so, after a period of tension under Bakhtiyár, the post was abolished, the wazír himself directly controlling the finances and supervising all the other Díwáns. Other departmental heads were also known as *Ṣāhib al-Díwán* with the name of their particular departments added to their titles such as *Ṣāhib Díwán al-Nafaqah*, *Ṣāhib Díwán al-Jaysh*, etc. All the *Ṣāhib Díwáns*, however, might be simply referred to as *Kátibs*.⁶

As for the Díwáns themselves we find references to almost all those which had existed under the early 'Abbásids. For instance we read that Mu'izz al-Dawlah would not countenance the interference of the *Ṣāhib Díwán al-Baṣrah* (revived after the defeat of the Barídís) in the work of other departments such as Díwán al-Sawád, Díwán al-Nafaqah and Díwán al-Jaysh.⁷ whereas Bakhtiyár went so far as to ally himself

1 H., 422.

2 Wuz. 189, says 'Never was the working of the offices of the Caliph, the wazír, *Ṣāhib al-Díwán* and the commander-in-chief so satisfactory as under al-Mu'tadid. (279-289 A.H.).

3 M.II., 185.

4 M.II., 267-8: "كَانَ مُسْتَوَلِيًا عَلَى سَائِرِ الْأَعْمَالِ بِحَقِّ النَّظَرِ فِي الدِّيْوَانِ"

5 M.II., 289.

6 M.II., 234.

7 M.II., 120-121.

with Ibn Baqiyyah against the departmental heads and their subordinate clerks.¹ During the Amirate of 'Adud al-Dawlah the Díwáns worked efficiently under his direct supervision. On special occasions he even enforced overtime on their staffs.² An additional revenue Díwán was created by him with clerks, collectors and bankers to deal with the pasturage tax and the charitable dues obligatory on believers.³ He punished severely any interference with the normal working of the Díwáns even by influential officers of the state.⁴ Under him the Treasury itself was separated as a Díwán under a presiding officer.⁵ Under his successors the Díwán continued unchanged and Bahá al-Dawlah on his accession confirmed all the former departmental heads except Šāhib Díwán al-Inshá.⁶ During the riots that occurred in 389 the mob set fire to Dár al-Ḥamúlí, which contained all the records belonging to the various Díwáns, and those were all destroyed.⁷ In the same year a new Díwán was created to deal with taxes on silk goods.⁸ The rule of 'Amíd al-Juyúsh in Baghdád from 392 to 401 saw a complete reorganisation of the Díwáns. The Díwán al-Jaysh in particular was split into two separate Díwáns to deal with the Daylamites and the Turks respectively with a supervisor (Mushrif) to look into the Army department as a whole. As mentioned above, 'Amíd al-Juyúsh also revived the Department of Control and Audit (Díwán al-Zimám).⁹

As for the pay of the various departmental heads and clerks and other officials in the secretariat, we have unfortunately nothing from which to form any definite idea except that we only know how the Treasurer (al-Khāzin or Šāhib Díwán al-Khazá'in) was remunerated. Under Mu'izz his Treasurer subsisted on fiefs,¹⁰ whereas 'Adud al-Dawlah who was always in favour of cash-payments gave his Treasurer a monthly salary besides other privileges, as for instance, an allowance for clothes for both summer and winter, and another for his household servants. Moreover the Treasurer used to take his meals with 'Adud's Wazír.¹¹

1 M.II., 286.

2 S., 42.

3 S., 71. ديوان للمراعى و فرائض الصدقات

This seems to be a revival of the old Díwán al-Birr wa'l-Sadaqát for a new purpose. While formerly the Díwán was concerned with charitable purposes it was now a new taxing department for the increase of the state revenue.

4 S., 46.

5 S., 72.

6 S., 153-154.

7 S., 335-336.

8 S., 336.

9 H., 442-443.

10 M.II., 188.

11 M.II., 188.

This shows that at times officials might receive a number of distinct privileges.

(b) *The Wazír*

The position of the Buwayhid Wázírs was very different from that of such of their predecessors as the 'Abbásid Barmakids, or of such later Seljukid Wazírs as Nizám al-Mulk. Formerly the employment of a Wazír had been a prerogative of the Caliph, but this was now transferred to the Amír al-Umará. It may be of interest to record precisely how this came to pass: how and why the Caliph came to give up a prerogative so long established. During the period of the pre-Buwayhid Amír al-Umarás (324-334) the Wázírs had gradually lost all real power and merely appeared, robed in black, on ceremonial occasions, while affairs were managed by the secretaries of the Amírs.¹ Mu'izz al-Dawlah inherited that tradition. Thus he appointed one after the other the ex-Amír Ibn Shírzád and his friend and favourite al-Ṣaymarí merely as his secretaries, though for all practical purposes they were Wazírs.² On al-Ṣaymarí's death in 339 Mu'izz appointed al-Muhallabí in his place, again with the designation of secretary.³ But in the meantime all that the Caliph himself had was a secretary too, to look after the fiefs he had been allotted. Hence for a time there existed no Wazír at all,—till 345 when, by a logical development Mu'izz al-Dawlah addressed al-Muhallabí as Wazír, at the same time bestowing on him a robe of honour and increasing his fiefs.⁴ The prerogative of having a Wazír thus passed almost insensibly out of the hands of the Caliph: and al-Muṭí' who had been raised to the throne by Mu'izz had no alternative but to acquiesce in this new arrangement. Hence the observation of Ibn al-Aṭhír, that at the time of Mu'izz al-Dawlah everything was lost to the Caliph. He had no Wazír but only a Kátib, who supervised his fiefs and his expenditure. The wazirate passed into the hands of Mu'izz al-Dawlah who could choose whomsoever he liked.⁵

Henceforth accordingly the Wazír was an official chosen by the Amír, who held office during his pleasure (or the pleasure of his favourites). Except under 'Adud al-Dawlah the appointment was obtained in most cases in return for some payment. Candidates would either simply bribe the Amír or his favourites or promise to wring some money from the Wazír in office and his associates (this being a proceeding

1 M.I., 352.

2 M.II., 85, 96, 107.

3 M.II., 123-124; Yeq Irsh. III, 181.

4 M.II., 162.

5 Ath. VIII, 339

not unknown under the early 'Abbásids). It is no wonder therefore that the dignity of the office was entirely lost and that such a creature as Ibn Baqiyyah, originally the supervisor of the royal kitchen, 'who was unfit even to carry an inkpot in front of a Wazír' should under Bakhtiyár have succeeded, in bribing his way into the wazirate.

The position of the Wazír deteriorated further, because its holders were as a rule completely under the control either of the Amírs (that is to say, when the Amírs were strong enough to control them, as were Mu'izz al-Dawlah and 'Adud al-Dawlah) or of their favourites. In such circumstances the office left its occupant no initiative; moreover the Wazír lived under constant threat of dismissal. Frequent dismissals of Wazírs, except under these two exceptional Amírs, were the order of the day. Their dismissal would often mean the arrest or at best the dismissal of their associates including not infrequently even the departmental heads and clerks, to the detriment of all stable government. A typical victim of the system was Sábúr ibn Ardashír, the Wazír of Bahá al-Dawlah, who was either dismissed or resigned more than half a dozen times.

Even more derogatory to the prestige of the wazirate than mere dismissal was the harsh and severe treatment often meted out to Wazírs by their masters. Thus on one occasion Mu'izz al-Dawlah inflicted on al-Muhallabí no less than a hundred and fifty stripes which all but killed him.¹ Similarly 'Adud al-Dawlah had his father's Wazír Abú'l-Fath Ibn al-'Amíd, blinded and his nose cut off;² and so great was the fear of 'Adud's Wazír Muṭahhar at the punishment he might receive for his discomfiture in the Baṭīḥah that to escape it he committed suicide.³

The only Wazír worthy of the style under the Buwayhids of 'Iráq was Abú 'Alí ibn Ismá'íl (later called al-Muwaffaq) appointed by Bahá al-Dawlah in 388; in fact he was more than a Wazír. After the reconquest of Fárs, Khúzistán and Kirmán he not only put their affairs in order but very soon became almost more powerful than Bahá himself. He entirely controlled the finances and like Ja'far, the famous Barmakid, was even able to deny the Amír's request for a sum of 3,000 dirhams for his personal expenditure. Again in a brawl over polo between the household retainers of Bahá al-Dawlah and those of al-Muwaffaq the Wazír declined to hear any complaint from the Amír; and on another occasion when the Amír was sitting in a Kiosk in the royal palace,

¹ M.II., 145.

² Ath. VIII, 496-497.

³ M.II., 411.

al-Muwaffaq after a parade of the troops passed before him without considering it necessary to dismount.¹ It is to be observed, however, that al-Muwaffaq did not attain this commanding position simply by rising to the wazirate. He owed it rather to his military exploits in Khúzistán and Fárs. Moreover, after two years of undisputed power, in 390 he was ultimately arrested.²

The influence of a favourite or a group of favourites who were often the real policy-makers of the state (except under Mu'izz and 'Adud), acted as a further check on the power of the Wazír. Thus as we have mentioned Bakhtiyár was dominated during the early years of his reign by Shírzád, his secretary for Persian correspondence and anyone canvassing for the wazirate or other high post had above all to win Shírzád's approval.³ Similarly Bahá al-Dawlah was for three years of his reign (from 397-383) under the influence of his Sáhib Díwán al-Inshá, Abú'l-Hasan 'Alí ibn Muḥammad, known as al-Mu'allim, whom the Caliph entitled *al-Káfi*⁴ and who for three years acted as a virtual dictator, freely dismissing and appointing Wazírs,⁵ fining and arresting high officials,⁶ and treating Wazírs as if they were his own private secretaries.⁷ In the end being faced with a formidable rising of the army Bahá al-Dawlah was obliged to surrender him to the rebels, who having first failed to poison, finally strangled him with a curtain rope.⁸

Nor were this al-Mu'allim and the Wazír al-Muwaffaq the only persons to dominate Bahá al-Dawlah. The last ten years of his reign saw the formation of a political junta which dominated not only him but also his two successors, Sultán al-Dawlah and Musharrif al-Dawlah. The persons forming this group were, as we have mentioned, Abú Mansúr Mard-dost, originally attached to the armoury of al-Muwaffaq;⁹ Abú'l-Khattáb Hamzah ibn Ibráhim, an astrologer who was a teacher of Bahá al-Dawlah in astrology;¹⁰ and the eunuch Abú'l-Misk 'Anbar called *'al-Athír'*¹¹ who belonged to the entourage of Bahá al-Dawlah himself. In the accounts of the reign of Sultán al-Dawlah members of this junta, as we have seen, are actually referred to as *'Mudabbirún*

1 S., 329-331.

2 H., 367-370.

3 See above, chapter II.

4 S., 153-154.

5 S., 181.

6 S., 173-174, 179.

7 S., 240.

8 S., 243-4.

9 H., 351.

10 MU. MS., f. 76a.

11 Ath. IX, 279

li'l-Dawlah (managers of the state) and everything was in fact under their control.¹ Mard-dost,² however, died in 412 while *Musharrif* was still alive ; and though the two others survived him Hamzah's relationship with Jalál al-Dawlah the next Amír is obscure and he probably fell from favour, since he died devoid of property and power in the *Karkh* quarter of *Sámarrá* in 419.³ Al-Athír on the other hand seems to have conserved his influence longer. At least on Jalál's accession he attempted to control the army in *Baghdád* till the new Amír should arrive from *Baṣrah* ; but a revolt obliged him to leave for *Mawsil*, where he died in 420.⁴ By the time Jalál succeeded accordingly the influence of the junta was at an end. Another instance of the power exercised by favourites is the influence obtained over Abú Káljár after the death of his father by the eunuch *Sandal*, who began by being his guardian but gradually deprived him of all power till Abú Káljár rebelled and put him to death in 423.⁵ Finally al-Malik al-Raḥím, the last of the whole line, was likewise dominated, as we have seen by the general al-Basásírí.

But to return to the Wazír his most important function under the Buwayhids was to devise ways and means of raising funds wherewith to pay the Amír's troops and maintain his establishment. Failing the normal source of revenue he was expected to succeed in tapping others and could seldom do so except by methods of gross extortion. The whole Buwayhid period except the reign of 'Adud is accordingly replete with instances of military revolts against Wazírs on account of payment and of the latter's use of the most flagrant oppression in order to pacify them.⁶

1 MU. MS., f. 40b.

2 MU. MS., f. 54b. Abú Maṣṣūr Mard-dost was dominant over the state at the time of both Sultán al-Dawlah and *Musharrif* al-Dawlah. The latter decided to arrest him because of his opulence and influence in the state but he soon died.

3 I.J., VIII, 36-37; Ath. IX, 256; MU. MS., 76a-77b. The last has a full biography of Hamzah who by virtue of his being a teacher of Bahá al-Dawlah in astrology was soon not only promoted to the position of a boon companion but also entrusted with extra-ordinary powers of 'commanding and forbidding, appointing and dismissing' till all the ministers and other dignitaries of the state became subservient to him. In the end he died during the reign of Jalál al-Dawlah in 419 of paralysis.

4 Ath. IX, 249, 264, 278. He was so powerful that no Buwayhid courtier or wazír could ever escape kissing the ground before him. He commanded great respect with the army who ultimately rebelled against him in 417 when he was obliged to take shelter with *Qirwásh* the 'Uqaylid. Though Jalál once tried to win him over, he refused to come to *Baghdád*. On the other hand he undertook an expedition against Jalál in conjunction with *Qirwásh* but died on his way in 420.

5 Ath. IX, 291.

6 See below, Chapter IX

Though traditionally the Wazír was the supreme head of the Díváns with power to appoint their heads and supervise them, the records of our period suggest that during it the departmental heads usually owed their office rather to the Amír and were directly responsible to him for their work.¹ Only in a single case do we find the Wazír both appointing the departmental heads and controlling three departments himself and even this seems to have been a purely temporary arrangement.²

On the other hand it was the responsibility of the Wazír to appoint government agents ('Ummál) to collect taxes from the districts directly administered from Baghdád, and here again the Wazír of Bahá al-Dawlah Sábúr ibn Ardashír stands out for the care with which he did so. He was so severe indeed in this matter and so ready to dismiss 'Ámils, who proved unsatisfactory that when on one occasion he appointed one to the 'Ukbará region the official asked the Wazír whether he should hire a boat not only to take him there but to bring him back ; on which Sábúr smiled and told him to depart without fear of dismissal.³

As well as with the management of the finances and civil affairs in general, Wazírs had almost always been charged with the conduct of military operations ; and it was in this field that many Wazírs of the period especially distinguished themselves displaying no little initiative and valour. Their relative success as commanders was mainly due to the fact that on the eve of such expeditions they were usually equipped with all the men, money and material required, and were given a free hand, with unlimited powers instead of being hampered, as they were in their civil functions by the inadequacy of their resources. Mu'izz al-Dawlah's Wazír al-Muhallabí (399-352), for instance, proved not only an able financier but also an able general so that just as his revenue reforms in Ahwáz and Baṣrah yielded good results so, up to a point, did his expeditions against 'Imrán b. Sháhín and the ruler of 'Umán.⁴ The Wazírs of Bakhtiyár Ibn Fasánjas, Abú'l-Fadl and even Ibn Baqiyyah were all enterprising generals ; and so was 'Adud's Wazír Mutahhar b. 'Abdu'lláh, while among the Wazírs of Bahá al-Dawlah al-Muwaffaq was outstandingly successful as a commander reclaiming by his campaigns practically the whole area covered by Khúzistán, Fárs and Kirmán. Nor was that other notable Wazír of Bahá al-Dawlah Abú Ghálib b. Khalaf (later called Fakhr al-Mulk) lacking in military talent.

1 S., 41, 42, 46-47, 153-154.

2 S., 252.

3 I.J., VIII, 22-23; MU. MS., f. 64b-65a.

4 M.II., 129, 143, 144, 196.

while in the struggle between the brothers Sultān al-Dawlah and Musharrif al-Dawlah a leading part was played by the former's Wazir Abū Muḥammad ibn Sahlān. Finally Jalāl al-Dawlah's Wazir Abū 'Alī ibn Mākūlā conducted a remarkable naval battle in the Shatt al-'Arab, in which no less than 1300 boats were involved, with Abū Kálījār's governor of Baṣrah.¹

Some of the most successful officials of the period were those sent by Amīrs resident elsewhere to govern 'Irāq as their deputies, and, curiously enough, by courtesy called Wazirs— namely 'Amīd al-Juyūsh (392-401), Fakhr al-Mulk (401-407) and Abū Muḥammad ibn Sahlān (408) and their assistant Abū 'Alī al-Rukhkhajī, whose policy we have discussed in previous chapters. The rule of those deputies was brought to an end in 409 when Sultān al-Dawlah decided to settle in Baghdād and the fact that thereafter Wazirs again began to be appointed and dismissed with growing frequency seems to show that the previous success of these deputies was largely due to the absence of the sovereign.

As regards remuneration Wazirs seem mostly to have been assigned certain fiefs. We have two specific examples of this practice. Thus we learn that Mu'izz al-Dawlah when he made al-Muhallabī Wazir increased the latter's fiefs,² and that Bakhtiyār, on making Abū'l-Faḍl Wazir, conferred upon him a fief yielding an annual income of 50,000 dīnārs.³ But the Wazir's income does not seem to have been confined to the revenues yielded by these fiefs. Almost every Wazir on dismissal was found to be enormously wealthy and vast sums were recovered from him as fines.⁴ So it is evident that, from whatever source, his position enabled him to enrich himself otherwise. One opportunity for making money was afforded by his personal inspection of the provinces, when he could confiscate whatever crops and properties he chose even beyond what the interests of the state demanded. Thus al-Muhallabī on one occasion confiscated among others crops worth 10,000 dīnārs and the stocks belonging to certain merchants. It is true that he then sold these for purposes of revenue.⁵ But on such occasions the Wazir if he so wished could obviously appropriate a high proportion of such sequestrated property, or its proceeds for himself.

Another probable source of income for the Wazir was presents

¹ Ath. IX, 287-288.

² M.II., 162.

³ M.II., 241.

⁴ For confiscation of the wazir's property either on dismissal or death see Chapter IX.

⁵ Tan. N.II., (I.C., 1932, April), p. 187.

from the revenue-farmers. A peculiar example of this is the story of a Daylamite revenue-farmer of Ahwáz, who appropriated the land of an official and somehow obtained possession of the deeds of the lands. When his victim complained to the Wazír Ibn Fasánjas the Daylamite farmer forthwith made a present of the lands in dispute to the Wazír who wrote to his own agent in Ahwáz to occupy them.¹ It was evidently to some extent by methods such as this that the Wazírs contrived to grow affluent.

The tendency to confer titles ever longer and more high sounding on personages of any distinction during the period of decline is also exemplified in the case of Wazírs. Hilál al-Šabí in his *Kitáb al-Wuzará* says that the practice of conferring titles in his time had exceeded reasonable limits so that those of quite minor people had become larger than the titles formerly borne by the great.² While the Wazírs of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and 'Adud al-Dawlah had no titles, and the last Wazír of Bakhtiyár and most Wazírs of Bahá al-Dawlah had only one simple title each, under the successors of Bahá al-Dawlah the titles of Wazírs became absurdly long. Thus Sultán al-Dawlah gave his Wazír Ibn Sahlán the titles of *Falak al-Mulk 'Amíd al-Dawlah Za'im al-Ummah Shams al-Dín*.³ On another Wazír Abú Ghálib he conferred the titles *Dhú'l Sa'adatayn Wazír al-Wuzará Najáh al-Mulúk*.⁴ Jalál al-Dawlah while still only ruler of Baṣrah, gave his Wazír the titles *'Alam al-Dín Sa'd al-Dawlah Amin al-Millah Sharaf al-Mulk*,⁵ and on another Wazír he bestowed the title *Yamín al-Dawlah Wazír al-Wuzará*,⁶ while Abú Káljár still in Fárs, entitled his Wazír Ibn Bábshádh *Mu'izz al-Dín Falak al-Ummah Wazír al-Wuzará 'Imád al-Mulk*.⁷

In letters from the Caliph addressed to Wazírs in former times the latter were referred to not even by their Kunyas nor was any word of blessing added after their names, the formula being: 'From the 'Amír al-Mu'minín to so and so'. But many honorifics during this period came now to be added even in these communications so that when for instance the Caliph al-Qádir instructed his secretary to address the Wazír Ibn Sahlán without the epithet *Mawláná* the Wazír threw the letter from the Caliph down in anger and insisted on being addressed by that term ;

1 India Office MS. Arabic No. 3708, fol. 27b-28a.

2 Wuz., 150.

3 MU. MS., f. 43a; I.J. VII, 300-301.

4 I.J., VIII, 3.

5 *Ibid.*, 21.

6 MU. MS., f. 65b.

7 I.J., VIII, 37

and when next the Caliph instead had the form *al-Hadrat al-'Aliyat al-Waziriyyah* inserted before his name the Wazir nevertheless still grumbled, saying, that all this was only to avoid the word *Mawlana* by which he set especial store.¹

(c) *Diwan al-Barid wa'l-Akhbar*

(Department of Posts and Intelligence)

Of all the administrative departments of the Buwayhids the Post and Intelligence Department was apparently the most efficiently organised. It was Mu'izz al-Dawlah who first introduced a system of couriers to enable him to exchange information rapidly with his brother Rukn al-Dawlah in Rayy. He encouraged the youth of Baghdad to enlist themselves in this service. Fathers used to put forward their sons to be trained for it and two of these couriers became famous, namely Mar'ush and Fadl who oddly enough were respectively a Shi'i and Sunni. Each of them used to travel 36 farsakhs between dawn and sunset, working the service between 'Ukbara and Baghdad. At every farsakh groups of people used to assemble to encourage them and they duly became the leaders of the service in Baghdad, all other couriers being attached to them.²

As we indicated in an earlier chapter the efficient operation of the postal service was a matter of particular concern to 'Adud al-Dawlah and any failures in punctuality for which no valid excuse could be put forward were very severely punished. We are told that on one occasion an officer of the post was persuaded by his wife to delay his departure till he had eaten some rice she had cooked for him with the result that the post was delayed correspondingly. For this all the officers and the couriers^x concerned, who operated between Shiraz and Baghdad, received over three thousand lashes. In consequence of such severe penalties the normal posting time for this distance of 600 miles was reduced to seven days. Instances are recorded of their bringing fruits and flowers which arrived perfectly fresh in the capital from Fars and Khuzistan.³

The posts did not merely carry letters. They also carried consignments of money which was wrapped in linen like an ordinary parcel.

¹ Wuz., 151-152.

² I.J., VI, 341; Ath. VIII, 425.

^x المرتبون و الطراد

³ S. 40.

When the misappropriation of such a parcel was once reported to 'Adud al-Dawlah he held a strict enquiry and when the guilty postman¹ was ultimately caught, the prince ordered his hands to be cut off (the canonical penalty for larceny).²

The use of carrier-pigeons to send confidential messages was also practised during the period. Thus for instance Bakhtiyár wrote from Ahwáz to his mother by a carrier pigeon to spread the rumour that he was dead in order to catch Subektekín in a trap.³ Even more efficient was the secret intelligence service instituted by 'Adud al-Dawlah. Abú Shujá' relates a long story about a spy⁴ in 'Adud's service who gave a Táji dirham (that is to say one bearing 'Adud's title *Táj al-Millah*) to a confectioner in Egypt, on which the man not only refused to accept it (for Egypt was then of course under the rule of the Fátimids) but abused the spy and the prince who had struck the coin. On learning of this 'Adud al-Dawlah contrived with the help of another confectioner of Mawsil to lure this man to Baghdád, where he was duly chastised for his effrontery but in the end pardoned and given his return fare to Egypt. The confectioner's story became known in Cairo with the result that people there became cautious in speaking before strangers fearing lest other spies should report what they said to 'Adud al-Dawlah, whose very name they thought it prudent to avoid mentioning!⁵

These secret service employees⁶ went about in disguise haunting not only the market-place but also the offices of government servants, keeping an eye on the work of the departmental offices and clerks. Abú Shujá' (on the authority of Hilál) also relates that when one of the Daylamite officers entered the Díwán al-Jaysh and insisted that one of the clerks should lay aside his usual work and prepare a draft for him, the secret service man forthwith communicated the news to 'Adud al-Dawlah and the officer was punished.⁷ Again, Hilál al-Šabí was once sitting with his father in their house in Eastern Baghdád talking to a man dressed in rags, who, though he was well-known as the local buffoon, was actually a member of the secret service. When seeing someone maltreat a vendor of pomegranates, against whom the spectators took the part of the aggressor, the detective said that the incident had already been reported and that if he released the culprit he would

1 الحزائطي

2 S., 40-41.

3 M.II., 326.

4 جاسوس

5 S., 60-64.

6 اصحاب الخبر

7 S., 46.

have to explain his conduct to the prince and might even be punished with dismissal.¹

Among those whom 'Adud al-Dawlah used as spies were teachers and school-masters. He instructed them to question the soldiers' children about their fathers' affairs and the management of their homes and send their reports to Ṣāhib al-Barid; and for this the teachers were paid regular allowances.²

Not only the Amír but also the Wazírs and other court-officials maintained spies against one another—quite a natural thing in a society where every man considered every other man his potential enemy. Thus the commander-in-chief Subektekín had his secret service men in the army and in the palace of Bakhtiyár and spies and detectives among Bakhtiyár's most intimate and personal attendants.³ Likewise, the Wazír Abú'l-Qásim 'Alí ibn 'Aḥmad in 383 imprisoned and fined several officials, and when they complained to Bahá al-Dawlah the latter made certain remarks about the Wazír. This in turn was immediately communicated to the Wazír by spies whom he had maintained in Bahá al-Dawlah's own palace, whereupon he took fright and fled.⁴

1 S., 59.

2 S., 59.

3 M.II., 235.

4 S., 251.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ARMY

The Buwayhid army consisted mainly of Daylamites and Turks. The former had already gained a reputation as fighters during the previous period. In Shawwal, 329 the Caliph al-Muttaqí appointed a Daylamite General, Gó-r-angíj by name, Amír al-Umará and on the next Friday people assembled in the Palace mosque complaining loudly of the Daylamites who had billeted themselves upon them without payment and had defrauded them in various transactions.¹ On al-Barídí's occupation of Baghdád in 330 his army was chiefly Daylamite² and the Daylamites already accounted for a considerable portion of the Caliphs' standing army though in this the Turks predominated. On the other-hand the army with which Mu'izz al-Dawlah occupied the capital, although it included some Turks, was mainly composed of the Daylamites and Gílites³ (that is to say men from Gílán, the neighbouring Caspian province). Both the Daylamites and the Gílites were free Tribesmen,⁴ whereas the Turks were mostly slaves.⁵

These tribesmen were the Buwayhid brothers' original adherents who had joined them when they were still engaged fighting the various provincial rulers with whom they came into conflict. But by the time Mu'izz al-Dawlah established himself in Ahwáz he must have bought or otherwise acquired a considerable number of Turkish slaves. For apart from the powerful Turkish element in the army with which he took Baghdád, we find him possessed, when established there, of a body of Turkish slave-retainers who formed part of his household and were consequently known as '*Ghilmán al-Dár*'.⁶

His purpose in taking more and more Turkish slaves into his service was no doubt to strengthen his hand against his Daylamite troops, who

¹ M. II, 18.

² M. II, 25.

³ M. II, 85. According to 'Awfí, f. 121b his army at the time of his first invasion of 'Iráq was 20,000 strong.

⁴ Though Daylamite slaves were not altogether unknown; M. II, 94 mentions some Daylamite slaves.

⁵ As great majority of the Turks were slaves sometimes غلمان and اتراك are used synonymously. See, M. II, 99-100.

