

uninteresting, for they only discuss the lawfulness or otherwise of these practices under various conditions, from a religious point of view. In like manner is discussed the lawfulness of wine in the chapter set apart for it (pp. 416—428). The sources of all such matter are some of the well-known books on Hanaff Law, enumerated by the author on p. 418, namely, the commentaries of *al-ʿĀmī-ut-Kabīr*, *al-ʿĀmī-us-Sagħīr*, *Mukhtasar-i-Tahāwī*, *Mukhtasar-i-Karkhī*, *Masʿūdī*, the commentaries of *Qudīrī* and *Mūjās-i-Farāghānī* <sup>1)</sup>. The medicinal properties of different wines (pp. 426—8) are verbally borrowed (without acknowledgement) from the great *Dhakhīra-i-Khwārazmshāhī* of Ismaʿīl Jurjānī (died 531) <sup>2)</sup>.

The section on chess (pp. 405—416) contains nothing that is extraordinary or instructive. It is more or less a repetition of what has been so often told both by earlier and later writers on chess in Arabic as well as in Persian — that the game of chess was invented in India and brought to Persia in the reign of Anusharwān the Just, that his minister Buzurjmihr made certain alterations in it and that it was passed thence to the Byzantines who in their turn introduced further modifications.

The subject of the origin and history of chess being exceedingly vast, we cannot possibly do any amount of justice to it by making a few superficial remarks. It may therefore suffice here to refer the curious reader to a very recent book, an exhaustive treatment of the subject based on all the best available sources, both eastern and western, entitled "A History of Chess" by H. J. R. Murray (Oxford 1913) <sup>3)</sup>.

The chapter on calligraphy (pp. 437—447) is interesting as showing the nature of *Khatt-i-mansūb*, a system of con-

1) See notes pp. 487—8.

2) See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.* p. 466—7.

3) The first 393 pages of this book contain the history and progress of the game in Asia and therefore are of special interest to us.

reference to Macan's edition	reference to the present book	reference to Macan's edition	reference to the present book
P. 1787 ll. 6—8	P. 260	P. 2014 ll. 12, 14—16	P. 101 & 139
" — " 28	" 69	" 2015 " 23	" 243
" 1792 " 5	" 334	" 2023 " 13—18	" 144
" — " 11	" 29	" 2026 " 6	" 256
" 1793 " 4	" 378	" 2042 " 10	" —
" 1796 " 18—19	" 297	" 2050 " 5	" 263
" 1856 " 4	" 378	" 2058 " 6	" 261
" 1865 " 22	" 144	" 2059 " 2	" 256
" 1875 " 27	" 242	" 2060 " 7—9	" —
" 1877 " 4	" —	" — " 10—11	" 262
" — " 9—10	" 155	" — " 18	" 263
" 1878 " 9—10	" —	" — " 19	" 229
" 1881 " 26	" —	" 2061 " 1	" 260
" 1882 " 11 13	" —	" — " 8—9	" 173
" 1892 " 22	" 144	" 2063 " 21	" 126
" 1903 " 28	" 239	" — " 22	" 243
" 1913 " 11—12	" 144	" 2064 " 16	" 127
" 1951 " 21	" 113	" 2080 " 4, 9—10	" 112
" 1973 " 12	" 375	" 2084 " 18	" 230
" 2014 " 17	" 256	" 2086 " 7	" 127

Lines quoted from *Khusraw Shirin* of Nizami are not so numerous and are happily in continuous passages which can be easily traced in this book by looking up that name in the index of books.

The only source of our author's historical information for the earlier part of his book has been the work of Zahir-ud-din of Nishapur (see pp 64—5) who was the tutor of Sultan Arslan and a relation of our author's <sup>1)</sup>

The contents of the sundry sections at the end of the book are to my mind not so important as might appear at first sight. Of these the two sections on shooting (with arrows) and horse-racing (pp 428—434) can be dismissed as entirely

1) By the work of Zahir-ud-din is meant apparently the *Saljuqnama* (a history of the Great Saljuqs) whose importance as forming the primary source of most of the later Persian histories will be discussed later on.

