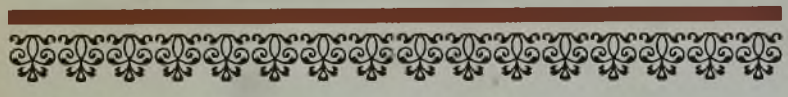
CAMBRIDGE ORIENTAL SERIES NO.6



Studies in Caucasian History



V. MINORSKY

Prof. Emer. in the University of London

Studies in Caucasian History

The three studies collected in the volume are devoted to the 'Iranian Intermezzo' of the tenth-eleventh century, when numerous Iranian principalities sprang up throughout the Middle East, resulting in important repercussions in the Caucasian lands.

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He next sums up the history of the later branch of the Shaddādids established at Āni, and finally traces the Kurdish origins of the family of Saladin, together with the role of the Iranian elements in the Ayyūbid State and army.

The volume contains a map and some pages of Arabic text.

Cambridge Oriental Series No. 6

STUDIES IN CAUCASIAN HISTORY

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STUDIES IN CAUCASIAN HISTORY

I. NEW LIGHT ON THE SHADDĀDIDS OF GANJA

II. THE SHADDĀDIDS OF ANI

III. PREHISTORY OF SALADIN

BY V. MINORSKY

Professor Emeritus in the University of London

with a Map

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(A.D. 951–1075)

II. THE SHADDĀDIDS OF ANI
(A.D. 1064–1198)

III. PREHISTORY OF SALADIN
(A.D. 1138–1193)

I

NEW LIGHT ON THE SHADĀDDIDS OF GANJA

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2. Translation from *Jāmiʿ al-duwal*
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1. INTRODUCTION

One of those rare Muslim dynasties whose history has been very insufficiently explored are the Shaddādids who ruled in eastern Transcaucasia over an area extending between the rivers Kur and Araxes. Their residences were Ganja and the ancient Armenian capital, Dvin. A later branch of the family ruled in another Armenian capital, Ani. The Shaddādids are interesting because in their warlike and peaceful activities they came into close touch with their Christian neighbours, the Armenians and the Georgians, and with various northern invaders, including the Alans and the Russians. In Caucasian history, the Shaddādids were the missing link without which one could see only one side of the events. The second point is that the Shaddādids became involved in world politics at the moment when the Byzantine emperors were nervously seeking to secure their positions in

Armenia and Transcaucasia, while from the East there was rising the tidal wave of the Turkish invasion which was to change the whole aspect of the Near East. Finally, the Kurdish Shaddādids were one of the manifestations of the Iranian "interlude"—a short but highly significant epoch between the periods of Arab and Turkish domination.

Numerous references to the Shaddādids are scattered throughout Armenian, Georgian, Arabic and Persian sources, but they are like dead leaves which are no substitute for the original tree to which they belong.

Several attempts have been made to disentangle the history of the Shaddādids but, with one exception, little progress has been made in recent times beyond the initial tracings of the earlier explorers. Here is the list of this literature.

(1) FRAEHN, "Erklärung der arabischen Inschrift des Eisenernen Thorflügels zu Gelathi", in *Mém. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg*, VI-e série, Sciences politiques. III, 1836, pp. 531–46 (based on later sources).

(2) KHANYKOF, "Quelques inscriptions musulmanes d'Ani', *Bull. de la classe historique de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, t.VI, Nos. 13–14, 1849, p. 195. Reprinted in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, I, 1849, pp. 70–71 (contains a chart by Brosset based on Armenian sources).

(3) BROSSET, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 1849, I/1, 344 (chart as under (2)).

(4) MARKOFF, "Collections scientifiques", VII, St. Pétersbourg 1891, p. 25, and "Inventarnïy katalog Ermitazha", St. Pétersbourg, 1896–8, p. 309 (on coins).

(5) JUSTI, "Iranisches Namenbuch", 1895, p. 443 (Brosset's chart).

(6) MARQUART, "Notes on two articles on Mayyāfariqīn", *JRAS*, 1909, 170–6 (by assuming wrong filiations links the Shaddādids with two different dynasties).

(7) SACHAU, "Ein Verzeichniss Muhammedanischer Dynastien", in *Abh. Preuss. Akademie*, 1923, No. 1, p. 14 (a brief summary of the Turkish abridgment of Münejjim-bashï).

(8) SIR DENISON ROSS, "On Three Muhammadan dynasties," in *Asia Minor*, II/2, 1925, 215–9 (based on Khanykof, Münejjim-bashi (see above No. 7); chart confused).

(9) R. VASMER, "Die Ǧastāniden und Sallāriden" in *Asia Major*, III/2, 1927, 181–3 (three unknown coins).

(10) E. ZAMBAUR, "Manuel de généalogie", 1927, pp. 180, 184, 388 (wrong filiations).

(11) N. MARR, "Ani, History of the town according to literary sources and excavations" (in Russian), Leningrad 1934, p. 34 and following.

(12) SAYYID AHMAD KASRAVI, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām* (in Persian): a very good study based on both Muslim and Armenian sources, the Turkish translation of Münejjim-bashï, and references in Persian poets. Part I: Jastānids, Kangarids and Musāfirids (Tehran 1928); Part II: Rawwādids (1929); Part III: Shaddādids (1930, 84 pp.) (1).

(13) MARKWART, "Südarmenien", Wien 1930, pp. 562–570 (a sketch of the events in Dvin).

(14) SIR D. ROSS, *Shaddādi* in *E.I.* (uses Kasravï).

(15) MARKWART, "Die Entstehung der Armenischen Bïstümer in *Orientalia Christiana*, No. 80. Sept. 1932, 148–51 (still embroiled; in fact the Shaddādis are one of the very rare problems which have baffled the acumen of the great German scholar).

None of the authors enumerated above, even those who quoted Münejjim-bashï, has realized that the Turkish translation of his work, completed by Aḥmad Nedïm in A.D. 1730 and published under the title of *Ṣaḥā'if al-akhbār* in 1285/1868, is only an abridgment of the original work composed in Arabic and bearing the name of *Jāmi' al-duwal*. The author, Aḥmad b. Lutfullāh, known as the "Astronomer Royal" (*Münejjim-bashï*) died in Mekka in 1113/1702, but he used a great number of sources,[2] and among them a local history of Bāb al-abwāb, Sharvān and Arrān (*Ta'rïkh al-Bāb*) written by a *faqïh*, and now lost. This is the *new* source to which I have already referred.

[1] Kasravi possessed the spirit of a true historian. He was accurate in detail and clear in presentation. Among his accomplishments was a good knowledge of Arabic and Armenian. He was assassinated in Tehran on 20.XII.1945. M. K. Āzāde in his pamphlet *Cherā Kasravï-rā koshtand*, Tehran 1325/1946, gives a list of Kasravi's writings.

[2] Hammer, "Geshichte des Osmanischen Reiches", VII, 545–50, enumerates 72 sources which Münejjim-bashï quotes in his preface. F. Babinger, "Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen", pp. 234–5, does not warn the readers of the deficiency of the translation. Moreover, the *Dār al-kutub* in Cairo does *not* possess the *Arabic* original of the *Jāmi' al-duwal*.

Through the kindness of H. E. Tahsin Öz, Director of the Top-Kapï Sarayï Library, and Dr. Ahmed Ateş, I have obtained a photograph of the chapter on the Shaddādids which will form the subject of the present part of my study. The new text enriches our knowledge with many entirely new and important facts. It should be noted, however, that even the Arabic *Jāmi' al-duwal* seems to abridge the full text of the original local history. MS. 2951 of the Top-Kapï Library is said to have been copied from Münejjim-bashï's own copy, but even for this accurate compiler, living 600 years after the events, many geographical names and ethnological facts remained obscure. Therefore a very careful analysis of each detail was necessary and in my commentary I have used all the multifarious sources, Muslim and Christian, likely to shed light on the valuable data of the original.[1] I have commented on each of the paragraphs into which I have divided the text, and I have separately treated each reign and each difficult problem raised by the text.

According to Münejjim-bashï, his source, *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb wa Sharvān*, was completed towards 500/1106. However, both the chapter on the Shaddādids and the two important chapters on al-Bāb (Darband) and Sharvan stop at about 468/1075, which is the likely time at which the original author wrote. It is characteristic that he says nothing about the later branch of the Shaddādids which ruled in Ani.

We cannot say in what relation the *History of al-Bāb* stood to a *History of Arrān* by a native of Barda'a (al-Barda'ī) and to a *History of Azarbayjān* by Ibn Abil-Hayjā al-Rawwādī[2] (for the

[1] Prof. A. Z. Validi-Toğan is the only scholar who has quoted a few names from this chapter in his article "Azerbaycanin tarihi coğrafiyasï" in *Azerbaycan yurt bilgisi*, 1932, Part I, p. 38. See also Prof. M. H. Yinanç, "Selcuklular devri", 1944, p. 16, 113.

[2] See Khalīl b. Aybak al Ṣafadi, transl. by E. Amar in *Jour. As.*, March 1912, p. 210 (instead of *Dāvūdī*, read **Rawwādī*) and Ḥajji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Flügel, II, 107, Nos. 2132–3.

events to the south of the Araxes). Of them we know only the titles.

Some lively passages in our text show that the author lived in the close neighbourhood of Ganja, or that he used some local chronicles or entries in the books. He was strongly opposed to the Christians, but had no better feeling for the Turks. One can surmise in him some local Persian or Kurd, whose position resembled that of the collector of local documents, Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār.[1] The latter wrote some forty years after the fall of the Shaddādids of Ganja—the event with which Münejjim-bashī's excellent source concludes its story.

I am grateful to the Faculty of Oriental Languages of the University of Cambridge for having included my work in their series of publications and it is my pleasant duty to thank Professor Sir E. Minns for his help in the preparation of the sketch-map, my friends Y. A. Ismā'īl and A. A. Magīd for their advice on the Arabic text and Dr. J. A. Boyle for kindly checking my copy.

2. TRANSLATION FROM THE ARABIC*

[503a] *Part VII, Chapter IV: On the Descendants of Shaddād, rulers of Arān** and parts of Armenia*

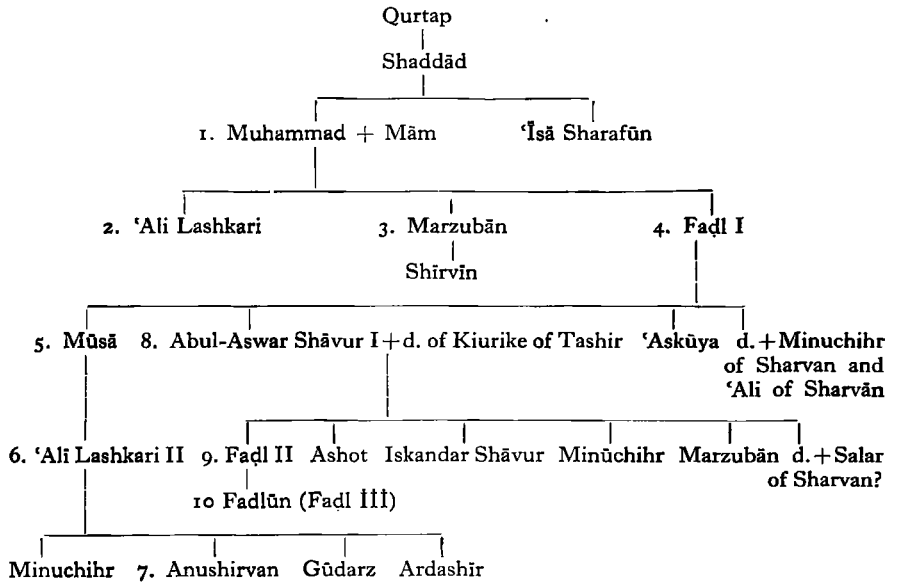
§1. They are ten persons and I think they were Kurds. Their capital was Dabīl and later Janza. They first appeared in 340/951 and their collapse occurred in 468/1075. The duration of their rule was 128 years.***

[1] See Minorsky and C. Cahen, "Le recueil Transcaucasien", *Jour. As.*, 1949, pp. 93–142.

* The longer notes to the text numbered (1), (2), etc., are given separately after the translation. *Before* a name * points to a conjectural reading.

** Spelt alternatively *Ārān* and *Arrān*

*** I have completed the tree given in M.-b. at this place by the names quoted in his text.



§2. ARRĀN[1] is a well-known clime bordering in the *South* on Azarbayjan.**. In the West its frontier runs with Armenia, in the East and South with Azarbayjan, and in the North with the Mountain *Qyt.q* (**Qabq* "Caucasus"). Its residential towns are—

NASHWĒ, which is Naqchuvān, of the 5th clime: long. 78°, lat. 42° (and some say 48°).

BĀB AL-ABWĀB, which in our time is called Iron Gate, consists of a vast district and it possessed independent rulers: long. 78°, lat. 41°.

GANJA in the 5th clime: long. 74°, lat. 48°.

Among the renowned towns of Ārān are TIFLIS, SHAMKŪR, BAYLAQĀN.

---

* In the text: "West".

** Note in the margin: "and also Arān is the name of a fortress in the region of Qazvīn". Apart from the province of Arrān, Yāqūt, II, 739, III, 320, knows only an *al-Rān* (*Vālarān) between Marāgha and Zanjān and another near Malatia.

SARĪR AL-LĀN (Alanian Sarīr) consists of a large district and is inhabited by the Lakz(?), whose name is also applied to a mountain.

ARMĪNIYA (and it is permissible to drop the length of the fourth character) is an independent clime of fertile territories.* Its frontier runs in the West with the Armenian lands; in the East and South with Arān, Azarbayjan and parts of al-Jazīra; in the North, with some lands of Ārān. Mountains prevail in it.

It is divided into three parts:

(a) Part One contains QĀLĪQALĀ and SHIMSHĀṬ and the territories between them.

(b) Part Two contains JURZĀN and the town of BĀB AL-ABWĀB with the territories between them.

(c) Part Three contains BARDA'A and BAYLAQĀN.

And some (*wa rabba'a al-ba'ḍ*)** have divided it into four:

(a) the first of the divisions being from BAYLAQĀN to SHARVĀN, with the intervening territory;

(b) the second being TIFLIS, which is (in) JURZĀN (Georgia), BĀB-FĪRŪZĀBĀD*** and LAKZ;

(c) the third being SĪRJĀN,**** DABĪL (Dvin) and NASHWĒ;

(d) the fourth being the neighbourhood of ḤIṢN-ZIYĀD which is called *Khart-berd (spelt: *Ḥarb-berd*), KHILĀṬ, ARZAN AL-RŪM, with the intervening territories.

In the days of old each of these was ruled by an amir who (?) was independent in his affairs. Some of the amirs were Muslims and some Armenians.

---

* Reading: ***min al-raḥba* (instead of *wafba?*), this term being applied by al-Muqaddasi to the whole area of Arrān, Azarbayjan and Armenia. See BGA, III, 373: *iqlīm al-riḥāb*.

** See such fourfold division of Armenia in I. Kh., 122 (and İ. Faqīh, 287).

*** I.Kh., 123, says that Anushirvan built in the land of Jurzān (Georgia) a castle which he called Bāb-Fīrūzqubādh. See also I. Faqīh, 287, Yāqūt and the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*:. Fīrūzābād or Fīrūzqubād, in the neighbourhood of Darband. Still unidentified. Perhaps Qubā (Qubba, Quvā?) north-west of Baku?

**** Probably Shirāk (the region of Ani), cf. I. Kh., 122.

And of the lands of Polytheism between Rum and Armenia are: Qasṭamūniya, also called *KASṬAMŪNIYA, SINOP, SAMSUN and TREBIZOND, which is the harbour on the Pontos. Of its renowned cities (can be mentioned) ARZINJĀN, MŪSH, ARZEN, MALAZJIRD, BITLIS, AKHLĀṬ (in which the initial *a* can be dropped), ARJĪSH, VASṬĀN.

According to Ibn Sa'īd, SHARVĀN* belongs to Arrān.

DABĪL is one of the residential towns of Armenia: long. 72°, lat. 38°, in the 4th clime. It is a great town and Christians abound in it. The cathedral mosque stands by the side of the Christian church. It is said to be the most superb and the richest of the towns and is the residence of the sultans **(f.503b).**

Also of the residential towns of Armenia is DAVĪN, on the edge of the 4th clime: long. 72°, lat. 39°, and with it are connected the Ayyūbid kings.

(Also) the town of VAN: long. 48°, lat. 38°.

*

* *

§3. The first of the Shaddādīs was MUHAMMAD b. SHADDĀD b. Q.RT.Q. The cause of his rise and government was that when Sālār Marzubān b. Muhammad b. Musāfir was captured near Rayy in *337/948** and remained in captivity and prison some four years, the kingdom of Azarbayjan became involved in troubles and every tribe and family group (*'aṣabiya*) in it took possession of a district of the country. And Muhammad b. Shaddād, too, settled in the town of Dabīl and the inhabitants submitted to him, in order that he should protect their belongings (*ḥaramahum*) and their women, and that they should be secure from evil-doers and intriguers from among the Daylamites and others. And thus Muhammad b. Shaddād, with a

---

* In all the older sources this name is spelt Sharvān and a pun in Khāqānī's ode confirms the pronunciation of the time. Only since about the 15th century Sharvān has been called Shīrvān (Shērvan).

** The text gives erroneously 347/958.

small group of his family, tribe and followers, began to rule in Dabīl, *circa* 340/951.

§4. Sālār Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān was acting as lieutenant of his captive father in some parts of Azarbayjan. When the report (of Muhammad) reached him he sent (an envoy) to the lord of Dyrmūs (Dyrlūs?)* and instructed him to fight (Muhammad), to besiege him and expel him from Dabīl. The said infidel obeyed the order and gathered together a tough army of Armenians, Lakz and other unbelievers, and moved against Muhammad b. Shaddād. Having learnt the news, the latter appealed to his people. They deliberated about the war and resistance and set out, trusting in Allah. They met those accursed ones between the rivers Araxes and M.nṣ.mmūn** and fought a fierce battle. The Muslims were victorious and the unbelievers were defeated and no one of them escaped except those who hid themselves in the woods and bushes. Muhammad b. Shaddād returned with triumph to Dabīl and requested the inhabitants for a subvention (*ma'ūna*) to erect (buildings) on a site in the neighbourhood of the town whither his men and children might repair, for he was apprehensive on their behalf of (attacks) coming from the Lakz. The townsmen gave him the necessary help and, with their assistance, he built a castle which he called **Tall-Ǧathlī* ("Ant-hill"?). Thither he transferred his family, the city of Dabīl being situated within a shout's distance from it. The report reached Sālār Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, who was in Ardabīl, and he sent a large army consisting of various kinds of Daylamites and Kurds, and infantry of *Tārom.[2] They reached the gate of Dabīl and Muhammad b. Shaddād met them and repulsed them with great force. When the fighting grew fiercer the inhabitants of Dabīl did not hold out. They betrayed Muhammad and left him with his few companions, and when he saw them flee he also fled by night to his fortress.

* See below paragraph J.

** See below note 4.

Then he made (his men) descend from the fortress and together with them took the direction of Armenia (*akhadha samt Armīniya*) leaving Dabīl to its inhabitants, until they saw (*qāsa'ū*) from the Daylamites what they saw. Then they sent several notables to Muhammad to convey their excuses and a request to him to return to their town, swearing that henceforth they would obey him, follow him and commit no betrayal. The (envoys) came and delivered their message so that his heart was appeased towards them and he returned with them to Dabīl, administered their affairs and removed from them the damage done by the polytheists and evil-doers. The affairs of Dabīl and its population were put in order and the authority of Muhammad b. Shaddād in ruling them and in administering their affairs became consolidated (*istaqarrat qadam Muhammad*).

§5. In the province of Jurzān (Georgia) and other parts of Armenia there was a king called Ashoṭ b. 'Abbās bearing the title of Shahānshāh. He felt tempted (*ḥaddatha-hu nafsuhu*) to besiege Dabīl and to fight its inhabitants, and he summoned his troops which consisted of Armenians, Lakz and other unbelievers (504a). With 30,000 men he moved towards Dabīl and dismounted in the place nearby which is called Nāwrwd.[3] He dispersed his troops in order to burn the crops and to destroy the villages. When the news reached Muhammad b. Shaddād he became perplexed (*ghāfil*) among the small group of his family and his companions; so he devised a ruse for repelling this strong enemy. He ordered all who happened to be in the town, men and youths, to mount on all kind of animals—asses, cows, horses and mules, to sally forth from the town in this array and to keep in the neighbourhood of the town in order that the enemy should see their great numbers (*sawād*) and hear their shouting and cries (*takbīr*), until Muhammad ordered them to march and advance. And so they did. As for himself he went forward with some horsemen and stalwarts to scout in the direction of the enemies who were unaware and dispersed in

various corners (*muktanifīn*) seeking shade from the heat. They did not notice (anything) until suddenly the Muslims attacked (*tasāwarū*) like lions and wild animals (*al-ḍāriya*) and slashed them with their swords from every direction. And when the battle grew violent Muhammad b. Shaddād gave a signal to those who remained close to the town. They shouted at the top of their voices and came into sight of the foe. The enemies saw their mountain-like mass and in their eyes they grew to the number of (grains of) sand. With Allah's assistance and help, the enemies were put to flight. Muhammad b. Shaddād with his companions rode on their heels, killing and capturing them. The townsmen in great numbers plundered and took booty and came back victoriously. After this event the position of Muhammad b. Shaddād greatly improved and thus he continued for some time.

§6. But when in 342/953 Sālār Marzubān escaped from prison and removed the evil of Daysam the Kurd, he sent in 343/954 a party of Daylamites to lay siege to Dabīl and to oust Muhammad b. Shaddād therefrom. Up to that time the fortress of Dabīl was held by a group of Daylamites and, when Marzubān's army besieged Dabīl, this Daylamite garrison betrayed Muhammad b. Shaddād, let in a part of the army by a postern gate and intended to attack (*kabisū*) Muhammad and his family and companions. In this plan a part of the townsmen were at one with them, in their greed for Muhammad's belongings. When Muhammad got wind of this, he brought together his familiars and intimate companions and they removed whatever could be carried away. Together they came to the gate of the fortress called the Gate of the Tombs, but found it locked and they did not have the key. Muhammad's nephew, S.rfūn* b. ʿĪsā, who was known for his courage and noble-mindedness (*najāba*) bared his sword and struck the lock which he broke.

* Probably **Sharafūn*, like *Faḍlūn*. A frontier-post on the Araxes is called *Sharafān*.

They opened the gate and let out their families, their children and their belongings and crossed the two rivers Araxes and M.nṣimūn on that night.[4] They sought refuge with the lord of Asfurjān (Vaspurakan).[5] Muhammad b. Shaddād obtained a guarantee (*ḍimān*) from the lord of Asfurjān and left with him his family and his children. As for himself, he travelled to the king of Rūm to ask his help in conquering Dabīl and recovering its possession (*istirjā'*). He remained there some time but, on account of certain obstacles, did not achieve what he was planning. So he came back and in 343/954 joined his family, his children and his tribe in Asfurjān. Here his appointed time reached him and he went his way in this very year 344/955 (*sic*).

§7. He left three sons: al-Lashkarī Abul-Ḥasan 'Ali, al-Marzubān and al-Faḍl, and when he died his eldest son LASHKARĪ took his place in administering the affairs of the tribe (504b) in 344/955. In this year he went to the lord of Dayr-zūr (**Vayz-zūr* < *Vayots'-dzor?*)* and stayed there a long time until the year 354/965, whereas his brother Faḍl b. Muhammad went to join Najā al-Sayfī, the slave of the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-daula, whom his master had appointed to Diyār-Bakr. He stayed with him for some time and was contented with what he saw of him, but Sayf al-daula became angry with the above mentioned slave Najā and on suspicion dismissed him from government in 356/967.[6] Then Faḍl returned to his brothers Lashkari and Marzubān, but stayed with them only a short time, intending to leave them and join some other of the border chiefs (*aṣḥāb al-aṭrāf*); as they insisted on his staying with them, he swore that he would not serve the idol-worshippers and stay anywhere except in the lands of Islam. Then he left with his companions hoping to go as far (*nāwiyan 'alā imtidād*) as the capital of Sālār Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān.** He arrived in the town

* The sentence is then repeated with slight alterations: "and in this year Lashkari went to the lord of Dayr-zūr and there too remained a long time".

** Probably Ardabīl (see §8).

Janza (Ganja) and dismounted near the gate with his men (*sawād*), servants (*ghulām*) and those of his companions (*aṣḥāb*) who had joined him. In the town there was a governor on behalf of Sālār Ibrāhīm, called ʿAlī al-Tāzī. He welcomed (*mannā-hu*) and honoured Faḍl and acted kindly towards him. To introduce Faḍl he promised to write to Sālār in order that the latter should assign to him a living from the income of the town (*min bāb al-madīna*), (while he?) should protect it, ward off those living beyond it and stop the crimes (*maʿarra*) of the thieves and evil-doers, and among them especially the *Siyāvordi (spelt: *S.nāw. rdiya*)[7].

At this time the people known as *al-S.riya* (**al-Sarīriya*?)* gathered near the gate of Janza, and among them was a large group (*ʿadad jamm*) of horsemen, over 400, who had joined the *Siyāvordi and mixed with them (*qad khālaṭū wa takhālaṭū maʿahum*). They established themselves on the banks of the Kurr (mis-spelt: *al-Lakz*) and relying on the woods and bushes (thickets?) carried away the crops of the villages and sent raiding parties into them.