⁶ غلمان الدار M. II, 163.

were embarrassingly quarrelsome and insubordinate. The revolt of Rúzbahán amply justified Mu'izz's policy ; for it was with the help of the Turkish slave-troops and particularly the 'retainers of the household' that he ultimately succeeded in defeating that captain and his partisans.¹ Henceforth his policy was therefore to promote the Turks at the expense of the Daylamites ; so that for instance we find Subektekín rising to be his commander-in-chief and two other Turkish freedmen, Alptekín and Bakhttekín Ázádrúyah, rising to high positions later. These slaves were now mostly purchased in regular slave-markets² since few were any longer captured in war. We find occasional references to these slave-markets in the records and it is evident that a regular supply of Turkish slaves was now forthcoming from such cities in Transoxania as Samarqand.³

On the other hand besides the Daylamites there were also other tribal elements in the Buwayhid army. At least the force sent by 'Adud al-Dawlah against the Belús included contingents not only of Daylamites (and Turks) but also of Gírites, Arabs, Kurds and Zuttis,⁴ all of whom would appear to have been freemen recruited on a tribal basis.

Mu'izz al-Dawlah's estimate of the relative value of the two chief elements in his army is made clear by the advice on their treatment he gave to his son Bakhtiyár. This was that while conciliating both, Bakhtiyár should in particular cultivate the attachment of the Turks. Bakhtiyár, as we have seen, failed to do any such thing and eventually antagonised both alike. Under 'Adud al-Dawlah the contingents of both races were treated equally so that neither predominated. But his successors again adopted a policy of favouring the Turks to the disadvantage of the Daylamites, till by the time of Jalál al-Dawlah we find hardly any Daylamites left in the Baghdád army, with the result, how disastrous we have seen, that the Amír possessed no means of opposing pretensions of the Turkish soldiery—who were able to do as they liked with him.

As regards the numerical strength of the Buwayhid armies and the

¹ M. II, 163.

² The Caliph's letters of appointments d. 366 contain instructions to provincial rulers to look after the slave-markets and the transactions there. Sâbi's letters, 99; 141); Mez refers to a number of slave-markets throughout the Muslim countries and the nature of slave-trade at that time. (Mez Tr. 159-161).

³ Mez, 159; In the year 333 presents to the Caliph al-Muttaqí from the Samanid ruler included Turkish slaves. (M. II, 23).

⁴ M. II, 300.

relative strength of the various contingents and particularly of their Daylamite and Turkish contingents we possess only sporadic figures, from which only a somewhat vague picture can be constructed. The nucleus of the Buwayhid army was, of course, Daylamite and when 'Alī ('Imād al-Dawlah) conquered Isfahān, it was with a Daylamite army of only 300 men,¹ who were then joined by 400 more Daylamite deserters from the opposing force.² In his next battle with the ruler of Fārs, he had 800 men under him.³ These early Buwayhid exploits were therefore carried out with very modest bodies of troops. In contrast, according to 'Awfī, who however, is a very remote witness, the army of Mu'izz al-Dawlah was 20,000 strong at the time of his first invasion of 'Irāq⁴ and when he took the field against Rūzbahān, whereas the Amīr had with him 9,000 men, of whom 5,000 were Daylamites, 900 Turks, and 2,000 Arabs and the rest his courtiers and adherents, Rūzbahān opposed him with 15,000 Daylamites,⁵ so that altogether the Buwayhid army then numbered some 24,000. The number of troops deployed jointly by Bakhtiyār and Abū Taghlib at the battle of Qaṣr al-Jiṣṣ was 25,000 including men of all sorts.⁶ Unhappily we have no record of the strength of 'Adud's army; but we may perhaps gain some idea of the numbers commanded by Sharaf al-Dawlah on his expedition against Ṣamṣām al-Dawlah from the details recorded of certain auxiliary services. Thus his private transport camels numbered 13,000 while those of his troops were yet more numerous, and some 1,800 grooms and servants were required to look after his horses.⁷ After Ṣamṣām's surrender when Sharaf al-Dawlah arrived in Baghdād his army included 19,000 Daylamites and 3,000 Turks. But among these were some that had previously fought for Ṣamṣām.⁸

As regards the various grades of officers by which the troops were commanded it is clear that the 'Abbāsīd system was followed with but slight modification. As regards that system al-Mas'ūdī reports that every ten men were commanded by an '*Ārif*' and every hundred by a '*Naqīb*' while over ten Naqībs that is over every contingent of a thousand men, there was placed a '*Qā'id*'⁹ and even this nomenclature was evidently preserved since we find references to all these grades during the Buwayhid period though without any specific mention of the numbers such officers then commanded. On the other hand under

1 M. I, 279.

3 M. I, 296.

5 'Awfī, f. 192b.

7 S., 128.

2 M. I, 297.

4 'Awfī, f. 121b.

6 M. II, 380.

8 S., 132.

9 Mas. Murūj VI, 452. During the civil war between Amīn and Ma'mūn the 'Urāt or the naked citizen fighters arrayed themselves according to this gradation, that being the 'Abbāsīd army regulation.

the Buwayhids next above Qá'ids instead of the 'Abbásid '*Amir*' we find officers called '*Hájib*'.¹

As the Amír al-Umará himself was the commander-in-chief² normally there was no other supreme head of the army. This traditional position of the Amír acted as a safeguard against the acquisition of too much power on the part of individual army leaders, as did further the Wazír's prerogative of also leading the army on occasion and the appointment of other civil officers to lead particular expeditions. Generally therefore it was the Amír himself or his Wazír or some accredited officer who usually commanded in the field. Nevertheless policy occasionally required the appointment of some general as commander-in-chief. The general in question was then usually styled *Hájib al-Hujjáb*, but sometimes *al-Hájib al-Kabír* or simply *Hájib*, though the terms *Šáhib al-Jaysh* and *Ra'ís al-Jaysh* were not altogether unknown.³ The Daylamite title *Ispahsalár* was also regarded as one of particular honour and Bakhtiyár twice offered it to his Turkish commander-in-chief.⁴

As 'Adud al-Dawlah was the real master of his army, under him no army chief could aim at the supreme command. On the contrary 'Adud carefully watched the growth of power on the part of his generals and took precautions to curb them before it went too far. Thus he arrested and deported Górgír b. Jastán after the latter's conquest of Kirmán on his behalf⁵ and shortly before his death arrested another general Abú'l-wafá who had helped him in subjugating Jazírah.⁶ To obviate quarrels between his Turkish and Daylamite forces 'Adud placed each of these two sections under a marshal of its own, who was directly

1 M. II, 173, (فقود جماعة و استحجب جماعة و نقب جماعة) 236,345 also Šábi's letters 266, (حجاب قواد نقباء، غلمان).

2 On his appointment as Amír al-Umará Ibn Ráiq was invested with, among other things, the chief command of the army. M. I, 351.

3 (a) M. II, 234 refers to Subektekín as Šáhib al-Jaysh but in all other places as *Hájib*, see M. II, 263, 281.

(b) Bakhtiyár decided in 363 to make Bakhttekin Azádrúyah chief of the army with the title '*Hájib al-Hujjáb*', M. II, 329.

(c) Mu'izz al-Dawlah appointed his departmental head Ibn Fasánjas Ra'ís al-Jaysh on the eve of the expedition to 'Umán but this refers to the headship of the particular expedition. (M. II, 47).

4 (a) Bakhtiyár conciliated Subektekín by giving him that title. (M. II, 293).

(b) Later after the death of Subektekín he offered the headship of the army with that title to Alptekin. Šábi's letters, 265-6.

5 M. II, 301.

6 F. n. of Abú Shujá', p. 10, on the authority of Takmilah.

responsible to him for its affairs.¹ Nevertheless, the administration of the army continued to be conducted by a single *Díwán* which was under his direct supervision, and he declined to tolerate the slightest interference with its normal working even by the most influential army officers.² By such devices 'Adud al-Dawlah contrived to keep the army firmly in hand, while to please the rank and file he would appear before them on ceremonial occasions.³

Under 'Adud's successors the situation, as we have seen, deteriorated and in the civil war that then broke out between his sons it again became usual for each to confide the supreme command to a general. Thus both *Sharaf al-Dawlah* and *Samsám al-Dawlah* called their chief army commanders *Ispahsalárs*.⁴ *Bahá al-Dawlah*, while not resident in the capital seems to have followed his father's practice in leaving the Turks and the Daylamites stationed at *Baghdád* under the command of their respective marshals.⁵ But in the confusion of the civil war which continued for about ten years the army organization, particularly in *Baghdád*, fell again into disorder and it was not until 392 when 'Amíd al-Juyúsh was appointed governor of *Baghdád* that it was more thoroughly restored on a sound basis. 'Amíd al-Juyúsh developed 'Adud's system of separating the two elements of the army still further by creating two separate *Díwáns* to deal with their respective affairs, a single inspector (*Musharif*) supervising the army *díwán* as a whole. He also carried out a revision of rolls, classifying the troops (as they had not been classified before) and removing those unfit for service.⁶

During the three troubled reigns that followed the affairs of the army grew more and more chaotic. As we have mentioned, the complete elimination of the Daylamites left the Turkish element all-powerful, so that under *Jalál al-Dawlah Hájib al-Hujjáb Bárstughán* was actually able to usurp power for some ten weeks, obliging the 'Amír himself to leave the capital.⁷ The power of the Turkish soldiery

1 One *Abú 'Abdu'lláh b. Sa'dán* was the marshal of the Turks together with 'Arabs and Kurds while 'Ali b. 'Umára was the Marshal of the Daylamites. (S., 40).

2 S., 46-47.

3 S., 41-42.

4 After conquering *Fárs* *Sharaf al-Dawlah* released *Górgir b. Jastán* from prison and gave him the title of *Ispahsálár*. (S., 81). When *Samsám al-Dawlah* succeeded in foiling the military plot with the help of *Fúlád b. Manádhár*, he designated the latter 'Ispahsálár' (S., 107).

5 In 381 the Turks and the Daylamites revolted complaining against their marshals. (S., 187).

6 H., 442-443.

7 See above, Chapter IV, Section(b).

became even greater as time went on and the once coveted title of Ispahshalár came to be borne by ordinary commanders. Indeed Ispahsalár came now to signify simply officer, and Ispahsaláriyya was used collectively to denote officers as distinct from the rank and file.¹

Whereas the higher officers and especially the commander-in-chief were always remunerated by means of fiefs,² ordinarily the rank and file of the troops were paid in cash, though these sometimes also received fiefs in addition. The practice of remuneration by fief became particularly common during the period of decline. But right at the beginning of the Buwayhid period Mu'izz al-Dawlah introduced a not dissimilar system by assigning his Turkish soldiery certain areas from the revenues of which their pay was to be derived. Thus after the revolt of Rúzbahán he sent successive contingents of his Turkish soldiery to Wásit, Baṣrah and Khúzistán with instructions to obtain their pay for themselves and their comrades out of the yields of the local taxes. Each ordinary soldier was to have a daily allowance of 10 dirhams and each Naqib 20 dirhams until they had collected all their dues.³ But these troops then settled down in those regions without bothering as long as they continued receiving the allowances to collect their arrears. On account of these arrangements in 348 no revenues could be otherwise collected from the whole area between Wásit and Ahwáz and Baṣrah.⁴ Nevertheless, the same policy was followed by Bakhtiyár's Wazír Abú'l-Fadl. The Turkish commander Bakhttekín became revenue-farmer of Ahwáz and Wásit and the revenues of these regions were spent wholly on the Turks and their entertainment.⁵

Under 'Adud al-Dawlah on the other hand the revenues increased so far that he could afford to pay his troops regularly in cash. He accordingly increased the number of the clerks in the Díwán of the Army in order to expedite the necessary disbursement. Every day a drum was beaten at the pay office and those officers to whom it applied presented

1 To give a few examples, I. J. VIII, 72. القواد و الاسفهلارية ; MU. MS., f. 75a, The Turks fighting الاسفهلارية ; MU. MS. f. 95b.

2 See above Chapter II, Bakhtiyár banished the Daylamite chieftains for their fiefs and Bakhtiyár confiscated fiefs of Subektekin his chief army commander.

3 M. II, 173-174.

4 M. II, 175-176.

5 M. II, 269, 293, 297.

themselves with their followers in perfect order.¹ He was particularly insistent on punctuality in the payment of his armies, once taking into task his treasurer Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah with great severity for a slight delay in transmission of the money to some troops stationed at al-Qaṣr.² By these means 'Adud al-Dawlah succeeded in preventing mutinies on the part of the troops and all clamorous demands for extra money.

On 'Adud's death the eastern part of his empire—Ahwáz, Fárs and Kirmán were detached from the central government and frequently changed hands between various Buwayhid princes. And during this period these regions became more and more strongholds of the Daylamites whose services were utilised by the princes in power in their resistance to the Baghdád government, and the most usual means of remunerating them was by the grant of fiefs. Thus on the eve of the accession of Bahá al-Dawlah the Daylamites of Khúzistán were in receipt of fiefs worth ten times as much as those of the Daylamites serving under Fakhr al-Dawlah;³ while still later under Šamsám further lands were alienated in Ahwaz and Fárs by indiscriminate assignation of fiefs to the Daylamites,⁴ so that when these regions together with Kirmán were reclaimed for Bahá al-Dawlah, the latter's Wazír al-Muwaffaq carried on a redistribution of fiefs among both the Turks and the Daylamites in these provinces. In Fárs a standard sum was fixed and all the fiefs yielding revenue in excess of that amount were confiscated by the state, though the more powerful Daylamite officers, by a judicious use of bribes, prevented the Wazír from interfering with their own holdings.⁵ In Kirmán the Daylamites had acquired even larger fiefs though they had been at the same time in receipt of handsome monthly allowances amounting to as much as five hundred thousand dirhams annually. Here, however, al-Muwaffaq not only reclaimed all fiefs for the state but also curtailed the original allowances.⁶

In Baghdád and the rest of 'Iráq ordinary soldiers had by now come to receive both pay and fiefs. But the army reforms undertaken by 'Amíd al-Juyúsh after his appointment as governor there were directed towards the reduction of allowances on the one hand and on the other confirmation of fiefs only instead of money payments, so that claims for both money and fiefs could no more be entertained. He reduced the allowances payable to all categories of soldiers in 'Iráq to 7,000 dínars

1 S., 43.

2 S., 45.

3 S., 165-166. The Daylamite officers of Khúzistán possessed fiefs worth two hundred to three hundred thousand dirhams while those of Fakhr al-Dawlah had fiefs worth only twenty to thirty thousand dirhams.

4 S., 247.

5 S., 327-328.

6 S., 362.

once every 35 days (and that was the allowance for one day under al-Mu'tadid).¹ Whenever a fief fell vacant for some reason he reallocated it only against the relinquishment of an allowance. He assigned many fiefs on this principle but was unable to carry out his reforms as far as he wished owing to the rivalry of a general, Abū Ja'far al-Ḥajjāj, who rebelled and created all manner of troubles for him.²

Still later during the period of decline the territories of the Buwayhids of Baghdād were confined to no more than the capital and its environs; and rulers like Muḥarrif al-Dawlah, Jalāl al-Dawlah and al-Malik al-Rahīm were constantly faced with what was in the circumstances the practically insoluble problem of paying their soldiery. The reign of Jalāl al-Dawlah, in particular, was one of a series of revolts for money on the part of his Turkish soldiery. Cash being hard to come by and their regular payment becoming more and more difficult they had to be satisfied as far as possible with fiefs, but even so, they never left the Amīrs in peace and the more fiefs that were granted the smaller grew the Amīr's revenues. There are various references to the grant of fiefs to the Turks at this time (for the Daylamites were by now completely non-existent). Under the year 422 Ibn al-Jawzī records that Jalāl was only in possession of the capital with the right of the *Khutbah* in some neighbouring places such as Wāsiṭ and the Baṭīḥah whereas the surroundings of Baghdād were actually in the hands of the Turkish fief-holders.³ After the defeat of Bārstughān when for a time the power of the Turks was greatly reduced the Arabs interfered with their fiefs (428).⁴ Finally when Tughril Beg came to Baghdād in 447 he abolished all the fiefs of al-Malik al-Rahīm's army, ordering their holders to find other means of livelihood.⁵

Besides their usual pay whether received in cash or charged on revenues or derived from fiefs, the soldiers were in the habit of demanding gratuities on the accession of both Caliphs and Amīrs. Thus Bakhtiyār had to pay to his Daylamites one-third of their usual pay as an accession gratuity (*Rasm al-Bay'ah*)⁶ and so also did Ṣamsām al-Dawlah⁷ while Bahā al-Dawlah being short of funds, had to promise to melt down and coin his gold and silver plate for the purpose.⁸ On the accession of the Caliph al-Qādir, the Daylamites and the Turks both mutinied, demanding accession money and preventing the personal name of the Caliph from being mentioned in the *Khutbah* until it was paid.

1 Kremer (II), 65.

3 I. J. VIII, 60.

5 Ath. IX, 421.

7 S., 84.

2 H., 443.

4 Ath. IX, 309.

6 M. II, 236.

8 S., 84.

However, Bahá al-Dawlah negotiated a settlement with the army leaders whereby each soldier was paid 800 dirhams and on the following Friday the Caliph was duly proclaimed from the pulpits.¹ On the accession of al-Qá'im, al-Qádir's son and successor, again, both the Amír and the Caliph had to pay up. Jalál al-Dawlah the then Amír paid the troops what they demanded from him and since the late Caliph had left no money, in order to raise three million dirhams required as his share, al-Qá'im had to sell a house, a garden and some furniture.²

As regards the functions performed by the two chief sections of the Buwayhid armies, whereas the Daylamites were infantry, the Turks were cavalry. The former therefore preferred to fight in confined spaces such as gardens and forests, while the Turks favoured the open field, where they could manœuvre their horses to effect.³ Their principal weapons were usually bows and arrows, swords, spears and clubs,⁴ while for bodily defence shields and coats of mail were used.⁵ Against walled fortresses a kind of siege machine known as *Manjaníq* was in use, from which stone missiles and 'Naptha' were hurled. Both the besiegers and the besieged made use of these machines as we learn from a description of the way in which Abú'l-Wafá, one of the commanders of 'Adud al-Dawlah, was bombarded with missiles from inside the walled city of Mayyáfáriqín when he replied with fire from his own *Manjaníqs*.⁶ But in such a case it seems the besieger was always at a disadvantage and

1 S., 202-203; I. J. VII, 157.

2 I. J. VIII, 59.

3 (i) In Bakhthiyár's fight against his revolting Turkish soldiers, he took up his quarters along with his Daylamites amid palm groves, where there was no space for the Turks to manoeuvre. (M. I, 332).

(ii) Alptekín, leader of the Turks chose the open plain between the Diyálá and Madá'in as the battlefield for the Turks who could move there freely with their horses. (M. II, 339).

(iii) On Sharaf al-Dawlah's entry into Baghdád the Daylamites vehemently attacked the Turks but while pursuing them they themselves became confused and the Turks finding a space where they could move freely charged them in the front and in the rear. (S., 133).

4 (i) M. II, 305; In response to Subektekín's call for the Holy War people appeared with swords, spears and bows.

(ii) The Turks belaboured Hamdán, son of Náşir al-Dawlah with their clubs. (M. II, 391).

(iii) Injutekín, a Turk was able to wield a club too heavy for any one else and when he did so none could stand against him. (M. II, 391).

5 The Daylamites had weak armour (M. II, 336): The heavy coat of mail could at times be a great disadvantage, Hamdán, son of Náşir al-Dawlah failed to change from one horse to another because of a heavy armour of iron. (M. II, 336).

6 M. II, 388

the besieged garrison could hold out for a long time if they had enough provisions and the morals of the people inside was maintained. Thus 'Adud al-Dawla's conquest of the fortresses of Abú Taghlib was mainly effected through the complicity of some inhabitants inside the fortresses and their voluntary opening of the gates.¹ On the other hand Naptha was used from Manjaníqs with great effect. Al-Basásirí used Manjaníqs in 446 against 'Ambar, the fortified town of Quraysh ibn Badrān and was successful in destroying a tower and burning many of the weapons prepared by the inhabitants against him, so that he was able to force an entry into the fortress.²

Naptha was also used in ordinary field operations but it was a dangerous weapon, since with a change of wind the throwers themselves might be injured.³ As regards the different kinds of boats used for naval or river battles these appear to have been the same as those used for ordinary purposes, namely Tayyárs, Zabzabs, Shadhá'ás, Hudaydiyyas, Harráqas, Sumariyyas and Zauras, etc.⁴

It was Daylamite practice to place the cavalry in front of the infantry, sometimes with disastrous results;⁵ and also to pitch a tent on the battle field, which so long as it remained erect acted as a sign that the battle was going well whereas its being struck was the sign of a rout. Mu'izz al-Dawlah in his battle against the Amír Túzún tried to

1 M. II, 388-390; for surrender of Mayyáfáriqín; M. II, 390-1, for surrender of Amid; M. II, 392-395 for surrender of the fortresses on the eastern side of the Euphrates.

2 Ath. IX, 315.

3 Yáqút the ruler of Fárs engaged some of his infantry to fight with instruments for throwing naptha and fire but the change of wind caused the flame to reach Yáqút's line. (M. I, 282).

4 For boats of ordinary use in al-Mu'tadid's time see Kremer (II), 70; for our period see Abú'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdí, 107. Below are given a few instances of their use for war.

(i) With 50 Zabzabs Mu'izz al-Dawlah's Turks fought on the Tigris with the followers of Náṣir al-Dawlah, who were on their Zabzabs. (M. II, 92).

(ii) Náṣir al-Dawlah's sons burnt the Zabzabs and Zawraqs which belonged to Mu'izz's army (M. II, 205).

(iii) Mu'izz ordered the construction of Shadhá'ás for his 'Umán expedition and his army started with one hundred of such boats. (M. II, 217-218).

(iv) Bakhtiyár's Wazír Abú'l-Faḍl used Hudaydiyyas against Habashí, Bakhtiyár's rebel brother. (M. II, 243).

(v) Bahá al-Dawlah's expedition against Fakhr al-Dawlah was followed by Zabzabs and Sumariyyas. (S., 168).

(vi) Jalál al-Dawlah's Wazír Ibn Makúlá fought a splendid naval battle in Baṣrah, which involved 1300 boats on his side and 800 on the side of his rival. (Ath. IX, 287-288).

5 M. II, 368; 382.

pitch a tent in this Daylamite fashion but before he could do so his Daylamites began retreating.¹ The Daylamites had another custom of fighting with peculiar ferocity just before surrender.² There seems to have been little to choose between the fighting capacity of the Turks and the Daylamites. The trouble was that they could never for long agree. With troops so insubordinate all the Buwayhid Amírs would have been wise to follow the policy of 'Adud in maintaining troops of both races, so that neither could dominate their government. The great mistake of the later Amírs was their complete elimination of the Daylamites, which resulted in their own complete domination by the Turks.

1 M. II, 77.

2 S., 321.

CHAPTER IX

OUTLINE OF THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION

(a) *The Buwayhid finances in brief- the financial problem under different rulers.*

Under the early 'Abbásids revenues were usually derived from the two areas, namely the area directly administered by the central government such as 'Iráq on the one hand and the provinces ruled by governors appointed by the Caliph on the other. In both these areas revenues were collected by state revenue officials ('Ummál). But later when the more distant provinces came gradually to evade payment a system of taxfarming was introduced. This was known as *damánah* (ضمانه). The outlying provinces according to this system were given to either private individuals or government officers, civil or military who assumed responsibility for collection and in return assured a stipulated sum to the state-treasury. This system, by the time of the Buwayhids, was generally in force not only in the provinces relatively distant from the capital but also in some parts of 'Iráq itself. It was only Sawád that remained in the hands of the central government. The revenue-farmers had also tended to evade their obligations usurping the whole tax-yield of the provinces for themselves. The Caliph al-Rádi's appointment of Ibn Rá'iq as Amír al-Umará in 324 was caused mainly by the total cessation of payments from the revenue-farmers. Thus the Barídí family of Baṣrah on the eve of the Buwayhid occupation of Baghdád virtually declared their independence and refused payment to the central government. On the failure of the system of *Damánah* the Caliphs were obliged to try other expedients to satisfy the army and there thus originated the system of granting military fiefs for the first time as early as under al-Muqtadir who had to grant fiefs not only to the officers but also to the rank and file of the army.¹

This process greatly reduced the state income and Baghdád came to depend more and more on irregular sources of revenue. Thus Abú Ja'far ibn Shírzád, whom Mu'izz al-Dawlah succeeded as Amír al-Umará, had to depend on wholesale extortion to raise funds wherewith to pay the soldiery and run the administration. The result was that many merchants fled from Baghdád and Ibn Shírzád's rule became highly unpopular.²

¹ Kr. (II), 17.

² M. II, 183.

It was accordingly at a time of great financial stress that Mu'izz al-Dawlah came to Baghdád. He was already in possession of Ahwáz, to which he now added 'Iráq, but his authority at the beginning was confined to Sawád and Sawád at that time was in a highly disturbed state. Compared to Mu'izz al-Dawlah's assets his liabilities were enormous. Apart from the existing civil government including the various departments, he had a vast number of troops to maintain.¹ Moreover the siege of Baghdád by Náṣir al-Dawlah immediately after his entry into Baghdád further reduced his resources. For cultivation suffered on both sides of the Tigris, these areas being occupied by the rival armies, who repeatedly pillaged them. The plundering habits of his Daylamites were also ruinous to the city itself. For on their victory they are said to have plundered the commercial quarters to the extent of 10 million dínárs (the equivalent of 200 million dirhams—whereas later under Bakhtiyár the total revenue in his best financial year amounted only to 72 million). Moreover a great famine then ensued and large numbers of people died of starvation.² It is against this background that we should study Mu'izz's problems and his attempts at their solution.

Immediately after the retirement of Náṣir al-Dawlah the Daylamites, notwithstanding the fact that they had so recently gained enormously by plunder, mutinied violently on account of a delay in the payment of their dues. Mu'izz was therefore obliged to oppress the citizens and extort money improperly to satisfy the rank and file, while to please the higher officers of the Daylamites, his household and his favourite Turks he assigned to them as fiefs certain estates belonging to the Caliph and others belonging to persons who had abandoned them as well as various revenue-yielding lands in Sawád,³ with the result that most of Sawád were removed from the purview of the revenue-officials.⁴

The immediate purpose of the assignation of those fiefs was to satisfy the army leaders but in return for it they contracted to pay into the treasury definite annual sums so that this system of *iqṭá'* was actually an alternate arrangement of revenue-farming under a new name.

1 According to 'Awfi his army on the eve of his first invasion of 'Iráq was 20,000 strong. See above. Chapter VIII.

2 M. II, 91, 94, 95.

3 Sawád, while formerly constituted the total of 'Iráq's revenue-yielding territories (Kr. I, 4; Kr. (II), 26-7), under Mu'izz and Bakhtiyár Baṣrah and Wasit were excluded from it. But under 'Aḍud the former connotation was again in use. (Muq. 133).