reference to Macan's edition	reference to the present book	reference to Macan's edition	reference to the present book
P 1455 ll 19, 25	P 245	P 1651 ll 3—4	P 91
" 1456 " 1	" 178	" — " 6	" 177
" — " 11—12	" 154	" — " 7—9	" 274
" — " 2—5	" 295	" 1654 " 25	" 91
" — " 13—14, 18—19	" 235—6	" 1655 " 23	" 297
" — " 6—7, 9—10	" 241 & 377	" 1661 " 9	" —
" 1458 " 13	" 380	" 1671 " 23—25	" 169—170
" — " 24	" 378	" 1673 " 11—12	" 347
" 1460 " 2, 6	" 179	" 1676 " 17, 19	" 109
" 1471 " 2	" —	" — " 11—15, 20—22	" 46—7
" — " 3—5	" 176	" 1677 " 8, 17, 20	" 391
" 1509 " 28	" 260	" — " 26	" 135
" 1510 " 2	" 261	" — " 27—29	" 120
" 1515 " 21	" 378,	" 1678 " 3	" 391
" 1535 " 13	" 59 & 41	" — " 4—5, 7—8	" 134—5
" — " 9	" 66	" — " 16—18	" 368
" 1587 " 4	" 184	" — " 19—20	" 365
" 1588 " 19—20	" 260—J	" 1684 " 11	" 157
" 1589 " 2—3	" 184	" — " 12—13	" 367
" 1590 " 14	" 177	" — " 17—18	" 63
" 1595 " 4	" 378	" 1690 " 14	" 367
" — " 24—25	" 153	" 1695 " 23	" —
" 1596 " 3—6, 9—10	" 294—5	" 1698 " 17	" 376
" 1597 " 9—10	" 184	" 1699 " 28	" 266
" 1603 " 7, 9	" 293	" 1711 " 20—24	" 204
" — " 12—13	" 260	" 1712 " 2—3	" —
" — " 16, 17, 20	" 393	" 1714 " 6—7	" 342
" — " 22—23	" 170	" — " 9	" 393
" 1617 " 10, 12	" 184	" 1715 " 2	" 155
" 1618 " 28	" 169	" 1717 " 18	" 263
" 1619 " 1, 3—4	" 170	" 1718 " 22—26	" 384
" — " 5—6	" 339	" 1729 " 11	" 177
" — " 7	" 171	" — " 10, 18—19,	
" — " 8	" 184	21—22	" 225
" — " 17—18	" 244	" 1753 " 23—24	" 378
" — " 19—20	" 130	" 1765 " 5, 7	" 382
" 1623 " 27	" 175	" — " 27	" 175
" 1624 " 10—11, 18	" —	" 1770 " 24	" 292
" 1626 " 23—25	" —	" 1774 " 16—17	" —
" 1646 " 15—16	" 176	" 1781 " 17—19	" —
" 1647 " 15	" 91	" 1784 " 27—28	" 376
" 1649 " 12—17, 20—21	" 91—92	" 1785 " 8	" 69

reference to Macan's edition	reference to the present book	reference to Macan's edition
P 751 li 27—28	P. 101	P 1030 li 17
" 757 " 12—13	" 342	" 1104 " 12
" 796 " 19	" 104	" 1118 " 2—5
" 805 " 12—16	" 118	" 1151 " 15—16
" 806 " 1, 6—11	" 42	" 1154 " 10
" 813 " 22	" 350	" 1156 " 2
" 815 " 7—8	" 90	" 1161 " 22
" — " 25	" 349	" 1169 " 22
" 820 " 15	" —	" 1175 " 10
" 822 " 24	" —	" — " 11
" 824 " 4—5	" 340	" 1218 " 26, 28
" 825 " 3	" 341	" 1222 " 9—11
" 833 " 6	" 383	" 1234 " 25
" 834 " 6—7	" 347	" 1239 " 11
" 836 " 22	" 128	" 1242 " 7—8, 10
" 847 " 27	" 59	" 1268 " 16
" 859 " 2	" 130	" 1304 " 16
" — " 13	" 102	" — " 17
" 860 " 15—17	" 285	" 1330 " 14
" 881 " 6—8	" 142	" 1356 " 5
" 891 " 8	" 162	" 1357 " 11
" 893 " 15—16	" —	" 1358 " 12
" 897 " 4	" 173	" 1361 " 4—5
" — " 28	" 162	" — " 6—7
" 905 " 4—6, 8—10, 15—17, 21	" 148—9	" 1404 " 23
" — " 12—13	" 112—3	" 1411 " 20
" 924 " 16	" 146	" — " 21
" 946 " 3	" 336	" — " 25—26
" 965 " 22	" 230	" 1412 " 1—2
" 969 " 25—26	" 155	" — " 18
" 981 " 23	" 230	" 1414 " 6
" 986 " 14	" 261	" 1418 " 5
" 988 " 8	" 263	" 1421 " 5—7
" 993 " 6—7, 11—12	" 130	" 1422 " 5
" 996 " 4	" —	" 1423 " 14—15
" 1001 " 6	" —	" 1424 " 3—4
" 1003 " 26	" 148	" — " 12
" 1004 " 1	" —	" 1426 " 11, 17
" 1015 " 12—13, 23—24	" 130	" 1427 " 12
" 1028 " 4—6	" 204	" — " 14, 15
" 1029 " 26	" —	" 1429 " 9, 11
		" 1455 " 26