The aforesaid governor appealed for help to Faḍl b. Muhammad to repel them and to punish (*nikāya*) them if he found an occasion for it. And it so happened that while they were discussing this plan suddenly a cry rose in the town that the enemy had arrived in the estate Sūrmīn** to carry off its crops and that the people had taken up arms and sallied forth from Janza. Faḍl mounted with his companions and fighting a violent battle put them to flight. The Shaddādids followed hard on their heels and then returned unhurt. When the townsmen witnessed what happened their respect for Faḍl increased and they relied on him more and more. And so matters went on till 359/969, when Faḍl made up his mind to leave for Azarbayjan. The heads of Janza approached him saying: "Do not be unreasonable, o amir; stay

* See below paragraph K.

** Perhaps **Shūrmīn*, as a village near Herat was called.

here and send for your brother Lashkari, so that this town may be delivered (to him) and he himself be spared from serving the infidels (*yanhaḍ ʿan khidmat al-kuffār*), while we may rely upon Allah and yourselves (for protection) against the evil of these mischief-makers". And in his soul he did what he heard (from them) and what his heart bore witness to. He sent a messenger to his brother Lashkari to invite him to come, wishing to acquaint him with what the people said and with the fact that Janza was secure for them. When the news reached Lashkari he did nothing of the kind, while he accused Faḍl of vicious and wrong calculations. Then Faḍl devised a ruse to force his brother to come: he sent a servant to Lashkari to inform him that he was attacked by an illness which prevented him from riding. Lashkari mounted immediately (505a) and left with the servant. The latter on his arrival reported to Faḍl that Lashkari was already in the village of so-and-so, and Faḍl mounted immediately to meet his brother. They embraced each other and wept together. Then Lashkari reproached him and said: "Allah be praised, thou art well, and what silly game was it that moved thee to do what thou didst in causing pain to our hearts?" Faḍl answered: "O my brother amir, is it not the moment for thee to refrain from serving the land-tilling unbelievers* and from being morning and evening with the pigs and listening to the sound of the Christian bells (sound-boards) instead of the Muslim call to prayer? The inhabitants of this town have submitted to us in good faith and by agreement among themselves." Lashkari protested against these words and (?) said: "Thou knowest, o my brother, how our father fared in the city of Dabīl, and now for 20 years we have been roaming (the world) and no place has received us and food does not rejoice us at any time (*wa lā yaṭību ʿayshunā bi-zamānin*). Should we (*wa in*) move to this land, we shall join its lord, and he will surround us and reduce us to dire straits, since we are but a small group. And who

* *Al-kafarat al-akara.*

will deliver us from his hands? Some opinions are false and not every view is decisive in circumstances such as these. We have already had a lesson and what has happened is enough (for us)." And Faḍl said: "It is the duty of a man to strive for a lofty goal and, if he has secured his object, he has also realised his desire; should his steps fall short (of the goal) it is no disgrace for him to have tried and to have desired."

§8. And Lashkari approved of this speech and the views of his brother Faḍl and accepted his request. Faḍl travelled back to the gate of Janza to summon the inhabitants and to renew his (*sic*) oath.*

The ra'īs in the city was known as Yūsuf-the-Silk-Trader (*qazzāz*), and Faḍl (?) summoned him and his followers and drew up agreements between them and they all swore that as soon as Lashkari and Faḍl took action in accordance with the principles of their plan they would open the gate of the town, arrest their wālī and surrender him to them (*yusallimūnahu minhum*?). When the agreement was reached between them concerning the surrender of the town, Yūsuf-the-Silk-Trader called in the stalwarts (*fityān*) of the town, and they armed themselves, went to the governor's house and seized him. Then they opened the gates and Lashkari entered and took his seat on the cushions and the throne of the amirate. This happened in 360/971, and when the news reached Sālār Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān in Ardabīl he set forth with an army in 361/971 and laid siege to Janza and fought Lashkari and there was such fighting and other happenings as it would take too long to relate. When Ibrāhīm failed to gain a victory he made peace with Lashkari and from the gate of Janza returned to Ardabil. Lashkari took possession of the country and put an end to (the misdeeds) of the mischief-makers. He expelled the Daylamites from his region and the people enjoyed rest through this (measure).

Lashkari's prestige increased and his affairs became strong

* Probably: to have the vows given to him confirmed.

and he continued to enlarge his kingdom daily until he possessed the whole country of Arrān and parts of Armenia, settling the affairs of the subjects in the best possible way and managing the army with excellent skill. This went on till the year 368/978, in which Lashkari Abul-Ḥasan ʿAli b. Muhammad b. Shaddād died in his capital, Janza. His government lasted, over his tribe alone 24 years, and over the tribe and the town of Janza with all its dependencies, 8 years.

§9. After him his brother MARZUBĀN b. MUHAMMAD b. SHADDĀD b. *QURTAQ became amir in 368/978. Lashkari's desire was that after him the power should pass to Faḍl b. Muhammad because he loved him and preferred (*yu'aththir*) him to Marzuban in view of his judgment (*ra'y*) and the fact that he was the cause of their occupation of the country. However, the army and the subjects inclined towards Marzubān (505b). Their mother loved Faḍl and favoured him, but Marzubān cajoled her (*yudārihā*) and sought her contentment. So Marzuban became amir instead of his brother and in his days there arose matters and events caused by the deficiency of his judgment and his bad arrangements. Marzubān remained in power till the year 374/984 when the retainers interfered (*awqaʿa al-ḥawāshī*) between him and his brother Faḍl b. Muhammad and the latter decided to kill Marzubān. It so happened that one day Marzubān rode out to hunt and by chance his slaves scattered in search of gazelles and his brother Faḍl went for him, unsheathed his sword and struck Marzubān's head one blow after another until he killed him and he fell dead from his horse. His rule lasted about 7 years.

§10. Faḍl proceeded to the town and sent a party of his *ghulāms* to seize Marzubān's son, Shīrvīn. Faḍl entered the town when the people were unaware of (the happenings) and ordered the gates to be locked. After the murder of his brother, FAḌL b. MUHAMMAD b. SHADDĀD ascended the throne of the amirate in 375/985 and firmly established himself in the

kingdom. He ruled in an excellent way and in 383/993 took possession of the towns of Barda'a and Baylaqān. In 417/1026 the king of *Afkhāz penetrated into the territory of Ārān and for a number of days besieged *Shamkūr (spelt: *Sīmkūh*).[8] Faḍl moved against him with a large army, fought him and put him to flight, killing more than 10,000 of his men. The lord of *Afkhāz went back in discomfiture. In 418/3027 Faḍl ordered the construction of a bridge over the Araxes and this remains as a lofty monument of him.[9] In 421/1030 Faḍl sent his son and heir, Mūsā b. Faḍl, with a detachment to Baylaqān to fight his other son *'Askūya (?).[10] who revolted against (*'aṣā 'alā*) his father and brother, and collected troops with the intention of marching against his father. Mūsā set out and sought help against his brother from the Rūs, some 38 of whose boats had penetrated into Sharvān. The lord of Sharvān Minūchihr* fought them (on ?) the Araxes in order to prevent them from coming upstream, but they drowned (*gharraqū*) a crowd (*jamā'a*) of Muslims. Now Mūsā b. Faḍl took them out (*akhraja*) (from their boats?) and gave them a large amount of goods (*amwālan jamman*). He brought the Rūs to Baylaqān and with their aid (*bihim*) took the town and captured 'Askariya (?) whom he killed. Then the Rūs left Arrān for Rūm and pushed ahead (*imtaddū*) to the Rūs (country).

In 422/1031, on Saturday which was 'Īd al-Aḍḥā** Faḍl b. Muhammad b. Shaddād died, his rule having lasted 47 years.

§11. He was succeeded by his son and heir, ABUL-FATḤ MŪSĀ b. FAḌL b. MUHAMMAD b. SHADDĀD in Dhul-Hijja 422/Nov. 1031. And in this year the Rūs came a second time and Mūsā set forth and fought them near Bakūya. He killed a large number of their warriors and expelled them from his dominions. In *425/1034*** Lashkarī 'Alī b. Mūsā attacked his

* See below paragraph L.

** I.e. 1 Dhul-Ḥijja 422/19 November 1031, which according to Mahler-Wüstenfeld was a Friday.

*** In the text: 445, which is an obvious mistake.

father, Abul-Fatḥ Mūsā, and killed him in a treacherous manner. His rule lasted 3 years.

§12. The murderous son, LASHKARĪ ʿALI b. MŪSĀ b. FAḌL b. MUHAMMAD b. SHADDĀD, became amir in 425/1034. He was a man of hideous habits and evil creed, and he married a concubine (*ḥaẓiya*) of his father's. The days of his amirate were troublous and there was no peace either for him or his subjects because of the attacks of the Ghūz (506a) and other enemies. He transferred his residence from one castle to another in grief and weakness until he died in 441/1049 after a reign of about 15 years.

§13. In his place they set his son, ANŪSHIRVĀN b. al-LASHKARĪ ʿALĪ on the throne. His administration was in the hands of Abū-Manṣūr, the Chamberlain (*al-ḥājib*), who agreed with the generals and retainers that they should abandon some fortresses (built) against (*ʿalā*) the unbelievers, namely: that Ṭāṭiyān, Mūjkank and al-Bayḍā (should be surrendered to)* the lord of Shakkī; K.rmstān (or K.rstān) to the *Dido (?); K.rdm.lān (or K.rdylān)—to the *Afkhāz; al-Rustāq—to the Rūm[11]—this in order to restrain (their) greed for Arrān: (in fact) the enemies had shown their greed for Arrān because of the weakness of Lashkari and the minority of his son, Anūshirvān. When the chiefs (*ruʾasā*) learned this decision of Abū-Manṣūr and other generals they met at al-Haytham b. Maymūn al-Bāʾī's, the Chief of the tanners, in the army (camp) near Shamkūr (spelt: *Sīmkūr*). After deliberation they said: "should these fortresses and districts fall into the hands of the unbelievers, this city would (also) go and nothing would remain for us except to emigrate from it altogether with our families and children, and we shall not survive that humiliation." Those who were in the fortress Shamkūr felt that the evil (was coming) and the chamberlain,

* Reading instead of *ʿalā*, **ilā* or **li*, as in the following three cases. The fortresses were built against (*ʿalā*) the unbelievers, but should be surrendered to (*ilā*, or *li*) them, to stave them off for the time being.

Abū-Manṣūr, who was there, invited Haytham and ordered the gate of the town to be shut. Qaḥṭān with the *khatīb** went into hiding and, of the chiefs, only Haytham remained with his servants (*ghulām*). The companions of the chamberlain surrounded him in order to arrest him, but Haytham and his servants dismounted (*tarajjala*), drew** their daggers and shouting the war-cry (*shi'ār*) of Abul-Aswār Shāvur b. Faḍl, opened the gate of the town. Qaḥṭān, with the *khaṭīb* and other chiefs, re-appeared and appointed as ruler (*wallū*) of the country ABUL-ASWĀR SHĀVUR b. FAḌL b. MUHAMMAD b. SHADDĀD in the year 441/1049, after Anūshirvān had reigned for two months.

§14. First Abul-Aswār entered the town of Shamkūr and put its affairs in order. Then he left for Janza, entered the town and gathered (under his sway) all the lands of Ārān and its fortresses. He seized Anūshirvān and the chamberlain Abū-Manṣūr, with his brothers and their children, who were known as the "sons of Abū-Haytham the Scribe" and were the notables of the Shaddādid dynasty (*daula*). Abul-Aswār seized them all, and restored the name of the dynasty (*daula*) to life after it had nearly died out. He became strong and the situation of the subjects and the army became orderly. In 445/1053 he went forth and seized by force from the Georgians (**Jurziya*, spelt: *Khazariya*) the fortress of Baṣra[12] and fortified it with men, victuals and arms. In the same year he sent out his son, Abū-Naṣr Iskander (b.) Shāvur, to the city of Dabīl and entrusted to his charge its dependencies.***

In 454/1062 a party of the notables of Tiflis came to him and requested him to send someone to whom they would surrender their fortress. The reason was that its ruler, Ja'far b. 'Alī, had died and left two sons, Manṣūr and Abul-Hayjā, between whom

* Apparently the original text had more about these conspirators.

** *Shaḥadhū* literally "sharpened".

*** See below paragraph F.

fierce disputes had arisen with regard to the government of the fortress. The inhabitants turned them out and now they approached Abul-Aswār with the aforementioned request, asking him to send them men, arms and provisions. Abul-Aswār was willing to accept the proposal, but his vazir, Bakhtiyār b. Salmān, dissuaded him, saying: "Allah will open to thee the province of Tiflis (506b) in its entirety and the fortress, too, will duly fall into thy hands. But this (present proposal)—he added—would lead to the dispersal of thy men and the loss of thy property without any profit." And Abul-Aswār changed his mind about the acceptance of the proposal and gave back to the (envoys) the key of the fortress. They returned and gave the key and the fortress to *Akhsarṭān b. *Gagik, lord of Shakki,[13] who accepted the offer, gave them good presents (*jawā'iz*) and dismissed them. Then he sold it to (read: **ilā*, instead of *min*) the lord of Rūm (*sic*) for a large sum of money and the king of Rūm immediately sent his garrison and stocked it (*shaḥana*) with men, arms and provisions, and gave orders to broaden the roads in the mountains in order to facilitate for the unbelievers the passage through (Tiflis) into the lands of Islam.

§15. In this year 454/1062 the Alāns passed through the Alānian Gate (i.e., Darial) and penetrated into the territory of Ārān and killed many people there, capturing more than 20,000 persons alive, male and female, and children of both sexes. In the year 455/1063 Abul-Aswār built a solid wall round the suburb (*rabaḍ*) of Janza. He fastened to it strong gates,[14] and surrounded it with a deep moat, so that Janza greatly increased (in size).

In the same year he marched against the territory of Sharvān and wrested by force the fortress Qūyl.miyān (?) from the hands of the ruler. He placed in it his own lieutenant and men. Then he went to besiege the town of Sharvan.[15] The Sharvanians (*sharāwina*) fought them but were defeated. He followed on their heels, killed a (large) number of them and, from among their noblemen, captured over 50 horsemen who were renowned

stalwarts of Lakz and notables of Kuwārwāt (?).[16] He also took possession of whatever there was in their camp, such as their horses and baggage. Thence he marched to the gate of al-Barīdiya (**al-Yazīdiya*?)[17] and captured his daughter, the wife (*ḥaram*) of (the late) Sālār, lord of Sharvān, together with all her treasures and horses. Then he went back to Ārān, but in Rajab of the same year (455/July 1063) returned to Sharvan and burnt the crops and villages, after which he went back. In 456/1066–7 Abul-Aswār marched again against Sharvan, captured K.r (?) and Qaṭrān and took Ḥamāvār (?). The Kurdish nomads (*ḥilal* "encampments") sided with him (*inḥāzat*) and from K.r they came over (*'abarū*) to (seek) his kindness (*ilā ni'matihi*).[18] Thence he returned to his capital, after which peace was concluded between him and the lord of Sharvan in Rajab of this year (456/June–July 1064) and Abul-Aswār restored to him the fortress Qūyl.miyān, after he had secured from him (the payment of) 40,000 dinars.

§16. In 457/1065 Sultan Alp Arslan the Saljuq went on a holy war to Armenia and Rūm. He conquered many fortresses and entrusted them to Abul-Aswār, lord of Arrān, to be added to his kingdom, in view of their nearness to his territory. In Rajab 457/June 1065 Abul Aswār summoned his troops and entered the territories of Armenia and Rūm. He moved to the march (*thaghr*) of Ani and set right what was in disorder there. He appointed his financial agents (*'ummāl*) in it and stocked it (*shaḥana*) with arms, provisions and men. Then he penetrated into the territories of Rūm which he raided. And he captured a strong fortress in the neighbourhood of Ani and placed his own garrison and trusted men (*thiqāt*) in it. Then he deflected his course and dismounted at the gate of the fortress Wyjyn (?),[19] which is a strong and inaccessible fortress, one of the best in Armenia. He pitched his camp in the neighbourhood, took (the fortress) by storm and set up his trustees (*umanā'*) in it. Then he rushed back (*karra*) to Janza.

When on his arrival he dispersed his troops to their homes, the Alāns appeared (507a) in great force at the Alānian Gate in Dhul-qa'da/October 1065 and passed through the territory of Shakki and Khazrān (**Jurzān?*).[20] Then, together with the unbelievers of *Shakki (*al-kafarat *al-Shakawiya*, instead of *al-Sh.kariya*), they invaded the territory of Ārān and infiltrated through the gaps. They raided Ārān, killing the inhabitants and plundering the plains and highlands, and they encountered no obstacle. At the gate of the frontier-town (*thaghr*) of Shamkūr they did to death more than 200 of the volunteer-fighters for the faith. They extended their raids up to the gate of Janza and murdered whomsoever they found in the villages. Abul-Aswār, with his generals, was in Janza, but they dared not come out and engage the enemy. Then the accursed invaders went on to Barda'a, at the gate of which they halted for 3 days; they plundered its districts and occupied them (all) so that they reached Khān-aqīn* in the neighbourhood of the Araxes. They took a huge number of prisoners in Ārān, both Muslims and their allies (*mu'āhidīn*),** beyond measure or reckoning.

On Wednesday, 7th of Dhul-qa'da 459/Wednesday 19 of November 1067, the death occurred of the amīr and fighter for the faith, Abul-Aswār Shāvur b. Faḍl al-ghāzī in the town of Janza and he was buried in the cathedral mosque. His rule over the whole of Ārān and some parts of Armenia lasted 18 years, and, before that, over some territories*** 28 years, so that the duration of the whole of his amirate was 46 years.

§17. He left five sons: Faḍl, Ashōṭ, Iskandar, Minūchihr and Marzubān, and one daughter. In his lifetime he had appointed as his heir-apparent his eldest son, Faḍl, and had made his children and all the Shaddādids of his tribe, as well as the army

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* Not on the maps.

** i.e., *ahl al-Dhimma*, Christians (Armenians).

*** According to this reckoning Abul-Aswār began his career as the ruler of Dvin in 413/1022.

and the subjects, swear allegiance to him. So when his appointed time came, in his stead they set ABUL-FAḌL b. SHĀVUR b. al-FAḌL b. MUḤAMMAD b. SHADDĀD on the throne (**withāb*) of the amirate and swore allegiance for the second time. His brothers were pleased with (the decision), and the tribe followed him and the army and subjects showed him their obedience. And in Dhul-Ḥijja of the same year 459/October-November 1067, Sultan Alp Arslan arrived in Ārān and Faḍl b. Shāvur went out to meet him piously and obediently. He presented to him the keys of his treasures and delivered to him all the stores he had. And similarly there came to his Majesty the lord of Sharvān, Farīburz b. Sālār* with presents (**hadayā*) and waited on him (*khidma*). In Muharram 460/November 1067 the Sultan began his raid on Shakkī and *Jurzān,[20] and later on the Afkhāz, slaughtering many people, taking much loot and capturing many prisoners. He conquered (many) fortresses in the territory of Unbelief. On his journey he arrested Abū-Manṣūr and Abul-Hayjā, the two lords of Tiflis[21] and entrusted the frontier of Tiflis to Faḍl b. Shāvur. In Ramadan/August 1068 Faḍl set out for Tiflis and thence raided the dominions of the Afkhāz. When the hands of the Muslims were filled with booty, the Afkhāz occupied the passes against them and fought them. The Muslims were put to flight and (only) Faḍl was left with a small party of stalwarts. He too was made to flee after all his companions had been killed. He lost his way and came to the village of *W.kānā b. K.ft.r* (*Ivane, son of Liparit?) one of the patricians (*batāriqa*) of Shakki and *Jurzān. He remained at his place for an hour, after which (the patrician) took him to the accursed Akhsarṭān (b. Gagik). When he dismounted before his house, Akhsarṭān immediately arrested him and by treachery detained him for a number of days. Later he gave him over to the lord of the Afkhāz.**

* In Bundarī, 140, the name of Farīburz's father is omitted.

** See details in paragraph G.

§18. When the people of Arrān despaired of his (return) they set up as amir his brother, ASHOṬ b. SHĀVUR b. FAḌL, in Shawwāl 470/August 1068, but in Dhul-qa'da/September 1068 *Sāv-tegin (spelt: *Shāh-tegīn*) al-Khāṣṣ, amir of both 'Irāqs, appeared in Arrān with his Turks. He left for an expedition (*ghazw*) against the unbelievers while Faḍl b. Shāvur remained with the lord of the Afkhāz, in captivity and confinement, until in Jumādā II 461/April 1069 the Almighty brought about his liberation. He came back to his kingdom and sat on the throne of the amirate in Janza, the amirate of his brother Ashot having lasted but 8 months.

When Faḍl was captured, the lord of Sharvān broke the treaty of peace and invaded Arrān carrying rapine and raids into it. When Faḍl took up the amirate again he summoned his troops and marching into Sharvān dispersed (his men) throughout Sharvān, sending raiding parties, burning and working destruction. When Faḍl returned to Janza in 463/1070 his name was read in the *khuṭba* in the frontier region of al-Bāb[22] where they used to read the *khutba* for the lord of Sharvān. In 464/1071 Faḍl and the lord of Sharvān made peace and in Ramadan/June left together with their troops for the fortress of Bālūgh (?)[23] which they stormed and obliterated all trace of it (*'afa'u āthārahā*).

§19. In 466/1073 FAḌLŪN b. al-FAḌL b. SHĀVUR b. al-FAḌL b. MUḤAMMAD b. SHADDĀD revolted against his father, Faḍl, and wrested the kingdom from him. The army and the subjects obeyed him. Finally he contented his father by assigning to him the fortress of Khārak (*Charek?)[24] with its district and there he lived at leisure, devoting himself to the worship (of God). His amirate, jointly with the regency of his brother Ashot on his behalf, during his captivity, lasted about 6 years. As for Faḍlūn, he administered the amirate for about 2 years less some months. (Then) the Sultan Alp Arslan granted assignments in Bāb al-abwāb and Arrān to the greatest of his

generals and the most intimate of his slaves *Sav-tegin (spelt: *Shāw-tegīn*) and he, (507b) together with all his Turks, went thither in 468/1075. Faḍlūn was unwilling to surrender his country and Sav-tegin marched against him. Realising his incapacity to fight and repel (the enemy) he surrendered his capital Janza and other parts of Arrān, both lowlands and highlands, with all its provinces and fortresses, to the lieutenants of the Sultan, and thus the Shaddādid dynasty (*daula*) collapsed (*inqaraḍa*). Arrān with all its treasures and stores fell into the hands of the Turks.

The rule of the Shaddādids lasted 128 years, if you reckon it from the rise of Muḥammad b. Shaddād b. Qurtaq who captured Dvin in 340/951; but should you reckon it from the conquest of Janza by Lashkari in 360/970* then the duration of their rule was 107 years. For some time Faḍl b. Shāvur remained shut up in the fortress Khārak (*Charek), then the latter was taken from him and he too was arrested. Thereafter reports on them cease, (and) glory to Him whose might never ceases!**

3. NOTES

[1] The geographical introduction (§2), compiled by Münejjim-bashī himself, is of no special interest. As one of his sources the author names Ibn Sa'īd (died in 685/1286). The co-ordinates are misquoted and the author has not noticed that Dabīl and Davīn are identical. Abul-Fidā, *Géographie*, transl. by S. Guyard, II/2, pp. 150–1, is guilty of the same confusion.

[2] الرجالةالطرحية I read * الطرمية. Tarom (see Minorsky in *E.I.*) was the cradle of the Musāfirid dynasty and its Daylamite population must have fought on foot. See Minorsky, "La domination des Daïlamites", Paris 1932.

[3] *Nāw-* could be **Nār-*, *Nād-*, *Bāv*, *Yāv*, etc.; *-rwd* might represent *-vard*, etc. As Ashot was coming from the west Nāwrwd (perhaps **Norberd?*) should be sought in that direction.

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* *Supra* 359/969.

** This final paragraph indicates the time when the original source was completed, see Introduction.

[4] The text has twice "the two rivers". Consequently *M.ns.mmūn* was a river. The names of all the northern tributaries of the Araxes are well-known and among them only one, *Metsamaur* (which in Arabic characters would look like *مصمور) would have some resemblance to the author's منصمون. The name Metsamaur occurs only in older Armenian sources, and there were several rivers of this name ("great marsh"), see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, 362, 370, 452. One of them is definitely associated with Dvin and Artashat, i.e., exactly with the area of Muhammad's activities. As a rule, the main river of these two capitals was called the Azat (now Garni-chay) and Metsamaur (which is said to have changed its course) may have been a branch, or one of the headwaters of the Azat (Balādhuri, 200: *nahr al-aḥrār*). The survival of the name in an eleventh century Muslim source would be a welcome discovery. In any case in our passage the order of the two rivers should be reversed: "he crossed *Mns.mmūn and the Araxes."

[5] The Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan (Balādhuri, 194, *al-Basfurrajān*) ruled by the Artsruni dynasty, extended from Van to the north-western corner of Azarbayjan and even to Nakhchevan, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 339–47.

[6] This date should be 354. Najā, a slave of Sayf al-daula was sent against the latter's nephew Hibat-Allāh. Najā arrived in Ḥarrān on 27 Shawwal 352/18 November 963, whence he moved to Mayyāfāriqīn, and then to Armenia, where he revolted. When Sayf al-daula arrived Najā submitted to him. In the spring of 354/965 Najā was killed by another slave, see Miskawayh, III, 199–200; I. Athir, VIII, 180–1. See the relevant texts in M. Canard's "Sayf al-Daula", 1934, Index; cf. now Canard, "Les Hamdānides en Arménie", in *Annales de l'Inst. d'études orientales*, Alger, 1948, VII, 91.