4 M. II, 96.

But as the areas in question were long disturbed, they were assigned at very reduced rates so that even where cultivation was restored the profit went into the pocket of the assignees. On the other hand those assignees who could not gain enough from their fiefs went on exchanging them for better ones and in the process the actual return from these lands to the state-treasury was next to nothing. Moreover as profit-making was the only concern of the assignees, to whom improvement of agriculture was a matter of indifference, cultivation was far from prospering under their control.¹

So much for Sawád. Mu'izz in due course after the final defeat of the Barídís succeeded in recovering both Wásit and Baṣrah. The Baṣrah area he at first farmed out ; but as the farmers failed to fulfil their contracts, he later decided to try administering it centrally for a time, sending the Wazír Muhallabí to settle terms direct with the cultivators. Muhallabí, after hearing a number of complaints about the unjust taxation imposed by the Barídís declared these lands to be '*Ushri*' (tithe-paying) as before, though he persuaded the peasants to make an immediate payment of 200,000 dirhams towards the clearance of their arrears according to the unjust system.²

The landtaxes of Ahwáz were also farmed out and there too Muhallabí by his personal supervision succeeded not only in collecting the arrears but also in obtaining increases on the original contracts.³ He was less successful, however, in Wásit, the revenue-farmer of which failed to pay anything. This annoyed Mu'izz al-Dawlah who put Muhallabí under arrest for this failure and had him beaten ;⁴ but when the Wazir submitted a memorandum showing arrears of 13 million dirhams still to be collected from various provinces he thought it prudent to release him since he was the only official capable of solving the problem.⁵

Since income from both the area directly administered and the lands either farmed out or granted in fief tended steadily to diminish Mu'izz tried yet another and still more uncertain expedient namely the enforcing of payment from certain unwilling tributaries at the point of the sword. It was with this end in view that he fought the Hamdánids and the ruler of Baṭīḥah. But he failed to gain any benefit from either of these campaigns. He even sent an envoy to Káfúr, the de facto ruler

¹ M. II, 97-98.

² M. II, 127-129.

³ M. II, 125.

⁴ See above, Chapter VII.

⁵ M. II, 145.

of Egypt demanding tribute, but received only a flat refusal his envoy being harshly treated and finally driven off.¹

Another expedient adopted by Mu'izz to obtain funds was the sale against annual payments of some of the highest offices of state, such as those of Qadí al-quḍát, the prefect of police and the Muḥtasib.² This at least yielded something unlike what was perhaps the most unfortunate of all Mu'izz al-Dawlah's financial experiments namely his assignment of all the revenue of Ahwáz, Wásit and Baṣrah as pay for the Turkish soldiery. For it resulted in the year 348 in the complete stoppage of all revenue payments from these areas.³

In spite of his virtual bankruptcy Mu'izz in 350 elected to build a palace for himself in the Shammásiyyah quarter of Baghdád which cost him 13 million dirhams. To obtain this, however, he fined a number of officials.⁴ For needless to say such was his financial embarrassment throughout his reign that Mu'izz had no such sum at his command from ordinary sources. His relative penury was seen at his death, when he left his son Bakhtiyár a sum of not more than 400,000 dínars.⁵

Bakhtiyár in his turn had of course to grapple with the same economic difficulties without any comparable personality and initiative. At the beginning of his reign the Wazír Abú'l-Faḍl managed the finances successfully for a time. For example the proceeds of the revenue of the year 358 from Sawád, Wásit and Baṣrah, and Ahwáz amounted to 72,000,000 dirhams.⁶ But, as we have seen, the rivalry between Abú'l-Faḍl and Ibn Fasánjas and the influence exercised over Bakhtiyár, in turn, by unscrupulous persons such as Shírzád ibn Surkháb, Abú Qarrah and Ibn Baqiyyah all of whom embezzled the government money on a large scale ultimately left Bakhtiyár far worse off than his father.

It was only under 'Adud al-Dawlah that the financial administration was satisfactorily reorganized. Starting from Fárs and Kirmán, which formed the nucleus of his empire, 'Adud became master of a realm far greater in extent than those of all his Muslim contemporaries. His revenues from Fárs, Kirmán, 'Umán including the customs dues of the ports of Síráf and Mahrúbán are recorded by Ibn al-Balkhí as having

1 M. II, 172.

2 M. II, 189.

3 See above, Chapter VIII.

4 M. II, 184-185.

5 M. II, 238.

6 I. H., 157, 162, 163, 169. He mentions Abú'l-Faḍl as revenue-farmer of these regions but actually he was a Wazír.

amounted to 3,346,800 dínars (equivalent to 66,920,000 dirhams).¹ In 'Iráq 'Adud al-Dawlah reclaimed all lands held by tax-farmers and fief holders² and administered them directly through the government officials. He increased the state-demand on the *Misálah* kind of tenure (which we are going to discuss shortly by one-tenth,³ and the revenues thus raised brought in a total of 99,238,000 dirhams—a figure only a little less than that of the revenues from 'Iráq in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd.⁴

Over other provinces which were later added to his empire 'Adud appointed either generals or trustworthy favourites as governors directly responsible to him. So great was 'Adud's concern for the settlement of the revenues that the first thing he did after every conquest was to reorganise the provincial dīwāns, appoint 'Ummal (government tax-collectors) and assess and fix the revenues.⁵ Over Jazīrah 'Adud appointed his general Abū'l-Wafá Táhir b. Muḥammad, who had helped him in subjugating that region. The revenues of Jazīrah under the Ḥamdánids were large and though exact figures are not available they can be calculated approximately from the fragmentary account of Ibn Hawqal as 21,930,000 dirhams.⁶ Though no revenue figures for Jazīrah are given in al-Muqaddasī's account presumably 'Adud as successor to the Ḥamdánids also received revenues of comparable amount. Besides 'Adud had a special liking for Jazīrah so that in reply to Abū Taghlib's peace proposals he is said to have remarked that in fact he preferred Jazīrah to 'Iráq.⁷ Immediately after his conquest of the province 'Adud found in the fortress of Ardumusht alone valuables worth 20 million dirhams.⁸

From Ahwáz 'Adud reviewed a revenue of 30 million⁹—the same as that forthcoming under Bakhtiyār. After his victory over the sons of Hasanawayh, the Kurd and their ally Fakhr al-Dawlah, he annexed Dīnawar and Qirmisín to the province of 'Iráq and handed over Ḥamádan and Niháwand to his brother Mu'ayyid al-Dawlah, only on payment of a fixed annual revenue.¹⁰

1 Fārsnámah, 171.

2 It did not, however, prevent him from granting large fiefs to his favourites though he was able to enforce on them the obligations to the state and the peasantry alike. (S. 47).

3 S., 71, M. Kh. 30.

4 It was over one hundred million besides things in kind Kr. (I.), 4; Mez is wrong in generalising, from a casual remark of 'Adud quoted by Muqaddasi, that revenues in Babylon shrank under 'Adud, though he failed to compare the actual revenue figures given by Muqaddasi elsewhere. See Mez. Tr. p. 129).

5 M. II, 395; S., 10, 11. For his early experiments in revenue administration on his first conquest of 'Iráq see M. II, 346-347.

6 See chart comparing the Abbasid revenues with those of the Buwayhids at the end of the Chapter.

7 M. II, 384.

8 M. II, 393.

9 Muq., 418.

10 S., 10, 11.

In addition to this vast area directly administered 'Adud received the allegiance of many independent or semi-independent frontier chieftains, whose occasional presents or irregular payments of tribute formed an additional source of income for him. Sa'd al-Dawlah, the son and successor of Sayf al-Dawlah in Ḥalab, Ibn Bānū, the ruler of Sijistān, the ruler of Manṣūrah (Sind), and the ruler of Yaman were all included in this category. Moreover as well as exacting all the normal taxes to the full 'Adud introduced several new ones in order further to increase his income. It is no wonder therefore that his revenue receipts reached a total of 360,000,000 dirhams annually¹—a figure higher than that of al-Muqtadir,²—in spite of the fact that Egypt, Syria and other outlying parts of the empire had in the meantime been detached from the Caliphate.

After the death of 'Adud al Dawlah his empire tended to break up and the ruling family of Baghdād was at times left with hardly more than the territories in the immediate neighbourhood of Baghdād. Though under Bahā al-Dawlah and later under Abū Kálíjār Fárs and 'Iraq were for a time temporarily united, the dynasty lost its direct hold on all the outlying territories on account of the rise of several independent dynasties, with the result that 'Adud's successors could never attain financial solvency. Having thus depicted in outline the financial position of the various rulers of the dynasty we will now proceed to discuss the different items of revenues under the Buwayhids.

(b) *Sources of Revenue.*

The principal item of taxation under the Buwayhids was still the land tax of the various kinds. Some areas of 'Irāq were '*Ushrí* (that is to say tithe-paying) lands, that of Baṣrah being one. But under the Barídís a system of fixed money payments was introduced instead and these were extremely heavy. They began by levying 20 dirhams per *Jarīb*;³ then later when some of the land was abandoned by cultivators and the taxable area was accordingly reduced they levied as much as 40. Muhallabí, Mu'izz al-Dawlah's Wazír, in contrast revived the old system of collecting tithes on the crops though, as we have mentioned, he persuaded the land-owners to pay a sum of two hundred thousand dirhams immediately to write off the arrears to which they had fallen under the other system.⁴ As for 'Adud under him no distinction seems to have been made between '*Ushrí* or other lands.

1 I. J. VIII, 16.

2 Kr. II, 38 al-Muqtadir's revenue in 306 being 14,501,904 dínárs equivalent to 290,030,080 dirhams.

3 I jarīb is equivalent to 3600 Sq ells, Khwárizmí, *Mafátih*, 66.

4 M. II, 128-129.

As for lands other than '*Ushrí*' a distinction had been drawn between small land-holdings and larger estates as early as the time of al-Muqtadir and this was maintained during our period. Thus a decree of al-Ṭā'ī mentions among other sources of revenue "al-Kharāj" on the one hand and "al-Ḍiyá'" on the other, the former presumably referring to revenues from small land holdings, and the latter to those from large estates which, it seems almost certain, were more lightly taxed.¹ But this leads us to the question of the various types of land-tenure in use.

There existed, as we know both from the works of the geographers and from law books, three major types of land-tenure in the Buwayhid empire, or at any rate in Fárs. Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal refer to these three systems as in force only in Fárs, but the evidence of al-Máwardí and Abú Ya'lá suggests that they were in fact characteristic of the empire. These three systems were known as *Muqáṭa'ah*, *Misáḥah* and *Muqásamah*.² The precise significance of these terms, however, has given rise to some controversy. According to a modern writer who has attempted to reconcile all the classical and modern views on these points, *Muqáṭa'ah* was a type of tenure on which only large areas, from whole provinces down to these estates called ḍiyá', were held--that is to say it was applicable only to land owners or their like. The revenues derivable from these lands were determined on the principle called 'Ibrah, i.e. "Sample;" they paid the mean yield between their most and their least productive years, calculated on the entire area on the basis of actual measurement whether cultivated or not and by the lunar not the solar year.³

The *Misáḥah* ("measurement") system was of two kinds, one strongly resembling the *Muqáṭa'ah*, but applicable to the peasantry at a lower level,⁴ and the other which was by far the commoner and indeed the predominant kind of tenure, differing from it is that only the land actually cultivated was taxed, due per jarīb and then according to the crop grown. This second kind of *Misáḥah* was also restricted to the peasantry,⁵ as was the third main type, the *Muqásamah* ("division"). The latter was a tenure on which the holder delivered to the collector a tithe of the crop or crops actually grown (a fourth a third or even a half) or its equivalent in cash or part in kind part in cash--collection

1 Kr. II, 12-13; Sábí's letters, 99, 127.

2 Ist, 157; I. H., 216; Máw. 260; Abú Ya'lá, 152.

3 Lokkegard, 107, 108, 115; I. H., 216; Máw. 260.

4 Lokke., 109; Máwardí, 260.

5 Lokke., 109; Ist. 157; I. H., 216-217.

being effected at the time of threshing.¹ Since both the second kind of *Misáhah* and the *Muqásamah* tenures were closely related to the actual crops grown in any one year, the revenues due from the holders were exacted by the solar, not the lunar year.

The next most important of the canonical taxes was the *Jizyah* also known as the *Jawálí*. A Caliphal decree dated 366² ordered the collectors of *Jizyah* to observe the canonical rules in the collection of this tax, namely to take from the sane, adult, male *Dhimmis* their poll-tax according to their capacity, women, children, invalid, old, poor, priests and ascetics excepted. This item of revenue seems to have been reserved for the Caliph and collected by his own 'Ámils, in spite of the change in the nature of the sovereignty of the state. It was collected every *Muharram* of the lunar year. During the revolt of the Turks in 425 they began themselves to collect the *Jawálí* from the *Dhimmis*³ and in the year 434 *Jalál al-Dawlah* again prevented the Caliph's agents from collecting it and appropriated the proceeds himself. After lengthy recriminations it was agreed that the *Jawálí* for the current year should be retained by the Amír, in the following year it should again be collected by the Caliph's officials so that the Caliph's right to the *Jawálí* was vindicated.⁴

There are also references in the Caliphal decrees of this period to the *Ṣadaqát* and the *Zakát* due on *Mawáshí*, i.e. cattle, sheep, buffaloes and camels. But despite their names these revenues were never set apart for expenditure through a particular *díwán* on charitable objects. Closely connected with these taxes was a non-canonical tax on pasturage, the imposition of which a Caliphal decree denounced as pure oppression.⁵ However, 'Adud al-Dawlah not only included the *Ṣadaqát* and *Zakát* on cattle in his items of revenue but also taxed grazing fields and established a special *díwán*⁶ to regulate them altogether with a collector, a secretary and a cashier, and from *Sawád* alone he derived from this source a revenue of one million dirhams.⁷ On the other hand later in 379 Bahá al-Dawlah abolished the tax on pasturage from the whole *Sawád* by order.⁸

1 Lokke., 109, 114; Maw. 357; Ist, 158; I. H., 217.

2 Ṣabí's letters, 112, 140.

3 I.J. VIII, 78.

4 MU. MS., 133b., 134a; I.J. VII, 113-114; Ath. IX, 350.

5 Ṣabí's letters, 158.

6 ديوان للمراعى و فرائض الصدقات

7 S., 174.

8 S., 72.

Most of the state taxes were, however, like the pasturage tax uncanonical (Mukús) and yet these after land tax were the most fruitful sources of income. By far the most important of these were the customs duties, both external and internal. The name given to these taxes "*al-Ma'ášir*" is derived from the ropes or chains by which boats were prevented from escaping the payment of tolls.¹ They were introduced by Ibn Rá'iq² and though a Caliphal letter of investiture dated 366 lays stress on their illegal character they were kept in force.³ Muḥaffabí had somewhat earlier collected from the impost on ships at Baṣrah as much as 2,000,000 dirhams.⁴ 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's revenues from Fárs, Kirmán and 'Umán included customs dues derived from the sea ports of Síráf and Mahrúbán.⁵

The revenues of those provinces must have been favourably affected by the increase in shipping traffic at this period when trade at the ports of the Persian Gulf was facilitated by the establishment of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah's authority not only over Makrán, Kirmán and Fárs on the north but also over 'Umán on the south.

Then there were the customs dues or tolls levied on the conveyance of commodities from one district to another. Muqaddasí writing after the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawlah, complains of the heaviness of these tolls in 'Iráq. "Taxes" he says, "on land and water are heavy and of recent origin. In Baṣrah the search is thorough and rigorous. So also in the Baṭīḥah commodities are detained and inspected. For the Qarmatians there is a customs house at the gate of Baṣrah and for the Daylamites there is another so that four dirhams are charged on each sheep and the gate is not opened except for one hour of the day. When the pilgrims return they are obliged to pay on loads of skins and Arabian camels. Such is the case in Kúfah and Baghdád. In Kúfah and Baṣrah pilgrims are charged 60 dirhams for a *Maḥmal*, 100 dirhams for a *Kanísah* or a load of cloth and 150 dirhams for an *'Ammáriyyah*.⁶ This is corroborated by the remark of Abú Shujá' that 'Aḍud al-Dawlah

1 Khwarizmi, 70. المأصر سلسلة او حبل يشد معترضاً في النهر يمنع السفن من المضي
The use of the term in classical dictionaries, historical and other books is discussed by M. Awad in *al-Ma'ášir*, Chap. I, p. 7-21.

2 M. I, 383 f.n. on the authority of Takmilah.

3 Sábí's letters, 138-139; Khwárizm, 59.

4 M. II, 129.

5 Fársnámah, 171.

6 Muq., 135-134. We have not been able to ascertain the meaning of these terms but they were perhaps loads of different sizes or even loads carried by different animals.

increased the former taxes on commodities imported and exported,¹ though Miskawayh says that 'Adud al-Dawlah abolished the exaction of all kinds of taxes and oppressive imposts from the pilgrim caravans.² The taxes thus recorded by Muqaddasí as being imposed on pilgrims and others in the customs houses of Baṣrah, Kúfah and Baghdád, were probably levied all through the period, in spite of the fact that from time to time announcements were made abolishing them. The mere repetition of such announcements is enough to indicate this. Thus in 364, during the revolt of the Turks, Bakhtiyár announced from Wásit the abolition in Baghdád of taxes on sheep and goats imported and exported by the pilgrims, while similar announcements were read from the pulpits of Wásit.³ But this abolition of Bakhtiyár was actually meaningless, since Baghdád was at that time wholly under the control of the Turks.

Sometimes exemption from these customs duties internal or external was accorded either by treaty or as a special privilege. Thus in a treaty with Mu'izz al-Dawlah Násir al-Dawlah undertook to send provisions to Baghdád free of levies,⁴ and a similar privilege was enjoyed by the Turks whom Mu'izz al-Dawlah sent to different regions to collect their dues. Whatever they collected was to travel duty free.⁵ and others in the customs houses of Baṣrah, Kúfah and Baghdád, were also taxes on the mere use of water-ways for all-purposes. Thus among their lists of the revenues of Fárs both Iṣṭakhrí and Ibn Hawqal include taxes on water which seem to have covered its use for such various purposes as irrigation, shipping and fishing, those on shipping being called "ship tithes" and "navigation dues" (اعشار السفن و ضرائب الملاحات).⁶ Similarly Abú 'Alí b. Mákúlá, the Wazír of Jalál al-Dawlah introduced a tax on the boats called Sumariyyát plying on waterways in 'Iráq.⁷

Mustaghallát---This was a tax apparently peculiar to Fárs. It is again mentioned by both Iṣṭakhrí and Ibn Hawqal, who explain the term as meaning a tax on shops, houses and mills on government-owned

1 S., 72.

2 M. II, 407.

3 Sábí's letters, 236, 245.

4 M. II, 108.

5 M. II, 174.

6 1st, 156-157; I. H., 215 of Dīwán al-Má' of Khwárizmí, (68-9) where detail of irrigation taxes are mentioned.

7 Ath. IX, 288.

land.¹ The latter mentions a similar tax in Jazīrah in Naṣībīn on the public baths and shops though without giving it that name.²

Excise duties on home industries and sales taxes on various commodities in ordinary use and presented for sale in the market were not unknown. While the taxes in Jazīrah included one on mills,³ in Baghdād 'Adud al-Dawlah diverted all but a fraction of the profits earned by all the local mills to the use of the state—a practice against which there were many protests towards the end of his reign, till at length Ṣamsām al-Dawlah abandoned it.⁴ 'Adud al-Dawlah even tried the establishment of state-monopolies in the manufacture of ice and silk-textiles preventing private persons from both making and trading in them⁵ and an even more extensive monopoly was imposed at the very end of the Buwayhid period by Abū 'Alī, the son of Abū Kálījār in Baṣrah, who then, in 443, obliged all commercial transactions to be conducted through the state-banker (Ṣarrāf).⁶ This, however, was perhaps only an emergency measure, since Abū 'Alī was then engaged in war with his brother al-Raḥīm.

Two attempts were made, in 375 and 389, the first by Ṣamsām al-Dawlah⁷ and the second by Bahā al-Dawlah's deputy in Baghdād, Abū Naṣr Sábūr, to impose a tithe on silk and cotton goods woven in the capital. But these produced riots on both occasions: and though after the second the tithe on silk goods was in fact imposed (and a Dīwān established for its regulation) it was abolished three years later by 'Amīd al-Juyūsh.⁸

From the declaration of Bakhtiyār from Wásīṭ⁹ to which we have already referred, when he was in fact quite powerless, it is evident that there were then in force taxes on flour and various food-stuffs. We also read of a tax on the flour-market at Baghdād under Jalāl al-Dawlah,¹⁰ some fifty years later, when for a time a tax on salt was likewise imposed.¹¹

1 Ist., 158, I. H., 217. Ya'qúb b. Killís the Wazír of the Fatimid al-'Aziz created a dīwān known as al-Mustaghallāt which, according to a modern Egyptian author, exercised jurisdiction over state-monopolies such as mineral products, sea-products, forests and also government shops, baths given for hire. ('Aṭīyya Musharrafa, Naẓm al-Hukm fī Miṣr, 174-5).

2 I. H., 143.

3 I. H., 143, 147.

4 S., 72.

5 S., 72; M. Kh., 30.

6 Náṣir Khusraw, 128.

7 S., 117-118.

8 H., 335-336.

9 See above.

10 Ath. IX, 288.

11 I. J. VIII, 78.

Then there were sundry other minor taxes such as a tithe of one-fifth on the products of mines,¹ taxes on forests² and on the mints all of which are mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Hawqal as existing in Fárs.³ As regards the last, the list of the revenues of al-Muqtadir contains as one item the income derived from the mints of Baghdád, Sámarrá, Wásit, Baṣrah and Kúfah which yielded 60,370 dínars⁴ (equivalent to 1,207,400 dirhams), and similar profits must have been forthcoming throughout our period from these mints. As regards the nature of this income it was a profit derived from bullion delivered to the mints by traders and others for conversion into coin.⁵

Something resembling an income tax was introduced by Ṣamsám's Wazír Ibn Sa'dán in 373. This consisted in a deduction made from salaries of officials and the rations allocated to them; and every month their pay-certificates included a clause authorising the deduction of this tax and any arrears that might have occurred in it.⁶ Sometimes even private labour was taxed and during the reign of Jalál al-Dawlah his Wazír Ibn Mákúlá thus imposed taxes on the porters who carried dates and other merchandise to boats.⁷

Another source of revenue was the Mál al-Jahbadhah introduced as early as the time of al-Muqtadir. Jahbadhah, according to the Kitáb al-Háwí, was a tax levied in the case of land either per jarib or per thousand jarib and in the case of money collected either per hundred or per thousand dínars, which would be calculated in such a way as to cover not only the pay of Jahbadh (Government Cashier) but also a lot of other contingencies including the remuneration of the Másiḥ, the Qussám, the Mu'ábir, the porters, weighers, the transport cost as also the Kifáyah and the Kusúr *i.e.* charges to make up for the deficient and broken coins.⁸ The sum thus collected would not merely suffice for the above-mentioned expenses but would ultimately yield an income to the Treasury. Two Caliphal decrees of our period dated 366 include this as a legitimate source of income.⁹ Though one of these enjoins provincial rulers to ask their Cashiers to be lenient to the people in the matter of collection¹⁰ earlier in al-Muqtadir's time the good Wazír 'Alí ibn 'Isá considered this tax as a 'visitation on the people.¹¹

1 الخماس المعادن

2 ضرائب الاجام

3 Ist., 156-7; I. H., 216.

4 Kr. II, 27.

5 Sábí's letters, 141.

6 S., 85.

7 Ath. IX, 288.

8 Claude Cahen, Annales De l'institut D'Etudes Orientales d'Alger Tom 10 Anne 1952 Pp. 326-363.

9 Sábí's letters, 99, 127.

10 Ibid., 111.

11 Wuz., 255.

A similar profit was derived under 'Adud al-Dawlah from the advances obtained by government officials to buy food-stuffs at more than normal prices. The inspector of dates and goods in Baṣrah, for instance, would advance money to government officials to buy dates at higher prices than was necessary and the margin went to the state.¹

A comparatively larger proportion of the revenues was, however, generally derived from various irregular sources, and though these sources were uncertain, the sums realised from them were often enormous too. Among these was the share seized by the state of the property of the deceased persons—which corresponds to modern death duties, as well as arbitrary fines and confiscations both from ordinary citizens and from government servant, fines and indemnities proper, such as police fines, law-court fines and collective fines, the sale of offices, and lastly bribes pure and simple.

Death duties at that time were not properly speaking duties at all. They were mere confiscations. On the death of a well-to-do person the state would lay claim to his property whether he left any heir or not. Whether this was done would depend mainly on the scruples of the individual ruler or administrator. Thus Mu'izz al-Dawlah confiscated the property of a deceased person disregarding the claims of his heir without of course interfering with his charitable endowments,² while Bahá al-Dawlah confiscated half the property of a deceased 'Alid.³ On the other hand there are instances when individual Wazírs and administrators disliked including such finds in the government revenues.⁴ While at the same time practice differed in the case of private individuals, in that of government servants confiscation on their demise of part or of the whole of their possessions was almost the rule. Even the

¹ S., 67.

² This man was Da'laj b. Aḥmad an inhabitant of Baghdád who left 300,000 mithqáls of gold besides other property. (Sibt. II, f. 154a).

³ He was Abú'l-Hasan Muḥammad b. 'Umar. The price of his property was fixed at 50,000 dínárs half of which was to go to the treasury and the rest to his heirs. (H., 347). Earlier Bahá al-Dawlah once confiscated his whole property worth 20,000,000 dirhams some of which was presumably restored afterwards. (S., 173-4).

⁴ (a) 'Amíd al-Juyúsh refused on the death of an Egyptian to confiscate his properties which were duly restored to a brother of the deceased. (I. J. VII, 253).

(b) Dhú'l-Sa'ádát Ibn Fāsánjas, Wazír of Abú Kúlíjār being informed from Ahwáz that a person died leaving 50,000 Maghribí dínárs besides property worth another 50,000 dínárs, refused to take possession of those properties. (I. J. VIII, 139).

properties of Wazírs like Muhallabí¹ and Fakhr al-Mulk² were not spared on their death, while a fine of 80,000 dínars was imposed on the son of the Wazír Dhú'l-Sa'adatayn Abú Ghálib on the latter's death.³

Apart from this confiscation of the property of the deceased, the fining of private individuals or government servants for ready money was a common practice. Introduced under the early 'Abbásids,⁴ it was resorted to very frequently during our period, particularly when revenues from usual sources stopped or were inadequate. It was known as *Muṣádarah*. The pre-Buwayhid Amír Ibn Shírzád resorted to a wholesale extortion of this type in 334 in the form of quotas on the wealth of clerks, revenue agents and ordinary people, and he even appointed spies⁵ to detect persons in possession of hidden resources. He even went so far as to fine a Hášimí, though this was considered an almost unbelievably desperate expedient.⁶ Confiscations were freely indulged in by Mu'izz al-Dawlah after the first Daylamite revolt in 334 and later by Bakhtiyár's Wazír Abú'l-Fadl.

Abú'l-Fadl while confining himself during his first wazirate to mere courtiers during the second proceeded also to fine merchants, from whom also he extorted money by various tricks.⁷ Nor was he a respecter of persons: Dhimmís and Muslims, notaries and other respectable citizens were all alike his victims. Like Ibn Shírzád he also employed a corps of spies whom he called agents ('Ummál) paying them regular salaries.⁸ Confiscations also became common again under

1 On al-Muhallabi's death in 352 Mu'izz al-Dawlah sent someone to guard upon his property and his dependents. Members of his family including persons who had paid him a single visit and even his muleteers and boatmen were arrested and fined. (M. II, 197-8). The fines exacted from all of them amounted according to Yáqút to five million dirhams. (Yaq. Irsh. III, 184-5).

2 On the execution of Fakhr al-Mulk, Sultán al-Dawlah seized his cash money amounting to 630,000 dínars (according to another report 1 million dínars), besides landed property, clothes and furniture. Fakhr al-Mulk had another sum of 3 million dínars lodged with different people and his former deputy. 'Alí al-Rukhkhaji traced it out skilfully. (I. J. VII, 286-7; VIII, 101-102: MU. MS., f. 54a).