a list of all those that I have been able to trace, for the benefit of the scholar who may some day undertake a critical edition of the great Persian epic, based on the best and the oldest texts I shall refer in parallel columns to the pages and lines in Macan's edition and the pages of the present book:

reference to Macan's edition	reference to the present book	reference to Macan's edition	reference to the present book
P 26 ll 27	P 268	P 337 ll 23	P 383
" 30 " 15-17	" 228	" 350 " 19	" 228
" 46 " 27	" 5	" 352 " 17	" 60 & 367
" — " 28	" 59	" 378 " 11	" 388
" 47 " 1, 24	" —	" 400 " 1-2	" 336
" 50 " 16, 20	" 178 & 227	" 411 " 23	" 179
" 57 " 21	" 340	" 438 " 20	" 140 & 363
" 67 " 9	" 337	" 439 " 6	" 91 & 285
" — " 10	" 367	" 446 " 8	" 128
" 73 " 6	" 349	" 447 " 4-7	" 362-3
" — " 9	" 340	" 459 " 15-17	" 264
" 75 " 18, 19, 21	" 342	" 462 " 13, 18-19	" 161
" 78 " 14-15	" 50	" 467 " 16	" 146
" 90 " 18-19	" 335 & 388	" — " 20	" 38
" 125 " 20-21	" 341	" 473 " 14	" —
" 145 " 14-15	" 348	" — " 22	" 118
" 154 " 5-6	" 263	" 489 " 6	" 337
" — " 7-8	" 61	" 504 " 19-20	" 38
" — " 13	" 228	" 507 " 2	" 362
" — " 16	" 101	" — " 4	" 335 & 376
" 167 " 5	" 226	" 511 " 4	" 61
" 175 " 24	" —	" 546 " 24	" 140
" 176 " 9-10, 15	" —	" — " 26	" 335
" 184 " 8	" 93	" — " 27	" 376
" — " 9	" 50	" 547 " 2	" 61
" 189 " 4-6	" 383	" — " 2, 4	" 376
" 198 " 18-20	" 228	" — " 19 et seq (10 lines)	" 29
" 202 " 25-26	" 382	" 588 " 6-8	" 371
" 224 " 17	" 230	" 589 " 20, 26	" 236
" — " 15, 17	" 339	" 608 " 28	" 102
" 228 " 1, 23	" 377	" 684 " 20	" 342
" 231 " 14-21	" 358	" 686 " 1	" —
" 243 " 22	" 382	" 706 " 2	" 59 & 352
" 261 " 15-16	" 242	" 714 " 17	" 118
" 282 " 2	" 337		

pre-Mongol Persian writings, the beauty of the book is to a great extent marred by a large amount of extraneous matter — lengthy digressions, frequent citation (mostly inapt) of commonplace Arabic maxims (some of them being of considerable length) with their Persian translations, and a large quantity of poetry. According to my estimate the book would be reduced to a quarter of its present size if all its discursive matter were taken out.

In all, the author cites 264 Arabic proverbs, almost all of them being borrowed without any acknowledgement from Thaʿālibī's book the *Kitāb-ul-Farā'id w'al-Qalā'id* <sup>1)</sup> The total number of verses quoted is 2,799, of which 511 are by the author himself (in praise of his patron Kaykhusraw), 144 by Anwari, 196 by Sayyid Ashraf (Hasan Ghaznawi), 77 by Athir Akhsikati, 348 by Mujir Baylaqani, 81 by Jamāl-ud-din Isfahani, 72 by ʿImadi, 249 by Nizami (mostly from his famous *mathnawi* the *Khusraw Shirin*), 122 by various Arabic poets (mostly Tughrā'i and Mutanabbī), 6 *Fahlawriyyāt* or dialect verses, 676 from the *Shāhnāma*, and the rest, numbering about 323, by various Persian poets. Those by Nizami and from the *Shāhnāma* are quoted without acknowledgement, others indifferently. Lines borrowed from the *Shāhnāma* are unfortunately not in continuous passages, the author probably had in hand a selection of moral verses from that book and quotes them at random. Out of the total number 676, I was able to trace 526 in Turner Macan's edition (Calcutta 1829). As the text of these lines from the *Shāhnāma* is one of the oldest we yet possess, I here give

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1) See Rieu's Supplement to the Catalogue of Arab MSS in the Brit Museum (p 634). It is a collection of moral and political maxims arranged under 8 different headings. Some attribute it to Abu'l Hasan Muhammad b al-Husayn al-Ahwāzi who was anterior to Thaʿālibī.