[7] The *Siyāvurdiya* (or *Sāvurdiya*) are now regarded as Hungarians who from the Northern Caucasus migrated into "a part of Persia" (*scil.* Transcaucasia) and became known as Σαβάρτοι ἀσφαλοι, see Const. Porphyr., *de administ. imperio*, ch. 38. Later they became Armenicised. The Armenians understood the name as *Sevordik'* "Black boys" (Const. Porph., *de cerim.*, 687: Μαῦρα παιδία), *Streifzüge*, pp. 36–40. The Sevordi lived along the road leading from Ganja towards Tiflis, apparently on the rivers of Shamkūr, Tavush (now *Tavus*) and Akstafa, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, 240. The curious fact about the Sevordi is that according to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 75, they produced famous battle-axes (*tabarzīn*). This would suggest that they were using the copper mines (Getabakk', now Kedabek) to the west of the Shamkūr river.

[8] There are several indications in our text that Shamkūr was the western frontier point (*thaghr*) of Ganja (see §13), but it is quite likely that more to the west there were territories still connected with Ganja in some way. There is

even a probability that, with the overlapping of territorial rights, common in the Middle Ages, the Shaddādids had observation posts much nearer to Tiflis, which was still in the hands of the Muslims (see below, note [11]).

[9] Only two ancient bridges are known on the reach of the Araxes adjoining Faḍl's dominions, those of Julfā and Khudāfarīn. It is characteristic, however, that when in 456/1074 Alp Arslan was marching from Marand northwards "he came to (*ilā*) Naqjavān (i.e., opposite N. because this town is situated on the left bank) and ordered boats to be built for the crossing of the Araxes (I. Athīr, X, 25: *fa amara bi- ʿamal al-sufun li- ʿubūr nahr Aras*). This suggests that in this region the river still deserved Virgil's epithet "pontem indignatus Araxes" (Aen. VIII, 728). Foundations of an ancient bridge which are still seen above Julfa must be of a later date. In fact the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (written in 1340), p. 89, speaks of an excellent bridge built by a Ḍiyā al-dīn Nakhchavānī. The same bridge is referred to in Timur's time. The *Zafar-nāma*, I, 377 and 399 (year 788/1386) speaks of the *Pul-i Ḍiyā al-dīn* which had 2 arches. (On the contrary, II, 382, 392 and 395 may refer to Khudāfarīn, and II, 568, to a floating bridge in the region of Mūqān).

The ruins of the old Khudāfarīn bridge stand some 150 kms. down-stream from Julfā. According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 88, it was built in the neighbourhood of Zangiyān by the Prophet's companion Bakr b. ʿAbdullāh in 16/636, which is of course merely a pious tradition. All we know is that it existed in 1210 when Queen Thamar's generals raided Ardabīl *via* Gelakun (lake Sevan)—Ispian (?)—Khudāfarīn bridge. This bridge is likely to be that built by Faḍl.

[10] *ʿAskūya*, lower down *ʿAskariya*, perhaps **ʿAskarūya* "little ʿAskar(ī)", as a parallel to the purely Iranian Lashkarī. The ending *-ūya* is a well-known Iranian diminutive. The name of the master who made the iron gate of Ganja was read by Fraehn: *ʿAnkūya* but is probably **ʿAbdūya*.

[11] The identification of the fortresses presents great difficulties as the names are either mutilated, or omitted in the available sources. The fortresses form four groups according to the "unbelievers" over against whom they were situated, namely Shakki (i.e., Kakhet), the Dādīdī (?), the Georgians and the Rūm.

(a) The most important northern tributary of the Kur is the Alazan which flows from NW. to SE. On its right side the Alazan receives the Iora, and on its left side the Egri-chay ("flowing backwards" because it flows E. to W., parallel to the Caucasian range). The valley of Egri-chay was the nucleus of Shakʿē (Arab. *Shakkī*), originally an independent Armenian principality of mixed population. The Alazan waters Kakhetia, the second Georgian kingdom, rival of the Abkhazian rulers of Georgia proper. On Shakkī see Minorsky, *Shekki*

in *E.I.*, A. Z. Validi, *Azerbaycanïn tarihi cografiyasï*, 145–52, and A. E. Krymsky, *Sheki* in *Pamiati N. Y. Marra*, Moscow 1938, op. 369–84. Strangely enough, but without any doubt, our author (see below) uses *Shakki* for Kakhetia, possibly because of some Kakhetian encroachments on the territory of Shakki. In fact the contemporary Georgian sources call the Kakhetian king "king of Kakhetia and Ran", with reference to the parts of the original Arran situated on the left bank of the Kur. (Cf. Ist, 192, I. Hauqal, 250, who speak of Arrānayn "the two Arrāns"). The three Shaddādid fortresses must have lain either on the Kur, or north of it. The Arabic name *al-Bayḍā* ("The White One") may reflect some local name having that meaning, but Aq-dash ("White Stone") which lies *circa* 30 kms. north-east of Barda'a across the Kur is not on the expected line. *Mūjkank* can be restored in many different ways. *موخكنك Mūkh-kang ("Castle of Mukh") would suggest some connections with the northern *Mūqān/Mughāniya*, see Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 68, in Georgian *Movakani*, which according to Vakhusht's geography, transl. by Brosset, p. 289, lay "within the confluence of the Alazan and the Kur"—a suitable position for the defence of Ganja. (For a similar name *Mux-ank'*, see Hübschmann, *l.c.*, p. 349). According to Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I/1, 334, the king of Kakhet took the captive Faḍl Ii to Khornabuj and Aradeth to secure the surrender of these places. The latter is unknown but Khornabuj is a castle lying over 100 kms. upstream from the estuary of the Alazan. This is an interesting indication of the extent of the Shaddādid zone of influence. Ṭaṭiyān sounds like a Christian name (?) but its position is unknown. [On I. Hauqal's map (ed. Kramers, p. 333), a mysterious قبيمى (Bayḍā?) appears between Layjān and Shakkī.]

(b) The name of the second enemy الدادیدیة is a puzzle. I thought of restoring it as الدیزیة*, the inhabitants of the present-day Lāhīj, see *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 144 and 408, but this valley adjoining Sharvan in the north-west could not have been a home of "unbelievers" for it was the original home of the Sharvānshāhs. Consequently, it will be safer to interpret the name as *Dūdān*, cf. Balādhuri, 194. This term refers to the Dido, a people of mountaineers living in Daghestan on the northern side of the Caucasian range, on the south-eastern headwater of the Andi Qoy-su whence they control the Kador pass leading from Daghestan to the heart of Kakhetia. According to I. Faqīh, 288, the Sasanian king Qubād "built in Arrān the Gate of Shakki and the Gate of al-Dūdāniya". (In view of the Georgian Dido-ethi I feel sure that the original Perso-Arabic term was not الدودانية *Dūdān* but الددوانية *Didūvān*). According to N. Y. Marr the Dido (in their own language *Tzesa*) are akin to the Chechen, but it is probable that the term al-Dūdāniya covered a series of the so-called Andian tribes beside the Dido proper. Such tribes were always

seeking to expand into the Kur basin and thus presented a danger for Ganja. The Dido were certainly "unbelievers" because even in the 18th century, see Vakhusht, *l.c.*, 325, they had been only partly Islamicized by the Lazgis. The fortress containing the "Dido" must have lain somewhere in the gap between Sharvān and the territories controlled by the king of Kakhetia. There are several villages with names beginning with *Kurd-* in the basins of the rivers Gardaman and Gökchay but they are still a far cry from كرمستان or كرستان.

(c) In the author's terminology the Afkhāz (usually mis-spelt) are the Georgians. The explanation of this term is that the Bagratid kings of Georgia belonged to the so-called "Abkhazian" branch of the family which originally ruled in Western Georgia and Abkhazia. The fortress over against the Georgians should be sought in the Kur valley. Iṣṭakhri, 193, and I. Ḥauqal, 251, describe the road: Barda'a—Janza (9 farsakhs)—Shamkūr (10 f.)—Khunān (21 f.)—Qal'at ibn K.nd.mān (10 f.)—Tiflīs (12 f.). I venture to identify كردبلان or كردبلان with the fortress of ابن كندمان. This latter name (a popular etymology) very probably reproduces the Georgian *Gardaban* < **Gardaman* (*b* often standing in Georgian for *m*, cf. *Najbadin* for *Najm al-dīn*). The governorship of Gardaban lay south-east of Tiflis, see Vakhusht, tr. Brosset, 179, but the exact position of its fortress is doubtful, see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I/2, 302. Marquart who has studied the problem of Gardaban in his 'Skizzen z. histor. Topographie von Kaukasien', Wien 1928, pp. 24–35, looks for its fortress to the east of Qiz-qal'a, situated in the fork formed by the Kur and its right tributary Ktsia.

[In Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār's collections of documents, see *J. As.*, 1949, 121, *Khunān Shaddād* is mentioned as the frontier-point of Arran. This name must refer to the Khunān of Istakhri's route.

According to Vardan, trans. by Emin, 147, one of the exploits of king Dimitri (1125–56) was that he captured Khunan from the "Persians". Consequently, Khunan was a disputed territory. Georgian sources (Vakhusht's map) seem to identify its fortress with the above-mentioned Qïz-qal'a but Marquart, *Skizzen*, 31, has suggested that it should be sought east of Qïz-qal'a (Gardaman?) in the direction of Shamkūr.]

One should remember that in 441/1049 Tiflis was still a Muslim principality. Even when Bagrat expelled Faḍlūn from Tiflis (in 1068) he preferred to leave it in the hands of a local amir. Tiflis was finally occupied by David IV only in 1122, but his son Dimitri (1125–54) had still to use much tact in humouring his Muslim subjects, see Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, XIII/1, 1949, p. 33.

There were several other places called *Gardamān*. An Armenian *Gardman* lay on a headwater of the Shamkūr river, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 352,

but it could not be considered as a protection against the "Abkhaz". The river of Lāhīj in Sharvān (north of the Kur) is called *Gardamān* but it has nothing to do with the Georgians.[1]

(d) The fortress *al-Rustāq* was destined to protect Ganja against the *Rūm*, which regularly would mean the Byzantines.[2]

We shall see that in about 1049 the Byzantine army under the eunuch Nicephore (paragraph F) reached the "Iron bridge" and Kantzak (Ganja) and it is likely that the Byzantine danger to Ganja was connected with *this* raid. On the way from Ani to Ganja the Byzantines were bound to cross the southern tributaries of the Kur, and the "Iron bridge" possibly spanned one of those impetuous rivers. On the other hand, Nicephore, as will be shown below, p. 61, had the support of the Georgians and a bridge on the Kur was helpful in such circumstances. On Vakhusht's map a "Broken Bridge" is shown on the Kur downstream from the estuary of the Ktzia. The place where the present-day railway crosses the Kur is known as the "Red Bridge". Such crossings do not change their position throughout the ages.[3]

Iranian *Rustāq* is a frequent name but the most appropriate identification of our author's *al-Rustāq* would be the fortress Rust'avi (*alias* Nageb, see Vakhusht, 181)[4] which lay on the left bank of the Kur on the approaches to Tiflis (north of Mt. Yaghluja across the river).[5] In point of fact, it may have been the counterpart of Gardaban lying on the right bank. The possession of Rust'avi would help the Greeks to interrupt the communications between Ganja and the still independent amirate of Tiflis, but in order to garrison a fortress separated from its hinterland (Ani, etc.) by the river Kur the Greeks needed a crossing, and this problem brings us back to the position of the "Iron Bridge".

The whole situation on the eastern approaches to Tiflis should be studied in the light of the first Seljuk invasion of 1048. Under its cover, the Shaddādids (Abul-Asvār) may have expanded a considerable way upstream the Kur and

[1] See Brosset, I/2, 302: "le nom de Gardaban s'étendit souvent depuis là jusqu'aux limites septentrionales de la Géorgie, dans le Caucase et . . . au sud il comprenait le Karabagh jusqu'à Barda et au pays de Khatchen".

[2] The Georgians—either for some political reasons, or because they professed the Greek orthodox creed—might have been called loosely *Rūm*. For example, our author speaks of the acquisition of Tiflis by the king of *Rūm* (about 1062), whereas, in fact, the Georgian king Bagrat IV was meant. However, in our present passage the Georgians (Abkhāz) are specifically mentioned side by side with the Rūm.

[3] The bridge on the Kur mentioned in the region of Javakhet (Akhal-kalaki) at the time of queen Thamar, Brosset, I/1, 426, can hardly have lain on Nicephore's route.

[4] Vakhusht gives the popular etymology *rus-t'avi* "head of the spring".

[5] At present Rustav is a great industrial centre. The Rustav lying in Samtskhe, south of Tiflis, seems to be out of the question.

seized fortresses at a short distance from Tiflis. The task of Nicephore was then to paralyse this expansion. Twenty years later, under Alp-Arslan, Faḍl II occupied in the neighbourhood of Tiflis Rusthavi, Partskhis, Agarani, Grigol-Tsminda and Kavazani which Bagrat IV recovered after the capture of Faḍl. After his liberation Faḍl II returned to occupy Kavazani and Agarani. This time he was expelled with the help of the Alans. See Brosset, *l.c.*, I/1, p. 334.

[12] **Taṣra, Naṣra, Laṣra*? In a list of local names resembling some more famous names, Masʿūd b. Nāmdār (f.139b) writes *wa ayna al-Kilāb ʿan Banī-Kilāb . . . wa yā baun bayn al-Baṣra ilā baṣra hiya ṣakhra*, etc. There existed a *qalʿat al-Kilāb* in Arrān, Balādhuri, 195, and *Baṣra* too may have been suggested to him by some local associations. On the right bank of the Gök-chay river immediately south of Khānābād (Aresh) there exists an *Arab-Baṣra*. It lies on the road Barda'a-Shakki and may have been a bone of contention between the Shaddādids and the Georgians.

[13] In fact he was the king of Kakhetia who in 1067 turned Muslim, see *Akhbār al-daulat al-Saljūqiya*, p. 44, Brosset, I/1, p. 328.

[14] The fortification of Ganja in 455/1063 is here represented as being a direct sequel of the Alan raid. Such an important enterprise could not have been carried out in one year. In this context, it may be interesting to remember that the famous iron gate (now preserved in the monastery of Gelathi) was made at Abul-Aswār's order in 454/1062 by Ibrāhīm b. ʿOthmān b. ʿAbdūya (?) under the supervision of a "learned Abul-Faraj Muhammad b ʿAbdillāh". As attested by the Georgian inscription on the gate it was carried away by king Dimitri after his raid on Ganja following the earthquake of 1139, see Brosset, I/2, p. 246.

[15] Qūylamiyān (also mentioned in the chapter on Sharvan) could not be identified. On the "capital" see below note 17.

[16] Would this mutilated name refer to the same **Dūdāniya* as above (note 11b)? Sharvan bordered on the Southern Daghestanian Lezgis, etc., see *Ḥudūd*, p. 402. According to Istakhri, 186 (text as preserved in Yāqūt) the "Lakz" and the other peoples of Daghestan had both infantry and cavalry.

[17] **Bāb al-Yazīdiya* is an easy and topical correction for *al-Barīdiya*. The Sharvanshahs were descended from Yazīd b. Mazyad (see *Ḥudūd*, 405) and *Yazīdī* was the name used for the dynasty, see Khāqānī's *Divan*. Yāqūt, IV, 147, confirms that Yazīdiya was another name of Shamākhī.

A parallel passage in the chapter on Sharvan (§19) confirms the fact that Abul-Aswār captured his own daughter, wife (*ḥarīm*) of the sharvanshah Sālār, father of Farīburz. We cannot say yet whether this princess was Farīburz's mother, but it is possible that some family complications had contributed to Abul-Aswār's resentment against Sharvan.

[18] The passage presents great difficulties for the place-names are uncertain and the phrasing ambiguous. It is impossible to take *K.r* for the river Kurr for this would require the article: *al-Kurr* (see §7 wrongly *al-Lakz* for **al-Kurr*). [I notice, however, that occasionally the name of the Kurr is spelt in our MS. without *al-*]. Some clue to كر and قطران may be supplied by Iṣṭ., 182, who in describing *Bardha'a* adds that at a distance of less than 1 farsakh from it lies "a place called Andarāb (which stretches) between Karna, Luṣūb ("defiles") and Yaqṭān (var. *Baqṭān*), for 1 day's distance in every direction; it is overgrown with kitchen-gardens and orchards" producing excellent walnuts, chestnuts and a fruit called *rūqāl*. (Cf. in Persian *zughāl-i ākhta* "cornelian cherry"). These names have numerous variants. I. Ḥauqal, ed. Kramers, II, 338, gives *Kazna* and *Tasūb* and omits the third place. Yāqūt, I, 558, reads *K.rra*, *Laṣūb* and *Naftān*. It is possible that our *K.r* and *Qaṭrān* are other disguises of the first and third names. In any case this Qaṭrān looks different from Qaḥtān "in the Khazar territory" where the remnants of the Khazars were settled in 457/1064, see the chapter on al-Bāb in Munejjim-bashī, *l.c.*, p. 446*b* (contrary to Z. V. Togan, *Türk tarihine giriş*, 1946, p. 441). The name **Ḥamāvār* might be a local (Kurdish?) form of Persian *Muhammad-ābād*. Barda'a was situated at 3 farsakhs' distance from the Kurr, and it is thinkable that the sharvanshah who controlled the northern bank, had his outposts and bridge-heads in the region of Andarāb, even though Barda'a itself was occupied by the Shaddādids in 383/993 (see §9). As the statement on the occupation of the three places is immediately followed by a second statement on the surrender of the Kurds, it is useful to remember that there was a gate of Barda'a called *Bāb al-Akrād* and even the present day (chiefly Turkish) toponymy of the neighbouring country is full of names composed with *Kurd*. The sentence about the Kurds is construed in two parts ending in rhythmic words *janbatihi* and *ni'matihi*. It is therefore possible that it was meant to contain some rhetorical allusion in the sense that by siding with Abul-Aswār the Kurds "passed over (*'abarū*) from attacking (*karr*) to his mercy"(?)

[19] The distance to **Vejin*, a well-known fortress in Upper Kakhetia (on the northern side of the upper Alazan), would be prohibitive. Most likely the author refers to the fortress *Bejni* which lay on the Zanga (Hrazdan), upstream from Erivan. However, Nasawi in his *Sīrat Jalāl al-dīn*, p. 177, transcribed the name of the fortress *B.jni*.

[20] *Kh.zrān* (Khazars), instead of **Jurzān* (Georgia), is a classical example of mis-spelling which has produced many misunderstandings, *e.g.*, in Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 289. In the present case **Jurzān* together with Shakkī, which it follows, is practically a *hendiadys* for Kakhet (see below §17). Strictly speaking, the reading *Khazrān* might refer to the town Qabala lying immediately east of

Shakki proper where some Khazars had been settled, see Balādhuri, 194: *madīna Qabala wa hiya Khazar*. According to Ibn A'tham (quoted by A. N. Kurat, Ankara 1949, p. 269) Jarrāḥ b. Abdillāh settled the inhabitants of *M.r'ūfā* (Tarqu?) in the village Ghassāniya (Georgian Chronicle, I/1, 369, Ghasanni) near Qabala.

[21] See §14 under 454/1062. These princes must have ruled Tiflis on behalf of Bagrat before Alp Arslan captured the town.

[22] Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband) had a dynasty of its own, namely the Banū-Hāshim al-Sulamī. The anonymous *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb*, which has survived in Münejjim-bashi's *Jāmi' al-duwal*, contains a very valuable chapter on these forgotten rulers and on the numerous attempts of the sharvanshahs to establish themselves in Darband. [I have prepared a book on this part of the *Jāmi' al-Duwal*.]

[23] There is much more detail on Bālūgh (Mālūgh), temporarily captured by the ruler of Shakki (Kakhet), in the chapter on Sharvan (§§18 and 26). A. Z. Validi, *Azerbaycan*, p. 146, identifies it with Balīkh lying close to Khānābad (earlier Aresh) on the Eljigan river and on the direct road Barda'a-Shakki.

[24] The fortress Charek (چارک) lay on the bank of the Shamkūr river, see Brosset, *Histoire de la Siounie*, I, 210, (quoting S. Jalalyantz). As Faḍl II was on bad terms with the Georgians, Charek, from the point of view of Faḍlūn, was a safe place for the confinement of his father. A less probable restoration would be چاربرد Ch'arberd in Khachēn, a famous stronghold, see J. Orbeli in *Bull. Ac. St. Petersbourg*, 1909, p. 424.

4. RULERS AND INVASIONS

A. *The origin of the Shaddādids (circa A.D. 951)*

In the interval between the Arab dominion and the Turkish invasion, i.e., in the 10th–11th centuries A.D., two Iranian elements held the stage in North-Western Persia, the Daylamites (originally from the Caspian provinces) and the Kurds. There is every reason for accepting Münejjim-bashi's view that the Shaddādids were Kurds. Five centuries before him Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 289 (under the year 421) called one of the principal representatives of the dynasty *Faḍlūn al-Kurdī*. This definition is supported by the geographical connections of the founder of the dynasty Muhammad b. Shaddād, by the dissensions between him and

the Daylamite garrison at Dvin (§6, see also §8) and by the attested presence of Kurds in the neighbourhood of Ganja, the capital of the Shaddādids.[1]

Marquart was misled by the occurrence among the Shaddādids of such Daylamite names as Lashkarī and Marzubān. In point of fact many Shaddādids bore such original names as Q.rt.q (**Qurtaq*), Shaddād, Shāvur, Faḍl (or Faḍlūn), etc., which do not figure in Daylamite genealogies. The important source used by Münejjim-bashï gives a most likely explanation of the rise of Muhammad b. Shaddād during the temporary eclipse of the Musāfirid lord of Azarbayjan, Marzubān, in the years 337–42/948–53. When Marzubān was captured by the Būyids (see below, p. 162) the administration of his dominions collapsed and his family released the Kurdish chief Daysam who for a short time held the stage in Azarbayjan. Among the stormy events of the time the useful date is 342/953. Under this year Miskawayh II, 149, reports that Dabīl (Dvin) had been seized by the adventurers Faḍl b. Ja'far al-Ḥamdānī and Ibrahīm al-Ḍābbī.[2] Daysam expelled them and took Dabīl and Nashawā (Nakhchavan). Did the Kurd Muhammad penetrate into Dvin under the ægis of the Kurd Daysam, or was he somehow connected with Faḍl b. Ja'far and his associate? No answer can be given as yet to this question, but we quote the facts as a hint for future explorers.

[1] The author of the collection of documents relating to Arrān Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār (c. 1100) claims Kurdish nationality. The mother of the poet Nizāmī of Ganja was Kurdish (see the autobiographical digression in the introduction to *Laylī va-Majnūn*). In the 16th century there was a group of 24 septs (*Yigirmi-dört*) of Kurds in Qarabagh, see *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 323. Even now the Kurds of the U.S.S.R. are chiefly grouped south of Ganja. Many place-names composed with *Kurd-* are found on both banks of the Kur.

[2] Their position is obscure except that al-Ḍābbī was active in the clever stroke which helped Marzuban escape from his prison (342/953). Should we venture to seek echoes of Muhammad's earlier career in the names of his children, his eldest, Lashkarī, might have been named in honour of Lashkarī b. Mardī; Marzubān, in honour of the Musāfirid patron and Faḍl in honour of Faḍl b. Ja'far. *Al-nās 'alā dīni-mulūkihim.*

Although Muhammad b. Shaddād was a Kurd, he does not seem to have had any direct connection with the Rawwādids of Tabriz, who were of Arab origin (Azdī) but by the time when they succeeded the Musāfirids in Western Azarbayjan had become Kurdicized through local marriages. It is true that on two occasions Ibn al-Athīr, X, 194 (year 492/1099) and X, 247a (year 496/1102) calls the Shaddādids *al-Rawwādī*, but this must be due to a slip of the copyist who has confused شدّادی and رزّادی which in Arabic cursive have a great resemblance.[1]

On the two coins of Faḍl described by Vasmer, *l.c.* 182 (after Markov), he is referred to as *al-amīr al-sayyid al-manṣūr Faḍl b. Muhammad *Shaddādān* (or . . . *Faḍl b. Muhammad Shaddād*),[2] and, on the coin of his son Shāvur, as *al-Faḍl* (*Ibn*?) *Shaddād*. Vasmer thought that *Shaddād* was a kind of *nomen gentis*. According to our new source Muhammad's father was called Shaddād b. Q.rt.q, but it is quite possible that the name Shaddād occurred in the earlier generations and therefore was taken as the family name.[3] The peculiar name *Q.rt.q* is not in the indexes to Tabari, Miskawayh and Ibn al-Athīr, but we should not doubt its reality.[4]

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[1] See Minorsky, *Tabrīz* in *E.I.* In the documents collected in Arrān by Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār (himself a Kurd) the *Shaddādī* are clearly distinguished from the *Rawwādī*, see Minorsky and C. Cahen in *J. As.*, 1949, p. 102.

[2] Possible with an *iḍāfat:* Muhammad-i Shaddādān. [3] Cf. below p. 86.

[4] In Arabic *qurtaq* is "a short coat". The word is of Iranian origin, see Persian *kurtak* (Vullers, II, 812), Kurdish *kurtek* (Jaba-Justi, p. 322); it exists in many languages, Russian куртка, Georgian *kurtaki*, etc. See the recent discussion by Benveniste in *Jour. As.*, 1948, No. 2, pp. 185–8. A vestimentary name for a man is unexpected but one of the Qipchaq (Quman) princes killed in a battle with the Russians in 1103 was called *Kurtek*, see "Russian Primary Chronicle", transl. by Cross, p. 293. An equivalent of *kurtak* is the Turkish *dägälä* or *degälä*, cf. Vullers, I, 888, Budagov, 562, and old Russian тегелей. This name too was borne by several atabeks of Fars and Luristan. *Degälä* was often embroidered with gold and associated with New Year receptions. One of the districts of Qaraja-dagh is also called Tägälä (Degälä), see *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 83 (tr. 85).