3 I. J. VIII, 3; MU. MS., f. 54a.

4 Kr. (II), 9.

5 السعاة والغمازون

6 M. II, 83-84; Ath. VIII, 357.

7 التاويل بالمحال legal trickery different from arbitrary fine without any reason whatsoever. '*Al-Muṣadurát*' wa *al-Ta'wíl b'il-Mahál* were the two important sources of state income which went side by side.

8 M. II, 398.

Bahá al-Dawlah and his Wazírs¹ and later Jalál al-Dawlah also practised it from time to time.²

Sometimes when it was decided to fine some individuals they would be suddenly arrested and money would be demanded of them under torture and this was particularly true of government employees. Thus in 350 Mu'izz al-Dawlah arrested the treasurer, Šāhib al-Díwān, Šāhib Díwān al-Nafaqah, Šāhib Díwān al-Jaysh and other officials in order to extort money from them for his building project.³ It was the common fate of dismissed officers, governors and Wazírs to be handed over to their rivals, who would assume office on promise of exacting certain amounts from these victims under torture. This was a practice most resorted to under Mu'izz al-Dawlah,⁴ even more under Bakhtiyár,⁵ and later again under Bahá al-Dawlah.⁶

1 S., 251; H., 413.

2 See above, Chapter VI Section (b).

3 Mu'izz al-Dawlah was able to realise more than half of the whole amount of his expenditure, which was 13 million dirhams, from these officers, the highest being exacted from the treasurer Abú 'Alí who died under torture. (M. II, 185, 186-88; Yaq. Irsh. III, 182).

4 Mu'izz al-Dawlah demanded 40,000 dirhams from his prefect of police Abzá'ijí, on refusal, of which he dismissed and arrested him and demanded a fine of 300,000 dirhams. (M. II, 148).

5 (a) Ibn Fasanjas promised if appointed Wazír to exact 9 million dirhams from his rival Abu'l-Faḍl and his dependents. (M. II, 263-4). Abu'l-Faḍl likewise when his turn came promised to exact from Ibn Fasanjas and his dependents seven million dirhams. (M. II, 269).

(b) The Wazír Abu'l-Faḍl arrested a corrupt governor of Baṣrah Abú Tāhir Husayn and handed him over to his rival 'Alí who tortured Abú Tāhir his friends and associates to death for money. (M. II, 295).

(c) Ibn Baqiyyah arrested Sahl b. Bishr, the governor of Ahwáz and tortured him for money. He also tortured to death a friend of Sahl, from whom he exacted 100,000 dinárs. (M. II, 358-9).

6 (a) During the regime of al-Mu'allim (379-382) he handed over a prefect of police to an enemy of his who promised to realise a vast sum from him. (S., 179-180).

(b) In 381 al-Mu'allim arrested Bahá's deputy Abú Naṣr Khwáshadhah and exacted two million dirhams from him though Khwáshadhah had already paid him one thousand dinárs. (S., 198). Al-Mu'allim also arrested and fined one Abú 'Abdulláh a deputy Wazír. (S., 199).

(c) The Wazír al-Muwaffaq realised, in 388 a sum of 30,000 dinárs from three refugee officers, who had left office and fled to Baṭīḥah for their reinstatement to the court of Bahá al-Dawlah. (S., 308).

(d) In 393 one Abú'l-Faḍl Sūdmand being appointed Wazír by Bahá Dawlah arrested the Wazír Abú Ghálib (later known as Fakhr-al-Mulk) and fixed the latter's fine at 100,000 Qásání dinárs equivalent to 4 million dirhams. (S., 459-460).

Even the Caliphs themselves were fined at times. Thus in 361 Bakhtiyár made al-Muṭī' pay him 400,000 dirhams—a fact that became widely known.¹ Again it was with a view to obtaining money from him that in 381 Bahá al-Dawlah on the advice of his courtier al-Mu'allim arrested al-Tá'i' and when actually received nothing from him he made al-Qádir Caliph.²

Distinct from all these arbitrary fines and confiscations were the fines and indemnities proper imposed on criminals; and these also formed part of state-revenues. In 436 a dismissed prefect of police was tried for murdering individuals for money while in office and the Qádí's court fined him 5,500 dínárs, which was then taken by the government cashier and spent on the payment of the troops.³ Sometimes again collective fines were imposed on rioters, this was called *Taqṣit*. So in 418 when law and order was re-established after a riot a collective fine of 100,000 dínárs was imposed on the inhabitants of al-Karkh⁴ and at least in one case this rendered a victim utterly destitute so that on his death the Caliph al-Qádir had to arrange for his shroud out of his own funds.⁵

Even so corrupt a practice as the sale of offices was common under Mu'izz al-Dawlah. He farmed out the post of Qádí alquḍát against an annual payment of 200,000 dirhams. Similarly he farmed out the Hisbah (the Inspectorate of morals and markets) in Baghdád, while the prefecture of police was likewise sold for payments of 20,000 dirhams every lunar month.⁶ Fortunately the decision of the Qádí in question were all later on reversed when another judge (Abú Bishr 'Umar b. Akhtam) was properly appointed in his place.⁷

Lastly we come to ordinary bribes (Maráfiq), the acceptance of which by Bakhtiyár became a regular practice. From Ibn Baqiyyah in particular while the latter was still the Controller of his kitchen he used to accept a sum of 10,000 dirhams every month and entered into an agreement with him against the heads of the Díwáns and the clerks. Apart from these payments in cash Ibn Baqiyyah also bribed him in the form of presents of slaves, horses and donkeys.⁸ When an Amír was

¹ M. II, 308.

² S., 201.

³ I. J. VIII, 129.

⁴ I. J. VIII, 25; Ath. IX, 249.

⁵ I. J. VIII, 37; Ath. IX, 261.

⁶ M. II, 188-189; I. J. VII, 2; Ath. VIII, 399.

⁷ M. II, 196; I. J. VII, 116.

⁸ M. II, 286.

thus amenable to bribes his favourites and clerks naturally became amenable too. So we find Bakhtiyár's favourite Shírzád receiving bribes from Abú Qurrah and after Shírzád's banishment Subektekín, with whom Abú Qurrah made an alliance, doing likewise.¹ Abú Qurrah indeed revelled in corrupting Wazírs and revenue-officers right and left.²

When the Mu'allim, Bahá al-Dawlah's virtual dictator for three years, solicited a bribe from Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah, Bahá al-Dawlah's deputy, Abú Naṣr remarked: "Only one who is either affluent or himself receives bribes can afford to give them."³ This shows the real spirit of the time. Almost every government servant or everyone who received profits by unlawful means was in the habit of bribing the more influential courtiers. Ordinary clerks also received bribes when the occasion presented itself. Thus the clerks of Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah while granting fiefs to the Arabs of the Banú 'Uqayl in Diyár Rabí'ah made a large profit by accepting bribes.⁴ The way in which even ordinary officials were frequently fined and at times actually paid up huge sums proves beyond doubt that bribery and corruption were very common and widespread.

(c) *State Expenditure*

As regards the expenditure we can only guess and speculate, there being no actual figures in the texts of the period; and in attempting to enumerate the possible items of expenditure we are faced with the question whether there was any clear line of demarcation between the state-treasury and the personal treasury of Amír al-Umará. The answer is perhaps 'no'. Under Bakhtiyár we find the Wazír Abú'l-Faḍl creating a díwán with a special official at its head to look after some territories which Bakhtiyár declared to be his own, and this was called the '*Díwán al-Kháṣṣ*'.⁵ The appropriation of these estates was no doubt made in imitation of the former crown-lands of the Caliphs. In a treaty between Šamsám al-Dawlah and Bahá al-Dawlah, again, it was laid down that both the princes were to have private fiefs in each other's territories,⁶ while the rebellious Turkish soldiers of Jalál al-Dawlah laid their hands on his private lands and appropriated the

1 See above, Chapter II.

2 M. II, 261.

3 S., 198.

4 S., 144.

5 M. II, 284.

6 S., 184.

revenues which amounted to 54,000 *Sábúrí* *dínárs*.¹ But though the Amír might have owned such private estates no difference appears to have been made between the state-treasury and the Amír's private treasury. At least there is no evidence to prove that the accounts were ever kept separate.

The greatest charges on the revenues of the state were undoubtedly the maintenance of the army, the cost of military expeditions, and the private establishment of the Amír. It is very difficult to determine what amount was actually spent on the army but as most of the Amírs were continually short of funds and faced serious rebellions every now and then, it seems pretty certain that by far the greatest portion of the state-income went towards the payment of the soldiery. 'Amíd al-Juyúsh in 392 reduced all the allowances of the army in *Baghdád* and abolished the allowances of those who then received new fiefs. He curtailed these allowances to 7,000 *dínárs* payable in every 35 days.² Calculated in dirhams (one *Ṣāhibí* *dínár* being equal to 25 dirhams), these payments come to about two million dirhams annually.³ But this is accounted for by the fact that only a small part of the army was then stationed in *Baghdád*, the greater part being posted in *Shíráz* with Bahá al-Dawlah. The upkeep of the army in the provinces was very expensive. Thus when Bakhttekín was governor of Ahwáz, he wrote to Bakhtiyár to say that the whole revenue of Ahwáz was accounted for by the sums allocated to the Turks and their entertainment.⁴ As the revenues of Ahwáz were 30 million dirhams this shows how much was required for the troops of a single province.

We are in similar darkness regarding the expenditure on expeditions. During the reign of *Sharaf* al-Dawlah Abú Naṣr Khwáshádhah was granted 300,000 dirhams for his expedition to Mawṣil. But this was considered to be a very inadequate sum for such an enterprise.⁵ During Bahá al-Dawlah's expedition to Arraján the treasures found after its conquest amounted to one million *dínárs* and eight million dirhams. But in the course of a few days nearly the whole amount was distributed in payment of the soldiery only 400,000 *dínárs* and 400,000 dirhams remaining to be conveyed back to Ahwáz.⁶

The personal establishment of the Amírs was very elaborate.

1 I. J. VIII, 78.

2 H., 443.

3 $7000 \times 25 \times 360 = 1,800,000$

4 M. II, 269.

5 S., 144.

6 S., 183.

For it was their conscious aim to eclipse the Caliphs who were simultaneously obliged to live more and more plainly. The Amír's establishment included his household, the Wakíl (steward) the chamberlains, the porters, the farráshún,¹ the household body guards, eunuchs, wives, children, the kitchen with the controller of the kitchen (Šāhib Maṭbakh) and his staff, the royal stables with the horses and grooms, the royal barges and bargemen (Malláhún).

Even in the period of decline the private camels of Sharaf al-Dawlah on the eve of his expedition to 'Irāq numbered 13,000. 1,800 grooms and servants looked after his horses and the rest (the remaining establishment) was on a corresponding scale, suitable to an opulent monarch.² But the maintenance of such vast stables was sometimes an embarrassment. In 422 Jalál al-Dawlah was obliged to let his horses loose from lack of the means to feed them.³ In an epidemic in 437, 12,000 horses were lost to Abú Kálíjár.⁴ The expense of the barges of various kinds was again very high. Thus we read of Jalál al-Dawlah's spending 10,000 dínárs for one *Tayyár*,⁵ while 'Adud al-Dawlah had a *zabzab* built of silver in the shape of a beast of prey.⁶

Under the personal expenditure of the Amír there were often included sums spent on what we should call social and welfare activities. But these varied from individual to individual and depended on the one hand on the Amír's temperament and on the other on his financial stability. Under this category came the patronage of learning, art and letters, building activities, the construction of mosques, sarais, tombs and madrasahs, contributions to religious ceremonies, particularly the two Shí'í ceremonies of the 'Āshúrá and the 'Id al-Ghadír, charities for mosques and for the Holy places such as Makkah, Madinah and the tombs of 'Alí and Husayn, charities to the indigent, the repair of bridges, roads, canals, expenditure on irrigation and the building and maintaining of hospitals.

In this connection we shall see what a great number of poets writers, men of learning and science were patronised by 'Adud al-Dawlah; and as for the huge sums spent by the Amírs on the building of palaces, Mu'izz al-Dawlah built his residence in the *Shammasiyyah* at a cost of 13 million dirhams.⁷ 'Adud al-Dawlah spent five million on another palace and the cost of irrigating a garden and

¹ House-hold attendants of the name sometimes acting also as very influential courtiers.

² S., 128 on the authority of Hilál al-Sábi.

⁴ I. J. VIII, 128.

⁶ I. J. VII, 107.

³ See above, 207.

⁵ I. J. VIII, 119.

⁷ M. II, 183.

levelling the ground, on which it was to be laid for him, was calculated to be five million dirhams.¹

A considerable sum was spent by the Amírs in charity. Mu'izz al-Dawlah, for instance, on the occasion of his return from a visit to the palace of al-Muṭī' ordered a sum of 10,000 dirhams, which he put at the disposal of the Naqíb of the 'Alids, to be distributed among the people.² Bakhtiyár was also well-known for his charity though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish this from his extravagance.³ As for 'Adud al-Dawlah, being so much better off he could afford to spend vast sums under the head. We have already mentioned his charities to Imáms, Mu'adhhdhins and the indigent and those in which he indulged on the taking of any vow. He also spent lavishly on the repair of bridges, roads, canals, dams and weirs. Fakhr al-Mulk also took a particular interest in repairing breaches in dams. A regular feature of the Buwayhid government was also the maintenance, as in the earlier period, of a number of state-officials known as '*Aṣháb Maṣálih*' (welfare officials), to look after irrigation.⁴

Besides these there were the cost of maintaining the civil government, the secretariat: the government departments and their clerks, the 'Ummál and the Mushrifún (the Inspectors), the cost of the organisation of post and intelligence services and the maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice. The last included the prefect of police with the police staff (رجال المعونة),⁵ the Inspector of morals and markets (Muhtasib), the Qádís and the whole judicial organisation including the Mazálim courts⁶ and these all existed, we know, under the Buwayhids. But we do not possess sufficient data about their working to enable us to supply an adequate account of it.

1 I. J. VII, 79.

2 Ibid., 21.

3 Ibn Khall. Tr. I, 250. Bakhtiyár was excessive in his grants, general expenses and allowances to his officials. He spent so vast a sum on waxes (some of them must have been for mosques) that on 'Adud's coming to Baghdád the latter had to stop it.

4 A few references to them during our period: they departed from the areas given away in fiefs by Mu'izz (M. II, 98); 'Ayyárs killed some of them in 420 (I. J. VII, 45); Some 'Ayyárs appointed as welfare officials (I. J. VIII, 49); welfare officials assigned taxes from the market (I. J. VIII, 78).

5 Some references to رجال المعونة; weakened because of the activities of the 'Ayyárs (I. J. VIII, 40); some of them killed in the hands of the 'Ayyárs (I. J. VIII, 45).

6 The chief function of these courts is defined as compelling those who would do each other wrong—Mutazallimún—to mutual justice. A detailed discussion of this is made by Amedroz in JRAS, 1911, 635.

	Hárún al-Rashíd (Kr. I, 21-8)	al-Muqtadir (Kr. II, 32-8)	Early Buwayhids and Hamdanids	'Aḍud al-Dawlah
Total:	530,312,000	14,501,904 din= 290,038,080	Bakhtiyár 72,000,000	360,000,000 (I. J. VIII, 16).
Provinces				
Iraq= Sawad	87,780,000 (crops) 14,000,000 (other sources) 101,780,000 (Besides things in kind).	1,547,734 din= 30,954,680	Kufa & Sawad 30,000,000 Wasit & Başrah 12,000,000 (Bakhtiyár) 42,000,000 (I. H., 168-9)	Share of crops 86,780,000 Abwáb al-Mál 4,008,000 Tigris region 8,500,000 (Muq., 133) 99,288,000
Ahwaz	25,000,000 (Besides things in kind).	1,260,922 din= 25,218,440	Barídí offered 360,000 din= 7,200,000 (M. I., 258-9) Bakhtiyár 30,000,000 (I. H., 178).	30,000,000 (Muq., 418)
Fars	27,000,000 (Besides things in kind).	1,634,520 din= 32,690,400	'Alí b. Ilyas pays 500,000 din= 10,000,000 Bakhtiyár 22,000,000 (I. H., 222)	Fars, Kirman and Uman combined 3,346,000 din= 66,920,000 (Fārsnāma, 171).
Kirman	4,200,000 (and things in kind)	364,380 din= 7,287,600		
Jazirah	Mawsil 24,000,000 Other parts 34,000,000 58,000,000 (and other things in kind).	1,419,951 din= 28,399,020	Hamdanids: Nasibin 5,640,000 (I. H., 142-3) Mawsil and other parts 16,290,000 (I. H., 147)	'Aḍud must have inherited all the Hamdanid revenues
			21,930,000	

NOTE: The ratio between *dīnār* and *dirham* fluctuated from time to time and in spite of the jurists' assertion that it was 1:10, in actual practice it was 1:22 under al-Rashid and from al-Muqtadir's time down to the death of Adud 1:20. (Kr. II, 7-8). The conversions in the table are made accordingly. An examination of the specific gravity of some of the 'Abbásid and Buwayhid coins carried on by my friend Dr. Ehrenkreutz on my behalf, (see the other chart), shows that the Buwayhid *dīnārs* of the two weak and insolvent rulers, Bakhtiyār and Bahá al-Dawlah, are purer than those of al-Muqtadir and though unfortunately the two *dīnārs* of 'Adud from Súq al-Ahwáz show deficiency we may assume that his *dīnārs* from Baghdád (which were not available for examination) might have been of a higher standard than those of Bakhtiyār and Bahá al-Dawlah. A silver coin of Mu'izz al-Dawlah also compares favourably with that of al-Muqtadir. The debasement of silver, however, under Bahá al-Dawlah as seen in this experiment is also corroborated by our texts and at least once 40 dirhams went for 1 *dīnār*. (H., 469).

Chart to compare the specific gravity of some of the Abbasid and Buwayhid coins.

(a) *Dinārs*:

Year A.H.	Mint	Ruler	Specific gravity	Degree of purity in per cent	Number ¹
175	Madīnat al-Salām	Hārūn al-Raṣhīd	19.171	98.81	145a Add,47-8
305	"	Muqtadir	17.439	89.89	419g Add,75
357	"	Bakhtiyār	18.249	94.06	653 II,205
368	Súq al-Ahwáz	'Aḍud al-Dawlah	16.048	82.72	655 II,207
370	"	"	16.324	84.14	New acquisition
396	Madīnat al-Salām	Bahá al-Dawlah	17.6	90.72	669 II,214

(b) *Dirhams*:

175	Madīnat al-Salām	Hārūn al-Raṣhīd	10.413		211 I,80
304	"	Muqtadir	9.691		440 I,149
No date	"	Mu'izz al-Dawlah	9.		649 II,204
381	"	Bahá al-Dawlah	6.608		682 II,214

¹ The numbers refer to the acquisition number of the British Museum and also page number of Lane-Poole's Catalogues.

CHAPTER X

Cultural Development under the Buwayhids of Baghdád

The disintegration of the 'Abbásid Caliphate was complete by the year 324/935 and the historian of the Caliphate records with regret:

“Fárs went to ‘Alí ibn Buwayh; Rayy, Isfahán and Jibál to Ḥasan ibn Buwayh; the Jazīrah to the Ḥamdánids; Egypt and Syria to the Ikhshídids; al-Andalus to ‘Abd al-Raḥmán the Umayyad; Khurásán to the Sámánids, and Ṭabaristán and Daylam to the Daylamites; only Madínat al-Salám remained in the hands of the Caliph.”¹

Though the implication from the point of view of the Caliphate was one of despair yet the historian was perhaps too close to the current of events to appreciate the cultural significance of this new phenomenon. The Caliphate was undergoing a new process of re-orientation in which the centre of gravity shifted from Baghdád to the provinces and in line with the tradition once set up by Baghdád several cultural centres arose rivalling and relegating her to a position of minor importance. The Buwayhid share to the territories of the Caliphate was proportionately larger and their contribution to the cultural elevation of those regions comparatively greater. The patronage extended by many of the Buwayhid Amírs to men of learning and their generally liberal views, particularly because they were Shí‘ites encouraged much notable scientific and literary activity.

The Early Period

We include in this period the reigns of Mu‘izz al-Dawlah and his son Bakhtiyár. Mu‘izz al-Dawlah’s interests lay mainly in warfare and state affairs. Coming straight from primitive stage of society he was quite unacquainted with the cultural life of Baghdád over which he gained mastery. In a memorable visit to the palace of the Caliph al-Mu‘tí‘ he stood agape to see the effigy of a woman which decorated some part of the palace and wished that he could get a slave-girl of that

¹ Miskawayh (M.) 1,366-67, I.J. VI, 288.

type.¹ Besides, his preoccupation in warfare afforded him very little opportunity to develop cultural interests. Still it was during his reign that his Wazír al-Muhallabí was the centre of a literary circle which left its mark on Arabic literature.

The evening assemblies to which the 'Abbásid Caliphs attracted during their hey-day men of literary taste had created successful prototypes in the assemblies convened by courtiers and nobles in their private capacity. The Buwayhids were singularly fortunate in having a number of Wazírs who were themselves men of learning and patronised art and culture. Abú Muḥammad al-Muhallabí, the Wazír of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, used to hold such assemblies and the best geniuses of the period received bounties from him. Himself a poet of no mean order his poverty prior to his rise into power seems to have urged him to creativeness,² and when favoured by fortune he attached to his person a number of writers and poets chief among whom were the family of poets called 'Banú l-Munajjim',³ one, 'Alí ibn Yúsuf ibn Baqqál,'⁴ a group of Qádis notable among them being Abú'l-Qásim al-Tanúkhí⁵ (father of the famous 'Alí ibn Muḥassin al-Tanúkhí), and two other outstanding literary figures Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahání and Ibráhím ibn Hilál al-Šabí. As for al-Isfahání, though he wrote the 'Kitáb al-Aghání' for Šayf al-Dawlah of Aleppo yet as a Baghdádí he was most intimately related to al-Muhallabí whom he praised in the most high-flown language:

و لما انتجعنا لائذين بظلمه اعان و ما عني و من و ما منا
وردنا عليه مقتربين فراشنا وردنا نداء مجديين فاخصبنا⁶

"And when we intended to take shelter in his shade he helped us while he is not from me and he treated us kindly while he does not belong to us; we visited him exploring a little water, we arrived his hospitality when suffering from draught and then we were drenched heavily."

¹ Ibn al-Jawzī. Hyderábád ed. (I.J.) VII, 21.

² Tha'alibí: Yatimah (Yat.) II, 8—9.

الاموت يباع فاشترية	فهذا العيش ما لا خير فيه
الاموت لذيق الطعم يأتي	يخلصني من العيش الكريه
اذا ابصرت قبراً من بعيد	وددت لو انني مما يليه
الا رحم المهيم نفس حر	تصدق بالوفاة على اخيه

³ Yat. 11, 283.

⁴ Yat. 11, 106.

⁵ Yáqút: Irshad (Irsh.) V, 507

⁶ Ibid., 278.

As for Ibráhím ibn Hilál al-Šabí, about whom we shall learn much later on, he was the Šáhib Díwán al-Rasá'il of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and as a writer was most intimately attached to the person of al-Muhallabí on whose death the Amír put him under arrest.¹ Ibráhím's works included a selection of al-Muhallabí's poetry.²

Bakhtiyár, son and successor of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, though a weak and incapable ruler, was interested in poetry and the Yatímah has preserved specimens of his compositions which establish him as the best versifier of his family.³ He reinstated Ibráhím in his former position and also had in his service the poet Ibn al-Hajjáj about whom we have to say much afterwards.

The Middle Period: the reign of 'Adud al-Dawlah

During the reign of 'Adud al-Dawlah (in Shíráz from 949 to 978 A.D., in Baghdád from 978 to 983 A.D.) Fárs and 'Iráq enjoyed greater measure of peace and security and consequently cultural development reached its high water mark. In the style of the great 'Abbásid Caliphs he used to hold evening assemblies, in which apart from the usual drinking entertainments by music and recitation took place. Himself a composer, though to my mind inferior to his cousin Bakhtiyár, he showed keen interest in the music played and asked questions about the songs sung.⁴ The songs of the famous singers were followed by a recital of the classical poems and the improvisation of new ones by the boon companions.⁵ On ceremonial occasions these assemblies were very gorgeous and particularly so on the birth-day of 'Adud according to the solar calender. 'Adud would enter into a large hall of audience which was brilliantly decorated. The astrologers, the musicians and a select few of his boon companions would be allowed access to him, and among them again only two or three would be permitted to sit in his presence. Then while the company would amuse themselves with drinking and music, 'Adud received courtiers, officials, secretaries, governors, and the leading citizens of the state, who would come to congratulate him on the occasion. The poets would then enter and sing his glory.⁶

¹ Yat. 11, 25.

² Irsh, 1, 358.

³ To give one example: (Yat. 11, 5)

وفاؤك لازم مكنون سـرى	و حبك غایتى و الشوق زادى
و خالك فى عذارك فى الليالى	سواد فى سواد فى سواد.

⁴ Abú Shujá' Dhayl-Tajárib (S.) 41; I.J. VII, 115.

⁵ Irsh, VI, 251-6.

⁶ Ibid., 258-9.

'Adud al-Dawlah was a great lover of learning. He granted ample allowances to jurists, Qur'anic commentators, traditionists, theologians, poets, grammarians, genealogists, physicians, astrologers, mathematicians and engineers. In his palace a room next to his own suite was always set apart for men of special attainments who could engage in their peaceful pursuits without interference from ordinary folk. Allowances and honoraria were fixed for them. The young were thus encouraged to study and the old to instruct. Talent and ability had free scope.¹

'Adud himself was much given to reading. He used to take vows that on being able to master Euclid and Abú 'Alí's grammar he would give twenty-thousand and fifty-thousand dirhams respectively in charity.² We also learn that the Kitáb al-Aghání was his constant companion alike at home and on journeys.³ He used to take part in the lively discussions of the savants assembled in his house.⁴ Indeed he preferred assemblies of the learned to those of the Amirs and nobles.⁵ That 'Adud was keenly interested personally in different sciences and learning is also evident from the following saying attributed to him:

"My tutors in the stars and their stations is 'Abd al-Rahmán the Súfí, in the interpretation of astronomical tables (al-Zíj) the Sharíf ibn al-A'lam and in syntax Abú 'Alí al-Fársí."⁶

These people and several others had made definite contributions to the branches of learning in which they specialised. Of them Abú 'Alí al-Fársí wrote for him the Kitáb al-Hujjah fi'l-Qirá'at al-Sab' (a book on seven different readings of the Qur'án), and two books on grammar—al-Takmilah and al-'Idáh. The last named was so much liked by 'Adud that he was reluctant to let anyone else read it.⁷ Abú 'Alí had a rival in Abú Sa'id al-Síráfí whose "Sharh Sibawayh" was much in demand among the students of Abú 'Alí. These students were however interested only in finding fault with al-Síráfí's work but according to a report of Abú Hayyán al-Tawhídí they failed ultimately to point out any discrepancy in it.⁸ Al-Síráfí, deprived from court-patronage for reasons not known to us, was however according to Ibn Khallikán the best grammarian of the Basrite School.⁹ Another grammarian of 'Adud's court was Uthmán ibn Jinní, a prolific writer, among whose many works were a commentary of a single couplet of a poem of 'Adud al-Dawlah

¹ M. 11, 408.

² Irsh., V, 250.

³ Yat. 11, 3; I.J. VII, 115.

⁴ S., 68.

⁵ Ibn Khallikán (Cairo ed.) 11, 130.

⁶ I.J. VII, 115; S., 66.

⁷ S., 68.

⁸ Qiftí, 226; Irsh., 111, 310.