MSS of this work are common, but the references in my notes are to *Fonds Arabe* 3956 in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

who happened to visit Hamadán, and spoke warmly of the generosity and other good qualities of Kaykhusraw to the people of that town <sup>1</sup>).

The author tells us nothing more about himself after this.

Of his other works besides the present one he mentions two as having been already written, namely, a book in condemnation of the *Ráfidis* and another on the principles of calligraphy (*usúl-z-Khatt*) <sup>2</sup>). He announces his intention of writing two more, to wit, a separate history of the reign of Sultán Tughril and a general history from the time of Adam down to his own time <sup>3</sup>). None of these four works is known to me to exist.

## 2 CONTENTS AND SOURCES OF THE BOOK.

In the main, our book contains the history of the Great Saljúqs from the rise of the dynasty early in the 5th century of the *hijra* down to its fall in 590/1194. In a supplementary chapter (pp. 375—403) is given a detailed account of the events of the next five years, bringing the whole narrative down to the year 595/1199. The great historical interest of the book lies in its record for the years 555—595/1160—1199, covering the reigns of the last two sovereigns of the dynasty — Arslan and Tughril <sup>4</sup>). The information supplied by the author on this period is at once first-hand and detailed. For the earlier part of the history, however, the book is hardly instructive — the reigns of the first twelve Sultáns are dealt with in a singularly brief and uninteresting manner. Though written in a clear and simple style, typical of the

1) pp. 461—2

2) p. 394 ll. 23—4 and p. 445 l. 15

3) p. 44 ll. 18—9 and p. 463 ll. 3—6

4) pp. 281—403. The value of our book is still more enhanced when we consider the fact that almost nothing is to be found either in al-Bundari or Ibn ul-Athir on the Saljuq history of this period.

the alterations necessary to fit it for presentation to the new Sultán. It appears however, that the revision was not very carefully done, for we still find many traces of the former dedication to Rukn-ud-dín Sulaymánsháh. Note for example the following passages.

(۱) یوسته این شهر بار جهاندار از بهر کسان حوان می نهاد شیران لشکرش  
ار سگان احماری برای کرگسان حوان نهادند (ص ۲۶ س ۱-۲)

Here the author is evidently speaking of Sulaymánsháh's campaign in Abkház, of which a description is given in the Turkish translation of Ibn-i-Bíbi's history of the Saljúqs of Asia Minor (ed. Houtsma p 57 *et seqq*).

(۲) ای آنك تراست ملك آتاش \* سا دیو و بری بر سر خانم  
(ص ۱۲۲ س ۲۳)،

(۳) یُست دین سلطنر آن شاهی \* گامد آتاش شاه بیعمر  
(ص ۲۵۸ س ۷)

In both these lines there is clearly an allusion to Sulaymán the prophet and therefore he means Sulaymánsháh. His name is also to be found written in red ink at the bottom of the chart on p 451 of our book, which shows that the chart was prepared for presentation to Sulaymánsháh

The author, however, tries to conceal this fact saying that the book was originally meant for Kaykhusraw, and that the conquest of Anatolia by this sovereign in 603/1206—7 was considered to be the proper occasion to present the book to him <sup>1)</sup> He himself went to Qúniya (Iconium) taking with him evidently the revised edition of his book, and perhaps presented it personally to the Sultán <sup>2)</sup> This he did apparently at the encouragement and suggestion of a certain Jamál-ud-dín Abú Bakr b Abi'l-<sup>c</sup>Ala ar-Rúmi, a merchant

1) pp 62—3

2) p 64

time, for there was no peace in the country during the years following the death of Sultán Tughril 'Irâq was occupied by the army of Khwârazmshâh and people suffered immensely from the misrule and tyranny of his Turkish lieutenants. There was no respect left for any learning or morality, learned men were neglected, and valuable books were either destroyed or sold wholesale by these tyrant chiefs. Corruption prevailed and money was unjustly extorted from people by the myrmidons (mostly *Râfidis* or *Shîites*) of the cruel governors. Of this state of misgovernment and disorder the author complains more than once <sup>1)</sup> During these years, therefore, he led a life of retirement and seclusion, devoting his time to study.