The details which the new source gives on Muhammad b. Shaddād are precise and throw a curious light on the symbiosis of a large town with a group of adventurers engaged as an additional security against turbulent neighbours and invaders. A Kurdish leader with his relatives and retainers was allowed to live as a watch-dog in a fort built outside the town-gates while the citadel was occupied by a Daylamite garrison which apparently owed its allegiance to the Musāfirid Marzubān Sālār. Gradually Muhammad gained the confidence of the townsmen. But neither Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, who ruled as regent during his father's captivity, nor Marzubān himself after his return to power could take an easy view of Muhammad's successes.

Ibrāhīm, too busy with his uncle Vahsūdān, incited some Christian vassal to attack Muhammad. The name of this neighbour "lord of *Dyrmūs* (or *Dyrlūs*?)", as it stands, cannot be identified. Even if we take *dyr* for *dayr* "Christian monastery" the difficulty of the second element remains. In the following paragraph we come across the name of the Christian ruler under whom Muhammad's sons took service: lord of *Dyrzūr*. It is likely that at least one of the names stands for *Wyzūr*, whose lord figures in the valuable list of Marzubān's vassals which has survived in I. Hauqal, 254. This **Wayz-zūr* > **Wayzūr* represents Armenian Vayots'dzor (called *Wayṣ* in Balādhuri, 195, and Βαιτζώρ in Const. Porphyr., *de cerimoniis*, 687.) In more detail we shall study the difficult problem of *Dyrmūs* and *Dyrzūr* in a special paragraph (J). The presence of Lakz (a Daghestanian tribe) in the commando of the Armenian ruler need not astonish us for these spirited mountaineers must have served readily as mercenaries. The second expedition sent by Ibrāhīm was also beaten off, but the defection of the townsmen forced Muhammad to quit Dvin for Armenia, i.e., more likely the principality of Vaspurakan than that of Ani.

In fact, when the townsmen oppressed by the Daylamites brought back Muhammad, the next attack came from the side

of Ani. Ashoṭ b. ʿAbbās is surely the Bagratid Ashot the Charitable, son of Abas, who ruled in 952–77, and who strove to extend his influence in Siunikʿ (Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 1947, pp. 478–81). This new attack was repelled by a stratagem.

However, the force of Muhammad b. Shaddād was still insufficient and, when Marzubān escaped from captivity, the Daylamites occupying the citadel of Dvin joined hands with their master and Muhammad, caught between two fires, fled across the Araxes into Vaspurakan. It must be remembered that theoretically the area under the king of Vaspurakan extended between Van and Nakhchavan.[1] This king, though autonomous, was probably unwilling to encroach on the sphere of influence of the senior Bagratid king of Ani. Thus in connection with his plan to recuperate Dvin, Muhammad visited the "king of Rūm", or more likely one of his representatives. The year 954 falls within the period of active Byzantine expansion in Armenia under Constantine Porphyrogenitus (944–59). According to Aṣoḷik, III, chap. 7, Karin (Qālīqalā, Theodosiopolis, the future Erzerum) was occupied by the Greeks during 949–50.[2] In this case Muhammad b. Shaddād's trip did not take him very far from Vaspurakan.

B. *Muhammad b. Shaddād's three sons*

This paragraph is particularly interesting as a running parallel to the Armenian account found in Vardan's history.[3] This historian (middle of 13th century) inserts the record of these

[1] In Balādhuri's report of Ḥabīb b. Maslama's conquest of Nakhchevan, p. 200, the king of Basfurrajān (Vaspurakan) comes to Nakhchevan to sign a treaty on his own behalf and on behalf of two "lands" هصاذلة and اوارسة (both unidentified). Cf. below, p. 75.

[2] See Canard, "Sayf al-daula", 1934, p. 134, but cf. Honigmann, "Ostgrenze", 19, on the discrepancy of the sources.

[3] I have used N. Emin's Russian translation, Moscow 1861, pp. 125–9 and *passim*, and I am grateful to Prof. H. W. Bailey for the additional explanation of some passages in the Armenian original.

Shaddādids in the wrong place (after the events of A.D. 1044) and begins it by saying that a woman called Mam came from Persia with her three sons to the famous ruler (*išxan*) Grigor in the district (*gavaṛ*) P'aṛisos. The sons gave the mother as hostage and took Šot'k' and Berd-Šamiram. Then, having made friends with Xlaziz (or Al-Aziz), amir of Gandzak, they finally killed him and seized Gandzak. As the eldest son Parzvan died shortly after, the other brother Lēšk'ari became *išxan* and took Partav and Šamk'or from Salar. The younger brother P'atlun killed Lēšk'ari during a hunt and became *išxan*.[1]

We can see that Vardan omitted the complicated record of Muhammad b. Shaddād and took up the thread at the moment when Muhammad's widow with her sons left Vaspurakan. Vardan transposed the names of the sons, but for the rest his record usefully completes the Muslim source. There is no necessity for finding explanations for the mother's name.[2] It means "Mother" and can be used as a personal name.[3] This Kurdish matron definitely enjoyed some influence in the family affairs, for Marzuban had to cajole her when he ascended the throne despite her preference for Faḍl. The name of the amir of Ganja (*Xlaziz*) is perhaps the best indication of the correctness of Vardan's source for it is but an Armenian mis-spelling of 'Alī at-Tāzī of our Islamic source.

[1] As already mentioned, Marquart suspected the names of the brothers, took them for phantoms of the Daylamite princes who lived slightly earlier and finally called the story of Mam and her three sons a legend. See "Die Entstehung der arm. Bisthümer", pp. 148–51. The *Qābūs-nāma*, p. 144-5, tells a story of Faḍlūn-i Māmān and his Daylami minister. Nafīsī restored *Māmān* as **Mamlān*, which name is not attested among the Shaddadids. I should rather connect Māmān with the mother of Muhammad's three sons. [In R. Levy's edition, 114, one reads Faḍlūn-i Māmān.]

[2] Kasravī, III, 9, thought it was a Kurdish abridgment of the name of the father Muhammad.

[3] See the name of an Armenian princess Mam-xan. In Kurdistan children are often called with the addition of their mothers' names.

But where Vardan scores is on the Armenian side of the events. The mysterious lord of *Dyrzūr* must be the prince of P'aṛisos. It is difficult to say whether the discrepancy is due to some vagaries of the Arabic script, so helpless when foreign words are concerned, or whether the Muslim author used a purely geographical designation and the Christian, some traditional name, or perhaps the name of the royal residence (castle). See below paragraph (J).

In the service of the Armenian lord of P'aṛisos, Lashkari continued the practice of symbiosis established by his father with the inhabitants of Dvin. For some time the family links among Muhammad's children were strong because even in Ganja the most energetic of the sons, Faḍl (or Faḍlūn I), offered the first place to Lashkari.

The circumstantial account of the establishment of the Shaddādids in Ganja is a third instance of the infiltration by which the adventurers imposed themselves on the local population. From the chapter on Sharvan (§5) we know that Ganza (Ganja) was founded by the ancestor of the sharvanshahs, Muhammad b. Khālid, in 245/859. Possibly towards 344/955 Ganja was occupied by the Musāfirid Marzubān and fifteen years later, in 360/970, the Shaddādids ousted the Daylamites. The occupation of Ganja (and the part of Arrān to the south of the Kur) was realised by an agreement with the *ra'īs*, i.e., the elected representative of the middle-class of the population as it appears also from his name (Yusuf-the-Silk-Trader).[1] It is interesting that this *ra'īs*, who had his own *ghulāms*, appealed also to the *fityān* ("town stalwarts"). The governor appointed by the Musāfirid overlord was arrested and, according to Vardan, murdered by the Shaddādids.

[1] The position of the class of *ru'asā* is discussed in detail in my commentary on the chapter on al-Bāb. [We know little about the produce of Ganja, but Nizam al-mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 95, refers to the cloaks (*qalā*) made in Ganja.]

C. *Faḍl I* (985–1031)

The early adventures of Faḍl[1] in the dominions of Sayf al-daula form an interesting feature in his biography, and it was probably in the atmosphere of Ḥamdānid struggles with the Byzantines that Faḍl acquired that consciousness of Islamic independence which characterised his later life.

Our source confirms the murder by Faḍl of his brother Marzubān. Vardan mentions a number of his other violent actions. Thus he invited Philip, son of Grigor, and, after the death of his father, put him in irons and seized Šašvaš[2] and Šotʿkʿ. We must remember that Šotʿkʿ was a fief given by Grigor, the ruler of Pʿarisos, to the Shaddādids. See below paragraph (J).

Similarly Pʿatʿlun invited Gagik, son of Hamam, lord of Tandzikʿ (?), killed him and seized his dominions. "And so becoming powerful he ruled Xačʿēn, Goroz and the Sevordikʿ." Xačʿēn, Goroz and possibly Tandzikʿ must correspond in our source to Faḍl's acquisitions (*anno* 373/993) of the territories of Bardaʿa and Baylaqān, between the rivers Kur and Araxes (see §9).[3]

[1] Faḍl was the official name of this ruler as attested by the coins and the inscription on the door now preserved in Gelathi. Our source calls *Faḍlūn* only the great-grandson of Faḍl but the Armenian and Georgian sources show that Faḍlūn (Pʿatʿlun) was the popular form of the name Faḍl.

[2] Var. *Šaḷuaš*. A fortified place *Šaḷat* lay in the district Tslukʿ. See Moses Kalankatvatzi, III, ch. 19 (Russian transl. by Patkanian, p. 267). Tslukʿ occupied the upper course of the river Bergushat in the close neighbourhood of the upper Vayotz-dzor, see Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 348 and map.

[3] The text is not quite clear, but the enumeration of these three places seems to refer to Faḍl's acquisitions from Gagik. I have not succeeded in identifying Gagik, son of Hamam, but the name Hamam, occurs in the history of the princes of Aḷvankʿ (i.e. of Parthav=Bardaʿa), see Moses Kalankatvatzi, III, ch. 21. Xačʿēn lies on the river flowing to the south of Terter (the river of Parthav). Goroz which is referred to *ibid.*, III, ch. 19, lay in Pʿaytakaran (Baylaqan), see Thomas Artsruni, tr. by Brosset, pp. 145–150. Tandzikʿ is unknown but the name of the Georgian village *Tandzia* may be derived from the same etymon; the village itself lies too far to the West between the rivers Ktzia and Mashavari, see Vakhusht, p. 155, and Map. [Brosset in Kiracos, 105, locates the Tanzut valley on the Hasan-su, to the east of the Akstafa.]

The Sevordikʿ (see paragraph K) lived along the road Ganja-Tiflis. According to Vardan, Shamkor was occupied already under Lashkari, but the Sevordikʿ centre was near Tavus, west of Shamkor (see §6).

Further, according to Vardan, Faḍl fought Gagik of Dzoroget, Kuirikē of Aḷvankʿ and Bagarat of Georgia and oppressed them. He also ruled Dvin and laid on the Armenians a tribute of 30,000 dirhams (transl. by Emin: 3,000 dinars).

One must bear in mind that the rise of the Shaddādids coincided with a new development within the Armenian family of the Bagratids. The king of Ani, Ashot III (952–77), was succeeded by his son Smbat, while his younger son Gurgēn received the northern fief of Tashir (chief-town Lori) with numerous dependencies. Gurgēn (sometimes called Kuirikē) ruled *circa* 980–9 and was succeeded by his enterprising son David Anhoḷin (David "Sans-terre") who ruled *circa* 989–1048. These kings assumed the title of kings of Alvankʿ, i.e., of the ancient Caucasian Albania.[1] In point of fact the main territory of Alvankʿ stretched east beyond Ganja down to Bardaʿa. The kings of Tashir ruled over some westermost districts of Alvankʿ and their additional title reflected their secret desire to spread eastwards. To the Alvankʿ territories under their control belonged the valley of Alistev (now Akstafa) which in Armenian geography was called Dzorapʿor. Hübschmann, *l.c.*, 447, explains it in German as "Thalebene". I am tempted to think that the additional designation of the kings of Tashir as kings of *Dzoraget* (*dzor* "valley", *get* "river") refers to the same Dzorapʿor. When these kings lost Tashir they moved eastwards in this direction (to Tavush and Madznaberd). Vardan's reference to Faḍlūn's inroads harrassing Kuirikē and Aḷvankʿ must have in view king Gurgēn. King Bagrat III of Georgia (975–1014) is also a clear case, but the identity of Gagik of Dzoroget is obscure. Was he

[1] L. Movsesian, "Les rois Kurikian de Lori", *Revue des études arméniennes*, 1927, VII/2, pp. 211–65.

some local prince not yet incorporated in the Tashir kingdom[1]. In Armenian sources anachronisms and confusion are only too frequent.

The record of the capture of Dvin, strangely omitted in our Muslim source, is quite expected because the career of the dynasty began there. It is likely that this conquest was carried out by Faḍl's younger son Abul-Asvār who then became the autonomous warden of this dangerous western march.[2]

By the beginning of the eleventh century, the Byzantines from the south were exerting strong pressure on the Armenian kingdoms, and from the east bands of Ghuz Turcomans, precursors of the Seljuk invasion, were infiltrating into Azarbayjan and Armenia. This growing threat created an uneasy situation in the area between the Araxes and the Kur where the Muslims and the Christians hurried to consolidate their positions. The Georgians and the Shaddādids, in particular, considered themselves as prospective successors to the amirs of Tiflis. Thus clashes were inevitable, but the chronology of these events is still obscure.

It is under 421/1030 that I. Athir, IX, 289, mentions for the first time Faḍlūn the Kurd "in whose hands was a part (*qiṭ'a*) of Azarbayjan". Faḍlūn raided Georgia,[3] but on his way back he was set upon by the Georgians who killed 10,000 of his men and re-captured the booty. The impression is that I. Athir's authority for this record had a somewhat vague knowledge of Faḍl I.

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[1] Such as the rulers of the Sevordik' who were closely associated with Dzoroget and Tavush (see below p. 75). This Gagik of *Dzoroget* cannot be identical with Gagik, of Ani (989–1048). [P. 40: Gagik, son of Hamam?]

[2] See below p. 50–1. In any case Dvin could not have been captured before the very end of the 10th century because in the years 982–7 a struggle for Dvin. was going on among the rulers unconnected with the Shaddādids, see below, p. 122. [Cf. p. 22, note ***.]

[3] الجرز *al-Jurz*, mis-printed as الخزر *al-Khazar*, and for a long time taken as a proof for the survival of the Khazar dominion in the 11th century!

Our new source is well-informed, but not interested in recording the failures of the Shaddādids. The year 417 (22 February 1026–10 February 1027) under which it quotes the Georgian raid, corresponds to the last year of the Georgian king Giorgi, or to the first year of his successor Bagrat IV (1027–72). The Georgian chronicle refers to two expeditions against Faḍlūn. Under Bagrat III (980–1014) Faḍlūn, profiting, as it seems, by the dissensions between the rulers of Karthli and Kakhetia, invaded Kakhetia and Hereth. Bagrat III appealed to the Armenian king Gagik I of Ani (989–1012). The allies met in Zorakert (possibly *Dzoraget*, which I take for some valley near Aḷistev, now Akstafa). They besieged Shamkor and using ballistas wrought havoc upon its walls, but before the fortress fell, Faḍlūn sued for peace and accepted "to serve Bagrat as long as he lived, to pay him *kharāj* and to fight his enemies" (Brosset, I/1, p. 299).

Under Bagrat IV (1027–72), "the great P'adlon" was harrassing the big land-owners ("grands propriétaires").[1] The latter, "taking advantage of Bagrat's youth", formed a coalition against Faḍl which comprised the powerful Georgian war-lord Liparit of Trialeth, "the king of Ran and Kakhet" Kuirikē the Great, the king of Armenia David (i.e., David Anholin of Tashir) and even the amir of Tiflis Ja'far. The allies rallied in the district Ekletz (or Elketz), defeated P'adlon and possessed themselves of immense booty. P'adlon fell mortally ill (Brosset, I/1, 316–7).[2] As the king of Kakhet Kuirikē III, who was David Anholin's father-in-law, ruled in 1010–29, and as Bagrat IV ascended the throne in 1027, we arrive at a date very close to that indicated in our source (1026–7).

The Armenian sources, which extol the exploits of David

[1] Is this a hint at the breaking of the peace after the promises which Faḍl gave to Bagrat III in 990?

[2] See also Brosset, I/1, 392, and 442. Brosset identifies Elkets with the valley of Tavus (or Tavush), between Akstafa and Dzegam.

Anholin, are not quite clear at this point. Asolik, who is an accurate contemporary, reports (III, ch. 30) between the years 989 and 990 that P'atlun of Gandzak (*sic*) fearing the elevation of this prince (who ruled in 989–1048) attacked him but was put to flight by David. Matthew of Edessa is also a conscientious historian, though writing as he did *circa* 1136 he sometimes confused the sequence of events. Having reported the death of Ashot K'aj (A.D. 1039) he writes (ch. 54, transl. by Dulaurier, p. 64) that at the same time the great amir of the Persians Abul-Aswar (*sic*) attacked the Christians, but was defeated by David Anholin with the help of the troops sent to him by the kings of Ani, Kapan[1] and Georgia.

Brosset, I, 317, and following him R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 1947, p. 565, identify the victory reported by Matthew with the campaign under Bagrat IV. This cannot be correct in view of the different composition of the coalition and of the chronology of Matthew. The wars with the Georgians under Faḍl seem, therefore, to be: (a) that of *circa* 990 referred to under Bagrat III (Georgian Chronicle) and under David Anholin (Asolik); (b) the war of 1027 referred to under Bagrat IV (Georgian Chronicle) and under Faḍl (our source). Ibn al-Athīr's record is not very reliable, but seems to echo the latter of the two clashes. The campaign (c) referred to by Matthew must have taken place after Faḍl's death when his younger son Abul-Aswār pursued an independent policy from his special fief of Dvin (see paragraph E and p. 22, note ***).

The building of a bridge on the Araxes in 421/1030 is a hint at the extent of Faḍl's dominions in the south. The bridge was a symbol either of his solicitude for the development of trade, or more probably of his designs against Azarbayjan.[2] As explained

[1] This reference to Kapan seems to confirm the impression that after the extinction of the line of P'aṛisos the leadership in Siunik' passed to the branch of Kapan (Baḷk').

[2] For the years 369-420/979-1029 there is a blackout in the history of Azarbayjan.

in note 8 (to the text), I take it as more probable that Faḍl's bridge was that of Khudāfarīn which connects the central portions of the two mountainous tracts: to the north of the Araxes, the present-day Soviet Qara-bagh; and to the south of this river, the Persian Qaraja-dagh. According to the *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, p. 84, one of the districts of Qaraja-dagh (?) bore the name **Gīlān-i Faḍlūn* and consisted of 50 villages.[1] This suggests that Faḍl had expanded to the southern bank of the Araxes. From this region he could threaten the Rawwādīs whose central axis was on the line Ahar-Tabrīz. It is likely that Faḍl was attracted by the eastern Azarbayjan, then lying masterless. An ode of Qaṭrān in Kasravi, II, 93, indicates that the Rawwādīs also had ambitions in the direction of Mūghān. For all these reasons a bridge on the Araxes (at Khudāfarīn?) was a useful convenience for Faḍl.

Baylaqān, in which ʿAskūya (or ʿAskariya?) revolted against his father Faḍl, lay in the south-east of Faḍl's territories and on the way to Eastern Azarbayjan and Mūqān. Its autonomous position between Ganja and Shirvān and the turbulence of its population find an illustration in the local records compiled *circa* 505/1111 by the Kurdish scribe Masʿūd b. Nāmdār. The entirely new data on the participation of the Rūs in the events will be treated separately at the end of this section (paragraph L).

Of Faḍl's children we know the eldest son and heir Mūsā, Abul-Aswār and ʿAskūya. A daughter of his was married to the sharvanshāh Minūchihr (418–25/1027–34). She took part in the murder of her husband and then married his brother ʿAli (425–35/1034–43), see Münajjim-bashī's chapter on Sharvan, §15.

[1] Inhabited by people so godless in their beliefs that "but for the name they are scarcely human beings", which may be some reference to the surviving followers of Bābak. For some reason Faḍl may have taken them under his protection.

D. *Mūsā b. Faḍl* (1031–4), *Lashkarī b. Mūsā* (1034–49), *Anūshirvān b. Lashkarī* (1049)

Our source is unfavourable to the parricide Lashkarī and Münejjim-bashī must be responsible for a further epitomising of the manifold events about which we should like to be better informed. Fortunately more light on him comes from his panegyrist Qaṭrān who dedicated 15 odes to him, and it is the merit of Kasravi, III, 17–30, to have culled from them quite a number of historical facts.

Lashkarī is represented as a product of two families: the *Shaddādī* and the *Bahrāmī*, which would suggest that his mother was a princess of Sharvān, see BSOAS, 1945, XI/3, p. 578. Perhaps such an origin was somehow connected with the aspiration which Qaṭrān ascribes to Lashkarī: "*S.nkī* (*Shakkī) will be thine as Armenia (already) is, Sharvān will be thine as Ārān already is."

If it is true that Lashkarī married his father's concubine, in his later years he must have married also Shāh-Khosrovān, widow of the amir of Tiflis Ja'far b. 'Ali, and the poet praises this decision as conducive to the happiness of Ja'far's children. Under Lashkarī, relations between Tiflis and Ganja must have been good. When Tiflis was besieged by the troops of Bagrat and those of king Kuirikē of Kakhet (Georgian Chronicle, I/1, 317), Ja'far was building rafts to escape by the river and to join in Ganja the army of the "son of P'adlon", when suddenly Bagrat made peace with him. According to the Georgian sources this must have happened shortly after 1039, and consequently in the reign of Lashkarī, son of Mūsā I. Ja'far died in 1046[1] and this date is the *terminus post quem* of Lashkarī's second marriage.

Probably by his first wife Lashkarī had four sons to whom he gave purely Iranian names: Minūchihr, Anūshirvān, Gūdarz and Ardashīr, and we shall presently appreciate the importance

[1] S. Janashia, *Istoriya Gruzii*, Tiflis 1947, p. 175.

of the reference to Ardashīr[1]. Lashkarī's sipahsālār was Abul-Yusr, and one of his courtiers (an architect?) was Ustād Bul-Ma'mar.[2]

According to Qaṭrān, on the spot of Faḍlūn's defeat Lashkarī took a revenge for him and for Mamlān. Qaṭrān does not specify the names of the enemies defeated by Lashkarī but says only that their army consisted of Armenian and Abkhazian (Georgian) cavalry, and infantry from "Lakz and Sharvan". This operation may have been connected with the initial success of Abul-Aswār against David Anholin (see below).

The Mamlān referred to in Qaṭrān's ode was the Rawwādid ruler of Tabriz, who in 998–9 penetrated as far as the banks of Lake Van, but was defeated by the Christian coalition consisting of the Armenian king Gagik of Ani (989–1020) and the Georgian king Gurgen (died in 1008), the latter acting as regent to his infant son Bagrat III (980–1014), see Asolik, III, ch. 41. As Qaṭrān usually resided at the court of the Rawwādids he profited by the chance to introduce the name of Mamlān (Muhammad) into the ode dedicated to the Shaddādid Lashkarī, whose hospitality Qaṭrān enjoyed during his stay in Ganja. With

[1] The Pahlavid prince and writer Grigor Magistros (d. in 1058), who spent the years 1044–8 in Constantinople, writes that in 1045 he met an Arab (i.e., "Muslim") *išxan* Manouče, who was versed in literature and criticised the Gospel as written in plain prose without rhymes. Grigor laid the wager that he would in four days do what Muhammad achieved only in forty years, and summed up the sacred history in 1016 verses (in Armenian?). Having lost the wager, Manouče accepted Christianity. See Thorosian, "Grigor Magistros et ses rapports avec deux amirs musulmans Manouče et Ibrahim" in *Revue des études musulmanes*, 1941–6, Paris 1947, pp. 63–6. Even if Manouče's conversion is an exaggeration, his peculiar name, his interest in Christian matters and apparent familiarity with Armenian points to a Shaddādid parentage. This Manouče may have been Lashkari's son Mīnūchihr. The year 1045 was the time of Abul-Aswār's negotiations with the Byzantines, but his own son Mīnūchihr (see below, pp. 57, 80) was probably still unborn at that time.

[2] The name scans *Bul-Ma'mar*. The builder of the late-Shaddādid mosque in Ani must have belonged to the same family. See below p. 101.

Mamlān's son, Vahsūdān, Lashkarī was at first on bad terms, but later their relations improved to such an extent that Vahsūdān came on a visit to Ganja.[1]

The reign of Lashkarī (1034–49) coincided with the period of organised Seljuk expansion in the West, but our source barely refers to "the Ghuz attacks". Writing as he did under the Seljuks, the author was somewhat cautious in his references to the Turks who had just taken over from the Shaddādids in Ganja, but all the available sources are vague in their accounts of the intermediary episodes of the invasion.[2] Only from two secondary sources do we learn that in 438/1046–7 the energetic Qutalmïsh b. Arslan-yabghu besieged Ganja for a considerable length of time but was finally beaten off by Lashkarī.[3] This suggests that Lashkarī was not a weakling but a ruler fighting against heavy odds.