⁹ Irsh., 111, 85.

and several books on grammar.¹ The chief merit of his many writings, says Sarton, is their philosophical treatment of philology.²

More important contribution of this period was made by the clients of 'Adud al-Dawlah in the field of astronomy (which was of course hardly distinguished in those days from astrology), and its ally mathematics on the one hand, and medical science on the other. We have already mentioned two of 'Adud's teachers—the astronomer 'Abd al-Rahmān the Ṣufī and the astrologer Sharīf Ibn al-A'lam. The former was the author of several important books, namely, 'the Book of Fixed Stars' (كتاب الكواكب الثابتة) which according to Sarton is one of the three masterpieces of Muslim observational astronomy,³ 'the Book of Verses on the Fixed Stars' (كتاب الأرجوزة في الكواكب الثابتة) 'the Tadhkirah' and 'the Projection of Rays' (مطرح الشعاعات) (الغلام زحل). He also prepared for 'Adud al-Dawlah a silver globe weighing three thousand dirhams, which was afterwards seen in 435/1043 by an Egyptian astronomer in the library of Cairo by which it had been bought for three thousand dīnārs.⁵

Ibn al-A'lam was the author of some astronomical tables (صاحب الزيج). He was equally well-versed in both astrology and astronomy. His tables were used for about three hundred years down to the days of al-Qiftī (d. 646/1248-9). 'Adud al-Dawlah entirely depended on his prognostications for all his plans and programmes.⁶ Another astrologer and mathematician of 'Adud's court was Abū'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd-Allāh known as 'Saturn's slave' (غلام زحل). He wrote several books on both astronomy and astrology. Al-Qiftī relates as to how in an assembly of the learned he clearly explained to the opponents of astrology the principle by which happenings on earth are related to siderial changes.⁷ 'Adud also honoured a scion of the 'Abbāsid royal family named Abū'l-Faḍl Ja'far, son of the Caliph al-Muktafī, for his knowledge of astrology.⁸

Pure mathematics and geometry also flourished under the patronage of 'Adud al-Dawlah. The most outstanding figure in this field was

¹ Details of his life in *Irshād* V, 29-32; the couplet of 'Adud referred to is:

اهلا وسهلا بذى البشرى و نوبتها
و باشتمال سرا يا نا على الظفر.

² G. Sarton—Introduction to the history of Science vol. I, 689.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. I, 666.

⁴ Qiftī, 26; *Fihrr.*, 284.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 440.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 235.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 224-5; *Fihrr.*, 284; Suter, 63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 155; Suter, 64-5.

Abú'l-Qásim al-Anṭákí. He wrote a commentary on Euclid and books on arithmetic, including the following on different methods of arithmetical reckoning:—

- (a) كتاب التفت الكبير في الحساب الهندي on the Indian method of counting,
- (b) كتاب الحساب على التفت بلا مسح on counting by the fingers without subtraction,
- (c) كتاب الحساب بلا تفت بل باليد on counting by the fingers without a board, and
- (d) كتاب في المكعبات a book on cubes.¹

Another mathematician of 'Adud's court was Abū Naṣr al-Kalwádhání who also wrote a book on the Indian method of reckoning entitled:

كتاب التفت الكبير في الحساب الهندي²

The contribution to medical science was even more remarkable for, apart from the books on medicine written by 'Adud's physicians, there arose a great school of medicine, so to say, around the hospital which 'Adud established. The greatest figure in this field was 'Alí ibn al-'Abbás al-Majúsí known to the west as "Haly 'Abbás" who compiled for 'Adud an encyclopaedia of medicine called the "Aḍudi Kunnásh" also known as the "Kitáb al-Malikí" (the Liber Régius in Latin), described by al-Qiftí as "a noble treasure comprehending the science and practice of medicine admirably arranged." "It enjoyed," he adds, "great popularity in its day and was diligently studied until the appearance of the "Qánún" of Avicenna, which usurped its popularity and caused it to be somewhat neglected. The former excels on the scientific side and the latter on the practical side."³ The name of Abú'l-'Abbás, however, does not occur on the list of physicians employed by 'Adud for his hospital. Apparently he did not accompany his patron to Baghdád.

As for the Bímáristán al-'Aḍudí, 'Adud al-Dawlah built it on the site of the old Khuld Palace. There had existed hospitals in Baghdád before his day but they were not organised like the one he established. Projects also had been formed by some of his predecessors in the Amirate for the foundation of hospitals. The Turkish Amír Bajkam had intended building one on the same site as the 'Aḍudí, but had been unable to complete it;⁴ and Mu'izz al-Dawlah had ordered a hospital to be built in Eastern Baghdád on the site known as 'the New Prison

¹ Qiftí, 234; Fihri., 266, 284.

² Fihri., 284; Qiftí, 288; Suter, 74.

³ Qiftí, 232, as translated by Browne in his Arabian Medicine p. 53-4.

⁴ I. J. VII, 114.

House' allotting an annual revenue of five thousand dínars for its maintenance; but he too was overtaken by death before its execution.¹ 'Adud al-Dawlah had a liking for hospitals and had built one in Shíráz before coming to Baghdád.² He completed the 'Adudí in the year of his death, 983 A.D., and endowed it with large trust funds appointing trustees, treasurers, inspectors and porters. Many kinds of drugs, medicine, plants, bedding and instruments were provided. By the side of the Bímáristán 'Adud set up a market for cloth merchants, probably to make clothes and sheets available for the hospital, and established some grinding mills on the Zubaydíyah canal of which the profits went to swell its revenue.³

He gathered together from various parts of his realm many physicians, the chief among whom was Jibrá'il ibn 'Abdu'lláh ibn Bakhtíshú', member of the famous Bakhtíshú' family. Qiftí mentions that Jibrá'il received two monthly salaries from 'Adud al-Dawlah—three hundred Shujá'í (*i.e.* 'Adudí) dirhams as pay for his service in the hospital and another three hundred as a courtier of rank of 'Adud.⁴ This Jibrá'il is renowned for his famous treatise on medicine 'the Káfi', a copy of which he presented to the Dár al-'ilm in Baghdád.⁵ Qiftí further says that 'Adud al-Dawlah engaged some twenty-four physicians for his hospital mentioning in particular the names of 'Alí ibn Ibráhím ibn Baksh, Abu'l-Hasan ibn Kashkaráyá, Nazíf al-Rúmí, the surgeon Abu'l-Kháyr, Abu Ya'qúb of Ahwáz and ibn Mandawayh.⁶ The first four are also mentioned by Ibn Abí Usaybi'ah who adds the names of others, *viz.* the skilful ophthalmologist (الكحال) Abu Naṣr ibn al-Duḥalí, the surgeon (الجراحى) Abu'l-Hasan ibn al-Tuffáḥ, the orthopaedic surgeon (المجبر) Abu'l-Salt, and the physicians Abu 'Isá Baqíyah and Banú Hasnún.⁷

The traveller Ibn Jubayr visited the hospital some two hundred years after its foundation and saw it functioning elaborately and efficiently.⁸ During the Mongol invasion the institution must have shared the common fate of the city of Baghdád, so that about one hundred and fifty years after him Ibn Battúṭah found it in complete ruins. For at least two centuries, therefore, the hospital remained a place of refuge for the sick and the invalid of Baghdád.⁹

¹ I. J. VII, 33.

² Farsnāma, 37.

³ I. J. VII, 112, 114; S., 69.

⁴ Qiftí, 148; Ibn Abí Usaybi'ah (I.A.U.), 145. ⁵ Qiftí, 150.

⁶ Qiftí, 235-6; 304; 337-8; 407; 436; 438; Chahár Maqálah, 70, 80-1.

⁷ I.A.U. 1, 1310.

⁸ Travels, Gibb Memorial V, 225.

⁹ Ibn Battúṭah, 100.

In the domain of literature a mass of materials was produced by the clients of 'Adud al-Dawlah and these still await examination by the students of literature. The Buwayhid period was indeed a glorious period for the development of Arabic literature. In prose and poetry alike the writers of this period made lasting contributions. The celebrated Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād, in a statement attributed to him by Tha'ālibī, says that the leading writers of the day were four: the Ṣāhib himself, Ustād Abu'l-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd, Ibrāhīm ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī and 'Abdu'l-'Azīz ibn Yūsuf.¹ Of them the first two were Wazīrs of the Buwayhid dynasty of Rayy, while the other two were in the service of 'Adud al-Dawlah.

Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī was undoubtedly the best prose-writer of his time. He was, as referred to above, the Ṣāhib Dīwān al-Inshā appointed under Mu'izz al-Dawlah, arrested by the latter after the death of his patron al-Muhallabī, reinstated under Bakhtiyār who offered him the Wizārah on condition of his acceptance of Islām, an offer that he declined. When 'Adud al-Dawlah came to Baghdād he again put him under arrest merely because Ibrāhīm had written to 'Adud some letters on behalf of Bakhtiyār under whom he was then serving. 'Adud promised to release him only on condition that he would write a book on the history of the Daylamites. The result was the 'Kitāb al-Tājī', a book which is unfortunately lost to us but referred to by later writers as one of their main sources for the history of the Daylamites.² As Ṣāhib Dīwān al-Inshā Ibrāhīm set up the standard and the style for official correspondence and his letters which still survive are fine literary products. "Even to-day," says Mez, "the letters of Ṣābī can be read with relish and admiration for the command of language which enlivens even purely business correspondence with delightful diction, adorns it with pleasing rhymes and embellishes it with wit and humour."³ The following is an extract from a letter written by him on behalf of Bakhtiyār to Rukn al-Dawlah describing the battle of Bakhtiyār and 'Adud with the rebellious Turks:—

فشبت الحرب بين الميسرة و بينهم (الاعداء) منذ الضحى الى العصر
و اكبوا باجمعهم عليها و صمدوا بجدهم اليها ... واقضى ذالك الى ان
انجدها السيد الملك الجليل عضد الدولة بطائفة من رجاله ... ثم انه زحف عليهم
زحفا ملاماً قلوبهم رجفا ... فاجفلوا اجفال النعم ... فاوغل الاولياء المنصورون

¹ Yat, 11, 28.

² Yat, 11, 26-7.

³ Mez tr. Khuda Bakhsh, 243.

فِي طَلَبِهِمْ يَسْتَلْحِمُونَ وَيَقْتُلُونَ حَتَّى الْجَاهِمِ إِلَى عُبُورِ تِلْكَ الْجُسُورِ فَقَتَلُوا وَغَرَقُوا
وَمَلَكَ عَلَيْهِمْ مَاوَرَاءَ دِيَالِي وَاحْرَقَ وَنَهَبَ جَمِيعَ سَوَادِهِمْ وَسَلَبَهُمْ وَالْأَتَمَّ
وَحَجَزَ اللَّيْلَ عَنْ اسْتِقْصَاءِ الطَّلَبِ ١.

"Then the battle started between the left wing and the enemy and continued from midday till after-noon and they— all of them—bent down and turned towards it (the left wing) in right earnest. This continued till the mighty king 'Adud al-Dawlah reinforced it with a contingent of his infantry. Then he marched upon them in such a way that it filled their hearts with terror. . . and they were carried away like a flock of sheep. . . Then the victorious Daylamites (Awliyá) penetrated far into the country pursuing them, fighting and killing till they (the enemies) were compelled to cross those bridges when they were either killed or drowned and he (Adud al-Dawlah) occupied from them what was beyond the river Diyala, burnt and plundered their fertile lands, their boats and instruments, and night prevented from further pursuit."

Here is an extract of a letter in which the sovereign rebukes a rebellious Turkish general:—

وَلَا تَرَى لَنَا مَا يَرَاهُ الشَّرِيكَ لِشَعْرِيكَ فَضَلًا عَنِ الْمَوْلَى لِمَلِيكَه وَ مَا زِلْتَ
تَتَرَقَّى فِي أَطْرَاحِ الْحَقُوقِ وَ اسْتِعْمَالَ الْعُقُوقِ إِلَى أَنْ صِرْتَ لَا تَحْضُرُ عِنْدَنَا
فِي مَجْلِسٍ وَلَا تَرْسِبُ مَعَنَا فِي مَوْسَبٍ وَلَا تَهْنِئُنَا بِعَطِيَّةٍ وَلَا تَعَزِّينَا عَنْ زُرِّيئِهِ
وَتَدْعَى مَعَ ذَلِكَ عَلَيْنَا أَنَا نَبْغِيكَ الْغَوَائِلَ وَ نَنْصِبُ لَكَ الْجَبَائِلَ . . . لَا بَدَلَالَةَ
وَلَا عَنْ حِجَّةٍ . . . لَوْ كَانَتْ التَّهْمَةُ مِنْكَ لَنَا وَاقِعَةٌ بِحَقِّهَا وَ مَقْرُونَةٌ بِشَاهِدِهَا
لَكُنْتَ طَاعَتِكَ أَيُّهَا الْمَظْلُومُ أَرَبِنَ لَكَ مِنْ دُخَالَتِنَا مَتَعَصِبًا وَ أَنَا بِرِيثُونٍ مِنْ كُلِّ
مَا قُلْتَ وَ زَعَمْتَ وَ ظَنَنْتَ ٢.

"You do not look to us even as a partner looks to a partner not to speak of how a slave looks to its lord. You continued to disregard your duties and show disobedience so much so that you altogether ceased to be present in our assembly and stopped riding along with our retinue; you did not greet us with any gift nor condole us in any misfortune. Despite all these you allege against us that we want to do mischief to you and lay traps for you. all these without any proof or evidence Even if your allegation would have been just and well-founded your allegiance in spite of suffering would have been decent than your rebellion, while we are innocent from all that you said, harboured and imagined."

As for 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Yúsuf he was the secretary of 'Adud al-Dawlah and his letters, extracts of which are to be found in the Yatímah, follow closely the style of Ibráhím without, however, approaching it in excellence.³

¹ Rasá'il al-Sabi (Lebanon), p. 26.

² Ibid., 230.

³ Yat. 11, 86-101.

A boon companion of 'Adud, a writer of note, one Qādī Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin ibn 'Alī al-Tanūkhī, who had to suffer reverses from the wrath of 'Adud, has preserved in his many writings chiefly stories interesting materials regarding the tenth century happenings. Two of these books—al-Faraj Ba'd al-Shiddah and al-Nishwār al-Muḥādara (of the latter 3 out of 8 volumes have come down to us).¹ His story books provide us with a kind of material never taken notice of by the court-historian. This became the model for such later works as Jawamī' al-Hikāyāt of Muḥammad 'Awfī.

A distinguished historian of the time Abū 'Alī Miskawayh adorned the court of 'Adud al-Dawlah. He wrote the monumental work in history—the Tajārib al-Umam of which the parts dealing with the period between A.H. 295 and 369 have been made accessible to us. The value of Miskawayh's work as history, his wonderful capacity for character-drawing, his superiority in certain respects to al-Ṭabarī and his freedom from religious fanaticism, which however sometimes verged on total indifference to religious movements, are all dwelt at length and with justice by Margoliouth in the preface to the Tajārib.² Another notable writer Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī, an adept in private letter-writing, (in contrast with Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābī, who as we have seen, excelled in official letter-writing), after a chequered career sought refuge with 'Adud al-Dawlah at Shīrāz.³

As for poetry not only did 'Adud patronise poets of merit but he was himself a versifier, though in this he was definitely inferior to his cousin Bakhtiyār. Tha'ālibī quotes some of his verses among which is one extemporised by him after all the professional poets present on the occasion had failed, on a rice pudding (بهطه).⁴ Among the poets patronised by 'Adud were Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'llāh al-Salāmi, Ibn Nubātah al-Sa'dī and Ustād 'Alī al-Ṭabarī. The poet al-Mutanabbī was an occasional visitor to the court of 'Adud and composed a number of poems in his praise for which he was amply rewarded.⁵ His is the famous couplet:

وقد رأيت الملوك قاطبة و سرت حتى رأيت مولاها⁶

"And verily I have seen kings—all of them—and I travelled till I saw their Lord."

¹ Al-Faraj Ba'd al-Shiddah Cairo, 1903; al-Nishwār al-Muḥādarah ed. Margoliouth part 1, Cairo, 1921; pt. 11 tr. Islamic Culture, 1931-2; pt. VIII, Damascus, 1930.

² Eclipse vol VII, v-vii.

³ Yat., IV, 125.

⁴ Yat., 11, 3.

⁵ Diwān, Cairo 'Adud's praise, vol. 11, 385-97, vol. 111, 296-8, vol. IV, 164-5, 251-62, 269-81.

⁶ Yat. I, 84; Ibn Khall. 1, 416.

As for al-Salámí, 'Adud had a special liking for him and used to say about him: "When I see al-Salámí in my assembly meseems Mercury has come down from heaven and taken his stand in front of me."¹ Regarded the best poet of 'Iráq by the contemporaries, al-Salámí began to make verses at the age of only ten and the following is a specimen of his early composition in the praise of a page with a mirror in his hand:

رأيتُه و المرآة في يده كأنها شمس على ملك
فقلت للصورة التي احتجبت من غير زهد فينا ولا نسك
يا أشبه الناس بالجيب إلا تخبرنا عنك غير مؤتفك
قال أنا البدر زرت بدركم و هذه قطعة من الفلك
قلت فاني أرى بها صداً فقال هذا بقية الحبيب²

"I saw him while he had a mirror in hand as though the mirror were a disc before a king. Then I addressed the figure that had secluded itself from us for no piety or devotion. 'O the one who resembles most to the friend, don't you tell us about you without any falsehood?'

It said, 'I am the full moon and have visited your full moon and this is a piece of heaven.'

I said, 'but I find rust in it' and it replied, 'this is the remnant of the waist-hand.'

His praises of 'Adud were of extremely high order, even better than those of al-Mutanabbí and the following is regarded by Ibn Khallikán as lawful witchcraft (السحر الحلال):

اليك طوى عرض البسيطة جاعل قصارى المطايا ان يلوح لها القصر
فكنت و عزمى فى الظلام و صارمى ثلاثة اشباه كما اجتمع النسر
فبشرت آمالى بملك هو الورى و دار هى الدنيا و يوم هو الدهر³

"The Creator has unfolded unto you the breadth of the vast world so that the utmost desire of the riding beasts is the appearance of the Palace before them. So my resolution, my sword and myself were in the darkness three phantoms gathered together like the three stars in the Aquila. I gave to my desire the good tidings of a king who is himself mankind, of a house which is the world, and of a day which is Time."

So great was 'Adud's regard for culture and learning that he established a large library in his palace at Shíráz. The geographer al-Muqaddasí was shown over it by the chief farrásh (lit. chief bed-maker) and reports that it was housed in a building by itself and looked

¹ Yat. II, 163.

² Yat. 11, 158.

³ Ibid., 163, Ibn Khall. 1, 416.

after by a superintendent, a treasurer and an inspector chosen from among the trustworthy citizens of the town. It was 'Adud's aim to collect in it every book upto his time in every branch of knowledge. The library consisted of a large ante-room and a long vaulted hall with rooms on all sides. In the walls of the hall and the rooms he had contrived cupboards of veneered wood two yards long with doors which were let down from above. The books were all ranged upon shelves. Every branch of knowledge had its own cupboards and catalogues in which the names were registered. The library was open only to distinguished people capable of appreciating it.¹

The Period after 'Adud al-Dawlah

In spite of the political unrest into which the Buwayhid territories were plunged on the death of 'Adud al-Dawlah the advancement of his reign was duly carried over into the reigns of his two sons and successors—Samsám al-Dawlah and Sharaf al-Dawlah. Thus it is under the year 373 A.H. (983-4 A.D.) in the annals and so during the reign of Samsám al-Dawlah that we first hear of the secret philosophical society called 'the Ikhwán al-Safá' or 'the Brethren of Sincerity' among whose works are the fifty-two well-known different treatises dealing with philosophy, mathematics, logic, metaphysics, mysticism, astrology and magic. Samsám's Wazir Ibn Sa'dán, himself a patron of learning, in that year discussed the aims and objects of the society with the distinguished writer Abú Hayyán al-Tawhídí.² Though we have no evidence to show that the society had any direct connection with the Buwayhid rulers yet the latter's patronage of literature and philosophy, exemplified in particular by 'Adud al-Dawlah, must have created an atmosphere favourable to the cultivation of such studies as those of the Ikhwán.

As a patron of learning Sharaf al-Dawlah was a worthy successor of his father. While still a provincial ruler of Fárs he is said to have established in Shíráz a new library of his own which he committed to the care of one Qádí Fazarí.³ Like the Caliph al-Ma'mún he was particularly interested in astronomical observations so that like him again he constructed an observatory inside the garden of his Palace in Baghdád in order to follow the motions of seven celestial bodies through the "Signs of Zodiac." He depended for this task entirely on his Astronomer Abú Sahl ibn Rustam al-Kúhí, who was equally well-versed in both astronomy and mathematics. Several of his books mentioned in the Fihrist are still extant.⁴ He was a specialist in the

¹ Muq., 449 and *ibid.* foot-note of 450-1.

² Qiftí, 82; E.I. vol. II pt. 1, 460.

³ Shíráznámah, 35.

⁴ Fihrist, 283; Suter, 75-6.

instruments of observation with which he fitted Sharaf's observatory. He carried out two wonderful experiments which were in those days regarded as the highest achievement of astronomy. Thus twice during the year 378/988 he invited qádís, witnesses, astronomers, geometers, and other men of learning to bear witness to the results of his astronomical observations and they duly signed two documents certifying that they have viewed the sun entering successively into the signs of the "Crab" and the "Scales."¹

Among those who put their signatures to these documents was one Abú Ahmád al-Šāghānī al-Mantīqī who was equally well-versed in geometry and astronomy. His special field was, however, the preparation of astrolabes, from which he derived his nickname 'al-Asturlābī'.² Among the other signatories was the famous letter-writer Abú Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Šābī, who incidentally took a great interest in astronomy as well, and who still adorned the Buwayhid court after he had suffered reverses, as we have mentioned, during the reign of 'Adud al-Dawlah.³

To this assembly of the learned also belonged the greatest mathematician of the age. Abú'l-Wafá Muḥammad al-Buzjānī, after whom George Sarton has named the period of scientific development in the second half of the tenth century.⁴ Born in Buzjān in Qúhistān he came to Baghdād in 348/959-10. The Fihrist records the names of a large number of books by him, the scientific evaluation of which has been made by Sarton.⁵ He wrote commentaries on the algebrical works of al-Khwārizmī and Diophantos and also attempted a commentary on Euclid, which he did not complete. Other works of his include astronomical tables named 'al-Zīj al-Wādiḥ', a manual of arithmetic for scribes and revenue officials (a copy of which is said to be available in Rampur, India), and the "Kitāb al-Kāmil," which Sarton considers to be a simplified version of the Almagest.⁶

Under Bahá al-Dawlah, another son of 'Adud al-Dawlah, who ruled from 980 A.D. to 1012 A.D. the cultural spirit of the earlier reigns was to a certain extent maintained though not under the patronage of the rulers themselves. His reign had very little of stability and tranquility to allow of any effective intellectual patronage by the Amír

¹ Qiftī, 351-54.

² *Ibid.*, 79, 359.

³ Berhebreus, *Dynasty* (Beyrut), 308; Qiftī, 353.

⁴ Sarton, *Introduction* vol. I, 'the Time of Abu'l-Wafá' p. 646.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 666-67.

⁶ *Fihrist*, 266, 283; Sarton vol. I, 666.

yet one name stands out prominent in this sphere— that of the Wazír Abú Naṣr ibn Ardashír. This personage was the centre of a literary circle and so many poets of 'Irāq lavished their praises on him that Tha'ālibí has devoted one entire chapter to a study of their poetry. His catalogue of names in a large one—perhaps the most notable being Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥamdúní, Ibn Bábak, Ibn Lu'lu', al-Khalí al-Námí, al-Ḥatimí, Muḥammad ibn Bulbul, Aḥmad ibn 'Alí al-Munajjim and al-Sufyání, none of whom however seems to have possessed any creativeness.¹ A writer of note belonging to the literary circle of Sayf al-Dawlah of Aleppo—Abu'l-Faraj al-Babaghá— was for some time attached to the Wazír Sábúr after the death of Sayf al-Dawlah.²

By far the most important from an intellectual point of view was the establishment of the famous Dár al-'Ilm (House of Learning) by Sábúr in the year 383/993 in the Karkh quarter 'between the two walls'. He dedicated this building to use by men of learning. Among the books collected numbering about 10,400 there were a hundred copies of the Qur'án written by the Banú Muqlah and many autographs of famous writers. Sábúr also prepared a catalogue of books in the library, entrusting it to the care of two members of the 'Alid family and a Qādí and appointing the Shaykh Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Músa al-Khwárizmí supervisor of the establishment.³ Though the fortune of Sábúr was variable because of frequent dismissal from office his institution was left unmolested and survived till 451/1058 when a fire broke out in the area and the books were objects of plunder among officials and mob.⁴

The Academy of Sábúr became a rendezvous for men engaged in literary pursuits and when Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí, the Syrian poet-philosopher, visited Baghdád in 399-400/1009-10 he not only joined the discussions of eminent men of letters in the Academy but on one occasion was entertained by the musical performance of a sprightly songstress—an incident which he celebrated in the following verse:

و غنت لنا في دار سابور قينة من الورق مطراب الاصائل مهياب⁵

"There appeared to us in the House of Sábúr a songstress, made of silver, gay in the evening and excited."

¹ Yat. II, 290-7.

² *Ibid.*, vol. I, 174.

³ I. J. VII, 173; Ath. IX, 246, X, 5 Yáqút, Buldán vol. I, 799 art. ما بين السوربين. Margoliouth, Letters of Abu'l-'Alá p. XXIV.

⁴ Ath. X, 5.

⁵ Ibn Khall. 1, 200.

There al-Ma'arri came into touch with many literary figures of the period whom he mentions in his works *e.g.* al-Maghribí, Ibn Fawrázá, Abú Bakr al-Sábúní and Abu'l-Qásim ibn Jalabát. He also mentions that he once attended a lecture of Abu'l-Hasan al-Rabá'í, regarded as the best grammarian of the time.¹

Among the nobles of Bahá al-Dawlah the chief literary figure was the Sharíf Abu'l-Hasan al-Radí, the Registrar of the 'Alids. A distinguished poet and a master of elegy al-Radí was regarded by the contemporaries as the greatest poet ever produced by the tribe of Quraysh.² He was intimately connected with Ibráhím ibn Hilál al-Sábí whose death he mourned in a poem that can be regarded the best of his elegies.³ In imitation of the Wazír Sábúr al-Radí founded another academy also known as Dár al-'Ilm where the scholars patronised by the Sharíf were provided with everything necessary. A treasurer was entrusted with the task of supplying the needs but when on one occasion a slight inconvenience was caused to a scholar by the absence of the treasurer al-Radí provided each scholar with a key to enable him to take whatever he needed from the treasury.⁴

Patronage of art and learning was also due to another Wazír of Bahá al-Dawlah, Fakhr al-Mulk Abú Ghálib, who gathered round him a number of men of letters. Among the poets of his circle was the famous Mihyár ibn Marzúyah al-Daylamí (whom we shall soon discuss), who paid him the most glowing tribute.⁵ Fakhr al-Mulk also patronised a mathematician of repute in Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Hasan al-Karkhí who composed for him his algebrical treatise 'al-Fakhrí' and arithmetical work 'al-Káfí' both of which are extant and have been published.⁶ Al-Karkhí was a supporter of the conservative Arab school of reckoning, his 'al-Káfí fi'l-Hisáb' rivalling al-Muqni' fi'l-Hisáb of Abu'l-Hasan al-Nasawí, who flourished in Rayy under the patronage of Majd al-Dawlah. In contrast to al-Karkhí al-Nasawí was an advocate

¹ Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, p. XXV-VI.

² Yat. II, 297.

³ *Ibid.*, 81-5 (Below is a specimen p. 83)

اما الدعوى عليك غير بخيلة و القلب بالسلوان غير جواد
سودت ما بين النضاء و ناظري و غسلت من عيني كل سواد

⁴ *Díwán* of al-Radí (Beyrut) p. 3.