He began to write this book in 599/1202, and was engaged on it for the next two or three years. After completing it he was naturally anxious to dedicate it to someone of the Saljûq Sultâns of Asia Minor (the history of whose forefathers it was) in the hope of earning a rich reward and renewing his former connection with the house of Saljûq. His attention was therefore directed to the then ruling Sultân Rukn-ud-dîn Sulaymânshah, who had usurped the throne from his elder brother Ghiyâth-ud-dîn Kaykhusraw in 597/1200—1, and ruled for four years until his death in 601/1204—5. The author says (p. 461) that he was about to dedicate his book to Rukn-ud-dîn when, on learning the fact that he was a usurper and that the real heir to the throne was his brother Kaykhusraw, he changed his mind and dedicated it to the latter. The truth, however, is that the first edition of this book *was* dedicated to Rukn-ud-dîn, but after his death in 601/1204—5 and Kaykhusraw's restoration to the throne, the author was compelled to change his dedication. He therefore seems to have revised the book and to have made

1) See for instance pp. 30—38

he was killed in the memorable battle against the army of Khwárazmsháh outside Ray on the 24th of Rabí' I, 590 (19th of March, 1194), when the great Saljúq dynasty came to an end

Our author, after his return from Mázandarán (in 586), was forced to seek his livelihood elsewhere, and it was probably then that he became attached to the great and rich 'Alawí family of Hamadán as teacher to the three sons of Amír Sayyid Fakhr-ud-dín 'Alá-ud-dawla 'Arabsháh, namely, Majd-ud-dín Humáyún, Fakhr-ud-dín Khusrawsháh, and 'Imád-ud-dín Mardánsháh Amír Sayyid 'Arabsháh, whose sister was married to Sultán Arslán, was the head of that family and was strangled by Sultán Tughrul in 584 (or early 585) for conspiring against him <sup>1)</sup> The author spent nearly six years in that family, and the next two with a young pupil of his named Shiháb-ud-dín Ahmad b Abi Mansúr b Muhammad b Mansúr al-Bazzáz al-Qásání with whom he was very intimate It was here that he was first struck with the idea of writing this book, and promised his young friend to mention his name therein as a token of gratitude for his favours <sup>2)</sup> He had also in mind to compile an anthology of poems by the then modern Persian poets, and he was inspired with this idea by the example of a certain Shams-ud-dín Ahmad b Minuchíhr Shast Galleh (?) who was advised by Sayyid Ashraf the poet to learn by heart poems of modern poets like 'Imádi, Anwarí and Abu'l Faraj-i-Rúní and to avoid the ancient ones like Sana'í, 'Unsurí, Mu'izzí and Rúdakí <sup>3)</sup> It seems that finally he combined the two ideas together and produced the present book containing both history and anthology

He was unable to give effect to his intention for some

1) See p 352 The author composed an elegy on him (See pp 353—5)

2) See pp 47—9

3) See pp 57—8

occasion he succeeded in getting from the Sultan a double compensation for the property of one of his friends whose house was plundered by the soldiers in a riot occurring at Hamadán in 583/1187.

His uncles, all of whom were professional teachers, were held in high esteem by the Sultán and the nobility, who sent their sons to them for education and they took pride in being their pupils. The family had acquired so high a reputation for calligraphy that the *Káshé* script (*Khatt-i-Káshuyán*) became well recognised and famous Zayn-ud-dín was in addition a poet and wrote poetry in Persian as well as in Arabic. His style of writing was very popular in 'Iráq and much imitated by scholars and poets <sup>1)</sup>.

Our author's connection with Sultán Tughril was finally severed in the year 585/1189, when he left 'Iráq to accompany his uncle Zayn-ud-dín to Mázandarán where the latter was sent by the Sultán as envoy to the king of that country <sup>2)</sup>. But the climate of that place did not suit him and he consequently fell ill and returned to his native town Ráwand, after a sojourn of six months. Here his suffering continued for another year. Soon after his return in 586/1190, the Sultán was seized by the rebellious *Atábek* Qizil Arslán and imprisoned by him in the fortress of Dizmár (near Tabriz) <sup>3)</sup>. His captivity lasted for nearly two years, and although he regained his throne in 588/1192 after the *Atábek* was murdered, he was unable to devote his attention to any peaceful pursuit and spent the next year and a half (588—590) in fruitless efforts to restore order in his kingdom. Finally