Our source refers too discreetly to Lashkarī's misfortunes. Among them we should very probably quote the Byzantine invasion led by the eunuch Nicephore. As the expedition was directed in the first place against Lashkarī's great uncle, Abul-Asvār, who at that time was ruling in Dvin, we shall analyse the involved evidence on this event in a special paragraph (F) after Abul-Asvār's reign, and shall refer to it at present only in so far as it bears on Lashkarī and Ganja. Our chief source, Skylitzes (in Cedrenus, 593) places the expedition under Constantine Monomach and says that it went up to the place called Iron-Bridge[4] and Ganja (ἄχρι τῆς λεγομένης σιδηρᾶς γεφύρας καὶ τοῦ Καντζακίου). It clearly distinguishes between ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ Τιβίου, i.e., the ruler of

[1] Kasravi, II, 86, by an analysis of Qaṭrān's odes, shows that this visit took place some time between 427/1036 and 432/1041–2.

[2] M. Halil Yinanç, *Selcuklular devri*, I, Istanbul 1944, pp. 32–57. Claude Cahen, "La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure", in *Byzantion*, XVIII, 1948, pp. 13–15.

[3] ʿAẓīmī (under 439 H.) and Ibn Duqmāq, see M. Yinanc, p. 46. [See below p. 62.]

[4] See the note to the text (11d).

Dvin Abul-Asvār and the κατάρχων τοῦ Καντζακίου, i.e., the ruler of Ganja. This suggests that the expedition took place before 1049, the year in which Abul-Asvār took over the government in Ganja. Finally our new source enables us to identify the person of the hostage whom Abul-Asvār gave to Nicephore and the latter carried with him to Constantinople. Skylitzes calls him Artashīr, son of (Abul-Asvār's) brother Faḍlūn, lord of Ganja ('Αρτασύραν τὸν υἱὸν Φατλουμ τοῦ οἰκείου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ τῆς Καντζακηνῶν κατάρχοντος γῆς). This Ardashīr could be only Lashkarī's son mentioned in Qaṭrān's ode. As the senior member of the house, Abul-Aswār could certainly advise his grand-nephew Lashkarī to surrender his son to the invader. The error of Skylitzes was that he either took Lashkarī for his better known grandfather, or that he assumed that Faḍlūn was the title of all the rulers of Ganja.[1]

Of Lashkarī II several coins have survived bearing his title: *al-amīr al-ajall 'Ali b. Mūsā al-Lashkarī*. One of them is dated 431/1039–40, see Vasmer, *l.c.*

The reign of the infant Anūshirvān b. Lashkarī merits mention only as a symbol of the straits to which the government of Ganja had been reduced. The obscure names of the fortresses which the chamberlain Abu Manṣūr was ready to cede to the enemies have been analysed in the notes to the text and we need only repeat that the enemies threatening Ganja were the Caucasian mountaineers (Dido?), the rulers of Kakhet ("Shakkī"), Georgia (Abkhaz) and the Rūm (Byzantines?). The unexpected appearance of the danger from the latter side can be now linked up with Nicephore's raid, see paragraph F.

The movement which overthrew the regent of the infant

[1] Even if, in the light of this confusion, one might perhaps say that the distinction between the ἄρχων and κατάρχων which Skylitzes had in mind referred only to the time when Faḍl was still alive in Ganja and his son Abul-Asvar ruled in Dvin, the Greek text leaves no doubt about Abul-Aswār being still in Dvin at the time of Nicephore's raid. The distinction between *archon* and *katarchon* is obscure. In Cedrenus, 544, Kekaumenos is called "katarchon of Ani and Iberia".

Anushirvan seems to have been led by the town notables against the caste of superior bureaucracy, whose representatives were striving to keep their position at any cost. As in al-Bāb, the class of "chiefs" (*ru'asā*) in Ganja was apparently composed of the families leading the corporations of traders and artisans[1] but, contrary to what was the case in al-Bāb, these representatives did not wish to supersede the amirs, but only to have more energetic men at the helm of their principality.

E. *Abul-Aswār I* (*Dvin*, 1022–49; *Ganja*, 1049–67)

The personal name of this prince was Shāvur (< Shāpūr)[2] and his *kunya* is also an Arabic adaptation of the local Iranian (Daylamite?) name *Asvār* (for Persian *savār* "horseman, knight"). On a coin (Vasmer, 182) he is called *al-amīr al-jalīl Shāvur ibn al-Faḍl Shaddād.*[3] On an iron gate (dated 452/1062 and later carried away by the Georgians) he is referred to as *Maulānā al-amīr al-sayyid al-ajall Shāvur b. al-Faḍl, adāma 'llāhu sulṭānahu.*

As our source concentrates on the events in Ganja it leaves out of notice Abul-Aswār's important career before the year 441/1049. The strange fact that Abul-Aswār ascended the throne of Ganja only after the grandson of his brother Mūsā suggests that, as a warden of the western march, he was a ruler in his own right, and therefore was not interested in upsetting the course of succession in the senior line of Ganja. On Abul-Aswār's early life our chief sources are Armenian and Byzantine.

[1] Cf. the role played by the *ra'īs* Yūsuf-the-Silk-trader in 360/971. "The chief of the tanners" Haytham b. Maymūn al-Bā'ī (perhaps **Bābī*), though he took an active part in the events of 441/1049, was an outsider in Ganja. He is also mentioned in the chapter on al-Bāb, as a warrior in 424/1033 and as a peace-maker in 457/1064. He died in 468/1075.

[2] Cf. the name of the town **Gundē-Shāpūr* spelt in the *Ḥudūd*, §30, 15: **Vindō-Shāvur.*

[3] *Ibn* after *al-Faḍl* is doubtful. Possibly one should read with a Persian idafat **al-Faḍl-i Shaddād.*

We hear of Abul-Aswār as the lord of Dvin first in the confused story found in Matthew of Edessa, ch. 10, and completed by the 18th century scholar Chamchian. A certain Armenian nobleman Abirat first served under king Ashot of Kars (died in 1040). This king captured his brother Hovhannes-Smbat of Ani (1020–1041) and charged Abirat with his execution but Abirat let him go and entered his service. As the new master had some grievances in connection with Abirat's career in Kars, Abirat with 12,000 horsemen moved on to Dvin. Abul-Aswār too had soon his own suspicions of this powerful vassal and so had him killed. The record is a curious illustration of feudal loyalties but, as it stands, does not throw much light on Abul-Aswār's relations with his neighbours—the nearer one in Ani and the farther one in Kars. Moreover, Matthew quotes the story out of place, between the years 971 and 972, i.e., about half a century earlier than one would expect.

More definite are the relations of Abul-Aswār with the king David Anholin of Tashir. Abul-Aswār was married to the sister of this king (see Aristakes of Lastiverd, ch. X, p. 69) and this explains why the poet Qaṭrān calls Abul-Aswār's son Faḍl II "the lamp of the Bagratid house". Still more astonishing is the purely Armenian name of Abul-Aswār's second son Ashot. These close links with Armenians did not influence Abul-Aswār's political designs for we hear (Matthew, I, ch. 54, between the years 1039 and 1041) that having collected an army of 150,000 (?) Abul-Aswār entered the dominions of his brother-in-law and within a year seized four-hundred places. When he made ready to march on David himself, David appealed for help to Hovhannes-Smbat of Ani (1020–1040 or 1041), threatening in the contrary case to submit to Abul-Aswār and to raid, jointly with him, the dominions of Ani. The king sent him 3000 men, the king of Kapan (in Siunik') another 2000 and the king of Georgia 4000. With his own troops, David marshalled 10,000 and he invited the clergy and the monks to exhort his men and

lead a crusade. Abul-Aswār was ejected from Tashir. Although Matthew calls Abul-Aswār "the great amir of the Persians", these operations must have taken place some eight or nine years before he became the king of Ganja.

One does not know on what authority Chamchian assumed that Abul-Aswār was "secretly allied with Sultan Tughril", see Dulaurier's note to Matthew, p. 397.[1] All we can say is that Matthew, I, ch. 60 (apparently under 1041–2), records a clash between Grigor Pahlavuni, son of Vasak, with some Turks on the river Hurazdan (Zangi) near Bejni. It is quite possible that Abul-Aswār was "allied" with *some* such party of Turks and that, after the defeat of Abul-Aswār, Grigor fought *his* Turkish allies.

At this time, the Byzantine emperors were actively rounding off their eastern frontiers in a (probably ill-advised) attempt to absorb the unstable Armenian dynasties. In 1021–2 the emperor Basil II led his army as far as Khoy (*Hēr*), within 175 kms. of Dvin, and obtained the surrender of royalty from the Artsruni dynasty of Van. The king of Ani Hovhannes-Smbat also made a bequest of his kingdom to the emperor, and after his death in 1040 (or 1041) Michael IV sent an army to take over the capital. The Armenian Monophysites were distrustful of the Greek Chalcedonites and their political expansionism, and the Armenian nobles hastily set the youthful Gagik, a nephew of the late king, on the throne. For two years events in Constantinople delayed the Byzantine plans, but the new emperor Constantine Monomach was grimly determined to reinforce what seemed to him a weak point in his armour. As the Byzantine commanders met with no success, the emperor addressed a truly treacherous letter to Abul-Aswār "the lord of Tibion (Dvin) and of Persarmenia on the Araxes" inviting him to attack the territory of Ani.[2] The

[1] Nor are the references in M. H. Yinanç, "Selçuklular", p. 38, very clear. On Brosset's confusion of the two campaigns, I, 317, see above p. 44.

[2] In 1045, see Dölger, *Regesten*, I, No. 870.

shrewd Abul-Aswār asked for guarantees and a promise was given him, under the golden bull, that his prospective conquests would be recognised by Constantinople. In the meantime reinforcements were sent to the Greek commanders. Thus, with the blessing of Constantinople, Abul-Aswār invaded Shirak (the province of Ani). The courtiers of Gagik behaved ignominiously: they persuaded their young master to visit Constantinople, under the most sacred promise on their part that "they would die for him, if necessary". This painful necessity did not arise, as the king was detained in Constantinople and obliged to abdicate in 1045. In the discussions which began in Ani, some nobles suggested submission to David Anholin, some to the Georgian king, and some even to Abul-Asvār, who was married to an Armenian princess, but the patriarch decided to surrender the town to the emperor.[1]

No sooner did the Byzantines take possession of Ani than they disregarded the promises given under the golden bull and requested Abul-Aswār to vacate his new possessions. On his refusal, a Byzantine expedition was sent against Dvin. To a large extent it consisted of Armenians and Georgians and the commanders were Michael Iasites and Constantine the Alan. Abul-Aswār opened the irrigation gates and flooded the country, and his archers completed the Byzantine defeat (see Scylitzes in Cedrenus, 560).

The emperor dismissed the commanders and appointed in their stead Kekaumenos and the eunuch Constantine who, however, gave up the idea of taking Dvin (*Tibion*) and contented themselves with re-capturing Abul-Aswār's acquisitions, namely St. Maria (Surmari, Sürmelü), Ampier (Anberd) and St. Gregory (Khor-Virap or P'arp?) which Abul-Aswār tried in vain to protect.[2] The fourth stronghold, Chelidonion (Erivan,

[1] Aristakes, ch. X, trans. by Prud'homme, p. 69.

[2] See Honigmann, "Die Ostgrenze des Byzant. Reiches", Bruxelles, 1935, p. 176.

according to the late Father Peeters?), was about to capitulate when in September 1047 the revolt of Leon Tornikios broke out in the Byzantine Empire and the Greek army was hastily recalled. The commander Constantine had only the time to make a treaty with Abul-Aswār who swore "to keep faith to the emperor and in no wise to molest the Romans" (Cedrenus, 562).

We shall shortly study the knotty question of the *third* Byzantine attack on Abul-Aswār, under the leadership of Nicephore (paragraph F.).

While these events were taking place Armenia was invaded by the Turks.[1] For the first time our source mentions the Ghuz as harrassing Lashkarï (1034–49) but the usefulness of this element in fighting their Christian neighbours could not have escaped the Shaddādids. When in 446/1054 Tughril came to Azarbayjan and Arran, first Vahsūdān b. Muhammad al-Rawwādī and then Abul-Aswār submitted to him and had the *khuṭba* read in his name. Tughril took hostages from the local rulers but left them in possession of their dominions (*fa-abqā bilādahum*), see I. Athir, IX, 410.

Some ten years earlier Abul-Aswār attacked Ani at the instigation of the Byzantine emperor. Now that the Seljuk were paramount, he may have been responsible for another raid in accord with some Turks. Our only authority for the event is Aristakes of Lastiverd.[2]

He says that in the *same* year (Arm. 504/1055–6) as the empress Theodora sent horses and other presents to the Sultan (Tughril), "an army of Persians sent by the Sultan—and others say an army of Abul-Aswār, amir of Dvin and Gandzak, and the

[1] In 1048 the Byzantines defeated the Turk Hasan-the-Deaf on the Stragna (according to Honigmann in Albaq, on the Great Zab). On 18 Sept. 1049 Ibrahim Yinal fought a battle near Erzerum. Tughril himself appeared before Manazkert in 1054–5.

[2] Ch. XVII; French transl. by Prud'homme, p. 103 = *Revue de l'Orient*, XVI, 1863, p. 302.

son-in-law of Ashot of Armenia[1]—swooped down on this country. On their approach the inhabitants hurried to take shelter in Ani but all did not succeed in penetrating into it. It was growing late and the gates were shut. The Persians who had marched all night, captured the gates and, swords in hand, made a terrible massacre of the defenceless crowds. After this they returned home with prisoners and booty".

The earlier writers placed Nicephore's raid about 1048–9[2] but recently an attempt has been made to lower the date till after 1055–6, while considering the raid as a punitive expedition for Abul-Aswār's misdeeds at Ani.[3] Such a scheme of events is more logical than historical and finds only apparent support in Skylitzes (Cedrenus, 593) who speaks of Nicephore's expedition after the report of Tughril's attack on Manazkert and connects it with the grievance against Abul-Aswār, who broke the promises given to the eunuch Constantine (τὰς ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου σπονδὰς διαλύσαντα) and harried the Byzantine dominions (τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κακοῦντα). The warlike eunuch Nicephore (formerly a priest), with all the eastern troops, went as far as the "Iron-Bridge and Ganja". Abul-Aswār was immobilised within his walls while the Byzantines were devastating the neighbourhood. He had to renew his pledges and gave as hostage an Ardashir, whose identity has been disclosed thanks to our source (see above, p. 49).

Thus the date of Nicephore's raid is now subordinate to:

[1] This is a strange slip on the part of Aristakes who had himself said, ch. X (p. 69) that Abul-Aswar married the sister of David Anholin. The latter (989–1048) was the son of Gurgen (980–9) whose father was Ashot III (932–77).

[2] Gfrörer, *Byzantinische Geschichte*, III, 508–10; Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, III, 105, pp. 597–8.

[3] Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 182: Abul-Aswār "unternahm im folgenden Jahre (1055–6) einen Zug gegen Ani und tötete vor den Toren der Stadt viele Flüchtlinge. Darauf (*sic*) sandte Kaiser Konstantinos Monomachos alle Streitkräfte des Orients unter dem Eunuchen Nikephoros gegen ihn." Cf. Grousset, *l.c.*, 601.

(1) the date of Tughril's unsuccessful campaign (of 1054–5?) and (2) to the identification of Abul-Aswār's misdeeds with the massacre at the gate of Ani. But both these arguments are contradictory and we shall devote a special paragraph (see below F.) to their analysis in order to show that most probably Nicephore raided Abul-Aswār and Ganja about 1048–9.

Abul-Aswār's life at that period must have been full of adventures and his reputation as a fighter for the faith was well established. This can be seen in the case of the Ziyārid prince Kaykāvūs b. Iskandar b. Qābūs, the author of the well-known Mirror to Princes *Qābūs-nāma*. Kaykāvūs had previously spent eight years with Maudūd of Ghazna fighting the Indian infidels and now wished to acquire experience in combating the Rūm. He spent several years in Ganja[1] and speaks with great admiration of his host Abul-Aswār whom he calls "a great king, a man firm and clever . . . just, courageous, eloquent dialectician (*mutakallim*), of pure faith and far-sighted . . . All in him was in earnest and not in jest . . . He asked me all kinds of questions and enquired about the kings of old and the world"[2]. In fact Abul-Aswār's talents were recognised even by his very enemies. Skylitzes calls him "as clever a strategist as anybody else, capable of thwarting the enemies' tactics and policies" (Cedrenus, 559: ὁ δὲ Ἀπλησφάρης στρατηγικώτατος ἄνθρωπος ὢν, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, καὶ ἔργα πολεμικὰ καὶ βουλὰς ἐχθρῶν διασκεδάσαι δυνάμενος).

The paragraph on Tiflis throws some welcome light on the troublous times of the Georgian king Bagrat IV. The main feature of this reign was a perpetual struggle of the king with his formidable vassal Liparit.[3] Tiflis remained in the hands of the local amir Ja'far b. 'Alī whose earlier attitude can be gauged by the part he took in the expedition of his Christian neighbours

[1] It is important that he does not say "in Dvin", whence Abul-Asvar moved to Ganja in 1049.

[2] *Qābūs-nāma*, ch. VII, ed. S. Nafīsī, 1312/1933, p. 28; ed. R. Levy, p. 24.

[3] Brosset, *l.c.*, I/1, 311–23, Janashia, *Istoriya Gruzii*, Tiflis 1947, pp. 174–6.

against Faḍl of Ganja (*circa* 422/1030). Two (?) years later Liparit "treacherously captured" Ja'far[1] and held him prisoner for a long time, but under the king's pressure had to let him go (Brosset, I/1, 317). Bagrat apparently was jealous of any outside influence penetrating into Tiflis. In 1037 he himself jointly with the king of Kakhetia besieged Tiflis for two years but again preferred to make peace with Ja'far. The amir died about 1046 and the notables invited Bagrat to occupy the city. Bagrat occupied the citadel *Dār al-Ǧalāl* but a new revolt of Liparit rendered this success shortlived. Liparit identified himself with the Byzantine interests and led an expedition against Dvin (Brosset, I, 322). On 18 September 1048 (or 1049?) Liparit fighting on the Greek side was taken prisoner by Ibrahim Yinal and sent to "Khorasan" (in fact to Isfahan). Immediately after this record the Georgian chronicle (Brosset, I/1, 323) speaks of a joint raid of the "emperor" and Bagrat against the Turks who had stayed in the neighbourhood of Ganja[2] and were going to take this town. The people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat but the Turks liberated Liparit and, when he returned, Bagrat lost Tiflis for the second time. He spent the years 1054–7 in Constantinople seeking the support of the Byzantines,[3] and it was not until about 1060 (when he got Liparit out of the way by forcing him to take orders), that he began to reunite Karthli under his sway. The interesting record of our source on the re-occupation of Tiflis by the Georgians (for the third time) in 454/1062 is confirmed by the Georgian chronicle, I, 332, which says that in 1068 Alp Arslan took Tiflis and Rust'av "from our king" and by the *Akhbār*, p. 45, according to which "the amir of Tiflis" was in

[1] One of the patrons of the poet Qaṭran, cf. Kasravi, III, 27.

[2] Constantine Monomach died on 6 Jan. 1055.

[3] Grousset, *l.c.*, 601, has already suggested that this record of a successful expedition in the direction of Ganja may refer to the eunuch Nicephore (see above). In this case, however, Nicephore's expedition took place during Liparit's captivity in 1049 (see below, note F.).

Alp Arslan's suite and Alp Arslan had to conquer (*fataḥa*) Tiflis. The fact that the "king of Rūm" is mentioned in our §14 might be explained as a hint at the close relations established by Bagrat with Constantinople. The king of Kakhetia who played the role of broker was certainly Aghsart'an, son of Gagik (1058–89), of whom we shall hear more under Faḍl II.

The rulers of Ganja and Sharvan were close neighbours, their territories being divided only by the river Kur. Family ties existed between them,[1] but with the advent in Sharvan of Farīburz b. Sālār (in 455/1064) their relations worsened and Abul-Aswār three times savagely devastated Sharvan.

Tughril's activities in Armenia ended inconclusively but the situation changed with the arrival of Alp Arslan. In the course of his systematic conquest of Armenia, on the details of which all the sources agree, see Grousset, *l.c.*, 610, Ani was captured from the Byzantines and Armenians on 16 August 1064. From the Muslim sources it appears that Alp Arslan first appointed his own governor to Ani.[2] This must be the reason why our author mentions Rajab 457/June 1065 as the date of Abul-Aswār's expedition to take possession of the territories which Alp-Arslan granted to him "in view of their nearness to his dominions".

The "territories of Rūm" into which Abul-Aswār penetrated after the occupation of Ani must not be taken too literally. *Rūm* must refer here only to the region of Ani wrested from the Byzantines, as it is also suggested by the name of *Wyjyn* (Bejni?).

Our source is absorbed in the events centring on Ganja and does not even mention that Minūchihr, one of Abul-Aswār's

[1] Lashkari II's mother was a princess of Sharvan and his sister was married to the Sharvanshah Minūchihr (418–25/1027–34). She plotted against his life and married his brother Abū Mansūr (425–35/1034–43). It appears from our text and from the chapter on Sharvan that the third brother Sālār (father of Farīburz) was married to a daughter of Abul-Aswār himself.

[2] *Akhbār al-daulat al-Saljūquiya*, ed. M. Iqbal, p. 40: *wa rattaba fī tilka al-balda amīran ma'a juyūsh*, cf. I.-Athir, X. 28.

four sons, received Ani as his fief.[1] In fact he was the founder of a new branch of the Shaddādids which, with some interruptions, lasted till *circa* 570/1174. Their fortunes will be examined in the second part of the present work.

The new Alan invasion in October 1065 shows how vulnerable Abul-Aswār's possessions still were to attacks from the north. The importance of this raid is confirmed by the fact that the *Akhbār*, 43, regards it as the cause of Alp Arslan's second campaign against the king of "Abkhaz" Baqrāṭīs (Bagrat IV).

The exact date of Abul-Aswār's death (19 November 1067) is very valuable and it shows the mistake of Matthew (ch. 102, Dulaurier, p. 105). Though himself of Edessa, this historian says that after the famous battle of Manazkert (26 September 1071) Abul-Aswār, "amir of Dvin", accompanied Alp Arslan to Edessa and gave him the malicious but ineffective advice to destroy the altar of St. Sergius. Does this refer to one of Abul-Aswār's sons?

F. *Nicephore's Expedition against Abul-Aswār* (1049?)

The sources on Nicephore's expedition are contradictory but not to such an extent as to render a conclusion impossible.

Aristakes is our only authority on the Muslim raid on Ani in the reign of the empress Theodora (1055–6). His chronicle goes down to the battle of Manazkerd (26 September 1071) but, from the introduction to ch. XXV which records this event, one gathers that it was written as an annex to the main account of the misfortunes of Armenia (see transl., p. 141). Aristakes was a contemporary of the attack on Ani but some details in his report lack precision. He himself was in doubt as to who was behind the attack, the "Ṣultan" or Abul-Aswār? His slip about the parentage

[1] Vardan was right in considering Manuche as a "grandson" of Faḍlūn but wrong in saying that it was Faḍlūn who obtained Ani from Alp-Arslan in exchange for "the ikons of Tsalkots wrought in gold" (as translated by Prof. N.Y. Marr, *Ani*, 1934, p. 32).

of Abul-Aswār's Armenian wife is disturbing. He calls Abul-Aswār "lord of Dvin and *Gandzak*", which was right after A.D. 1049, though no particular importance should be attached to such a title if Aristakes described Abul-Aswār as he was known in later life. Aristakes confesses that he has omitted "bien des détails importants" leaving them to other competent scholars (see transl. p. 141), yet his omission of any mention of Nicephore's raid is a great puzzle.

Dr. Honigmann's theory which considers Nicephore's operation as a Byzantine riposte to Abul-Aswār's raid on Ani depends on Aristakes but the latter places the attack on Ani "in the same year" as the sending by Theodora of rich presents to Tughril in order to appease him.[1] At such a moment Nicephore's bold expedition into the heart of Muslim dominions would be unexpected.

Skylitzes was an even closer contemporary of the events than Aristakes since his records end in 1057. He most definitely names Constantine Monomach as the originator of Nicephore's raid and even explains the strange choice of this commander by the latter's good feelings (εὔνοια) towards the emperor. Skylitzes connects the expedition with the "Sultan's" intention to come back and with some trespassing on Roman territory by Abul-Aswār. This latter indication does not necessarily refer to one particular attack on Ani for Abul-Aswār was an active enemy of his neighbours. Were the connection with the Sultan's defeat correct, we ought to place Nicephore's expedition in late 1054, between the retreat of Tughril from Manazgerd and Monomach's death (11 January 1055).

However, several other considerations open the door for an earlier dating of the Byzantine raid.

Cedrenus refers to Nicephore after Tughril's attack but, as

[1] Translation p. 103 and p. 107: "le sultan dont l'impératrice avait assouvi la faim bestiale par l'abondance des présents, ne pensa plus à recommencer ses attaques contre nous".

was first pointed out by Gfrörer,[1] this author (quoting Skylitzes) mistakenly antedated Tughril's campaign by placing it *circa* 1050. This mistake may have telescoped the battle of Kaputru (in 1048 or 1049) with Tughril's attack on Manazkerd (*c.* 1054). Gfrörer himself (*l.c.*, 508) was disposed to put Nicephore's expedition "about 1050" and Prof. M. H. Yinanç (*l.c.*, 48) accepts this date from the point of view of the Islamic sources. Skylitzes clearly distinguishes between the lord of Dvin (ἄρχων τοῦ Τιβίου), i.e., Abul-Asvār, and the master of Ganja (κατάρχων τοῦ Καντζακίου). Whatever the meaning which he puts into the term κατάρχων, the passage suggests a situation *before* 1049, when Abul-Aswār was still in Dvin and Ganja was held precariously by Lashkarī. This position is made even clearer by the fact that Abul Aswār was isolated within the walls of Dvin.