⁵ *Díwán* of Mihyár (Cairo), vol. I p. 358:—

ارى كبدى و قد بردت قليلا امات الهم ام عاش السرور
ام الايام خافتنى لانى بفخر الملك منها استجير

⁶ Ibn Khall. 11, 65.

of the Indian system of reckoning which had long been introduced into the Arab world.¹

The well-known historian Hilál al-Sábí was also a recipient of the favours of Fakhr al-Mulk. This Hilál was the author of a universal history which like the Tájí of his grandfather Ibráhím al-Sábí is lost, surviving only in part in Abú Shuja Rúdhrawarí's Dhayl Tajárib and also in a fragment dealing with the history of three years (380-393).² Among other books that have come down to us also in fragment is the Kitáb al-Wuzará' dealing with the lives of a number of 'Abbásid Wazirs. The vast amount of varied and interesting materials with which, to judge from the surviving three years' chronicle, Hilál must have enriched the rest of his history has thus been lost. But even what we possess shows beyond doubt his superiority as an historian.

We may pause for a while at this stage to note some of the peculiarities and trends of literature during the period. While all the poets of our period followed the beaten track harping on the traditional tune by mainly concentrating on eulogies it is only towards the end of our period that we do notice a desire among some of the poets and writers to reflect everyday themes in their writings. This realism took two different forms, one pessimistic and the other epicurean. The representative of the former school was the Syrian vegetarian poet-philosopher Abu'l-'Alá al-Ma'arrí whose pessimism could not ultimately find a solution out of the world of woes and miseries. The advocate of the latter school was the Buwayhid court-official Abú Abdu'lláh al-Husayn ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Hajjáj, who introduced in literature what according to the orthodox standard was filth (مقاذير) and obscenity (سُخْف). He claimed himself to be the prophet of obscenity:

رجل يدعى النبوة في السُخْفِ و من ذا يشك في الانبياء
جاء بالمعجزات يدعوا اليها فاجيبوا يا معشر السُخْفاء³

"A man claims Prophethood in frivolity and who is there to doubt the Prophets? So respond, O the Frivolous Community!"

and justified his standpoint by saying that his poetry cannot be free from filth as there cannot be any house without a privy:—

و شعري لا بد من سُخْفِهِ و هل بد للدار من مستراح⁴

Though he was once a Muhtasib his Díwán because of its filth was

¹ For details of al-Nasavi see Suter, 96-7 and Woepeke in Journal Asiatique 1863 pt. 11 p. 492-500.

² Published as appendix to vol. III of the Eclipse series.

³ Yat. II, 212-13.

⁴ Ibid., 214.

proscribed for boys by the later police manual.¹ But his filth never worried his contemporaries and his poems were in great demand in different countries. Often his *Díwán* would sell 50 to 70 *dínárs*.² A good eulogist he was paid by a *Fáṭimid* Caliph 1,000 *Maghribí* *dínárs* for one single poem. He was also a satirist and his sharp tongue was dreaded by rich and poor alike. He had as his supporter in spite of his immorality no less an aristocratic person than the *Sharíf al-Raḍí* who edited a selection of his poems.³ The same immoral strain pervades the writings of one *Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Abu'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdí*, probably a disciple of *Ibn al-Hajjáj*, whose dramatic monologue depicts in excellent *Muqámát* style the luxurious and sensual life of *Baghdád* as enjoyed by the higher stratum of society unaffected by the the political disequilibrium.⁴

The disintegration of the Buwayhid empire was complete by the time of the death of *Bahá al-Dawlah* and the later princelings of the dynasty were too busy maintaining their position to be able to patronise men of art and learning. So reduced to penury was a prince entitled *Jalál al-Dawlah* that once he had to dismiss his porters and bed-makers on account of poverty.⁵ Still this prince had in his court a poet of outstanding merit in *Mihyár ibn Marzúyah al-Daylamí*, four volumes of whose *Díwán* have been published from *Cairo*.⁶ He seems to have depended more on subsidies from courtiers than on any royal grant. He wielded a great influence at court and took severely to task on a number of occasions his clients—all nobles and courtiers of repute—for delay in the payment of usual subsidies. A wazír of *Jalál al-Dawlah* *Hibat Alláh Ibn Mákúlá* was the author of an encyclopaedic work “*al-Ikmál*” of which only a portion is available in the *British Museum*.⁷ In a period of decline when the prestige of the Caliphate was at its lowest ebb the jurists of the time of *Jalál al-Dawlah*, the ‘*Aqdá al-Qudát al-Máwardí* and the *Qādí Ibn Abí Ya‘lá al-Farrá* expounded the theoretical powers of the Caliphate in their works “*al-Aḥkám al-Sultáníyah*.” The work of the name by *al-Máwardí* written from a *Sháfi‘í* point of view is very much well-known to need any comment here. The work by *Ibn Abí Ya‘lá* written from a *Hanbalí* point of view follow closely the “*Sultáníyah*” of *al-Máwardí* but as they wrote almost about the same time and it is not certain whether one took from

¹ Mez, (tr. *Khudá Bakhsh*), 269.

² *Yat.* II, 215.

³ *Eclipse* III, 404.

⁴ His *Muqámát* ed. Mez (Heidelberg), 1808.

⁵ *I. J.* VIII, 64.

⁶ *Cairo*, 1925.

⁷ *B. M. MS.* no. or. 4585.

the other it is just possible that they ventilated the same spirit writing independently of one another.¹

Two other treatises one a scientific book and the other a manual of mathematics are ascribed to the later Buwayhid period but about whose identification I do not myself feel satisfied. The former a chemical treatise entitled *عين الصنعة و عون الصنعة* was written by one Abu'l-Hákim al-Káthí in 426 A.H. and dedicated to a certain Ra's. Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí Ibn 'Abdu'llah, who is taken to be a courtier of Jalal al-Dawlah.² The other work called *كتاب الحاوى للعمل السلطانية و رسوم الحساب الديوانية* has been reviewed by Claude Cahen and is considered to be a work written under al-Malik al-Raḥím, the last of the Buwayhid Amírs in Baghdád. The book meant for training revenue clerks and officials contains questions and answers on revenue calculation.³

¹ Al-Máwardi, *Aḥkám al-Sultáníyah*, Bonn, 1858; Ibn Abi Ya'Lá, *Aḥkám*,

¹ Al-Máwardi, *Aḥkám al-Sultáníyah*, Bonn, 1858; Ibn Abi Ya'Lá, *Aḥkám*, Cairo, 1938.

² The book is annotated by Stapleton and Azoo in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. I, no. 4. 1905 p. 47-70.

³ *Annales De l'institut D'Etudes Orientales D'Alger*, Tom 10 Anne 1952 p. 326-363.

CHAPTER XI

The relation of the Buwayhids with the 'Abbásid Caliphs

(a) The Caliphs during the period

Before describing the position of the Caliphs vis-a-vis the Buwayhid Amírs, it may be as well if we first consider the individual 'Abbásids of the period. Five 'Abbásid Caliphs ruled contemporaneously with the Buwayhids. They were: al-Mustakfí bi'lláh (334), al-Mutí'li'lláh (334-363), al-Tá'i'li'lláh (363-381), al-Qádir bi'lláh (381-422), and al-Qá'im bi amri'lláh, who survived till the coming of the Seljukids. Of these five Caliphs the first three were each deposed in turn, only the fourth al-Qádir died while still in office, having his son, al-Qá'im, nominated as his successor.

On Mu'izz al-Dawlah's coming to Baghdád the Caliph al-Mustakfí was still able to assert himself in some matters. Thus perhaps rather rashly he put under arrest the chief of the Shí'is, al-Sháfi'í. But when his stewardess 'Alam gave a banquet to the Daylamites and Turkish army leaders, Mu'izz suspected this as a sinister move to detach the army leaders from him; and his Daylamites according to a previous arrangement dragged the Caliph down from his throne. Having thus deposed him Mu'izz then raised to the throne al-Mustakfí's cousin and rival, a son of al-Muqtadir, under the title of al-Mutí'li'lláh (Jumádá ii, 334).¹

As the Daylamites were Shí'is they felt no religious obligation to own allegiance to the 'Abbásid Caliph and as a matter of fact Mu'izz al-Dawlah sought the advice of his associates on the question of his doing away with the 'Abbásid line and paying homage instead to an 'Alid.² Most of them counselled Mu'izz al-Dawlah to do so but some

¹ M. II, 86-87.

² The 'Alid in view might have been Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muḥammad ibn al-Dá'i son of the Dá'i al-Ṣaghír Ḥasan who settled in Baghdád on the eve of the coming of Mu'izz al-Dawlah. In 348 Mu'izz al-Dawlah appointed him Naqib of the 'Alids in which office he continued till 353 when during the absence of Mu'izz he took offence at the behaviour of Bakhtiyár and left Baghdád stealthily. (M. II, 207 f.n.; J.R.A.S., 1911, II, 670-674).

of his close friends prevented him from such a drastic step by saying:

"So long as you are with a Caliph whom neither you nor your followers consider a legitimate sovereign, you can ask your followers even to kill him and they will comply, considering his blood lawful. But if you raise to the throne some 'Alid whom both you and your followers consider a Caliph by right, the latter might well induce your followers to kill you."¹

Other causes for retention of the Caliphate seem to us to be the following: that majority populace at Baghdád was Sunnî, that there were large numbers of Sunnî Turks in the army of Mu'izz al-Dawlah, that a strong religious hold was still exercised by the titular Caliph over the Sunnî commonalty and lastly that the legitimate claim of the 'Abbásids to the Caliphate could not be easily swept aside.² These were all considerations that must have influenced Mu'izz al-Dawlah when he decided to retain the Caliphate.

At the same time, apart from any personal inclination he may have felt, in order to satisfy the insistent demands of the 'Alids (that is to say the actual descendants of 'Alí ibn Abí Tálib) he decided to remove them from the jurisdiction of the 'Abbásid Naqíb (who stood at the head of all the Hášhimís) and put them under a Naqíb of their own, thus creating a kind of extraterritoriality for them within the state.³ The first incumbent of this new office was Abú'l Husayn Aḥmed b. 'Alí al-Kawkabí.⁴ But the next was a more important personage and much esteemed by the Shí'ah in general. This was Abú 'Abdu'lláh Muḥammad known as 'Ibn al-Dá'í. The 'Alids pressed Mu'izz very hard to appoint him but the 'Son of the Dá'í' was only ready to comply on condition that he should not have to accept any robe from the Caliph since this would be black—the official 'Abbásid colour. For

¹ Ath. VIII, 339-340; M. II, f.n. p. 87 on the authority of Takmilah.

² This sentiment is voiced in this quotation from Takmilah.

و بنو العباس قوم منصورون تعتل دولتهم مرة وتصح مرارا و تمرض تارة
و تستقل اطوار لان اصلها ثابت و بنيانها راسخ

(as quoted in the foot-note of p. 87 M. II).

³ Up to the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijrah the 'Abbásids and the 'Alids were under one 'Naqíb'. The last named by Arib was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Hášhimí, who succeeded his father Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'l-Samad in 301 in the post. ('Arib's Tabarí Continuatus, 47).

⁴ He was a descendant of Zain al-'Abidín, the son of Husayn b. 'Alí. His exact date of appointment is not known. Author of *Hadá'iq* says that when Mu'izz al-Dawlah established himself in Baghdád he made al-Kawkabí the Naqíb of the 'Alids (*Hadá'iq*, f. 62b). Miskawayh (II, 159) has it that in 344 Mu'izz al-Dawlah sent him to 'Imran b. Shahím as his envoy. So he must have been appointed at least before 344.

the same reason he would not appear before the Caliph on any occasion on which he might have to wear black robes or kiss the ground before him as had by now become customary at court. However, all these points were conceded and Ibn al-Dá'í became Naqíb in 348, his position being one of no small influence and his independence of the Caliph complete.¹ In private Mu'izz al-Dawlah spoke of the 'Son of the Dá'í' in high sounding terms saying that he was the Imám² and sometimes even venturing to remark that he was quite competent to replace al-Muṭí'.³ Whether sincere or not in so expressing himself, Mu'izz al-Dawlah had to act in this way in order to satisfy the Shí'ah in general and the 'Alids in particular, and having once so played on their emotions, he was obliged to go still further, as we shall see.

In all this he encountered no opposition from the Caliph. For al-Muṭí' since he owed his throne to the Amír was dealt with both by Mu'izz and Bakhtiyár with little consideration. Al-Muṭí' was, however, deposed in 363 by Subektekín, leader of the rebellious Turks, who did so on the plea that the Caliph had been stricken with paralysis and was thus incapacitated from attending to his public duties. Subektekín, being a Sunnī, had to engineer the abdication with tact, giving it an appearance of legality. Thus the Caliph al-Muṭí' announced his abdication as though of his free will in front of the witnesses and Qádi al-quḍát. He was succeeded by his son, Abú Bakr 'Abdu'l-Karím who ascended the throne of the Caliphate under the title al-Tá'í'.⁴

It was unfortunate for al-Tá'í' that having been raised to the throne by a usurper he was immediately after his accession called upon to fight the legitimate Amír, Bakhtiyár. However, being thus ill disposed towards Bakhtiyár the new Caliph not only welcomed 'Adud al-Dawlah's coming to Baghdád but had even carried on a secret correspondence with him beforehand.⁵ 'Adud al-Dawlah accordingly found the Caliph an easy and pliable instrument to be used for any purpose he wanted. Al-Tá'í' survived as Caliph into the reign of Bahá al-Dawlah. But being in need of money, in 381, Bahá took the advice of one of his courtiers and arrested and deposed him in order to seize his treasure. Bahá al-Dawlah then raised to the throne abu'l-'Abbás Aḥmad b. al-Muqtadir under the title al-Qádir bi'lláh.⁶

¹ Hadá'iq, f. 63a; 'Umdat, f. 27b.

² *Ibid.*, f. 63a.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 62b.

⁴ M. II, 327-328; Tan. M. II (I.C. 1932), p. 187

⁵ Sábī's letters, 195

⁶ *Ibid.*, 201-202

The accession of al-Qádir marks a turning point in the relationship of the Caliphs to the Amírs. Abú Shujá' makes the point that the impious action of Bahá al-Dawlah in deposing al-Tá'í was in fact beneficial, leading as it did to the more meritorious reign of al-Qádir.¹ Though the remark of Abu Shuja' that "Al-Qádir ruled in both spiritual and temporal affairs"² is no doubt exaggerated yet, as we shall see, his reign though for completely different reasons marks a dividing line between a subservient Caliph and an assertive one.

During the reign of al-Qá'im, the position of the Caliphate improved still more, and with the decline of the Buwayhids the Caliph played an important part in affairs. It is to an analysis of the causes of these changes that we shall now turn. In the first place we shall take up the gradual surrender of his prerogatives by the Caliph under the pressure from the Amírs and while doing so we may be sometimes taken to the end of the Buwayhid period to show that concessions once having been made, were allowed to be retained even by the weakest of the Amírs. We shall then trace the background of the causes of the resurgence of the Caliphs and deal with their assertion of their rights in the purely religious sphere where their position became assured once and for all, describing at the same time occasional attempts on the part of the Caliphs at re-establishing themselves even politically.

(b) *The first phase of relationship between the Caliph and the Amír al-Umará (334-389).*

For a constitutional status of the Amír al-Umará we must go back to the year 324 when the Caliph al-Rádí bestowed that office for the first time on Ibn Rá'iq. Ibn Rá'iq was made Amír al-Umará with comprehensive power over the army, the management of the taxes and public security in the whole region under the Caliph's control. In short the management of the entire kingdom (تدير المملكة) was surrendered into his hands and the Khutbah was to be read in his name as well as the Caliph's from all the pulpits of that region.³

The rights thus conferred upon Ibn Rá'iq were in reality a complete surrender by the Caliph of the entire civil and military government and though there was in fact not the slightest ambiguity about it, the

¹ Sábí's letters, 201.

² *Ibid*, 207.

³ M. I. 351. The pulpits of Baghdád were of course to be excluded for later events show that none before 'Adud was ever allowed to have his name announced from the pulpits of Baghdád.

Caliph was nevertheless not yet mentally prepared to acknowledge it. The main issue involved in the whole event was the position of the Wazír. Was he to be an officer of the Caliph as had been so long the case or was he to be a nominee of the Amír al-Umará? If the collection of the revenues was to be surrendered into the hands of the Amír al-Umará in real earnest, the Caliph need have no Wazír. But the Caliphs clung tenaciously to their prerogative of maintaining a Wazír to the very end of the rule of the period of the pre-Buwayhid Amírs (334).

The result was that the Wazír became completely powerless. He had no longer any control of the provinces and the Díwáns. He had merely the title and the right of appearing in black on ceremonial days at the palace. But he stood there in silence. Ibn Rá'iq and his secretary controlled the whole business of the state and Miskawayh says that the same had been the case with all who have held the Amírate to his day (d. 421).¹

“The revenue from the provinces is transmitted to the treasury of the Amírs; they order and prohibit everything regarding it and expend it as they please while remitting what they choose to the Sultán (the Caliph) for his expenses. The old treasuries ceased to exist.”²

The loss of his hold on the provinces and his control over the treasury on the part of the Caliph were the natural outcome of his surrender of the Kharáj into the hands of the Amír al-Umará. The last vestige of the former system, namely the maintenance of a Wazír as the Caliph's nominee and officer was one devoid of any real meaning. It was inevitable accordingly that with the coming of the Buwayhids it should be swept away.

Mu'izz al-Dawlah did not raise the question of Wazírs for some considerable time after his establishment. In the meantime all the work naturally appertaining to a Wazír was being done by his secretaries, the only alteration from the previous period being that the Caliph no longer had a Wazír but only a secretary to look after his fiefs. Once the people had become accustomed to this arrangement Mu'izz al-Dawlah decided in 345, to address his own secretary as Wazír; and

¹ Though the Wazírs of the Buwayhid period held the title of Wazír, they were no better than merely the secretary of the Amír and so the historians of the period considered them as secretaries and hence the remark.

² M. I, 352.

al-Muṭī' was powerless to object to this innovation even if he so wished.¹

When Mu'izz al-Dawlah decided to retain the Caliphate and at the same time deprive it of its control of the provinces he made the Caliph a stipendiary assigning to him two thousand dirhams a day for his personal expenses,² but as its payment tended to be irregular he in addition granted some fiefs to the Caliph, which were known as '*Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah*', yielding a revenue of two hundred thousand dinárs annually. These were supervised by the Caliph's personal secretary.³ Two years after his establishment in Baghdád, however, Mu'izz stopped the daily allowance of the Caliph altogether, leaving him to rely on his '*Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah*' alone.⁴ Subsequently even the income of these estates also dwindled on account of encroachments on the part of the dependents of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and those of Bakhtiyár, some of whom appropriated the outlying portions of the Caliph's estates, while others obtained some of them as fiefs from him, and still others undertook tax-farm on them, which they had no intention of paying.⁵

During the civil war between Subektekín and Bakhtiyár, however, the latter undertook to increase al-Ṭá'í's estates in Sawád so that they should bring him in an additional revenue of thirty thousand dinárs but was never in a position to do so.⁶ 'Adud al-Dawlah, after he had defeated the Turks and put Bakhtiyár and his brothers under arrest in 364, not only returned all the original '*Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah*' to the Caliph but honoured him further by presenting him with money, slaves, horses, wearing apparel, rich furniture and various other objects.⁷

Ibn al-Jawzí states that the income from the estates of the Caliph decreased in course of time to only fifty thousand dinárs annually⁸ and eventually we find the Caliph becoming once again a stipendiary. During the reign of Sultán al-Dawlah, the latter used to pay the Caliph al-Qádir every year almost the same amount⁹ besides two hundred manns of aloes wood, fifty manns of camphor, five hundred items of

¹ See above, Chapter VII, Section on Wazír.

² M. II, 87.

³ M. II, 107-108; Ath. VIII, 338.

⁴ I.J. VI, 357.

⁵ M. II, 344.

⁶ Sábí's letters, 242.

⁷ M. II, 344.

⁸ I.J. VI, 357.

⁹ It was eight hundred thousand dirhams and ten thousand dinárs which come to about the same amount.

luxurious clothing and an unspecified quantity of scent; and Jalál al-Dawlah agreed to continue this for the next Caliph al-Qá'im.¹ It looks therefore as if the '*Ḍiyá' al-Khidmah*' must have been withdrawn in exchange for these allowances. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that in the year 446 we find the Caliph and his whole entourage in receipt of monthly allowances. For Arslán al-Basásirí, the Turkish commander, then stopped the monthly allowance of the Caliph (*Musháhirát*) from the mint and also the monthly allowances of Ra'ís al-Ru'asá, the Caliph's Wazír and his attendants.²

But besides either enjoying fiefs or being paid a salary the Caliphs seem to have been allotted the proceeds from the Jizyah or Jawálí, the poll-tax payable by the non-Muslim subjects and though Jalál al-Dawlah appropriated the proceeds of the Jawálí in 434 he was obliged in the following year again to allow their appropriation by the Caliph's officers.³

Even from his personal income the Caliph was sometimes asked to make contributions. When thus asked by Bakhtiyár to make a donation for the Holy war the Caliph al-Mu'tí' replied in words which indicate in unambiguous terms the position of the Caliph as it stood after the Buwayhid occupation. He said,

"The sacred war would be incumbent on me if the world were in my hands and if I had the management of the army and the troops. As things are, when all I have is a pittance insufficient for my wants, and the world is in your hands and those of the provincial rulers, neither the sacred war, nor the pilgrimage, nor any other matter requiring the attention of the Sovereign is any concern of mine. All you can claim from me is the name which is uttered in the *Khutbah* from your pulpits as a means of pacifying your subjects and if you wish me to renounce that privilege too, I am prepared to do so and leave everything to you."⁴

This offer was not accepted. The Caliph was never obliged to forgo the mention of his name in the *Khutbah*, since this was rather to the advantage of the Amírs. On the other hand after 'Adud al-Dawlah's return from Mawsil in 368, al-Tá'i' had to issue an order to his deputies in the public mosques of Baghdád instructing them to include the name of the Amír immediately after his own.⁵

¹ MU. MS. f. 134A.

² Ath. IX, 413.

³ *Ibid.*, 450.

⁴ M. II, 307; Ath. VIII, 456.

⁵ M. II, 396.

The Caliph's prerogative of having music played at his gate at the five times of prayer had likewise to be partially conceded to 'Adud al-Dawlah to the extent of his having three of these *nawbahs*, as they were called, daily, in the morning, in the evening and at night. The mention of his name in the *Khutbah* in Baghdád and the playing of *nawbahs* before his palace were the two privileges which no ruler but a Caliph before 'Adud al-Dawlah had enjoyed.¹ But these now became well established for all the subsequent Amírs as well. Moreover when Sultán al-Dawlah entered Baghdád in 409 he ordered all five *nawbahs* to be played for him and persisted in this innovation in spite of the Caliph's protest.² Musharrif al-Dawlah reduced his *nawbahs* to three again but when Jalál al-Dawlah came to Baghdád in 418, he once more raised his to five. The Caliph protested on which Jalál refused to have any *nawbah* at all and the Caliph gave in.³

Another humiliation to which the Caliph was subjected by 'Adud was his being obliged to go out of the city and welcome the Amír on his return from expeditions. Thus on his way back from the Jibál expedition in 370 'Adud sent an 'Alid to Baghdád asking al-Tá'i to welcome him and though greatly reluctant to comply the Caliph had no alternative but to do so.⁴

The privilege of coining money was also lost to the Caliph under the domination of the Amírs. For the Buwayhids controlled the mints, with the result that the epithet 'Amír al-Mu'minín' after the Caliph's name was omitted on the coins of this period. Too much space on them was indeed occupied by the titles of the Amírs. For the Buwayhids received from the Caliphs more and more high-sounding titles for themselves. To begin with, they were single and each compounded with the word 'Dawlah' as in Mu'izz al-Dawlah, 'Imád al-Dawlah etc.; then they became double, e.g. 'Adud al-Dawlah' wa 'Táj al-Millah and finally assumed the form of a pair of double titles, e.g. 'Bahá al-Dawlah wa Giyáth al-Ummah Qiwám al-Dín Safíy Amír al-Mu'minín'.⁵ Even the title *Sháhánsháh* or its Arabic equivalent

¹ M. II, 396; Ath. VIII, 407; I.J. VII, 92.

² MU. MS. f. 37b.

³ I.J. VIII, 30.

⁴ I.J. VII, 104.

⁵ Still later the titles of Sultán al-Dawlah were

عماد الدين شرف الدولة مؤيد الملة مغيث الامة صفى امير المؤمنين
(MU. MS. f. 12b.) and those of Abú Káljár were:

شاهنشاه الاعظم ملك الملوك محيى دين الله و غياث عباد الله و قسيم
خليفة الله

(Sírat al-Mu'ayyad, 76).

Malik al-Mulúk was revived by the Buwayhids and its use on coins and seals and in correspondence can be traced back to the time of 'Adud al-Dawlah,¹ though application for the formal grant of this title was made only in 429 by Jalál al-Dawlah. The Caliph al-Qá'im duly granted this title but its recital from the pulpits aroused indignant protest from the general public, who considered it blasphemous and rioted, pelting the Khatíbs with stones. When the question was referred to a committee of jurists, however, most of them declared it legal.²

Besides losing his political prerogative the Caliph as guardian of the Sunní Faith also failed to prevent the introduction of religious innovations by the Buwayhid rulers. We reserve the detailed discussion of these matters for the next chapter, but may mention here that al-Mu'í' was powerless to protest effectively when in 351 Mu'izz al-Dawlah introduced the cursing of Mu'áwiyah and other companions of the Prophet and nor, in 352, could he or the Sunnís prevent the public performance of the Shí'í ceremonies of the 'Áshúrah and the Ghadír.³ Even the appointment of a judge—a strictly religious matter—by Mu'izz in 350 on a purely contractual basis⁴ could not but be tolerated by the Caliph, though fortunately he was dismissed in 352 for quite different reasons.⁵

There was one respect, however, in which the Caliph held his own or was allowed to hold it and that was in the procedural part of the administration because the formal recognition of the Caliph's authority in such matters gave legal validity to the *de facto* authority of the Amírs, though it did not in any way conflict with the actual functioning of their sovereignty. For example, the Caliph would regularly hold assemblies of investiture for governors and high officers including the Amír al-Umará himself, and would confer titles. In this connection the great assembly for investiture of 'Adud al-Dawlah in which the

¹ A coin of 'Adud al-Dawlah dated Baṣrah 371 (Lane-poole, Add., 261) and a coin of Fakhr al-Dawlah of Rayy d. 374 (Miles, 170) are the instances of early occurrences of the title Sháhansháh. Later it became very common with Bahá al-Dawlah, Sultán al-Dawlah, Musharrif al-Dawlah, Jalál al-Dawlah and Abú Kalijár.

² I.J. VII, 97-98.

³ See below Chapter XII.

⁴ M. II, 188-189.

⁵ M. II, 196; Ath. VIII, 407.

The dismissal was effected by the pursuasion of Ibn al-Dá'i mentioned above. See J.R.A.S., 1910, Pt. ii, 789-790.

utmost pomp and grandeur were displayed in 369 is especially noteworthy.¹ Though the legality of such appointments cannot be doubted, the investitures sometimes were in fact something of a mockery, since the Caliph had no real power and often did merely as he was told. Thus in 343 at the request of Mu'izz al-Dawlah the Caliph invested Ibn Muhtáj, the rebel Sámánid general, with the province of Khúrásán.² Similarly Bakhtiyár in order to win over Fakhr al-Dawlah and the latter's general Sahlán, asked the Caliph to invest them with certain territories which they accordingly received as governors appointed by the Caliph and not as deputies of 'Adud al-Dawlah, as had been previously arranged. Nevertheless out of fear of the latter none of them ventured to don the robes of honour sent by the Caliph and "the affair became," says Miskawayh, "mere mockery and insult."³ To sum up, therefore, the loss of the Caliph's power was a natural outcome of the constitutional status assigned to the Amír al-Umará by the Caliph himself and was accentuated by the conversion of the Amirate into a heritable office. Moreover the frequent deposition of Caliph and the selection by the Amírs of their successors facilitated encroachment on the Caliph's prerogatives.