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1) I find that one of his works, a Persian translation of *Sharaf-tu-ut-tawwat* (a book on *hadith* see Hájji Khalifa, IV, 44) is still preserved in the library of Waliyy ud-din, situated inside the mosque of Sultan Bayazid in Constantinople (N<sup>o</sup> 888 in the Catalogue of that library). See also an Arabic *qasida* composed by him in 577/1181-2 (pp. 52-4)

2) See p. 357

3) See p. 362

dín al-Isfahání (who was professor in a college founded at Hamadán by the mother of Sultán Arsalán) <sup>1)</sup>, and from them he obtained licenses to lecture. He sums up his great qualifications in a few verses addressed to his patron Sultán Kaykhusraw of Rum as follows <sup>2)</sup>.

حسروا بسند سالهاے در ارس • رهد ورزید به روی و ریا  
 در مدارس سی که حاب دادم • تنها روز کرده چون بلدا  
 علم فقه و حلاف خواند سی • مرد همس خود شد دانا  
 تازے و یاری بداسته • شعرهاے جو لولوے لالا  
 خط و تدهیب و جلد و صحرا • کرده جوانا که بیستش هتا  
 هرج چون من کسی نداند کرد • ارصایع من آن کم اتنا

Sultan Tughril, the last of the Saljúqs (ruled 571—590/1175—1194) was a great patron of learned men and was himself keen to acquire knowledge. In the year 577/1181 he was struck with a desire to learn calligraphy and employed Zayn-ud-dín Mahmúd b. Muhammad b. ‘Alí ar-Rawandí (another maternal uncle of our author) as his instructor. When the Sultán became proficient in that art he undertook to make a copy of the Qur’an and gathered round him several gilders (*mudhahhibán*) and illuminators to decorate his manuscript, each part (*sí-para*) of which cost 100 western dínars (*dínár-i-maghribí*) <sup>3)</sup>. It was apparently on this occasion that the author was introduced by his uncle as an artist to the Sultán <sup>4)</sup>. Gradually he rose high in the Royal favour and we learn from him (p. 344) how on one

1) See p. 300 of the text.

2) p. 437, ll. 7—12.

3) This copy of the Qur’an was never bound in one volume, for, as the author says (p. 44), a part of it went into the possession of ‘Ala-ud-dín, lord of Marágha, another into that of Iektimur, king of Akhát, while a third was left with the gilders.

4) For these details see pp. 39—44.

## 1. THE AUTHOR.

All that we know about the author is to be gathered entirely from his own work. His full name was Abu Bakr Najm-ud-dín Muhammad b. 'Alí b Sulaymán b. Muhammad b Ahmad b al-Husayn b Himmat ar-Ráwandí. He belonged to a learned family of Ráwand (a small town in the neighbourhood of Káshán), whose members were all scholars and professors. He lost his father before he could finish his education as a boy. He was eager to continue his studies, but had no means to do so, for a severe famine raged in Isfahán and the surrounding districts from the year 570/1174—5 onwards. His maternal uncle Táj-ud-dín Ahmad b Muhammad b 'Alí ar-Ráwandí took charge of him and became his guardian as well as his teacher. Táj-ud-dín was a very learned man and held a professorship in a college founded at Hamadán by Jamál-ud-dín Áy Ába the *Atábek* of Sultán Tughril. He was master of the science of jurisprudence, controversy, exegesis of the Qur'án, traditions and literature, both Arabic and Persian, and was the author of several books on these subjects. He was also a great calligraphist. Our author remained in his charge for ten years (apparently from 570/1174 to 580/1184), and during this period visited with him all the great cities of 'Iráq and acquired proficiency in calligraphy (he learnt to write 70 different hands), book-binding and gilding (*tadhkiib*). He also acquired the science of law and theology from some of the famous doctors of his time, like Fakhr-ud-dín al-Balkhí, Bahá-ud-dín al-Yazdí and Şafíyy-ud-

The edition owes its appearance to Professor Edward G. Bowne who first realised the importance of the book and marked it out for publication. I am indebted to him for his constant advice and help and for placing at my service some of his most precious books and manuscripts.