The Georgian chronicle (Brosset, I, 323) brings a welcome confirmation of the above view. Following on the account of the battle of Kaputru (Ordro), in which Liparit was captured by Ibrahim Yinal,[2] it states that, as a result, Bagrat IV's prestige rose and Liparit's son submitted to him. Then it proceeds: "the Turks who had stopped in the country of Gandza, were about to take that place, when the emperor sent as his lieutenant a "lictor" (likturi) with a considerable army and addressed a summons to king Bagrat. The latter, at the head of his troops, marched jointly with the Greeks against the Turks. When they came to the gate of Gandza, the Turks withdrew and thus the region of Gandza was saved and the Greeks calmly went home". After this the inhabitants of Tiflis surrendered their town to Bagrat. The Turks, however, freed Liparit and he entered Ani. Bagrat left Tiflis to attack him. As Liparit had been taken prisoner "on behalf of the Greeks", he went to Greece and, in view

[1] *Byzantinische Geschichten*, III, 509–10.

[2] On 18 September 1048 or 1049? The first interpretation would leave more time for the subsequent expedition. N. Bănescu in his study *Katakalon Kekaumenos*, in *Bull. de la section hist. Acad. de Roumanie*, XI, 1924, places the battle of Kaputru in Sept. 1049.

of his support by the emperor, Bagrat was unable to resist him.

The strange title *likturi* which the Georgian text (ed. Brosset, 226) applies to the Byzantine commander is a clear pointer to Nicephore for it can only be a mutilation of the title "rector" (ῥαΐκτωρ) which the emperor conferred on Nicephore (Cedrenus, 593).[1] This circumstantial Georgian report—on the affairs interesting Georgia quite particularly—suggests that the expedition took place between the capture of Liparit by the Turks and his liberation by Tughril.

On the Muslim side only our source makes some veiled hints at the danger to Ganja from the Rūm side. Very important, however, are the two later sources (ʿAẓīmī, A.D. 1090–1161, and Ibn Duqmāq, A.D. 1349–1406) which have preserved the record of the siege of Ganja by Qutalmïsh which began in 1047 and lasted "a long time", see Yinanç, p. 46[2]. In connection with the Georgian

[1] The title was little known in the East. "The rector's prerogative probably consisted in exercising some authority over the Imperial household." Occasionally rectors fulfilled important duties, see Bury, *The imperial administrative system*, 1911, p. 115.

[2] During my visit to Istanbul (Sept. 1951) Professor M. H. Yinanc kindly communicated to me the text of Aẓīmī's record under the year 439/1047: "Yināl, brother of Tughril-bek, entered the Rūm country. The Rūm met him together with Libārīs (Liparit) the Abkhazian. The Rūm were defeated, and the Abkhazian was carried to Tughril-bek as a captive. The Turks conquered Arzan and Qalīqalā. The king of Rūm sought succour from all his neighbours, and the latter helped him. Bagrat the Abkhazian marched in person and sent (to?) Constantine (Monomach?) his daughter and his wife as hostages (?). (Meanwhile) Qutlamïsh had besieged Janza for a year-and-a-half but was beaten off from it and he died when he heard of the armies (marching against him?). In (Ganja) was al-Ashkarī b. Faḍlūn, brother of Abul-Aswad (*sic*). (Then) al-Ashkari died and his son ruled." Constantine Monomach ruled in 1042–52. Bagrat with his mother Mariam was in Constantinople in 1050, and probably in 1054–7. Bagrat's daughter Martha arrived in Constantinople after the death of the empress Theodora (1054–6) and was sent back home by the queen Mariam, see Brosset, I/1, 338. Aẓīmī wrote in 538/1143 and this part of his report is out of order but the important point is that he speaks of Ganja together with the report on Liparit's captivity by Yināl.

report we gather that the subsidiary motive of Nicephore's expedition was to chase away the Turkish army poised on Ganja. From the Georgian point of view it may have been the danger No. 1 and in the words of the annalist "the country of Ganja was saved".[1]

The Georgian chronicle speaks of the expedition immediately after the battle in which Liparit (who commanded the centre of the army) was captured. Apart from this success, the battle of Kaputru (Ordro) was far from being a decisive defeat for the Greeks.[2] Ibrāhīm Yinal retreated hastily and the two commanders of the flanks (Katakalon Kekaumenos and Aaron) pursued the Turks "till cock's crow (μέχρι φωνῆς ἀλεκτρυόνων)". The Greeks thanked God for a victory when one of Liparit's attendants announced to them the capture of their master. The Greek report is very detailed and its author even knows that on Ibrāhīm's arrival in Rey, Tughril, moved by feelings of envy, meditated a plan to get Ibrahim out of the way (ποιέσασθαι ἐκποδών).[3]

The Emperor distressed by Liparit's fate sent a certain Drosos as ambassador to Tughril. The latter behaved most generously in freeing Liparit but he sent his own ambassador (a *sharīf*) to Constantinople requesting the Emperor to become his tributary (ὑπόφορος). This demand greatly perturbed Constantine Monomach and in expectation of a war he took measures to fortify the places neighbouring on Persia (τὰ ὁμοροῦντα τῇ τῶν Περσῶν γῇ πέμψας κατησφαλίσατο).

This in my opinion was the moment when Nicephore was sent on his raid, even though this episode (possibly based on a special report) was recorded only after a long paragraph on the Pecheneg danger in the West (pp. 581_{20}–587_{20}) and happened to be placed after Tughril's own campaign of 1054–5 (see above p. 56).

[1] Though not without some humiliation for the local ruler.

[2] Contrary to M. H. Yinanç, p. 47.

[3] Yinanç, p. 48, admits that the relations between Tughril and Ibrahim began to deteriorate in 1049 and in 1050 the two princes came to blows.

On his way to "Persia" Nicephore did not meet any Turks except Qutalmïsh's brother Ἀβιμέλεχ (Abū Malik) who was encamped in Persarmenia (Azarbayjan) but, on hearing of the strength of the Byzantine expedition, returned home (οἴκαδε) (p. 593), According to M. H. Yinanç, Qutalmïsh (and his brother?) accompanied Ibrāhīm Yinal to Kaputru, and it is more natural to hear Abū Malik mentioned at this time than at that of Tughril's campaign.

Finally, only the success of the raid against Ganja can explain that, still under Constantine, "the rector Nicephore" was called upon to save the situation on the Pecheneg front where he foolishly lost the day.

All things told, I am definitely in favour of the old dating of Nicephore's raid, namely 1048 or 1049, i.e., before Abul-Aswār's accession in Ganja.[1] In fact the Byzantine expedition must have precipitated the issue. After the devastation of the neighbourhood of Dvin the latter was too exposed and hardly habitable. This would explain Abul-Aswār's procrastination in making a new appointment to Dvin. Not until 1053 did he renew his offensive against the Georgians and send his son Iskandar to his old residence.[2]

G. *Faḍl İİ* (1067–73?)

Abul-Aswār's reign was the zenith of the Shaddādids' fortune. Under his son Faḍl II good luck abandoned the dynasty. It was the Seljuks who brought its ruin. After the period of initial struggles and indecisive battles under Tughril, came the period

[1] I should like to quote on this occasion the verse of the Persian poet Minūchihrī (ed. Kazimirski, ode 90): "the onlookers were arrayed in front of us like the Rūmī infidels at the gate of Ganja." Minūchihrī is said to have died in 432/1040 or 439/1047 but these dates are approximate. The image may have been inspired by the Ziyarid Kaykāvūs (see above, p. 56) who joined Abul-Aswār when the latter was in Ganja (in 1049?).

[2] Muralt, *Chronographie Byzantine*, 1855, p. 635, speaks of Nicephore's expedition under 1048. Marquart, *Die Entstehung d. arm. Bistümer*, 147 (despite his other misunderstandings) places the expedition under 1049.

of consolidation under Alp-Arslan. During his first campaign (1064) he seized Ani and Kars; his second campaign began with the subjugation of the Georgian states (1067) and ended with the collapse of the Byzantines at Manazkerd (1071).

Among the Muslim sources only the *Akhbār*, p. 43–6, relates the beginning of this second campaign, saying that it was provoked by the attack of the king of Abkhāz Baqraṭīs on Barda'a. This reference is definitely to the Alan invasion which, according to our source, took place in October 1065. Alp Arslan's vanguard was under the orders of that Sau-tegin who later was called to succeed the Shaddādids. The Christian army consisted "of the stalwarts of Rūm who are Franks (*Franj*) and of men of Shakki whose king was Akhsatān.[1] Shakkī is all woods and brush and it is the lair of the brigands of Rūm and Abkhāz". Alp Arslan ordered his naphtha-throwers (*naffāṭīn*) to blaze a road through the wood and came to two impregnable castles made of iron plates (*aṭbāq*) fixed with copper nails. Their commander who had an old feud with Akhsatān submitted to the Sultan. After many devastations Alp Arslan came to the capital of Akhsatān, "king of Franks(?) i.e., of Shakkī". Akhsatān, who was a great king, came out and made profession of Islam. Alp Arslan treated him most honourably and appointed a *faqīh* to teach him Islam. Then Alp Arslan devastated the country of Baqraṭīs and conquered Tiflis where he built a mosque. Bagrat sued for peace as a stratagem and collected an army which, however, perished from

[1] This strange terminology confirms the fact that the Muslims applied the name of Shakki to the kingdom of Kakhet. The term *Rūm* may refer to the Greek religion of the Kakhetians but *al-Firanj* (Frank) is a puzzle at this place. One might suppose that there were some Norsemen (Varangians) in the service of Akhsatān, as there were 3000 Varangians in the service of Bagrat IV, see Brosset, I, 321, but the restoration of كرخ as * كرج *Kurj*, i.e. Georgians might be preferable, because Kakhet was also a Georgian kingdom. In our source Akhsarthan's kingdom (Kakhet) is referred to as "Shakki and Jurzān", and the western Georgian kingdom (Karthli) is referred to now as "Afkhāz", and now as "Rūm".

the winter cold. Alp Arslan destroyed the town in which once lived Nimrūd b. Kan'ān.[1] The Sultan stayed 5 months in Georgia. Having received the news of the death of the Turkish khaqan, he returned to Ganja and Barda'a. Without using boats or sailors the Sultan crossed the Kur and in the village of Rūynās (?) he met a man who claimed to be about 250 years old. Thence the Sultan proceeded to Fars.

The Georgian chronicle (Brosset, I/1, 331) confirms that Alp Arslan having crossed Arrān (*Ran*) entered Hereth (on the lower course of the Alazan) where the chiefs (*didebuli*) were attached to Bagrat (and not to Aghsart'an). It speaks of Aghsart'an's apostasy and says that Alp Arslan restored his fortresses to him, with the addition of those of Bagrat. After a three weeks' stay in Kakhet, Alp Arslan, accompanied by the king of Armenia,[2] the amir of Tiflis[3] and Aghsart'an, entered Karthli on 10 December 1068. Alp Arslan gave "Tiflis and Rust'av" to Faḍlūn who carried off the artisans[4] from the neighbourhood of Tiflis. When Alp Arslan returned home, Bagrat came down from his mountain refuge. Faḍlūn with 33,000 men was in Mukhnar (Mukhrani) and Bagrat sent against him Ivane, son of Liparit, who put to flight Faḍlūn's army. With only 15 horsemen Faḍlūn fled to Ertzo (on the western head-water of the Iora) where he was recognized. He was taken to the house of Isaac Tolobelisdze of Žaleth and this nobleman surrendered him to the king of Kakhetia, Aghsart'an, son of Gagik. Bagrat, king of Georgia,

[1] Istakhri: *Qal'at ibn Kandmān*, i.e. **Gardaban* on the Kur, different from the Armenian Gardaman on the upper course of the Shamkhor river.

[2] The king of Tashir Kiurike I (1048–89) was married to the sister of king Bagrat. Alp Arslan had married Kiurike's daughter, then repudiated her and married her to Niẓām al-mulk, see Movsesian, *l.c.*, 242. Bundari, 31, misunderstood her parentage. On the other hand Faḍl II was Kiurike's cousin (son of his aunt).

[3] See above, but some members of the family may have remained in Tiflis as Bagrat's vassals, Brosset, I/1, 332.

[4] Or "the local representative (of the king)"?

gave two fortresses to Aghsartʿan for the extradition of Faḍlūn. Then, under the threat of the gallows, he forced Faḍlūn to give orders for the surrender of Tiflis, which Bagrat left again in the hands of a Muslim.[1] By that time Sarang Alkhaz (i.e., Sau-tegin *Sarhang al-Khāṣṣ*) appeared in Arran, and used his mediation. As hostages to Bagrat Faḍlūn gave the son of (his brother) Manūchihr and three notables of Ganja.[2] Soon having broken the pledges Faḍlūn came back to capture Kaoziani and Agarani.[3] Bagrat appealed to his brother-in-law the king of the Oss (Osset, Alan) Durghulel and with his help expelled Faḍlūn.

Despite the sinister appearance of Sau-tegin in Arrān there still remained some possibility for Faḍlūn to undertake new expeditions against Sharvan and in the direction of Darband but a quarrel in his own family precipitated the events.

H. *Faḍlūn* (*Faḍl İİİ*) (1073–75)

This is the only prince to whom our source gives this popular name. In fact he could be considered as Faḍl İİİ. Kasravi, III, 47, denied the existence of this prince but the circumstantial evidence of the Arabic original leaves no doubt about his reality. In any case, the usurpation of power by Faḍlūn and his deposition by Sau-tegin did not mean the end of the Shaddādids.

In summing up some events in Ganja Ibn al-Athīr[4] explains how in 486/1093 Sultan Bark-yaruq gave Arrān as a fief to his brother Muḥammad. Then he proceeds: "and previously Malik-shāh had taken that region from Faḍlūn b. Abul-savār

[1] The Chronicle calls him Sitʿlaraba (**sayyid al-ʿArab*?). It appears that Alp Arslan took Tiflis only towards the end of his campaign when he was returning from Kars. The town was given to Faḍlūn, after which Bagrat reinstated in Tiflis his own Muslim vassal.

[2] Or Minūchihr mentioned on p. 47. Apparently Faḍlūn first gave his hostages and then Sav-tegin intervened and took him back to Ganja.

[3] These districts lay on the river Ktsia, a right tributary of the Kur (to the south of Mt. Yaghluja). See Vakhusht, transl. by Brosset, p. 179.

[4] X, 194, under the year 492/1098–9.

al-Rawwādi (obvious mistake for **al-Shaddādi*) and given it to Sarhang Sau-tegin, the *khādim*. (Instead), he granted to Faḍlūn Astarābād.[1] Faḍlūn returned to his country and having strengthened his position revolted. And the Sulṭan sent against him the amīr Bozan who fought and captured him. The Sultan gave his dominions as a fief to a group (of amirs) among whom was Yaghï-sïyan, the lord of Anṭākiya.[2] After the death of Yaghï-sïyan[3] his son returned to the country of his father in those parts (i.e., in Syria). As to Faḍlūn he died in Baghdad in 484/1091, in utter poverty, in a mosque by the Tigris".[4]

Ibn al-Athir's indication "Faḍlūn b. Abil-savār" clearly refers to Faḍl II, and not to his son, of whom we lose sight after his deposition by Sau-tegin. At all events he must be distinguished from Faḍlūn, son of the prince of Ani Abul-Aswār İİ, who ruled in Ani in 1125–30 but made an attempt at recapturing Ganja. On him and on some later facts referring to Ganja see the second part of this book (p. 83, 85).

From the correspondence collected by Mas'ūd b. Nāmdār (*l.c.*, 120) it appears that before 500/1106 Ganja, at least temporarily, was occupied by the sharvanshah Farīburz.

J. *Siunik' and P'arisos*

The highly mountainous area extending roughly between Lake

[1] Was Astarabad chosen by Faḍl because he hoped to find a friendly atmosphere in the country of his father's boon-companion Kaykāvūs b. Iskandar? By that time the Ziyārids too had been reduced to the status of Seljukid vassals. See Huart, "Les Ziyârides", *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1922, VII, p. 71 (423), and Nafīsī in the introduction to his edition of the *Qābūs-nāma*.

[2] The statement of Vardan, *l.c.*, 137, that in Arm. 537/1088 Malik-shah ordered "Bukha" (Bozan?) to take Gandzak from the P'atlanids, "called Shadad", seems to refer to these events.

[3] Yaghi-Siyan of Antioch died in 491/June 1098. See I. Qalānisi, 135, cf. C. Cahen, "La Syrie du Nord", p. 215.

[4] The chronology of these events is uncertain. M. H. Yinanç, *l.c.*, p. 119 thinks that about 1084 Ganja was still in the hands of the Shaddādids (?).

Sevan and the Araxes bore in Armenian the name of Siunikʿ. The river Hakar (now Akera), which like a sword-cut divides the rugged highlands, separates Siunikʿ from its eastern neighbour Artsakh (now Qarabagh). In the North-East Siunikʿ bordered on the territories lying immediately west of Ganja. In the West lay the plains of the Armenian districts of the left bank of the Araxes (Dvin, Nakhchevan).

Siunikʿ had its own ancient dynasty claiming descent from Hayk, the founder of the Armenian nation. According to the local historian[1]: "the race of Sisak, issued from Hayk, became in the course of time mixed with the line of the Arshakids and (*sic*) Pahlavids, sometimes with the Khazars and soon after with the Bagratids (of Ani, etc.)". The ancient dynasty has been traced from the end of the 3rd century down to 711. Then there are "two or three" missing links and in the 9th century the dynasty emerges again to become closely connected with the Arab and Turkish invaders. Vasak, the first prince, appealed for help to the famous rebel and heresiarch Bābak (in Armenian *Baban*) and gave him his daughter. But Bābak committed excesses in the region of Lake Sevan and, later, when he sought refuge from the Arabs with another chief ("Sahl, son of Sunbāṭ", previously connected with Shakki), the latter surrendered him to the commander of the caliphal army Afshīn (222/837).

By the beginning of the 10th century the family domains were divided into two principalities: Smbat took the western part consisting of Vayotsʿ-dzor and Shahaponkʿ,[2] and his brother the

[1] Stephannos Orbelian (circa 1300), "Histoire de la Siounie", tr. by Brosset, St. Petersbourg, 1864–6, I, 172.

[2] This fief was also called *Sisakan*. While Marzubān was in captivity (A.D. 949–52) his brother, Vahsūdān, imprisoned their father Muhammad b. Musāfir in a castle called *Shīsajān* in which he himself was at that time, Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, II, 135 (year 339)=GMS, XVII/6, p. 179. It is likely that this castle was *Sīsagān, and this would be another indication of the Musāfirid domination in Siunikʿ (Sīsakān). Yāqūt, III, 215, reckons 16 farsakhs from Sīsajān to Dvin. Cf. p. 36.

eastern part, namely Baḷkʿ down to the river Akera. Vayotsʿ-dzor is the valley of the present-day "Lower" Arpa-chay which irrigates the Sharur-Daralagez plain, whereas its upper course drains a considerable area in the mountains and goes up close to Lake Sevan. Possibly the two principalities came under the suzerainty of the Musāfirid Marzubān but only *Vayotsʿ-dzor is mentioned in the list of the tributaries of the lord of Azarbayjan which has survived in Ibn Hauqal, 254 (see above p. 36 and note 2 on p. 69.

No other vassal of Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān was better placed to undertake an expedition against Muhammad b. Shaddād than the prince of Vayotsʿ-dzor, who was separated from Dvin only by the basin of the Vedi-chay flowing into the Araxes between the Lower Arpa-chay and the Azad. The prince to whom I. Hauqal refers under 344/955 must have been the man who attacked Muhammad but Ibn Hauqal calls him only Abul-Qāsim al-Wayzūrī. This kind of Arabic *kunya* was usual among the Armenians but it is insufficient for disclosing the Christian name of the prince (perhaps Vasak, son of Smbat?).

As the attack was a failure, there would have been no ill-feeling on the part of the Shaddādids in taking service even with the attacker, and the latter could have no objections to enrolling the young Kurdish warriors who were in very low waters. It is possible, however, that a change had taken place in Vayotsʿ-dzor with the advent of Vasak's cousin Smbat. He is first mentioned in 963 but may have begun to reign earlier. Of him S. Orbelian says that he "was on good terms with the atabek of Tauriz and the amir of Aṛan, whose sway stretched down to the gate of Darband and over the princes of Aghovankʿ (above, p. 41), and with their support he received the royal title from the sultan of Khorasan". This statement is full of anachronisms for there were no atabeks and no sultans in the later 10th century. The real reference would be to some Rawwādī ruler of Tabriz and to Faḍl I of Ganja.

As already suggested, the name *Dyrzūr* in our text must in some way correspond to Pʿaṛisos mentioned in Vardan.[1]

This geographical term is extremely rare in Armenian literature and in the sources accessible to me I have found no valid explanation of its position.[2] The *locus classicus* is Asoḷik, III, ch. 48, which declares that in 1003–4, after the reign of Senekʿerim and Grigor, the line of Pʿaṛisos issued from Hayk became extinct and its possessions were divided between Gagik of Ani and "Pʿatlun, amir of Gandzak". Strangely enough, no combination of such Armenian names (plus the name of Grigor's son Philip) occurs in the elaborate charts of Siunikʿ compiled by Brosset, see Orbelian, II, 12–14. This suggests that the rulers of Pʿaṛisos did *not* belong to the main family of rulers. S. Orbelian, I, 170, admits that the descendants of Hayk were divided "into many branches and families and we have occupied ourselves only with the principal princes (princes-primats supérieurs)". In this case our restoration of *Dyrzūr* as Vayotsʿ-dzor can stand only as a general designation of the whole area occupied both by the principal line and by the nests of related rulers. Unfortunately the fiefs which Muhammad's sons received from " the famous

[1] Although, from the point of view of palaeography, it is easier to restore دیرزور as Voyotsʿ-dzor, and دیرسوس tentatively as Pʿaṛisos (*فیرسوس?). Perhaps the name اقارستة in Balādhuri's passage quoted above (p. 37) also refers to Pʿaṛisos. It might be possible too to restore *Dyrzūr* as **Zangazūr* زنگزور but this name (for Eastern Siunikʿ) does not seem old enough, nor would the names of the rulers of Baḷkʿ be of any help in our difficulty.

[2] St. Martin, I, 144 (citing the authority of Chamchian II, 872, 1006, 1042, III, 40, 80) says that Pʿaṛisos was the name "d'une petite ville qui était située entre le pays de *Kapan et celui de *Baḷkʿ. Ce petit royaume fut détruit vers la fin du douzième siècle par les atabeks de l'Azarbayjan". This location is doubtful in view of the Shaddādid story. See Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, 350, 458, who only compares the name with *Kʿusti-pʿarēns* in Artsax! The name may be connected with the ancient people Παρράσιοι whom Strabo, c. 504, mentions alongside the Albanii, Armenii, Uitii, etc. According to N. Emin, *l.c.*, 148, the historian Ovhannes Sarkavag who died in 568/1119 was a native of Pʿaṛisos.

išxan Grigor" (see Vardan) cannot be identified except one. Šot'k' may be *Sot'k'*, a district of Siunik' lying to the South-East of Lake Sevan, see Hübschmann, p. 348. If so, the local ruler might have been the prince of Geḷam or Geḷakuni (the basin of Lake Sevan). In fact some Haykids of Siunik' had this region as their special fief.[1] If, as Chamchian says, P'aṛisos was the name of the residence and not of the district, its disappearance would be more understandable. Geḷam lay in the direction of Ganja and was suitable for a further expansion of the Shaddādids in that direction. Its position also rendered possible its division between Faḍl İ and the Bagratids.

Thus every point of evidence weighed, it is more advisable to admit that the Shaddādids served not with the main branch of the Vasakids but with some local ruler of Western Siunik', comprised under the general term of **Wayzzūr*.

It seems to be a confusion to assume that the P'aṛisos line survived by continuing the house of the rulers of Eastern Siunik' (Baḷk') who belonged to the junior line of the Vasakids (Orbelian, I, 120). What happened under Malikshah (end of the 11th century) was that the childless brothers Smbat and Grigor of Baḷk' adopted Grigor's brother-in-law Senek'erim, who belonged to the family of the Aghovan princes of Artsakh (Qarabagh). This Senek'erim received the royal title from Malikshah but after the latter's death (in 1092) he was attacked and killed. Our sources, however, are at variance.

Vardan's version of the events is that in Arm. 523/A.D. 1074 "P'atlun, amir of Gandzak, sent the Pahlavid Vasak, son of Grigor Magistros, against the impregnable castle of Baḷk' and Kapan.[2]

[1] For example Grigor-Suphan whom the Sājid Yūsuf poisoned in 910, S. Orbelian, II. 28. Among the Vasakids the name Grigor occurs only in the junior line.

[2] As our Baḷk' is mentioned jointly with Kapan, it must be the Baḷk' which in the words of S. Orbelian, I, 117, 122, "is now called Bargushat". Kapan (nowadays the mining district of Kafan) lies to the west of the river Bargushat. In any case P'aṛisos looks different from Baḷk'.

Vasak penetrated into it and killed the Haykid king Senek'erim, for the kings of this country were Haykids . . . Senek'erim was killed by order of P'atlun and the torch of kingship was put out and the Persians became the masters".[1] On the other hand, S. Orbelian, in his *History of Siunik'*,[2] writes that after the death of Malikshah (in 485/6 Nov. 1092) the "amir of Barda, Ran and Gandzak" came with numerous troops to attack Senek'erim (see above p. 72). He was accompanied by Grigor, son of Apirat, prince of Shirak.[3] The amir sent the latter to persuade Senek'erim to come out. Then the amir murdered the king. After him reigned his son Grigor, "obscure in his inferiority".