(c) *The Second Period (389-447).*

During this period with the gradual decline of the Buwayhids the Caliphs did their utmost to re-assert their authority. They were assisted in so doing by the Amír's frequent absence from Baghdád, as for instance, that of Bahá al-Dawlah, who left the city for good in 384. They were encouraged moreover by the emergence of a new orthodox power under Maḥmúd ibn Subektekín of Ghaznah, who in 389 brought to an end the Sámánid rule in Khurásán. The latter though Sunnī had refused many a time to recognise a Caliph raised to the throne by the Shí'ī Buwayhids and no *Khutbah* was read in al-Qádir's name from the pulpits of Khurásán till its occupation by Maḥmúd. Maḥmúd not only recognised the Caliph but showed unswerving loyalty to him, writing to him a long letter of submission. He compared his victory at Marw with the first victory of the 'Abbásid forces under Abú Muslim against the Umayyads. "This (Marw) is the auspicious town" he wrote to the Caliph, "where the 'Abbásid propaganda commenced and the Umayyad usurpation ceased." A new hope was thus raised for the Caliph for a revival of the orthodox faith by the efforts of this new and energetic 'servant of the commander of the faithful'.⁴

¹ These things are discussed in detail by Siddiqui, *Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia*, 58.

² M II, 156.

³ M II, 364-365.

⁴ H., 341-345.

Henceforth almost every year letters reached Baghdād from Maḥmūd expressing his renewed allegiance to the Caliph and relating many pleasing details of Maḥmūd's Holy Wars against the infidels in India and elsewhere.¹ His letters often contained, also, indignant references to the Caliph's rivals—the Fātimids; and in 403 Maḥmūd sent al-Qādir a special envoy to relate how the Fātimid al-Ḥākim had addressed a letter to Maḥmūd asking him to own allegiance to him. The messenger related with gusto how, far from doing any such thing, Maḥmūd had torn the letter to pieces and indignantly spat on it.² Similarly in 416 another messenger arrived from Ghaznah bringing with him some presents which the anti Caliph had bestowed on Maḥmūd's officer-in-charge of the pilgrimage. The Caliph then held an assembly in which these presents were displayed and then burnt.³

Nevertheless the rise of the Ghaznavid power in the East obliged the Caliph in some way to be even more cautious than before in his dealings with his Buwayhid protectors. When, for instance, al-Qādir in the course of investing Sulṭān al-Dawlah presented him with a special sword wherewith 'to conquer the East and the West,' Maḥmūd immediately protested since he considered such conquests a privilege reserved for himself; on which the Caliph had to apologise and mollify him by sending him robes of honour and a crown, a collar and bracelets.⁴ It must also have been an awkward moment for al-Qādir, when in 420 he received a letter from Maḥmūd informing him that he had put an end to the Buwayhid line of Rayy, though this was no doubt almost as welcome news to the Caliph as the further information that Maḥmūd had taken the opportunity to persecute the Bāṭinīs and 'innovators' of that region.⁵

After the death of Maḥmūd (412) and the decline of his dynasty the championship of the cause of orthodoxy passed to a still more vigorous race, the Ghuzz. The Caliph now pinned his hopes of getting rid of the Buwayhids on them. It is accordingly against this background of revival of orthodoxy that the resurgence of the Caliph as a powerful political factor is to be studied. We propose now to trace this development from the year 389 to the end of our period.

In 391, the Caliph al-Qādir held an assembly for the pilgrims from Khurāsān and announced to them that he had appointed his son Abū'l-Faḍl as his heir and had given him the title al-Ghālib bi'llāh.⁶

¹ I.J. VII, 256, 262, 276, 292, see for these letters.

² I.J. VII, 262.

³ I.J. VIII, 21-22.

⁴ MU. MS., f. 12b.

⁵ I.J. VIII, 38-40.

⁶ I.J. VII, 219.

This son, however, predeceased him. So in 421 al-Qádir had another of his sons, the future al-Qá'im bi Amri'lláh, declared as successor and after his death in the following year al-Qá'im duly ascended the throne of the Caliphate.¹

Perhaps the earliest instance of opposition on the part of a Caliph to what he considered improper interference by an Amír occurred when in 394 Bahá al-Dawlah appointed the 'Alid Abú Aḥmad al-Mūsawí as chief judge and President of the Court of Appeal (Mazálim) as well as (what was perfectly admissible) Naqíb of the 'Alids. Al-Qádir then protested and carried his point. The Amír had to be satisfied by giving him all the other posts except that of the Chief Qádí.²

Then in 401 Qirwásh b. Muqallad, the Shí'í ruler of Mawsil had the name of the Fátimid al-Hákim declared from the pulpits. On this al-Qádir sent Abú Bakr al-Báqilání as his personal representative to remonstrate with Bahá al-Dawlah in Shíráz. Bahá al-Dawlah in turn remonstrated with Qirwásh, who apologised and re-established the Khutbah in al-Qádir's name.³

This action of Qirwásh so near at hand roused the Caliph to counter measures. Next year he caused a document to be drawn up showing the pedigree of the Fátimids to be spurious and had it signed not only by the most eminent Sunnís but also the leading Shí'ís, such as al-Radí and al-Murtadá. The Caliph's ability pretty well to insist on their compliance in this case shows to what extent he had already recovered his influence. To please him moreover all the eminent persons who put their signatures to this document fulminated against the rival Caliphs of Egypt with all the eloquence at their command.⁴ The next Caliph al-Qá'im went even further. In 427 he prohibited all transaction in Maghribí dínárs, and this, if his prohibition had been obeyed, would have entailed complete severance between the Fátimid and 'Abbásid areas.⁵ In 444, again, he also issued another manifesto disproving the Fátimid's pedigree.⁶ From this onwards indeed the Caliph appears as the 'Defender of the true Faith' and in 408 the Caliph al-Qádir arranged a recantation of their faith by the Mu'tazilah and other 'innovators'. Declarations were issued from the Caliph's palace defining the creed of Sunnite Islám and warnings were sounded against the

¹ I.J. VIII, 47-48.

² I.J. VII, 226-227.

³ I.J. VIII, 248-251.

⁴ I.J. VII, 255-256; MU. MS. f. 1a-b.

⁵ I.J. VIII, 88; Ath. IX, 308.

⁶ Ath. IX, 406.

preaching of what was held by the orthodox to be the pernicious doctrine that the Qur'án had been created.¹

The death of al-Qádir and the accession of al-Qá'im synchronised with the death of Maḥmúd so that the first years of the latter Caliph witnessed the decline of the Ghaznavids in Persia and the rise of the Ghuzz under Tughril beg. It was largely the rise of the Ghuzz and Tughril's championship of orthodoxy that emboldened al-Qá'im to assert himself still more.

Thus in 426, after complaining to Jalál al-Dawlah of the deplorable state of lawlessness into which the capital had fallen, he took the opportunity of demanding that a Turkish slave who had trespassed into his orchard and eaten some of his fruits should be brought before him (the Caliph) for trial and until the Amir acceded forbade the 'Ulamá to co-operate with the administration and even threatened to leave Baghdád himself. His object apparently was to establish a division of responsibility between the Amír and himself as Caliph whereby the administration of justice and the maintenance of the Khutbah should be the Caliph's concern, that of the Amír should be general administration and the maintenance of law and order. In the end the slave was duly brought before him, though later allowed to go.²

Further demonstration of a differentiation between political and religious authority occurred in 427, when after the arrest of the Wazír Abú'l-Qásim Ibn Mákúlá Jalál al-Dawlah also wanted to arrest the Wazír's brother, the Qáđíal-quđát. the Caliph afforded protection to the latter and said in reply:

"Nothing remained of our affairs except (our control of) this deputy who is now in any protection. But he is actually for your sake and not for my interest. He never exercises any political function (تصرفا سلطانيا) so that he may be liable for condemnation."³

Al-Qá'im was able in the end again to carry his point over the Jizyah (poll-tax) when in 434 Jalál al-Dawlah seized it for his own purposes, though till then throughout the Buwayhid period its collection and disposal had remained a prerogative of the Caliphs. After an exchange of letters it was finally agreed that the tax should again be

¹ See below Chapter XII.

² I.J. VIII, 82; Ath. IX, 299-300; MU. MS., f. 106b.

³ I.J. VIII, 89; MU. MS., ff. 107b-108a.

collected by the Caliph's agents in the following year, as in the event it was.¹ The Caliph thus asserted his authority as regards some of the more strictly religious attributes of his office. We say some because the separation of political sovereignty from religious in Islām is difficult and though the Caliph succeeded in recovering some of his lost power in such affairs as we have mentioned, he was still unable, even if he wanted, to fulfil the two most important of his religious obligations, namely, to prosecute the Jihād and to perform the pilgrimage, which he avoided simply on the plea that none of the provinces were any longer under his control.²

Besides the powers which the Caliphs were allowed to retain as the chief source of honour and authority, they strove not only to regain control of some of the more strictly religious departments of the administration, in doing which, as we have shown, they were by no means unsuccessful, but also to win back some of the political power they had been deprived of. At least in one respect, the Caliph al-Qá'im was successful here too. In the first place he contrived to lend a certain new pomp to his secretariat and he gave his secretaries high-sounding titles such as '*Amíd al-Ru'asá* and '*Ra'ís al-Ru'asá*.'³ He even ventured to bestow on one of his secretaries (Ibn al-Maslamah) a title—'*Jamál al-Wara Sharaf al-Wuzará*'⁴—implying that he was not a mere secretary at all but a Wazír and so regained the long obsolete prerogative of having a Wazír, which though politically it did not mark any real enhancement of his power, yet placed him in this respect at least on a par with the Amír. Al-Qá'im's Wazír Ra'ís al-Ru'asá Ibn al-Maslamah moreover wielded great influence in the capital and it was the antagonism between him and the Shí'í commander al-Basásirí that precipitated the coming of Tughril Beg to Baghdád.

The prestige and influence of the Caliph increased in two other respects during the period of Buwayhid decline. In the quarrels of the Turkish soldiery with the Amírs, the Caliph was repeatedly selected as the arbitrator by the former whom they addressed as their supreme lord. In the negotiation the Caliph emphasised his position as the Amírs' overlord communicating with them through the two Naqíbs of the 'Abbásids and the 'Alids and his own chamberlain. At the same time he insisted on the legitimate rights of Banú Buwayh to the Amirate

¹ Ath. IX, 350; I.J. VIII, 113-114; MU. MS., 133b-134a. I.J. VIII, 116.

² I.J. VII, 133-114.

³ These secretaries were respectively '*Amíd al-Ru'asá* Abú Tálíb Ibn Ayyúb and '*Ra'ís al-Ru'asá*, ibn al-Maslamah (I.J. VIII, 175 and 127).

⁴ I.J. VIII, 151; Subkí III, 275.

almost to the end and consequently his mediation was accepted both by the soldiery and the Amírs themselves.¹ The Amírs were correspondingly obliged for their own sakes to support the honour and sanctity of the Caliph and so recognise the status of his palace as a place of sanctuary even when its use as such by rebels conflicted with their own interests.²

- ¹ To give one example among many; the revolt of the Turks against Jalál (257).
- ² Instances of this are the refuge taken by Bárstughán in the palace in 427 al-Dawlah in 419 and the Caliph's mediation in it. (I.J. VIII, 35; Ath. IX, I.J. VIII, 89 and by 'Anbar, after misappropriating some money, at a later date. (I.J. VIII, 114; MU. MS. f. 134a).

CHAPTER XII

The religious background to the rise and fall of the Buwayhids

In this chapter we propose to deal with the rise and fall of the Buwayhids with particular reference to religious forces of the one kind or another. After considering the rise of the Daylamites, and of the Buwayhids along with them, as a result of their conversion to the Zaydite form of Shí'ism, we shall discuss at length the religious policy of the Buwayhid rulers. In the development of this there are two distinct periods, the first being marked by the active championing of the cause of Shí'ism by the Buwayhids and the passive acquiescence of the *Sunnah* in their policy except for a few sporadic outbursts and the second by the active opposition on the part of the *Sunnah* till they and their Caliph at last found in the Seljúkid Tughril a means of getting rid of the Shí'í-Buwayhid tutelage altogether. We shall then end with a discussion of what we may call an attempt at secularism experimented with more than once by individual Buwayhid rulers.

The rise of the Daylamite Buwayhids as a military power must be traced back, as we have indicated in our introduction, to the establishment of two Zaydite states in Tabaristán in the third and the fourth Islamic centuries respectively. One of them was established by Ḥasan b. Zayd and existed from 250 A.H. to 316 A.H.,¹ the other by al-Uṭrush in 301 and continued with varying fortunes up to the year 520.²

We have seen that these Zaydī Imáms and their successors not only found among the Daylamites and the Gilites enthusiastic supporters of their cause but also succeeded in converting a considerable number of them to their form of Islám, with the result that these Imáms were able with their help to fight with success against both the representatives of the Caliphs and the deputies of the Sámánids for possession over

¹ E.I., Vol. II, pt. i, 277-278.

² E.I., Vol. IV, pt. ii, 1060.

the Caspian provinces, and it is as fighters in the army of a Daylamite chief, Mákán b. Kákí, who had formerly held Gurgán for a son of al-Uṭrush, that the early Buwayhid brothers 'Alí and Ḥasan ('Imád and Rukn) made their first appearance on the historical scene.

The participation of these convert tribesmen in these religious wars led in due course to the establishment of a number of Daylamite dynasties to the west, south and east of the Caspian Sea, namely, the dynasty of the Salárids in Ādharbáyján, that of the Ziyárids (which was strictly speaking Gílite) in Rayy and Tábaristán, that of the Fírúzánids in Gurgán and finally that of the Buwayhids in Fárs, Rayy and Isfahán and 'Iráq.

Before we go to pass on to the religious policy of the Buwayhid rulers, however, we must describe the position of the Shí'ah in Baghdád, for by the time the Buwayhids were well established there the Shí'ah had already become a powerful community in the capital. It is difficult to trace the origin of this community. During the first century of 'Abbásid rule the 'Alids themselves to whom the Shí'ah adhered underwent many vicissitudes of fortune but their cause suffered a crushing blow on the adoption by al-Mutawakkil of his anti-Mu'tazilite policy. Nevertheless veneration for the House of the Prophet was common to Muslims of all shades of opinion and even under al-Mutawakkil an officer of the state was still appointed to watch the interests of those 'Alids, whose loyalty was not suspected.¹ Thirty years after the time of al-Mutawakkil the Caliph al-Mu'tadid went so far in his veneration for the 'Alids that he not only allowed the 'Alid Muḥammad b. Zayd of Tabaristán (to whose brother we have just referred) to send money freely to the 'Alids of Makkah, Madínah, Kúfah and Baghdád, but also drew up a decree for recitation from the pulpits anathematising the Umayyáds, which he only shelved after the political danger of this move had been pointed out to him. It would appear therefore that by this time the Shí'ah were considered a factor to be reckoned with.²

Nevertheless we do not hear much of the Shí'ah (as a community in Baghdád) before the reign of al-Muqtadir (295-320). By that time, however, they had acquired the habit of assembling for prayer and the cursing of the companions of the Prophet at the Baráthá mosque above the junction of Nahr 'Ísá and Karkhayá in Western Baghdád.

¹ Tabarí III, 1516.

² *Ibid.*, 2147-2148, 2165-2178.

When this was discovered by al-Muqtadir in 313 he took alarm and promptly ordered the demolition of the mosque; and though it was rebuilt in 328 by the Amír Bajkam as a place of worship for the *Sunnah*¹ subsequent incidents show that the local Shí'is must later have somehow regained control of it.² We may accordingly perhaps regard Baráthá as the first Shí'í stronghold of Baghdád.

At the same time the quarter in which the Shí'ah were eventually most powerful was al-Karkh in Western Baghdád. This is always referred to by the early historians as a business centre, which had come into being as a result of al-Manşúr's removal to that locality of the markets that originally formed part of his Round City. Rebellions in al-Karkh arising from economic and political factors are mentioned by Tabarí,³ but we find no reference to the Shí'í character of the quarter till the time of the Buwayhids. By the time Mu'izz al-Dawlah came to Baghdád al-Karkh was already the major Shí'í stronghold; and riots between its inhabitants and the *Sunnah* started only some four years later in 338.⁴

We learn of the existence of other smaller Shí'í settlements from Ibn al-Jawzí, who was particularly interested in Shí'í-Sunní disputes. Thus from his record of the riots we gather that in Western Baghdád besides al-Karkh and Baráthá there was yet another small settlement in Nahr al-Tábiq; while in Eastern Baghdád quarters inhabited by the Shí'ah were Súq al-Siláh (the Armament Market), Báb al-Táq, Súq Yahyá and what was known as the Harbour (al-Furđah).⁵ As it was only late in our period, during the reign of Jalál al-Dawlah, that the inhabitants of all these quarters joined in riots it is possible that it was not until after the Buwayhid occupation that the settlement of the Shí'ah in these different parts of the capital took place.

So much then for the Shí'í settlements in Baghdád. As for the religious policy of the Buwayhids, as rulers of Baghdád they actively championed the cause of Shí'ism, without any regard to the sentiments of the Sunnı majority or their Caliph, who was for a time no more than a puppet in their hands.

¹ I.J. VI, 317.

² I.J. VI, 195, 395; VIII, 41-44.

³ Tabarí III, 197, 323-324, 392-393.

⁴ I.J. VI, 363.

⁵ I.J. VIII, 56. (Nahr al-Tábiq Yáq. Buld. III, 486; Bab al-Táq, *Ibid*, 489; Súq al-Siláh, *Ibid*, 194; Súq Yahyá, *Ibid*, 195, in ruins in Yáqút's time.)

A striking example of the Buwayhids' attitude to heterodox beliefs is the following.

In 340 there died a certain Baṣran, who had preached the transmigration of souls. He left a number of followers who believed in his divinity and claimed themselves to possess souls of various prophets, angels and other Holy personages, such as the Imám 'Alí, Fáṭimah, the prophet's daughter and the archangel Míká'il. On the death of the Baṣran, when these beliefs were made public, the Wazír al-Muhallabí not only confiscated the property of the deceased but arrested all his followers according to the usual 'Abbásid custom, and had them flogged. They then approached Mu'izz al-Dawlah saying that they belonged to Shí'ism. This was enough for him and he ordered their release.¹

We have seen how Mu'izz al-Dawlah shortly after his entry into Baghdád separated the 'Alids from the jurisdiction of the 'Abbásid Naqíb and placed them under a Naqíb of their own, the first incumbent of the office being al-Kawkabí, a descendant of Zaynal-'Abidín. Nor did Mu'izz stop at that. In 351 for the first time, he introduced what was later known among the *Sunnah* as the cursing of the companions of the prophet.* Under orders from him the Shí'ah, though still a small community, made so bold as to inscribe elaborate curses on the mosques of Baghdád: "The curse of God be upon Mu'áwiyah, and upon those who snatched the garden of Fadak from Fáṭimah, who prevented Ḥasan from being buried by the side of his grandfather, who banished Abú Dharr al-Ghifarí and who excluded Abú'l-'Abbás from the Shúrá (the assembly for consultation)." The Caliph al-Muṭí' was powerless to prevent what to the *Sunnah* was pure blasphemy, and when these legends were erased by night, presumably, by the other community, Mu'izz ordered them to be re-written. However, the Wazír al-Muhallabí, who was a sensible man, in order to avoid an open clash with the *Sunnah*, suggested a middle course namely the cursing of those who oppressed the family of the prophet, mentioning no one by name but Mu'áwiyah, who was no hero to anyone.²

But this was far from being the only innovation introduced by Mu'izz. In his eagerness to please the Shí'ah the very next year he invented for them two official ceremonies, the performance of which

¹ I.J. VI, 371; Ath. VIII, 372.

* سب الصحابة

² I.J. VII, 7; Ath. VIII, 403.

was to produce serious consequences through centuries of Muslim history. These two ceremonies were 'Āshúrah on the 10th of Muḥarram; in commemoration of the martyrdom of al-Husayn, and the 'Īd al-Ghadír, in memory of the alleged appointment of 'Alí by the prophet as his sole successor. For the first time in their history these two ceremonies were performed in Baghdád, the centre of orthodox Sunnism, in 353. On the 10th of Muḥarram Mu'izz ordered all shops, and market places to be closed and asked the people to observe public mourning by wearing mourning apparel. The women were to come out with dishevelled hair and blackened faces, tearing their clothes and beating their faces in lamentation for memory of al-Husayn. The idea of such national mourning for the Shí'ah as a whole may have been suggested to Mu'izz by some Daylamite custom of mourning;¹ and since the mourners were backed by the authorities the *Sunnah* were helpless to prevent it.² Likewise on the 18th of Dhú'l-Hijjah the same year Mu'izz caused the 'Īd al-Ghadír³ to be observed, ordering the city to be decorated. Large fires were lit, drums beaten and horns blown. There was general rejoicing and in contrast to what had been decreed for the 'Āshúrah the shops and market-places were on this occasion kept open even at night, as was the custom at Sunnī festival.⁴

In the following year the celebration of the 'Āshúrah led to a riot between the Shí'ah and the *Sunnah*, as a result of which many people were wounded on both sides and properties looted.⁵ From then on the ceremonies of the 'Āshúrah and the Ghadír were regularly performed by the Shí'ah till the coming of 'Adud to Baghdád, when these were stopped for a time, the attitude of the *Sunnah* towards these performances having become completely apathetic, since they had no power to prevent them. They did, however, rise on several occasions as in 353, when Bakhtiyár's absence in Mawṣil encouraged them to arrange a mock fight amongst themselves. They placed a woman on a camel's back, calling her 'Ā'ishah, while some men called themselves

¹ Muq., 369; M. II, 132, 137.

² Ath. VIII, 407. I.J. VII, 15.

In Egypt 'Āshúrah and Ghadír were introduced much later during the reign of al-Mu'izz the Fátimid. In Dhú'l-Hijjah, 362 was for the first time observed the Ghadír and in Muḥarram, 363 the 'Āshúrah performance began Maqrísí, *Khitat*, Vol. I, p. 387, 430-1.

³ The name derived from 'Ghadír al-Khummm'—a spring between Makkah and Madinah, where according to the Shí'í tradition the prophet declared, "Whomsoever I am lord of, his lord is 'Alí also". Mas'údí, *Tanbíh*, p. 255-6.

⁴ Ath. VIII, 407; I.J. VII, 16.

⁵ I.J. VII, 19; Ath. VIII, 413.

Talhah and Zubayr. This group then fought with another group, giving it out that they were fighting the partisans of 'Alí and this mock battle giving grave offence to the Shí'ah the incident ended in a serious riot.¹ A second occasion on which there occurred fighting between the rival sects was during the short Amirate of the Turkish commander Subektekín who was a Sunní and the *Sunnah* seized the opportunity to attack the Shí'ah.²

But it is not until the Amirate of Bahá al-Dawlah that for the first time we hear of active opposition by the *Sunnah* to the performance of Shí'í ceremonies. The accession of al-Qádir and the rise of Maḥmúd b. Subektekín as a champion of orthodoxy imbued the *Sunnah* of Baghdád with hopes of recovering their supremacy. In 381 there occurred a riot between the inhabitants of al-Karkh and those of Báb al-Baṣrah (the former a Shí'í and the latter a Sunní quarter) over the Ghadír festival. The *Sunnah* came out victorious and tore down the banner of the Amír—a success for which, however, a number of them paid dear by being impaled.³

Then in 389 when, as we saw in the previous chapter, Maḥmúd b. Subektekín conquered Khurásán and sent his letter of obeisance to al-Qádir the *Sunnah* brought their ingenuity to bear on the invention of two religious ceremonies corresponding to the two ceremonies of the Shí'ah. Eight days after the 'Áshúrah they proceeded to observe mourning for the death of Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr. Similarly after eight days of the 'Id al-Ghadír they celebrated, as an occasion of rejoicing, the *yaum al-Ghár* (the day of the cave), on which they supposed the prophet entered the cave of Hírā with Abú Bakr.⁴ They first began with the Day of the Cave in Dhú'l-Hijjah of that year.

Henceforth we find the Caliph and the *Sunnah* actively opposing the Shí'ah in various ways, the Caliph by asserting himself vigorously in religious matters, the generality of the *Sunnah* by the performance of these parallel religious ceremonies, which led more and more often to serious riots. On a more intellectual level controversy was also sustained by the jurists, preachers and poets of the two communities.

As for the attitude of the Caliph we have discussed it in detail in the previous chapter. A few facts may, however, be restated here for

¹ Ath. VIII, 464-5.

² M. II, 328; I.J. VII, 68; Ath. VIII, 468.

³ I.J. VII, 164.

⁴ S., 339-340; I.J. VII, 206.

convenience. Thus in 394 when Bahá al-Dawlah wished to appoint Abú Aḥmad al-Músawí, who was a Shí'í as chief Qádir al-Qádir prevented it and the Amír had to be satisfied by giving to him other posts such as that of Naqíb of the 'Alids, the Amír of Hajj and the President of the Court of Appeal.¹ Then in 402 the same Caliph issued a manifesto refuting the claim of the Fátimids to be the descendants of Fátimah, the daughter of the Prophet;² while a similar manifesto was issued in 444 by his son al-Qá'im.³ Then al-Qádir expressed his approval quite openly of Maḥmúd as a fighter in the cause of orthodoxy and he received letters from him yearly. Moreover in 408 he held an assembly for the recantation of their beliefs by the "innovators," particularly the Mu'tazilites; while Maḥmúd in accordance with the Caliph's wishes undertook to persecute all heretical sects including the Mu'tazilah, the Ismá'iliyyah, and the Qarámiyah.⁴

The same Caliph also revived the old controversy as to whether the *Qur'an* was created or eternal and for the first time for many years in 409 recited the Orthodox Sunnī view that anyone who maintained that the *Qur'an* was created was worthy of death,⁵ while formulas to this effect were also read out in his palace at a later date. Thus three times in 420 alone—in Sha'bán, Ramaḍán and Dhú'l-qa'dah—dissertations on the life and death of the prophet and the lives of the Caliphs Abú Bakr and 'Umar were given a similar reading and were concluded on each occasion by a cursing of those who believed in the creation of the *Qur'an*.⁶ Moreover, in 433 the next Caliph al-Qá'im, al-Qádir's son and successor published what was known as "the Qádirite Creed" named after al-Qádir, in its clearer and fuller form. All the old philosophical and religious controversies were now revived and the Ash'arite doctrine was once again declared by the Caliph to be the official Sunnī faith. The Qádirite creed emphasised the unity of God and the divine attributes of power, knowledge, hearing, sight and speech. It also stressed the eternity of the words of God—which was the kernel of controversy between the Ash'arites and the Mu'tazilites. It laid emphasis on the veneration of the companions of the Prophet and their gradation in the order: Abú Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmán and 'Alí—which was of course intensely repugnant to the Shí'ah of all varieties. Finally

¹ I.J. VII, 226.

² I.J. VII, 255.

³ I.J. VII, 154.

⁴ I.J. VII, 287.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁶ I.J. VIII, 41.

the creed enjoined veneration for both 'Á'ishah and Mu'áwiyah,¹ whose hostility to the 'Alid cause was particularly loathsome to the Shí'ah.