MUHAMMAD IQBÁL

CAMBRIDGE

August, 1921

sages and verses (especially those by Mujir-i-Baylaqani) still remain obscure in spite of the efforts of several competent scholars to find out their meaning. The *Fahlawziyyát* or dialect verses on pp. 45, 46 and 460 are left entirely unexplained, for it could not even be discovered what particular dialect they represent<sup>1</sup>). A few proper names remain unidentified, for the author introduces them in an abrupt manner, presuming apparently that they are known to his readers.

I have made use of punctuation marks perhaps more frequently than was necessary, but I have often been compelled to do so by the author's jerky style of writing and abrupt statements

I have now to thank all those fellow students who have helped me in my work. My deepest gratitude is due to my learned friend Mirzá Muhammad of Qazwin, now residing in Paris and well known to Persian students as editor of some of the most valuable books published in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series. He read through all the proof-sheets and took great pains in collating them with the original MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>2</sup>), and to his careful scrutiny the book owes many corrections and emendations. I also referred to him several of my difficulties which he did his best to solve, and of his remarks the more important ones will be found mentioned in his name throughout my notes. Acknowledgement is also due to my friend Mirzá Dhabih-ullah Bihruz, Persian teacher in this University, who helped me through some of the doubtful passages and expressions, and to M. Blochet for very kindly supplying me with photographs of figures and charts (pp. 438—9 and 451) from the original MS.

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1) M. Schefer asserts (*Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux*, Vol II, pp 7 and 13) that they are in Kurdish dialect, but does not explain their meaning.

2) I myself also collated the transcript with the original MS in Paris before copying it out for the press.

ul-Athír and al-Bundáí, two of the greatest independent authorities on the history of the Saljúqs I have frequently supplied dates either in foot-notes or in square brackets wherever they were wanting. In the text I have made use of parentheses ( ) in giving references to the passages of the *Sháh-náma* (from which the author quotes so frequently) whenever two or more successive lines are cited. On no account should it be thought that I have added anything fresh from the *Sháh-náma* not originally given in the text. I did realise the fact that this may cause confusion to some readers, but it was when a part of the book was already printed off and so I persisted in it for the sake of consistency.

In the original MS wherever the vowel-points are given, the *fathah* preceding *alif* and the *kasrah* preceding *yā'*, are written vertically (') e.g. بِصِيرٍ، دِس، اِسْلَامٌ، نَأْتِرُ etc. At first I intended to retain this mark, but on being convinced that it was no archaism soon gave it up. A few pages in the beginning of the book will be found marked with this vertical sign. Other inconsistencies of similar nature will be met with and I beg that they may be overlooked.

In the glossary (pp. 489—516) I have included some words and phrases that are neither rare nor archaic, but in doing so I have kept in view the same consideration with which Dr Nicholson prepared the glossary in his edition of the *Tadhkirat-ul-Awliyá*, namely, "that it may some day be of service to the author of a scientific Persian lexicon in which the usage of every word will be illustrated by examples cited from trustworthy texts." I have also given frequent references to several other books of contemporary authorship wherever I could find the same word or phrase used in any of them.

The disadvantages of editing a text from a single codex are well recognised by scholars, and I need not say that many of my difficulties have been left unsolved. Some pas-

al-Kátib al-Isfahání<sup>1)</sup> The third and the last period (552—590/1157—1194) is the 'Period of Decline and Fall' on which the present work is an incomparable authority, for the author himself and his uncles, as we shall see later on, were some of the favourite courtiers of Sultán Tughril the last of the Saljúqs, and so had easy access to first-hand information as to all that passed at the court<sup>2)</sup>.

On the other hand our MS. is rich in linguistic interest, for on account of its age it has preserved archaic spellings and expressions. Besides, it contains a considerable number of verses by some of the greatest Persian poets like Anwarí, Nizámí, Mujír-i-Baylaqání, Athír-i-Akhsikati, Hasan-i-Ghaznawí and Jamál-ud-dín Isfahání, most of whom were contemporaries of our author. These verses, representing the oldest and the most authoritative text yet available, are of great value to us, considering how much the works of these ancient poets have been tampered with by unscrupulous or ignorant scribes so that it has become impossible to find a single line in two different MSS. without a number of variants.

In editing this book I have tried, in general, to imitate the admirable edition of the *Ta'rikh-i-Fahán-Gusháy* by the learned Mírzá Muhammad Qazwíní. In order to enable readers to verify historical statements and facts I have thought it proper always to give references to parallel passages in Ibn-

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1) His book is in fact the Arabic translation of the earlier Persian Chronicle by the Wazír Anúsharwán b. Kháld, and has been published in al-Bundárf's Arabic recension, entitled *رنة البصرة وحة العصرة*, by Houtsma (Leyden 1889).