Even Brosset has not succeeded in discovering the identity of the traitor who was the tool of Senek'erim's murder. In other respects too one cannot reconcile the versions of Vardan and Orbelian. Some MSS. of Vardan's history, instead of 1074, give the more reasonable 1094. If, nevertheless, the date of 1074 had any chance of being accepted, Senek'erim's murder might be tentatively attributed to Faḍl İİ's son Faḍlūn (1073–5), or to Faḍl İİ himself after his return from Astarabad. The following prince bearing the name Faḍlūn was the enterprising prince of Ani who ruled *circa* 1123–30 and temporarily occupied Dvin and even Ganja. But this candidature too is not without difficulties (see p. 84). Should S. Orbelian be right, the murder of Senek'erim might be laid at the door of some Seljuk prince or governor of "Barda'a, Arran and Ganja", pursuing the policy of "unification" without regard to hereditary rights.

There exists a third document: an elegy by the same S. Orbelian (quoted from Chamchian by St. Martin, II, 10). It praises the prince Smbat of Baḷk' adding that his kingdom lasted

[1] See the Russian translation by Emin, p. 128; the passage is also quoted by Brosset in S. Orbelian, II, 31.

[2] Ch. 59, tr. Brosset, I, 183.

[3] Cf. below p. 81.

for 120 years after the Bagratids (1045+120=1165). The last of his successors were Senekʿerim and his son Grigor. "Their kingdom was destroyed at the time of Eldiguz. A race of strangers, of Persians, consumed the country with flames in 615 (A.D. 1166). Thus they passed away and were totally destroyed".[1]

It must be noted that S. Orbelian in his history (ch. 59, tr. Brosset, I, 183) speaks of the death of Senekʿerim, and in his elegy of the final destruction of the kingdom of Baḷkʿ, which he attributes to the atabek Eldiguz of Azarbayjan. Brosset thought that Senekʿerim died towards 1105.[2] In this case the last prince Grigor must have had an exceptionally long reign (1105–66).[2] If we accept that the murderer was Faḍlūn of Ani (see above), this difficulty would be obviated but then Senekʿerim's death would have to be placed *circa* 1124!

Unfortunately, the problems of the rulers of Siunikʿ are like so many other chronological puzzles in the history of Armenia. *Nondum liquet.*

K. *The Northern Invaders*

All the references in our text to the invaders coming from the direction of the Caucasian mountains are interesting from the point of view of local history.

In the first place, our source reveals to us the strength of the Alāns in the 10th–11th centuries. Their importance was growing and they had strong family ties with other dynasties. Constantine Monomach (d. in 1055) was married to an Alanian princess. The Georgian king Giorgi's second wife was an Osset princess and his son Bagrat IV (1027–72) wedded Borena, the sister of Durghulel, the king of the Alāns. Borena's daughter Maria was married to the emperor Michael VII (1071–8). The Khazars and the Russians eagerly sought beautiful Alān brides. The Alān king

[1] A complete translation by Brosset in S. Orbelian, II, 174-8.

[2] See his genealogical table in S. Orbelian, II, 14 (on what authority?).

Ordure was killed in a battle by the king of Kakhet Kuirikē, but the latter too was killed by an Alān slave (in 1039?) who wished to revenge his lord, Brosset, I, 317.

As we now see, Bagrat IV used his Alān (Osset) allies to reduce his foe Abul-Aswār. The magnitude of the 454/1062 disaster is clearly described in our §9 and the moment for the second invasion, which in October 1065 penetrated as far as the Araxes, was well-chosen, both tactically (the season) and strategically (a blow to Abul-Aswār as the ally of Alp-Arslan). This unknown episode explains the reasons for Alp Arslan's second campaign in Transcaucasia in 1067. The passage of the *Akhbār* quoted above definitely shows that behind the Alāns stood Bagrat.[1]

Of the meaning of the Rūs-Alān association we shall speak in the following paragraph.

The attacks of the Daghestanian frontagers were less concerted. These tribesmen were mostly used as mercenaries. Thus we see the Lakz (Lazgi) in the service of an Armenian neighbour of Dvin (§4) and in that of the Sharvānshāh (§15). As already stated I am inclined to consider the mysterious *al-Dādīda* (and *al-Kuwārwāt*?) as vagaries of the Arabic script for **al-Dūdāniya*, the Dido mountaineers of the upper Andi Qoy-su who always had a tendency to expand into the richer country on the Alazan and its tributaries. These people were considered in Ganja as a danger apart (§13).

It is gratifying to find a new reference to the much discussed *Siyāvordī* (Sevordi), apparently the remnants of the Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι (see text n. 7). The Siyāvordī centres lay to the west of the Shaddādid frontier-town Shamkūr (now Shamkhor) and the population professed Armenian Christianity.[2] The only Sphynx

[1] Thus, 60 years after him, king David the Restorer (1089–1121) secured the passage through the Alanian Gate of 40,0000 Qipchaqs whom he opposed to his enemies in Transcaucasia.

[2] Already about the middle of the 9th century there were Christian martyrs among them. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 497.

among the nationalities mentioned are the السرية who had mixed with the Siyāvordī and against whom Faḍl I protected Ganja. Possibly the name is a distortion of السريرية, the subjects of the *Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr* "lord of the throne", who ruled in northern Daghestan, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, note to §49. The Ts'anar were also a spirited Christian people near the Alān pass but the Arabic form of their name الصنارية or السنارية would be a less suitable parallel for our name.

L. *The Rūs*

One of the major revelations in our text is the reference to two still unknown raids of the ancient Russians into Transcaucasia. All the facts concerning their piratical activities on the Caspian have been carefully recorded and sifted in such works as Dorn's *Caspia* in *Mém. Acad. St. Pétersbourg*, XXIII, No. 1, 1875, Barthold's "The place of the Caspian region in the history of the Islamic world" (in Russian), Baku, 1925, p. 37–44, etc. Between the best-known expedition which took place in 332/943 in the reign of the Musāfirid Marzubān[1] and the raid of *circa* A.D. 1173 hinted at in an ode of Khāqānī dedicated to the sharvanshah Akhsatān (930–90/1135–93?)[2] there existed a gap of 130 years. The *Taʾrīkh al-Bāb*, which has survived in quotations in Münejjim-bashī's *Jāmiʿ al-duwal*, fills in this lacuna by describing the incursions and other activities of the Russians under the years 377/987, 379/989, 421/1030 and 422/1031 (or 423/1032).

These operations are recorded not only in the chapter on the Shaddādids but also, and in greater detail, in the chapters on Sharvān and al-Bāb. Therefore it will be advisable to postpone their analysis till the publication of these two important chapters,

[1] Described in Miskawayh, "The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate", II, 62–7, 81.

[2] See Khanykoff in Bull. hist. de l'Acad. de St. Petersbourg, XIV, No. 23, col. 353–76, and Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 308.

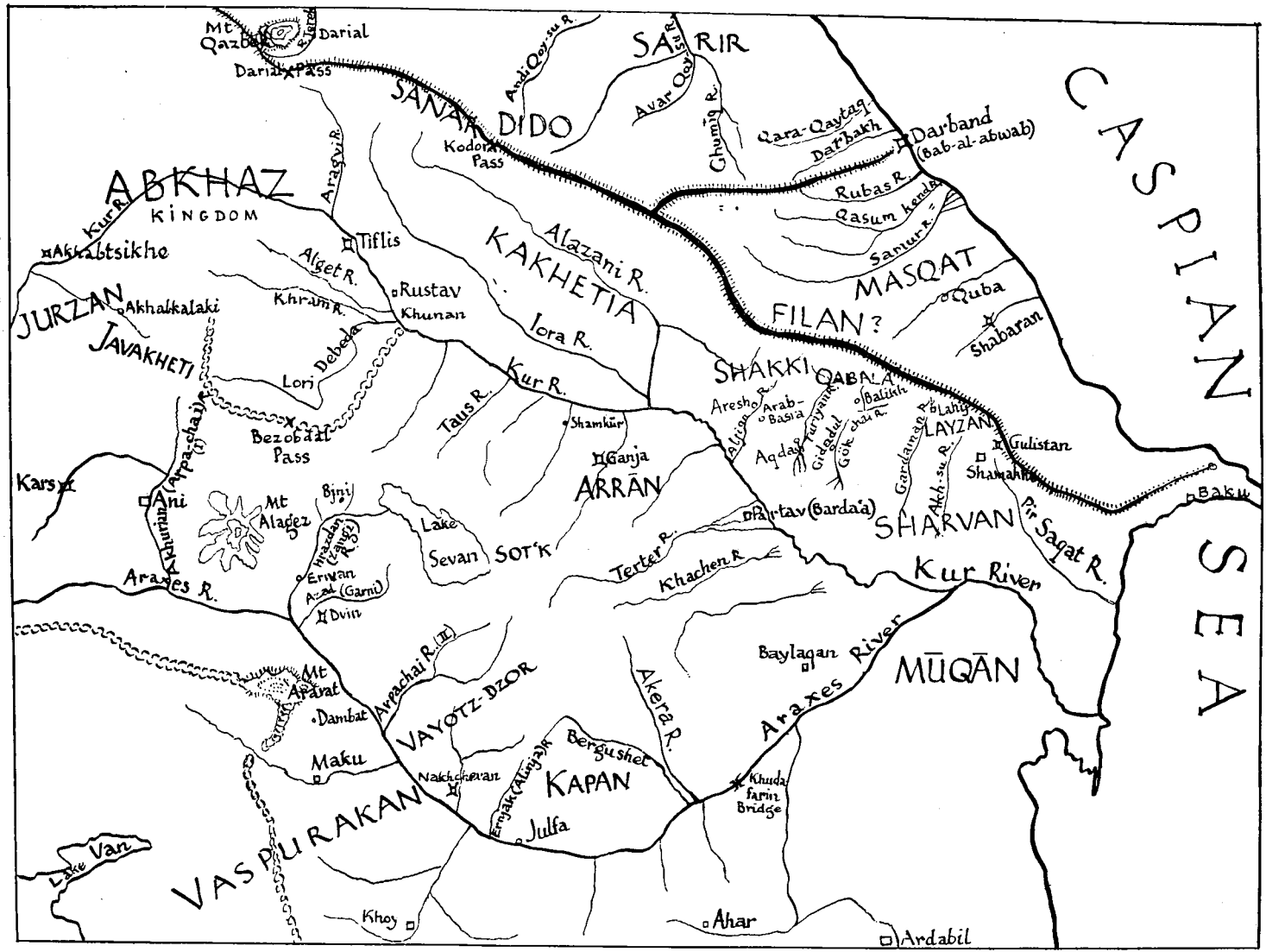
full of revelations of every kind. In this place it will be enough to stress only the facts relative to Arrān:

(1) The land trek of the Russians (in 421/1030) who having sailed up the Kur (and possibly a part of the Araxes) intervened in the clashes of the Shaddādid family and then proceeded by land to the Black sea and thence to their own country, thus completing the circuit of the Caucasus. It is likely that their final destination was the principality of Tmutorokan at the entrance to the Azov sea founded in the beginning of the 11th century by Mstislav, son of Vladimir and brother of the Kiev prince Yaroslav.[1]

(2) The counter-attack of Mūsā b. Faḍl who in 423/1032 successfully fought the Rūs in the neighbourhood of Bākū, i.e., right in the heart of Sharvan. This expedition beyond the frontier of Arrān, might be explained by the fact that the sharvanshah Minūchihr was married to Mūsā's sister, al-Sitt, an energetic person who in 425/1034 murdered her husband in order to marry the latter's brother Abū-Manṣūr.

(3) In the chapter on the Shaddādids our source speaks only of the first and third invasions of the Rūs and says nothing about the *second* raid. This must be due to Münejjim-bashī's abridging the original. In the chapter on Sharvan (§15) only the Alāns and the Sarīrians are mentioned as invaders in 423/1032 but in the chapter on al-Bāb (§38) the Rūs alone are referred to. On their way back, the ghāzīs of al-Bāb caught them in a defile, recaptured the booty and exterminated the raiders. Apparently the events of 423/1032 represented a combined operation of the Alāns and Sarīrians together with the Rūs.

[1] See G. Vernadsky, "Kievan Rus", Yale University, 1948, pp. 68–9.



Eastern Transcaucasia in the 10th century.

II

THE SHADDĀDIDS OF ANI

1. Introduction: sources, special features of Ani
2. Minūchihr
3. Abul-Aswār II
4. Faḍlūn III (IV?)
5. Faḍlūn's brothers
6. Maḥmūd's sons
7. Georgian domination
8. Princes Mxargrdzeli
9. Dvin, Ani and trade-routes

1. INTRODUCTION

For the history of the later Shaddādids we unfortunately have no special source equal in importance to that which has guided us until now. Many facts scattered through Muslim and Armenian sources have been collected by the late Kasravi but he has not exhausted the subject. Nor has he used any Georgian or Russian materials.

On the Armenian side our chief source on the later Shaddādids is Vardan (down to A.D. 1268) whose information is apparently derived from the now lost "History of the origin of the Turks" by Vardapet Sarkavag who lived in the early part of the 12th century (mentioned by Vardan at the time of Faḍlūn III).[1] On the Islamic side the most valuable information on the Kurdo-Armenian kings of Ani is contained in al-Fāriqi's *Ta'rīkh Mayyāfāriqīn*. The relevant extracts from it have been printed in footnotes to Ibn Qalānisī's *History of Damascus*,[2] but not yet properly

[1] Brosset in his translation of Samuel of Ani, pp. 462–3, says that the various dates assigned to Sarkavag's death fluctuate between 1129 and 1157. Cf. above p. 71.

[2] Edited by Amedroz, Leyden, 1908. [Amedroz omits some phrases in Fāriqī's text.]

explained and made use of.[1] A few particulars are found in the didactic chronicle in Persian verse *Anīs al-Qulūb* by a native of Ani, Qādī Burhān al-dīn Abū-Naṣr b. Mas'ūd al-Anawī (608/1211), recently analysed by Prof. F. Köprülü.[2]

There was a considerable difference between the background of the old Shaddādī residences and that of Ani. Ganja was a Muslim town[3] and Dvin had been an important Muslim administrative centre from the early days of the Arab conquest (see below, p. 117). On the other hand Ani, as the capital of the Armenian Bagratids and "the city of 1001 churches", was full of Christian traditions. After the removal of the last Bagratid in 1045, Greek governors ruled in Ani down to its conquest by Alp Arslan in 1072. It was practically from the hands of the Christians that Minūchihr took over the magnificent capital of the Bagratids. Another feature of the situation in Ani was that after Malik-shāh's death (1092) quarrels began among the Seljuk sultans and Ani had to face chiefly the arbitrary behaviour of various Turkish amirs. Finally Georgia was on its upgrade movement and expanding southwards. Thus the destiny of Ani depended on the vicissitudes of the Turko-Georgian struggles.

The scanty information on the Shaddādids of Ani cannot be understood without the background of these clashes and I shall quote in considerable detail the little-known passages which illustrate the situation.

2. MINŪCHIHR
(*after* 1064–*circa* 1118?)

Similarly to certain Muslim dynasties which lorded it in the

[1] I have had the opportunity of examining the original of al-Fāriqi (*alias* al-Azraqī), namely, Br.Mus.Or.5803 and Or.6310; cf. my article "Caucasica in the History of Mayyāfāriqīn", *BSOAS*, 1949, XIII/1, pp. 27–35.

[2] *Anadolu Selcuklularī tarihi'nin yerli kaynaklarī*, in *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten*, vol. 27, 1943, pp. 379–521.

[3] Built by Muhammad b. Khālid in 245/859, see above p. 39, cf. Barthold, *Gandja* in *E.I.*

Indian states, the youthful MINŪCHIHR ruled over alien, Christian subjects. Himself the son of an Armenian princess, he also married a Bagratid (named Kata). Vardan (tr. Emin, 129) speaks of him as a God-sent ruler of the ruined town. Even the Armenian version of his name, *Manuče*, sounds like a form of affectionate familiarity.[1]

We have seen above that immediately after the conquest, Alp Arslan appointed to Ani a Muslim amir, and several years must have elapsed between the conquest and the advent of Manuče. His accession is usually placed in 1072.[2] This, however, may be the year of his coming of age when he began to rule independently. He repaired and enlarged the walls of Ani and admitted into the town Grigor, son of Vasak, son of Apirat, with 500 noblemen. This Pahlavid[3] became a trusted supporter of the king. Manuče was faithful to his suzerain Malik-shah and on the mosque he built (or rather on its minaret) he recorded that it was erected in the government (*daula*) of *Maulānā al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam Shahanshāh* (*al-aʿẓam*) (Malikshah b. Alp-Arslan.)[4] In another

[1] Vardan calls him "grandson" of Faḍlūn, which is right (for he was the son of Abul-Aswār I and the Armenian princess of Tashir), but he imagines that it was Faḍlūn who obtained Ani from Alp Arslan in exchange for the "ikons of Tsaḷkotsʿ wrought in gold" (as translated by Prof. N. Y. Marr, "Ani", 1934, p. 32). In Münejjim-bashi's text only his name is mentioned in § 17 (at the fourth place among Abul-Asvār's sons).

[2] Marr, *Ani*, p. 32; Y. A. Manandian, *On the trade and the cities of Armenia* (in Russian), Erivan 1930, p. 181.

[3] Pahlavid apparently through his mother who was a daughter of Grigor Magistros, see above pp. 47 and 51.

[4] As restored by V. and I. Krachkovsky in *Akademiku N. Y. Marru*, 1935, 671–95. The date has unfortunately disappeared. According to St. Martin, I, 134, in 1086, Malikshah confirmed the rights of Manuče. The inscription may be a memory of this event. There were three mosques in Ani: that of Manuče (with a later inscription of the Mongol khan Abū-Saʿīd), that of Abul-Maʿmarān (*i.e.* of the family mentioned above p. 47) bearing the inscription of Shāhanshāh (see below p. 101) and a third one (?) of which only some Kufic inscriptions have been discovered.

inscription on the same mosque he gives himself the title of *al-amīr al-ajall Shujāʿ al-daula Abū-Shujāʿ Minūchihr ibn Shāvūr (sic)*.

Vardan (*l.c.*, 129) speaks of Malik-shāh as a "merciful well-meaning king, especially kind to the people". It was after Malikshah's death in 485/16 Nov. 1092 that the Turkish amirs got out of hand and launched attacks on the Armenian lands.

In 1092 famine visited Armenia, and then the country was invaded by Al-Khazi (Ēl-Ghāzī b. Artuq).[1] The latter, with 7000 men, reached Ani but the Pahlavid Grigor slew his giant brother and the aggressors were beaten off. Soon after Grigor fighting "on the front of Kaḷzuvan (now Kaghizman)" saved Manuče from death but himself lost his life. Manuče buried Grigor in the monastery of Keč'aṛus (in 1099?)[2]

In Jumādā II 496/April 1103 the discord among the successors of Malik-shāh was revealed by the visit to Manuče of Sultan Muḥammad, after his defeat by Barkyaruq in the battle near Khoy.[3]

In Arm. 552/1105 amir Ghzil (Qïzïl)[4] took Lori and penetrating

[1] The identity of El-Khazi is clear from Vardan's indication that he later "took" Jerusalem. In point of fact Ēl-Ghāzī was appointed governor of Jerusalem by Tutush, see *Ilghāzī* in *E.I.*

[2] It is not clear from Vardan, *l.c.*, 129–35, who the enemy was in this case.

[3] Bundarī, 261; I.A., X, 247*a*.

[4] This amir is apparently Qïzïl Arslan, or in Arabic *al-sabʿ al-aḥmar*, see *al-Fāriqi*, f.157*a* and f.158*b*. This author says that after the death of Tutush (488/1095) "Qïzïl Arslan ruled in Isʿird, Ṭanzē and Bāhmard. And previously he was the ruler of the town of *Duwēn* in the country of Arzen" (between the rivers Bidlis-su and Batman-su). He paid homage to Sultan Qïlïch Arslan in 498/1105. A *Duwēn (*Duvin?*) is said to have existed in Arzen but some confusion with the Transaraxian Duvin (Dvin) is possible. In fact the family of Tughan-Arslan al-Aḥdab ruled both in Arzen and in Dvin (see below). Apparently, soon after his new investiture Qïzïl attacked Dvin. According to C. Cahen, *Le Diyār-Bakr*, in *J. As.*, Oct. 1935, p. 324, this amir is mentioned in 1103 in the expedition against Khoy and "he finally died in 1118 before Dvin." The source is not indicated, but the natural conclusion would be that the year of Manuče's vengeance was 1118.

into Dvin killed Manuče's brother Abū-Naṣr.[1] From this we can gather that Dvin remained in the hands of the Shaddādids down to 1105. Unable to overcome Qïzïl,[2] Manuče travelled to the court of the Seljukid king (Ghiyāth al-din Muḥammad, 1105–1118). With the help received he defeated Qïzïl and killed him on the grave of Abū-Naṣr (in 1118?), but he had to redeem this satisfaction by ceding Ganja to the Seljuks of Persia.

This led to the appearance on the stage of a new enemy of the Shaddādids, for Qïzïl's place in Dvin was taken by the Turkish amir Shams al-daula Tughan-Arslan al-Aḥdab ("the Humpback") b. Husām al-daula. He ruled in Bitlis and Arzen, and now following in Qïzïl's footsteps he acquired Dvin as a kind of "Transaraxian colony". In fact, under the events of 515/1121, al-Fāriqi[3] refers to Tughan-Arslan as the possessor of Dvin, to whom his Artuqid overlord had assigned a special task in the attack on Tiflis, which for some reasons Tughan-Arslan failed to carry out.

The year of Manūchihr's death is unknown (*circa* 1118?).

3. ABUL-ASWĀR II

(*circa* 1118–1124?)

Minūchihr's son ABUL-ASWĀR SHĀVUR II[4] was a man of a different type. He returned to the aggressive policy of his homonymous grandfather and placed on the Armenian cathedral in Ani a huge silver crescent which he brought from Khilāt ("a horse-shoe", as Vardan puts it). Vardan calls him "woman-like and devoid of courage". Being pressed by the Turks he made ready to cede Ani to the Turkish amir of Kars for 60,000

[1] *I.e.*, Abū Naṣr Iskandar b. Shāvur, see p. 64, under the events of 445/1053.

[2] Who was a *protégé* of the Seljuks of Rūm.

[3] Fol. 161*a*, cf. *BSOAS*, 1949, XIII/1, p. 32 (needs correction).

[4] Kasravi assigns to him tentatively the years H.503–18/A.D. 1110–24.

dinars.[1] The Armenians, greatly alarmed, appealed to the Georgian king David IV the Restorer (1089–1125) who entered Ani without striking a blow and re-placed the cross on the cathedral. David abducted Abul-Aswār and his eight sons to Abkhazia[2] and gave Ani as a fief to the Georgian nobleman Abuleth Orbeliani and his son Ivane.

From Vardan's words that, after 60 years, the "hated symbol" on the cathedral was replaced by the cross, one can gather that a kind of crescent had been placed on the cathedral immediately after the conquest, and conversely, that David came to Ani in 1124 (=1064 + 60).[3]

4. FAḌLŪN III

(*circa* 1125–30)

This was the first interruption of the Shaddādid rule in Ani, but Abul-Aswār's son FAḌLŪN III[4] who had been in Khorasan with the "chief of the princes" (Sultan Sanjar) collected troops and for a year besieged Ani. The Georgian king Dimitri (1125–1156) could not relieve the town and Abuleth, hearing of the

[1] In 1074 king Giorgi II (1072–89) received Kars from one of his vassals. *Circa* 1080 he was attacked by the Turks led by the amir Ahmad who "shortly before" had captured Kars. See M. H. Yinanç, *Selcuklular*, I, pp. 111–2, and *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, "Erzerum", 33 cüz, p. 349. This is probably the person mentioned in the text. The amirs who ruled in a fief consisting of Qars and Surmārī (see below p. 88, n. 4) must have been his descendants. Maḥmūd b. Faḍlūn was married to a princess of this house (see under 1154). The later lords of Surmāra (*sic*) are many times mentioned in Nasawī, see especially p. 203 (tr. 339) where *Ghars (mis-spelt *Ghīq*) is referred to as their ancient fief.

[2] Brosset, I/1, 370. Cf. Samuel of Ani in Brosset's *Collection*, II, 461: Abul-Aswār and two of his sons died in "the unhealthy country" of their exile. Brosset adds that the princes Shervashidze are considered as issued from the Shaddādids.

[3] Brosset, I, 368–9, gives the date of August 1124, but in the present-day view Ani was captured in 1123, see Marr, *l.c.*, 33; Manandian, *l.c.*, 182; Janashia, "History of Georgia" (in Russian), Tiflis 1946, p. 196: August 1123.

[4] Or Faḍlūn IV, if we count as Faḍlūn III (1073–5) the son of Faḍl II.

death of David IV and apprehensive of the Turkish danger, surrendered Ani to Faḍlūn.[1] The latter honestly kept the promises he had given to the inhabitants and apparently did not re-occupy the cathedral. This Faḍlūn was anxious to restore the pristine glory of his family and, profiting by the quarrels which had broken out between Maḥmūd and Tughril II, sons of Sultan Muḥammad, he recaptured the ancestral towns of Ganza and Dvin.[2] The latter must have been recovered from Tughan-Arslan.[3] This explains why in 524/1130, in the seventh year of Faḍlūn's rule,[4] Qurtï,[5] son of Tughan-Arslan, suddenly recaptured Dvin. Faḍlūn was wounded in the battle with Qurtï but, according to Vardan (*ibid.*, 150), the wound was not mortal and it was some traitor who strangled Faḍlūn. Ibn al-Qalānisi, p. 167, admits that Qurtï was an exceptionally brutal man: "stories were told about his oppression, inhumanity, tyranny and mischief. They are repugnant to the soul and the heart is reluctant to hear of them". From Vardan (*l.c.*, 151) we know one of

[1] Vardan, *ibid.*, 147. The date now accepted is 1126, see Manandian, *l.c.*, 182. Cf. also Samuel of Ani, *l.c.*, pp. 461–3.