As we have mentioned, the jurists, preachers and poets of both communities stimulated the struggle further. Thus a controversy between the followers of the Shí'í faqíh Ibn al-Mu'allim and those of the Sunnī Qádī Ibn al-Akfání and the Sunnī faqíh al-Isfará'iní gave rise to a Shí'í-Sunní riot in 398.² Similarly the preachers of both the communities, who exercised great influence, openly incited their followers at the assemblies they held both in mosques and in the streets.³ Nor were the poets of either party behind hand in the composition of poems reviling the heroes of the other community and extolling the virtues of their own, as for instance, the poet Abú'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. 'Isà was called 'the poet of the *Sunnah*' because he praised the companions of the Prophet and opposed 'the poets of the Shí'ah'.⁴

In the religious riots of this latter period it was usually the *Sunnah* who took the initiative. Thus on the death of 'Amíd al-Juyúsh Fakhr al-Mulk who succeeded him injudiciously revived the Shí'í controversial ceremonies and so, in 402 particularly provoked some riots.⁵ Four years later, again, when some of the inhabitants of al-Karkh happened to pass by Báḅ al-Sha'ír, a Sunnī quarter the *Sunnah* attacked them and further rioting ensued after which the celebration of the Shí'í ceremonies was again forbidden.⁶ Nevertheless, in the following year in Wásit the *Sunnah* plundered and burnt the houses of the Shí'ah and the Zaydiyya, whose leaders they obliged to leave and seek refuge with the Mazyadid Abú'l-Ḥasan 'Alí.⁷

One more attempt at the performance of a distinctively Shí'í rite was made in 420 by the Khaṭīb of the Baráthá mosque who after the usual prayer for the prophet added one for " 'Alí, the brother of the

¹ I.J. VIII, 109-111.

² I.J. VII, 237.

³ I.J. VII, 88, 238. The Shí'í practice of what according to the *Sunnah* was known as "The cursing of Ṣaḥābah" (سب الصحابة) and the Sunnī replies to it by way of invoking mercy of God in them (الترحم على الصحابة) were very common during these days. (See I.J. VIII, 143, also I.J. VII, 258, a Sunnī while passing by al-Karkh heard cursing of some Ṣaḥābah and took a vow not to go there again).

⁴ Ath. IX, 231-2.

⁵ I.J. VII, 254-5.

⁶ I.J. VII, 276.

⁷ I.J. VII, 283.

Prophet, the Amīr al-Mu'minīn, the speaker to the skull, the giver of life to the dead and he who conversed with the *Aṣḥāb Kahf*, etc."¹ When the Caliph learnt of this he placed the Khaṭīb under arrest and appointed another in his place with orders to re-introduce the usual Khuṭbah. But while preaching his sermon he was pelted by the congregation and he narrowly escaped with the help of four Turks who chanced to attend the mosque on the occasion. Moreover, during the night some thirty people plundered the house of this Khaṭīb, and for some time after no Khaṭīb dared appear at the mosque at all nor were any prayers offered. It was only after some time when the leaders of al-Karkh, together with Naqīb of the 'Alids asked the Caliph's pardon for the foolish Shī'ah, who had maltreated his Khaṭīb that yet another Khaṭīb was appointed and prayer with the standard Khuṭbah were duly resumed.²

After this riots occurred almost every year at the times of the 'Āshūrāh and the Ghadir. We shall confine ourselves to mentioning those of serious character. In 422 a riot broke out as a result of the preaching of the Holy War by an ascetic with the permission of al-Qādir, who gave him a diploma and a flag. A group of people assembled and though it was not clear against whom they were to fight, a reference to Abū Bakr and 'Umar was enough to provoke the inhabitants of al-Karkh, who immediately set upon them, with the result that a riot broke out, in which the house of the 'Alid Naqīb was plundered and one of his boats burnt. The next day the *Sunnah*, accompanied by the Turks, appeared from both sides of Baghdād and attacked al-Karkh, pillaging and burning. The Caliph charged the Karkhīs with having torn his banner which the Holy warriors had carried before them. Meanwhile all the attempts on the part of the authorities to control the situation were of no avail; the mob killed the prefect of police; and nearly the whole of Baghdād was involved in fierce fighting, while all communication between the two banks was severed by the destruction of the bridges.³

In the year 425 the Shī'ī-Sunnī struggle was intensified by the participation in it of professional criminals ('Ayyārūn) some of whom were adherents of one party, some of the other. In the middle of Sha'bān in that year the Shī'ī 'Ayyārs paid a ceremonial visit to the

¹ These traditional attributes of Jesus came now to be applied to 'Alī by the Shī'ah.

² I.J. VIII, 41-45.

³ Ath. VIII, 285 (322 A.H.); I.J. VIII, 55.

tomb of al-Husayn—a rather unusual act, since the normal month for such Shī'ite visit always was Muharram. On this the Sunni 'Ayyárs ceremonically visited the tomb of Zubayr, and on their way halted before the Dār al-Mamlakah and prayed loudly for the government. Presumably their prayers were regarded as ironical, since the incident duly provoked riots between them and the Shī'ah, with the consequent loss of life and property. Afterwards, however, the two communities made a compromise.¹

In these days the Shī'ah began to feel insecure, the Amīr being now at the beck and call of the Turkish soldiery and even of the hostile Sunni populace. In 441 the Shī'ah of al-Karkh therefore began the construction of a wall between their quarter and the Sunni quarter of al-Qallā'in to the south. The inhabitants of al-Qallā'in followed suit, making a wall to guard their own quarter, and in their case the Turks helped them with money and beasts of burden. Both they and the Karkhīs carried bricks to the scene of their operations to the accompaniment of bands and music. Each party vied with the other in procuring bricks from neighbouring ruins; and this led to a riot. When, however, the Caliph asked the prefect of police to cross to the western side of Baghdād and impose a settlement the two parties combined against the prefect and prevented him from crossing. So great indeed was their common hatred of the authorities that this incident led to their reconciliation, each side not only displaying complete tolerance of the other but even adapting each other's distinctive customs. Thus while the Karkhīs used the Sunni formula^x for the *Ādhān* and invoked mercy on the companions of the Prophet, the *Sunnah* of al-Qallā'in used the Shī'ī formula^{xx} for the *Ādhān* and went so far as to visit the tombs of 'Alī and Husayn. This accord between them was reached early in 442.²

This was of course only a temporary accommodation excuses for breaking which it was not hard to find. In the very next year in 443, after the completion of the construction which they had begun in 441, the Karkhīs erected some towers and inscribed on them in golden letters. "Muhammad and 'Alī are the best of mankind."^{xxx} Not only did the *Sunnah* disapprove this in the strongest terms but they put it about

¹ I.J. VIII, 78-79.

^x الصلوة خير من النوم

^{xx} حتى على خير العمل

² I.J. VIII, 140-141; Ath. IX, 383-384.

^{xxx} محمد و على خير البشر

that the legend bore the additional phrase, "He who acknowledges this is a true believer but he who denies it is an apostate."^x The Karkhís denied this charge, on which the Caliph sent the 'Alid and the 'Abbásid Naqíbs to investigate into the matter. On inspecting the inscription they confirmed the statement of the Karkhís. But the Hanbalí fanatics were now bent on war with the moral support of the Caliph's Wazír, Ra'ís al-Ru'asá Ibn al-Maslamah, the result being that the whole of al-Karkh was blockaded and the Karkhís were prevented from fetching water from the Tigris. Ultimately they were obliged to obliterate the words 'best of mankind' and write in instead 'peace be on them' and even then the *Sunnah* declared that they would never be satisfied until the very brick on which the words Muḥammad and 'Alí had been written was removed. They further demanded that the Shí'ah should use the Sunní formula for the *Ádhán*. But such demands were more than the Shí'ah were ready to accept and so the riots continued and in the course of them a Sunní Háshimite was killed. On this the *Sunnah* paraded all the Sunnite quarters, with the corpse on a bier, exhorting all the inhabitants to take up arms in revenge, and having thus incited them they buried the victim near the tomb of Ibn Hanbal. Returning from the burial the *Sunnah* forced an entry into the cemetery at Báb al-Tibn (the eastern portion of the famous Quraysh cemetery) where they robbed the tombs of lamps and lamp-standards of gold and silver, curtains, etc. and on the following morning the Sunní mob turning out in greater force entered the Kázimayn cemetery and set fire to the tombs of Mu'izz al-Dawlah and Jalál al-Dawlah in the adjacent cemetery of the Quraysh and the fire also gutted many 'Abbásid tombs including those of a son of al-Mansúr, of the Caliph al-Amín and of the latter's mother Zubaydah. Next day again the mob began digging up the remains of the two Shí'ite Imáms with the intention of shifting them to the tomb of Ibn Hanbal, but were prevented by the Naqíb of the 'Abbásids and many Háshimite leaders of the *Sunnah*. Meanwhile, the Karkhís entered an academy of Hanafí jurists and killed one of the doctors, and so not only did the riot continue unabated, it then spread to the eastern side of the city too.¹

In the following year the Karkhís restored the inscription 'Muḥammad and 'Alí are the best of mankind' and resumed their own form of the *Ádhán*; on which the *Sunnah* of Qallá'in retaliated by setting fire to al-Karkh with the result that 36 persons—men, women and children lost their lives.² In 447 again a group of Sunnís assembled

^x فمن رضى فقد شكر و من ابى فقد كفر

¹ Ath. IX, 394-6; I.J. VIII, 149-151.

² I.J. VIII, 154; Ath. IX, 406.

in Eastern Baghdád and asked the Caliph's permission and help for a campaign to enforce the prescriptions and prohibitions enjoined by religion.* This being granted to them they attacked a convoy carrying 600 wine jars to Wásit for the Shí'í commander al-Basásirí and broke them.

In contrast with this toleration, and even encouragement of sectarian strife by persons in the authority, we find during the middle period of the Buwayhid rule in Baghdád an insistence, by more than one ruler, on the maintenance of law and order without regard to religious sentiment. The first to pursue such a policy was the greatest of the Buwayhids 'Adud al-Dawlah, during whose short reign of five years in the capital we do not hear of any public performance of the 'Áshúrah and the Ghadír. Presumably he prohibited these ceremonies as he certainly prohibited any public preaching. At the time of his establishment in Baghdád the city had been distracted for years with sectarian riots and he perceived that one of their main causes lay in the activity of the preachers and story tellers, whose chief aim was to incite the rival communities to warfare. He therefore issued the following proclamation:

"Henceforth no one will be allowed to preach either in the public mosque or in the street. Nor shall anyone seek mercy of God by the name of any Companion of the Prophet. He who desires to seek mercy should do so simply by reading the *Qur'ân*. Anyone violating these rules may incur the penalty of death."¹

The point of reference to the Ṣaḥábah or companions of the Prophet was of course that some of the said companions were Sunní and others Shí'í heroes, so that any mention of one of them was apt to provoke the hostile sect.

In a similar spirit, twenty years later 'Amíd al-Juyúsh, Bahá al-Dawlah's deputy in 'Iráq, ordered both the Shí'ah and the *Sunnah* to stop their respective ceremonies of the 'Áshúrah and the Ghadír on the one hand, and the death anniversary of Muṣ'ab and the Ghár ceremony on the other. Moreover, he punished indiscriminately 'Alids, 'Abbasids, Shí'ís and Sunnís for any breach of law. Himself a Daylamite and a Shí'í, he banished the Shí'í faqíh Ibn al-Mu'allim in 398 for stirring up religious riots in Baghdád and like 'Adud he prohibited all preachers from

* الأمر بالمعروف و النهي عن المنكر

¹ I.J. VII, 88.

holding public assemblies. He recalled Ibn al-Mu'allim only after the excitement had subsided, when he also lifted the ban on the preachers on their guaranteeing to indulge in no further provocation.¹

A similar policy was pursued for a time by Ibn Sahlán the successor of Fakhr al-Mulk in Baghdád. He banished a group of 'Abbásids, who had incited the people to strife, and balanced this measure by again exiling the Shí'í faqíh Ibn al-Mu'allim. But his reliance on the Daylamite troops, whom he quartered in several places of the city, was a highly unfortunate policy. For the excesses committed by these undisciplined troops exasperated the Turks and the general public and, on the Turks' appealing to Sultán al-Dawlah, Ibn Sahlán had to withdraw from the governorship.²

In the same group of impartial administrators we may include a prefect of police named Abú'l-Hasan 'Alí ibn 'Abd al-Samad al-Shírází who held that office twice: from 389 to 408 (the middle period coinciding with 'Amíd's governorship of Baghdád), and from 409 to 415. During his second term of office which coincided with the period of civil war between Sultán al-Dawlah and Musharrif al-Dawlah, and when law and order gravely deteriorated in Baghdád, Ibn 'Abd al-Samad ruthlessly executed the extremists both of the Shí'ah and the Sunnah, exiling the Shí'í faqíh Ibn al-Mu'allim a third time along with a group of preachers. He thus succeeded in restoring peace to the city, but when al-Maghribí became Wazír to Musharrif al-Dawlah, he disapproved the anti-Shí'í activities of Ibn 'Abd al-Samad and after first imposing a heavy fine of 5,000 dínárs on him, incited some of the rioters against him who killed him in Rajab, 415.³ After this there was an end of all such impartial rule in the capital and for the next forty years, the city was almost continuously, as we have seen, the scene of religious warfare and general lawlessness.

¹ See above, Chapter V Section one 'Amíd al-Juyúsh.

² See above, Chapter VI Section (9).

³ I.J. VII, 19.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Survey of Sources

We have broadly divided our sources into two categories: classical writers and modern writers, and present a general bibliography in that form. First, however, it is necessary to have a brief survey of the classical writings in their different varieties.

Official 'Abbásid documents—Unfortunately, we possess only one: namely, a collection of official correspondence written by Ibráhím b. Hilál al-Šabí in his capacity as Secretary of the *Díwán al-Inshá'* and this covers only the reign of Bakhtiyár. Some other specimens of official correspondence survive in quotations from the lost history of Hilál al-Šabí (the grandson of Ibráhím) in Ibn al-Jawzī and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī (see below).

Court histories written for the Buwayhids themselves together with the annals of the Caliphate—In this category come works of the historians Thábit b. Sinán, Ibráhím b. Hilál al-Šabí, Hilál al-Šabí, Miskawayh and Abú Shujá' Rūdhráwarí. Of these works, however, the *Tajárib al-Umam* of Miskawayh and its *Dhayl* or continuation by Abú Shujá' and a fragment of the general history of Hilál covering the years 389 to 391 survive. Ibráhím b. Hilál al-Šabí (d. 394) wrote his *Kitáb al-Tájí* for 'Adud al-Dawlah, and though the work is lost its nature can best be guessed from a remark made by the author himself that "it was a tissue of folly and lies."¹ By this he no doubt only meant that he was obliged to flatter his patron, and the authors of numerous later works, both in Arabic and Persian, evidently considered his sufficiently trustworthy as to make considerable use of it. Nevertheless information derived solely from this source is certainly to be used with caution.

Nor does the work of Thábit survive except in quotation by Miskawayh. Miskawayh's life and the value of his history are discussed by Margoliouth in the preface to the *Tajárib* and we need not repeat them here. Miskawayh claims independent authority from the year 340, up to which date, if Abú Shujá' is to be believed,² he drew some of his material from the *Tájí* and some from the chronicle of Thábit which covered the period up to 363. From 340 onwards Miskawayh

¹ Yatimah II, 27; Irshád I, 325.

² S. 23.

writes either from the materials supplied to him by the leading actors in the events, such as the Wazír Ibn al-'Amíd, or from his personal experience.¹ Margoliouth dwells with justice on Miskawayh's capacity for the character-drawing, his temerity on criticising even his patrons, the Buwayhids, and his freedom from religious bigotry; and his ability as a historian becomes all the more apparent when we compare his *Tajárib* with the *Dhayl* of Abú Shujá', whose chief value lies in his careful and even critical abridgement of the History of Hilál al-'Asad covering the years from 370 to 389.

Undoubtedly the richest in variety of detail among this group of histories is this *Tárikh* of Hilál al-Šabí, the grandson of Ibráhím. Unfortunately, as stated above, all that survives (apart from Abú Shujá''s abridgement) is the eighth part dealing with three years (389-393). Fortunately, however, other fragments of it are preserved in the works of Ibn al-Jawzí, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzí and in a Munich manuscript of unknown authorship covering the period from 402 to 432, while the *Tá'rikh* is also cited by al-Khatib al-Baghdádí, Yáqút, Ibn Khallikán, al-Dhahabí and others. Hilál's other work, the *Kitáb al-Wazara'* though very useful, is of limited use for us, at least as regards the only part extant in full, which deals with the 'Abbásid wazírs of the preceding period. The vast amount of varied and interesting material with which, to judge from the surviving three years' chronicle, Hilál must have enriched the rest of his history has thus been lost. But what we possess shows beyond a doubt his superiority as an historian.

In this group of annalists comes 'Abd al-Raḥmán ibn al-Jawzi (509-597) a theologian and a Hanbalite Sunnī preacher who is said to have converted twenty thousand Jews and conducted the recantation of a hundred thousand Muslims. He began writing at the age of thirteen and wrote some three hundred books in two thousand volumes.² In his *al-Muntaẓam* he adopted what was then a new method of compilation, combining a chronicle of events with biographical obituary notices of eminent persons. He also introduced the fashion of judging events from a strictly orthodox Sunnī point of view and in both these respects greatly influenced the subsequent generations of Sunnī chroniclers. His methods can be illustrated by the following two examples. As a Sunnī he makes Mu'izz al-Dawlah repent before his death and subscribe to Sunnī views.³ Though he speaks very highly

¹ M. II, 136.

² His life and works discussed by Somogyi in J.R.A.S., 1932, 49.

³ Safadī Vol. II, f. 220a.

⁴ I.J. VII, 39.

of 'Adud al-Dawlah it does not prevent him from saying that from the day 'Adud referred to himself as مالك الاملاك غلاب القدر (the possessor of all kingdoms and the vanquisher of Fate) in one of his poems he did not flourish.¹ The intrusion of Sunnī bias into historical writing marks a sad deterioration from the standards of earlier generations, but it was all too scrupulously followed by most of the subsequent Muslim chroniclers except Ibn al-Athīr who, though he drew frequently on Ibn al-Jawzī, was able to maintain his own outlook. Among the followers of Ibn al-Jawzī we may include his grandson Shams al-Dīn known as Sibt (grandson of) Ibn al-Jawzī, Dhahabī, Taghrībardī and many others.

As regards Ibn al-Jawzī it is difficult to ascertain whence he obtained his material except, as we have already seen, that his book contains quotations from Hilāl al-Ṣābī of whose Ta'rikh it was a continuation.² Ibn al-Jawzī's descriptions of the Shī'ī-Sunnī riots and his biographical notices of prominent persons form the most original part of his work. The former, in particular, though presented from a purely orthodox Sunnī standpoint, for which allowances must be made, gives a complete picture of the issues involved and the information on this topic supplied both by Ibn al-Jawzī and by his grandson and later reproduced, much condensed, by Ibn al-Athīr includes interesting detail about the religious controversies in question, which are not to be found in the more non-committed court histories of Miskawayh and Abū Shujā'.

While preparing my Doctoral thesis in London I obtained on loan a manuscript from the Munich State Library³ by courtesy of the India Office Library (Commonwealth Relations Office). This consists of a part of a universal chronicle dealing with the events of the years 402 to 432, and so covering the reigns of Sultān al-Dawlah and Musharrif al-Dawlah and the greater part of the reign of Jalāl al-Dawlah. The unknown author of this chronicle who wrote after 644 states that for this period he had based on the Ta'rikh of Hilāl al-Ṣābī.⁴

We next come to Ibn al-Athīr, whose universal history differs completely from the works of Ibn al-Jawzī and his group as regards treatment and outlook. But although Ibn al-Athīr drew on innumerable

¹ *Ibid.*, 116.

² *Qiftī*, III.

³ See, Aumer, J. *Verzeichniss Der Orientalischen Handschriften*, Munich, 1875 (p. 157-158).

⁴ M.U. MS., f. 135b.

sources for his general history yet for the early Buwayhid period he for the most part summarised the books of Miskawayh and Abú Shujá,¹ while his information about the Samanids and the Ghaznavids is mainly based on al-'Utbí.² Nevertheless, that one of his sources for our period was also Ibn al-Jawzī is clear from the record of the religious riots and also from actual references he makes to his work.³ The periods for which Ibn al-Athīr is of most interest to us are that between 394, when the chronicle of Abú Shujá and the eighth part of Hilāl's Ta'rikh comes to an end, and 402 when the Munich manuscript begins, and that from 436, when the Munich manuscript comes to an end, up to the date of the end of the Buwayhid dynasty, of the earlier part of which at any rate it constitutes the only continuous record that has survived. Ibn al-Athīr's book, but not, unfortunately, his method of explaining events by correlating them, influenced later generations of annalists, as for instance Ibn Kathīr and Abú'l-Fidá, in whom, however, little more than the bones of history survive. The Persian works of Mīr Khāwand, Khāwand Amīr seem also to have been mainly based on *al-Kāmil* though with other material added.

So much for the annalists covering our period, the earlier of whom are contemporary or near contemporary and furnish the bulk of our information. Most of them being Sunnī in outlook they are reticent in their estimation of the Buwayhid rulers. On the other hand we may to some extent judge how the latter appeared to contemporaries from the court histories of the rivals of the Buwayhids and may in general check the accounts of the annalists from such sources as collections of anecdotes, biographical dictionaries, the encyclopædias, the accounts of geographers and travellers, various local histories and lastly some of the few Shī'ī works extant which may be expected to display the contrary bias.

Of rival court histories we have the *Tā'rikh yamīnī* of al-'Utbí, a contemporary of the later Buwayhids, who enjoyed the patronage of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah. The difficulty with his work is that the author's jugglery with words, his rhythmical prose, his tone of exaggerated eulogy greatly reduce its value as a historical source. Still it throws some light on the relationship of the Buwayhids with the Samanids and a comparison of the *K. al-yamīnī* with the text of the Buwayhid court histories enables us to guess where the truth lies. The *Tā'rikh Bayhaqī*,

¹ Ath. VIII, 521, IX, 107.

² Barthold, 17.

³ Ath. IX, 354.

a memoir of Mas'ūd of Ghaznah is also a good supplement for our later period, so also is al-Birūnī's *āthār*, which contains facts about the titles of the Buwayhids' time. Unfortunately the court histories of the Sāmanids, as for instance, the *Tā'rikh-i-Bukhārā* of Narsakhī covers too early a period to supply us with any useful information, but the treatise written by Ibn Hassūl for Tughril beg and his wazīr al-Kundurī shows the discrepancies in the description of the *Tājī* regarding the Buwayhid pedigrees, while there are a few passages in the *Siyāsat nāmāh* of Nizām al-Mulk, which throw some light on our period. Actually the work of Abū Shujā', which was written during the reign of Malik Shāh when the author was in the Caliph's service can be regarded as belonging to this category. From time to time Abū Shujā' writes of the Buwayhids, both rulers and wazīrs,¹ in slighting terms and even his appreciation of 'Adud al-Dawlah is not devoid of reserve.² The only other work of this type in which, however, allusions to the Buwayhids are few and indirect, is the *Qábūs nāmāh* written for the last of the Ziyārid sovereigns.

The story-tellers who wrote from materials surviving in local traditions and anecdotes are immensely useful to us. Tanūkhī's *Nishwār* of which Parts I, II and VIII are available, his *al-Faraj ba'd al-Shiddah*, Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb al-Adhkiyā'*, which is a good supplement to the author's general history, and the *Tadhkirah* of Ibn Hamdūn provide us with many interesting facts and lastly the *Jawāmi'-al-Hikāyāt* of Muḥammad 'Awfī contains several stories about the various Buwayhid rulers.

We have made considerable use of the biographical dictionaries, various anthological and encyclopaedic works bearing on our period. They contain ample materials which the annalists could not include in their works. The works of the first type used by us are Yāqūt's *Irshād al-Arib*, Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Qiftī's *Tā'rikh al-Hukamā'*, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiyāh's *Uyūn al-Anbā'*, Jahshiyārī's *Wuzarā'*, Hilāl's *Wuzarā'*, Safadī's *Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt* and Subkī's *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi' iyyāt al-Kubrā*. The encyclopaedic and anthological works on which we have drawn are Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Sāmānī's *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, Ibn Mākūlā's *al-Ikmāl*, Khwārizmī's *Mafātiḥ al-'Ulūm*, Tha'ālibī's *Yatimah*, The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kashf al-Zunūn* of Hāj Khalīfah, and al-Damirī's *K. al-Hayawān*.

¹ His remark about the equipments of Sharaf al-Dawlah (S., 128); his depreciation of the wazīr Ibn Salihān (S., 138).

² His disapproval of some of 'Adud's measures from strictly religious and moral points of view. (S. 57, 71).

Of the various local histories we may mention that of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, who provides us with the a detailed topographical description of the city of Bagh_hdād. Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān* contains much information about the early Daylamites, the Zaydī Imāms and also the court of 'Adud al-Dawlah. But numerous errors in chronology and other comparable mistakes which would seem to have resulted from had copying- for by its other qualities, as for instance the richness of its detail, it would rank high as a source for the period-- make it difficult to depend on. The history of Zahir al-Dīn al-Mar'ashī is mainly based on Ibn Isfandiyār and though it is even fuller of mistakes it sometimes provides us with added information. By far the most important of all local histories is, however, the *Fārsnāmah* of Ibn al-Bal_hhī. The grandson of a mustawfī (Accountant) of Fārs, Ibn al-Bal_hhī was born and brought up there and was himself commissioned to write his book about the year 510 by the Seljukid Sultān Muḥammad. The record he supplies of the various building projects of 'Adud in Fārs and of particularly the revenue figures of the provinces of Fārs and Kirmān during the time of 'Adud, which can be taken as more or less authentic, have helped us a great deal to reconstruct the history of 'Adud's reign. Among other local histories, we have made use of the *Zayn al-Akḥbār* by Gardīzī, the *Shīrāznāmah* of Shīrāzī, the *Mujmal al-Tawārikh* (by an anonymous author), Afdal al-Dīn Kirmānī's *History of Kirmān*, *Ta'rikh Sīstan*, *Ta'rikh Mayyāfāriqīn* (a manuscript in the British Museum), Ibn al-Qalānīsī's *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, Ibn al-'Adīm's *Ta'rikh Halab* and a modern work *Shahriyārān-i-Gumnām* by Kasrawī Tabrīzī are worth mentioning.

Of the geographers and travellers we have found the books of *Istakhri*, Ibn Hawqal, Muqaddasī, Nāṣir Khusraw, Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Battutah, Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī and an anonymous author's *Hudūd al-'Alam* extremely useful and interesting, not only because they all contain topographical details about the areas of our study but also because they further provide us with rare historical references not to be found in ordinary chronicles and history books.

Though the Buwayhids were a Shī'ite dynasty we possess very few Shī'ite works of the period whereby we might check the predominantly Sunnī estimate of the rulers supplied by the chroniclers. *Maqātil-al-Tālibiyyīn*, an early work by Ispahānī (the famous author of *Kitāb al-Aghānī*) contains information about some early Shī'ite martyrs. Also the two manuscripts in the British Museum *'Umdat al-Tālib* of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Uqbah and *The Hadā'iq* of Husām al-Dīn, though much later, contain valuable information regarding some

important members of the 'Alid family who enjoyed royal patronage in the Buwayhid state.

As regards modern works which have a bearing on our period, directly or indirectly, we supply a list in the bibliography; where their authors come to conclusions differing from our own we indicate what the latter are without attempting to argue against theirs. We have consulted various studies on the coins of the period and have tried to reconcile the evidence they supply with our textual information.



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