2) Two more contemporary authorities for this period may briefly be mentioned here. The first is the *Zubdat-us-tawárikh* of Sadr-ud-dín 'Alí al-Husayní written in 622/1225 and preserved in a unique MS. in the British Museum (See Kieu's *Supplement to the Arabic Cat.* p. 342). It contains many details on the career of Sultán Tughril not to be found in the present book. The other is an appendix (*ghayá*) at the end of the Saljúq history in the *Jám'at-tawárikh* of Rashíd-ud-dín, by Abú Hamíd Muhammad b. Ibráhím, who wrote it in 599/1202. It treats at greater length of the last ten years of Tughril's reign (580—590).

of the unique MS., published (in 1886) an extract from it comprising the reign of Sultan Sanjar <sup>1)</sup>, in the '*Nouveaux Mélanges Orientaux*' (Vol. 2, pp. 31—47) with French translation and notes and a photograph of one page (f. 62b). A second extract comprising the history from the beginning until the death of Maliksháh <sup>2)</sup> was published by the same scholar in 1897 in his '*Supplément*' to the *Siasset Nameh* of Nizám-ul-Mulk (pp. 70—114). A complete account of the MS. was given in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1902 (pp. 568—610 and 849—887) by Professor E. G. Browne, who, having been struck by the value it derives from its antiquity and the authority of its contents <sup>3)</sup>, singled it out for publication.

We are fortunate in possessing ample and authentic records of the history of the Great Saljúqs who ruled Persia from 429 to 590 (1037—1194). This period of nearly 160 years can distinctly be divided into three parts for each of which we have excellent histories written by great scholars who were not only eye-witnesses of the events which they recorded but also took an active part in them. The first of these three epochs, which we may call the 'Empire Period', ends with the death of Maliksháh in 485/1092. On this we possess the admirable history of Bayhaqí <sup>4)</sup> together with the later Annals of Ibn-ul-Athír, which, though not contemporary, are based on excellent earlier authorities and are rich in details. The second or 'Middle Period' (or the 'Period of Sanjar', for he held supreme authority over the central ruling line of 'Irâq) is brought to a close by his death in 552/1157, and is fully recorded both by Ibn-ul-Athír and the famous 'Imád-ud-din

1) See pp. 167—184 of the text.

2) See pp. 86—136 of the text.

3) Besides being a contemporary historical record it may possibly have been copied from the author's autograph and during his lifetime or at any rate soon after his death.

4) Called '*Ta'rikh-i-á-i-Sabuktageen*' published in the Bibliotheca Indica series (Calcutta 1862).

## PREFACE.

The present volume contains the text of a rare, and, so far as known, unique manuscript history of the great Saljúq dynasty of Persia by Muhammad b. 'Alí b. Sulaymán ar-Ráwandí. The MS, written in large clear *naskh* and dated 1st of Ramadán, 635 (April 17, 1238), formerly belonged to the late M. Schefer, and is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris <sup>1)</sup>. The work of ar-Ráwandí became known to Persian students as early as 1865, when it was noticed by De Jong and De Goeje in the *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (vol III, p. 25) as forming the original of the *Tawárikh-i-ál-i-Saljúq* compiled in Turkish during the reign of Sultán Murád II (1421—1451) in three parts <sup>2)</sup>, of which the second one is a translation of the present book. This fact was observed again by Prof Houtsma in a short essay entitled "*Ueber eine Türkische Chronik zur Geschichte der Seljucken Klein-Asiens*" which was read in the sixth International Congress of Orientalists held at Leyden in 1883 <sup>3)</sup>. But the existence of the original work was not known until M. Schefer, the former owner

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1) Supplément Persan 1314. See M. Blochet's Catalogue, Vol. I, pp 276—7. A transcript of it was made by Mírzá Kázim-Zada for Professor E. G. Browne in 1913 and by him placed at my disposal to work with.

2) The third part, forming the Turkish translation of Ibn Bibí's Persian history of the Saljúqs of Asia Minor, was published by Prof Houtsma in his *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides* (Vol III), Leyden, 1902.

3) See p. 371 of the *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes* (2<sup>e</sup> partie, section I. Semitique).

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*رَبِّكَ أَتَانَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا . فَانظُرُوا سَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآتَارِ*

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BEING A HISTORY OF THE SALJUQS

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EDITED WITH NOTES, GLOSSARY AND INDICES

BY

MUHAMMAD IQBAL

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