[2] According to Georgian annals, Brosset, I, 367, David, son of Giorgi, recaptured Tiflis in 1122. In 1123 the sultan occupied Sharvan but retreated when David moved against him. On the same occasion the Georgians defeated 4000 men of the atabek Aghsunt'ul (Aq-sunqur?) of Arrān. With more confusion Vardan, *l.c.*, 147–8, says that some time after 1118 David defeated "Mslin (?), sultan of Gandzak". These blows may have prepared the ground for the temporary re-occupation of Ganja by Faḍlūn III of Ani.

[3] This amir died only in 533/1138. See al-Fāriqī in Ibn al-Qalānisī, ed. Amedroz, p. 208. He was succeeded by his son Qurti who ruled the family fief of Bitlis and Arzen (with the addition of Dvin) in 533–8/1138–43. Only in 627/1230, Arzen was wrested from the descendants of Tughan-Arslan by the Ayyubid Shihāb al-din Ghāzī, see I. Athir, XII, 321.

[4] This "seventh year" makes a difficulty unless his reign was counted not from his capture of Ani but from the moment his father was abducted by David (1023).

[5] The pronunciation of his name is clear from Vardan, under Arm. 579/1130 (*ibid.*, 151): "Kurti, son of Kuz", *kūz* being the Persian equivalent of *al-aḥdab* "humpback", as his father was surnamed.

these cases. In 1131 Abuleth's son Ivane (of the Orbelian family) attacked Garni (above Dvin, on the same river). Qurtï defeated him and ordered the enemies' heads to be cut off and boiled, and then had the skulls placed on the ledges of a minaret.

On the possibility of Faḍlūn's having been responsible for the death of Senek'erim of Balk' see above p. 73.

5. FAḌLŪN'S BROTHERS

Faḍlūn's death opened the door to new troubles. As king David's son Dimitri (1125–56) had numerous worries, he allowed the sons of Manuče, [in fact, his grandchildren], to return to their home. He only made them swear to be loyal, to leave the cathedral in the hands of the Armenians and not to let the Muslims penetrate into it (Matthew's continuator, §249). Vardan quotes merely the names of these princes: after a short time, the younger, XUŠŠER,[1] was succeeded by his elder brother MAḤMŪD.[2] Vardan, p. 150, also mentions a third brother who, having heard that his grandmother Kata was a Bagratid, went to the mountain of St. Grigor and became a Christian monk. There he lived 15 years and "light was seen above his cell".[3]

6. MAḤMŪD'S SONS

After Maḥmūd, three of his sons in succession ascended the throne: Shaddād, Faḍlūn IV (or V) and Shāhanshāh. Of their reigns only some scattered episodes are known.

Al-Fāriqi (p. 180 *b*) knew of no year "more astonishing and richer in events than 549/1154". Among its happenings was that "the amir FAKHR al-DIN SHADDĀD, lord of Āna (i.e., Ani)

[1] Kasravi, III, 66, restores this name as **Khush-chihr* (which has the advantage of following the pattern of Mīnū-chihr).

[2] According to Samuel, *l.c.*, 463, Maḥmūd succeeded Faḍlūn.

[3] The reference is perhaps to the hermitage of Hreštakabnak (near Mt. Aragats) where the geography of pseudo-Vardan mentions the tomb of Surb Vardapet Grigor, see St. Martin, *l.c.*, II, 418–9. Cf. also Brosset, I/2, 246, who refers to a Christian church built by some "al-Malik b. Phadla" [? of Kakheti?].

sent (someone) to ask in marriage the daughter of ʿIzz al-din Saltuq, lord of Arzan al-Rūm (i.e., of Erzerum, A.D. 1153–64?); after some time her father married her to the lord of Arzan (*zawwaja-hā min ṣāḥib Arzan.*)[1] Then Shaddād sent to Saltuq saying: "my grip on Āna has weakened, so come and buy it from me; I cannot bear the Georgians and cannot ward them off; I shall be in your service and pay you homage". But when Saltuq arrived, Shaddād (in his spite against him) sent to Dimitri, king of the Abkhazians and Georgians (1125–56), who was then near Mt. Bāzway, at one day's distance from Āna, or a little more,[2] to inform him of the arrival of Saltuq, and Dimitri came with the Georgian army and in the morning was in Āna. He attacked (Saltuq's men) and killed a large number of them. ʿIzz al-dīn Saltuq was captured and many people with him, and innumerable Muslims were taken prisoner. This was a memorable day (*yauman ʿaẓīman*) for the Muslims. Then the kings of Diyār-Rabīʿa and Syria sent ambassadors to the king of the Abkhaz (i.e., Georgia) for mediation and the amount of ransom for ʿIzz al-dīn Saltuq was fixed at 100,000 dinars. He was released and returned to his country. And a huge sum of money left his country to redeem the prisoners taken (with) Saltuq".[3]

For a short time Shaddād remained in Ani, but in 550/1155

[1] Apparently some member of the Aḥdab family, see above p. 85.

[2] Probably Bezobdal east of Gumri (now Leninakan). This strange name is apparently connected with some Muslim (or Islamicised) sanctuary. During his expedition against the Seljuk Sultan (Brosset, I/1, 392) king Giorgi crossed the mountains of Bubakarni (*-ni* being the Georgian plural). The name **Bū-Bakr* could be easily confused with *Bū-Baqar* "possessor of a cow", and this popular etymology may have given in Turkish *Bizou-abdāl* "the calf-dervish, the dervish with a calf".

[3] Al-Fāriqī, f.180*b*, lines 8–17, also in Ibn Qalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 328. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 126: in 548/1153 Saltuq was defeated by the Georgians; XI, 185: in 556/1161 Saltuq was captured by the Georgians, but redeemed by his sister, wife of the ruler of Khilāṭ. The Georgian Chronicle is extremely brief about this feat of arms, see Brosset, I/1, 381–2, and I/2, 244–7. Samuel of Ani mentions it under 1154.

"the priests revolted (*wathaba*) in the city of Āna and captured it from Fakhr al-din Shaddād b. Maḥmūd b. Minūchihr and the city was given to his brother FAḌLŪN.[1] Amir Shaddād left (his) country and went to Syria to Asad al-dīn Shīrkūh, whose father Shādhī was of the followers (*atbāʿ*) of this house. And this is an ancient house in those parts and it is known as the house of Ibn Abil-Asāwir b. *Minūchihr (spelt: *Minūjhīr*).[2] The whole of Arrān belonged to them from Janzē (to) *Dvin (spelt: *Drz*), and all the lands bordering on it. Naṣr al-daula b. Marvān had married into their family (*tazawwaja ilayhum*), as we have mentioned.[3] The amir Shaddād remained some time in attendance on Nūr al-dīn. Then he came to Mardin and went to see al-mālik (*sic*) Najm al-din (the Artuqid) who treated him with kindness and gave him presents (*aḥsana ilayhi*) and fiefs, including the Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadīd in the country of Mīfarqīn, on the frontier of the people of Sasun (*Sanāsina*). After Shaddād had stayed there for some time he went back to the house of his maternal uncle in the town of Surmārī.[4] There he remained for some time. I met him in Mīfarqīn and previously I had met him in his kingdom in the city of Āna, when I entered the King's (service in) Tiflis. In 548/1188 he gave me numerous presents".[5]

[1] I.e. Faḍlūn IV, son of Maḥmūd and a lady of Surmārī (?), cf. I.Athīr, XI, 133. [Mahmūd was son of Abul-Aswār, son of Minūchihr.]

[2] This genealogy should be completed: *Abul-Aswār II, b. Minūchihr b. Abul-Aswār I.

[3] Al-Fāriqī, f.140*b*. Naṣr al-daula, of the Kurdish dynasty of Mayyāfārqīn, ruled 401–53/1010–61. He married a daughter of Faḍlūn b. Minūchihr called Fuḍūliya, but when he took a slave-girl as his fourth wife, she left him and her son Saʿīd and went home, *ibid.*, f. 141*a*. [Daughter of Fadl I?]

[4] On the right bank of the Araxes, south-east of Ani. The name of the uncle was Ibrāhīm, see al-Fāriqī, f.187*v*. (under 559). At this time Surmārī is often coupled with Kars, see above under the events of 518/1124, and below under the events of Rajab 556.

[5] Al-Fāriqī, f.181. Abridged quotation in I. Qalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 316, and I. Athīr, year 550, XI, 133 (briefly). It was in 548/1188 that al-Fāriqī took service with King Dimitri, see *BSOAS*, 1949, XIII/1, p. 33.

Under 556/1161 al-Fāriqī (fol. 183*b*) writes: "the priests revolted in the city of Āna against its lord, the amir Faḍlūn b. Minūchihr and he was defeated. He repaired to the castle called Bakrān (or *Karān*?) in the neighbourhood of Surmārī (see above). The priests remitted Āna to the king of the Abkhaz *Giorgi.[1] His army came (?) and Giorgi took possession of the town. He took much loot (*nahaba*) from Āni and carried off into captivity the whole family of Shaddād, including Faḍlūn [b. *Maḥmūd]. In Jumādā I (May 1161) the king of the Abkhaz appointed his chamberlain Sa'dūn governor (of Āna) and returned to Tiflis".

The eye-witness of these events was, in his youth, the qāḍī Burhān al-dīn Abū Naṣr Mas'ūd of Āni. In his clumsy Persian verse (*mutaqārib*) he explains that the Georgian occupation was not bloodless. The Georgians "besieged Āni, took the town and began fighting. They captured and killed and went away carrying (their booty). By sword and dagger many men perished. They captured Muslim men and women, young (read **barnā*) and old, and took them away into captivity. Among the rest they caught me and all my relatives by the hand of the Georgian Y.vān[2] but as I could remember the scripture (*khaṭṭ*) of the Gospel, (apposite) to their conditions, in the words of (their?) master, this knowledge became the reason of my liberation from the clutches of these dragon-like infidels". The young Burhān al-din had to leave his native town for a short time.[3]

[1] Spelt *K.rkūr*, read *K.rkūz*, i.e. *Georgios III (1156–84), the energetic father of Queen Thamar. The Georgian chronicle, I/1, 385, refers to the revolt in Ani of a certain Shanshe-Dadian. This must be the "revolt of the priests" mentioned by al-Fāriqī. But Shanshe seems to have acted on his own account, for "à force de parler et d'agir" Giorgi put him to flight and then occupied Ani.

[2] Apparently the "chief of the mandators" Ivane Orbeli to whom Giorgi entrusted the government of Ani to be assisted by the military commander Sarkis Mxargrdzeli, Brosset, I/1, 387.

[3] See F. Köprülü, *Anīs al-Ḳulūb*, in *Belleten*, No 27, 1943, p. 466.

7. GEORGIAN DOMINATION IN ĀNI

The Georgian rule in Āni was full of disturbances and only two months after the capture of the town the new masters were put to a hard test.

"In Rajab 556/July 1161 troops were collected, all of them from various regions, (namely those) of the Shah-Arman, ʿIzz al-dīn *Saltuq (spelt: *Sultuq*), Fakhr al-din (Daulat-shāh), lord of Arzen,[1] and the lord of Qars (spelt: *Ghars*) and Surmārī. They made for the river Aras, and the lord Najm al-dīn[2] set out to join them. In Shaʿbān (August 1161) they arrived before Āna and besieged it. The king Giorgi (spelt: *Kurkūr*) went out to meet them and defeated them at the gates of the town. When the king with his army arrived, the amir Saltuq fled and parted with the Muslims, because when the king Dimitri had captured him (see above) and let him go, he made him swear that, as long as he was alive, he would not unsheathe his sword against him or his children, and would not send troops against him or his children. So (now) Saltuq called for his horse, and when he left, the Muslim army was defeated and they were put to the sword and many of them perished. Thus the Shāh-Arman was defeated at the gates of Āni and the lord of Arzen (escaped) on his horse. One could not count the number of Muslim captives. The van (**yazak*) of the Shah-Arman was looted and most of his companions were killed but al-Masʿūd (?) was (among those) who escaped from the affray. Some 9000 Muslims, horse and foot, of the nobles of the Sukmān family and others were taken prisoner. Among the prisoners were Badr al-dīn, brother of the

[1] *Daulat-shah* was the title of al-Aḥdab's third son, whose brothers were Qurti and Yaqut-Arslan, but according to Fāriqī in I. Qalānisī, 264, he died in 539/1144. Perhaps **ibn* Daulat-shah was meant in al-Fāriqī's text. Daulat-shah had a son Arslan-Toghmïsh who inherited both the dominions of his father and those of his uncle Yaqut-Arslan who predeceased him. *V.i.* p. 93.

[2] I.e. the Artuqid Alpi b. Timurtash.

Khātūn, lady of Akhlāt,[1] and other men without number."[2]

The historian continues: "The news (of the defeat) reached the lord Najm al-dīn when he had arrived in Manāzgird, and he went back to Mayyāfariqīn without having joined Shāh Arman or taken part (*wa lā ḥaḍara*) in the battle. Jamāl al-dīn, vazir of Mausil, sent an envoy to the king of the Abkhaz to intercede for the amir H.ldri al-Q.rq.tfi, lord of Ispākird,[3] who was one of Shāh Arman's companions and was captured in the battle. The king released him. The vazir sent also the sum of 1000 dinars to ransom such Muslim captives who had no family and no money. Thus he ransomed a group of people of Hijāz who were taken in the battles".

A Christian version of these negotiations is found in Bar-Hebraeus: Jamāl al-dīn who was "a most merciful man"[4] chose as his ambassador to Giorgi the head of the Jacobite community (*maphrian*) Ignatius. "He was received honourably and a large number of prisoners were given to him for nothing". Giorgi sent presents to Jamāl al-dīn and sent his own envoy to accompany

[1] Instead of يركك I read يزكك **yazak* (in Turkish "scouts, vanguard"). The *khātūn* was the sister of 'Izz al-dīn Saltuq but our text clearly calls Badr al-dīn her uterine (*bi-ummihā*) brother. I. Athir, XI, 185, seems to have confused the two brothers and, with them, the events of 556 and 549, for he assumes that in 556 the clash was between the Georgians and *Saltuq* (instead of the *Shāh-Arman*).

[2] Al-Fāriqī, f.183*b*. In I. Athīr, XI, 184, the whole report of the Georgian occupation and the Muslim defeat is reduced to a few lines.

[3] Read **al-Qïrq-tughī*, i.e. belonging to the family of Qïrq-tugh ("possessor of 40 yak-tails"). Ispāyird lies on the northern affluents of the river Boḥtān. Cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, I. 29. The name Haldri (which does not sound Turkish) occurs in Bahā al-dīn, *Recueil*, III, 339.

[4] Jamāl al-dīn Isfahani was a famous philanthropist on whom see I. Khallikān, transl. by de Slane, III, 295–9. Al-Fāriqī, f.185*a*, says that he made an offer to the king of Georgia to build a hospital (*bīmāristān*) in Tiflis for the Muslims and for the sick and weak (*bi-rasm al-muslimīn wal-marḍā wal-ḍuaʿfā*) but the king said that he would build it himself. His death stopped the execution of this project.

the *maphrian* on his return journey. Both the embassies entered Mausil "with crosses hanging from the heads of their spears".[1]

The history of Georgian appointments to Āni is obscure. We have seen that under 1161 the Georgian chronicle and Burhān al-din mention the name of Ivane. On the other hand Vardan (*l.c.*, 155, and Brosset, I/2, 233) supports al-Fāriqī in saying that Satun (Sa'dūn, a Muslim?) became the ruler of Āni. But as Sa'dūn wanted to fortify the town, the king grew suspicious of him and Sa'dūn fled and sought the protection of the atabek of Azarbayjan Eldigüz.[2] Sa'dūn was treacherously captured by the erist'av of Shaki. Giorgi had him executed and in his place appointed Sargis, son of Zak'are Mxargrdzeli. Vardan adds that 4000 "Persians" perished with Sa'dūn and that for the time being Eldiguz could not undertake anything against the Georgians. Immediately after the episode of Sa'dūn Vardan speaks of Dvin.

This town still remained in the hands of the lords of Bitlis and Arzen but "in Sha'bān 557 (July–August 1162) the Georgians sacked the town of Duwīn. They penetrated into it, plundered whatever there was in it, killed many and took numberless captives. They destroyed the tower (*mināra*) which Qurtī ibn al-Aḥdab had built with the skulls of the Georgians killed in a battle when he had attacked them. They demolished the mosque and most of the dwellings and then returned to Tiflis. After a time they went forth against the town of Janzē (Ganja) which they sacked, capturing (many) people. Then they returned to Tiflis with the captives seated on carts. Their booty was enormous".[3]

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[1] "The Chronology of Gregory Abu l-Faraj", transl. by E. A. W. Budge, 1932, I, 286.

[2] This is the reading of the name supported by Georgian and Armenian transcriptions. Cf. in I. Arthīr, X, 201, another similar name *k.nd.k.z* (**gündigüz*?). The reading *El-deniz* (A. Z. Togan) is obviously modernizing and impossible.

[3] Al-Fāriqī, f.184*b*. Very similarly Vardan, *l.c.*, 155. Cf. Brosset, I/2, p. 254.

After the devastation of Dvin, Eldiguz in 1163 attacked Mrēn (north of Dvin) where he burnt the fortress, with 4000 Christians in it, but his attack on Gag was inconclusive (Vardan, *l.c.*, 155, Brosset, I/2, 255). Only gradually did Eldiguz succeed in stemming Georgian expansion, as we shall see in following the thread of al-Fāriqi's narration.

(*Fol.* 185*b*, line 10). "On Wednesday 9 Sha'bān 558/13 July 1163) the Shāh-Arman, Sultan Arslan-Shah ibn Tughril beg, Shams al-dīn Eldiguz and Fakhr al-din, lord of Arzen, inflicted a heavy defeat on the king of the Abkhaz and Kurj. They penetrated into the fortress al-K.rkrī[1] where a battle took place. (The Georgians) sustained a most ignominious defeat. Of their property so much booty was taken that it could not be described or counted. The king's stables were seized in which the mangers (*ma'ālif*) were of silver. The king's cellar (*sharāb-khāna*) was seized with all that was in it, including the silver vats (*dinn* "tuns"). One of the latter was brought to the Sultan; together with its fellow, it required for its transportaton one (whole) waggon. The Sultan sent it (home) along with the booty to the amount of 2000 current dinars. He had sent away drinking vessels (*sharbāt*) of gold and silver and offered them to the cathedral mosque of Hamadan so that people should use them for drinking water. The Turkmans (?) captured another vat and broke it into pieces (?). (The Muslims) took an enormous amount of plunder and killed many people. The king of the Abkhaz was put to flight and went to a vast forest, in which grew pines (*khashab al-sinaubar*) and for a distance of 3 days one caught a glimpse of the sun only on rare occasions. I had seen the scene of the (future) battle in this forest when I was in the service of the Abkhaz king in 549 (A.D. 1154).

"The Shāh-Arman seized three separate loads (*himāl*?), one of which contained gold and silver vessels, in the second there was the king's chapel (*bay'a*) with gold and silver crosses set with

[1] Gergeri on the river of this name, south of Lori?

various gems, gospels illuminated with gold and set with jewels of inestimable price the like of which could not be found; the third contained the king's treasure of gold, silver and jewels, the price of some of which could not be estimated in view of the numbers (*kathratan*). The report went that when the scribes in the divan of Akhlāt estimated the share of the Shah-Arman it was found equal to what had been taken from him at the gate of Āni, while thirty times more (*thalathīna ḍi'fan*) warriors were defeated. I have heard this from many people of Akhlāt who were in the battle, and I was at that time in Bidlīs. And when the messenger arrived with the good tidings I was in Akhlāt where there was also a number of refugees (*jamā'a min al-fārr*). This was a great day: in a couple of days some 300 oxen were slaughtered and their meat was distributed among the poor and indigent. After a few days the Shāh-Arman arrived in Akhlāt and all kinds of peerless specimens of valuables and jewels were exhibited in the town. The lord of Bidlis also came home and the town was decorated in his honour on 1 Ramaḍān (3 August 1163) while I was in Bidlis" (f. 186*a*, line 11).

The other version of this battle is found in the *Akhbār al-daulat al-Saljūqiya*.[1] The report is full of rhetorical flourishes and does not seem to be at first hand. In attacking the Georgians the amirs referred to the Georgian raid on Dvin, but in this case the author assigns an earlier date to the battle (556, instead of Fāriqī's 558).[2] As the immediate pretext of the conflict he quotes the claim of a Georgian embassy for the *kharāj* of Ganja and Baylaqān.[3] The Sultan Arslan marching from Hamadan met Eldiguz in Nakhchavan whence they went to Ganja. The Shāh-

[1] Ed. M. Iqbāl, pp. 157–162.

[2] In Fāriqī's date *Wednesday* 9 Sha'bān 558, the day of the week is wrong. According to Mahler's tables this day was a Saturday. Should we adopt 556, the day would be a Thursday. One cannot, however, rely blindly on the days of the week quoted in Muslim dates.

[3] Apparently following on the success in Dvin and Ganja.

Arman Suqmān b. Ibrāhīm brought with him a large army and the Sultan was so pleased that he called him in Turkish *ichi* "elder brother".[1] Eldiguz appeared disposed for a compromise but the amirs of Persian Iraq supported by the Shāh-Arman insisted on bringing things to a head. Eldiguz divided the army into three parts and the sudden appearance of the reserves decided the day. The scene of the battle is not specified, but after it the Sultan and Eldiguz proceeded to Ganja and then to Nakhchavan. The description of the booty is grandiloquent but vague.

In *Rāhat al-sudūr*, 287–9, Georgian high-handedness is attributed to Eldiguz's absence from his fief in the beginning of 556. To punish the Georgians the sultan and the atabek invaded their country "and had it not been for the cautiousness of the atabek, who restrained the impetuosity of the Muslim army, not one single Georgian would have escaped and the king would have been taken prisoner. Nevertheless all his white banners, gold crosses, silver vats, treasury and cellar were looted and the king, at his last breath (*bi-hushāsha*) and bootless, jumped on a horse and escaped".

We come back to al-Fāriqī. (Fol. 187*b*) "In Jumādā I 559 (April 1164) the Georgians re-entered the town of Āni and (then) evacuated it. Shams al-din Eldiguz arrived, took possession of the town and stayed in it some days. Then he left and returned again to begin some constructions. After that Eldiguz retired to Janzē and thence advanced to meet the Georgians".

Vardan (*l.c.*, 150, cf. Brosset, I/2, 254–5) confirms that Eldiguz urged Aslan, son of Maḥmūd, sultan of Tsovkʿ, and

[1] *Akhbār*, 158. On the term see *ibid.*, 97, also Aqsarāyī, *Musāmarat*, ed. O. Turan, 85.

[2] The Sultan of Rum Qïlïj-Arslan b. Masʿūd (551–88/1156–92) seems out of the question since his dominions were not contiguous with Ani. [In Armenian terminology, Tsovkʿ("the lakes"?) is the region of lake Göljük, south of Kharput.]

guided him to Āni to harass the town. This he did for four years but finally king Giorgi had pity on Āni. "He called in sultan Aslan and ceded Āni to him in view of the great number of infidels". Brosset, I/2, 253–4, offers a variant "Dzrviz (Tsrviz?) Sultan, ou Aslan, fils de Maskhout" which makes no sense, unless both *Tsvk'* and *Dzrvis* stand for *Tabrīz*. The fact is that the contemporary Seljuk was "Sultan Arslan b. Tughril". Giorgi must have withdrawn from Āni in favour of this king, whose atabek was Eldiguz.

(*Fol.* 187*b*, *l.* 5) "In this year (559/1164) the amir Ibrāhīm, lord of Surmārī, attacked the Georgians in a great battle killing many of them and taking prisoner a number of their nobles (reading: **kubarā'ihim*, i.e., "aznaurs").

(*l.* 6) "Towards the end of the year (1164) Shams al-dīn Eldiguz gave Āni to the amir SHĀHANSHĀH, brother of the amirs Shaddād and Faḍlūn, sons of Minūchihr, who had been its rulers".[1]

(*Fol.* 191*b*, *l.* 9) "In the beginning of Rajab 563 (middle of April 1168), the news came of the death of 'Izz al-dīn Saltuq, lord of Arzen al-Rūm (Erzerum), and he was succeeded by his son al-Malik Muhammad".

(*Fol.* 196*b*–197*a*) "In Rabī' I 570 (Oct. 1174), the Georgians went to Ani and besieged it for some days. They took it from the amir Shāhanshāh, brother of Faḍlūn, and looted everything in it, then appointed their own governor in the town which was incorporated in the Georgian dominion (*wilāya*).

(*Fol.* 197*a*, *l.* 14) (In the same year 1174–5) it was reported that the atabeg Eldiguz set forth against the Georgians and they fought a great battle. The Muslims were defeated, a number of them were slain and a number captured and a large booty was taken from them. For some time the atabeg remained at that; then he collected a great number of troops and marched against

[1] This paragraph settles the point of their relationship. Shāhanshāh's rule lasted 10 years (1164–74). "Sons" in the sense of "descendants".

the Georgians. They met in the plain of Avīn (Dvin?)[1] but the two armies did not come to grips and the battle did not take place. Eldiguz entered the town of Nakhchavan while collecting troops, and he sent to the lord of Akhlāṭ and several other amirs saying that they should come and meet the Georgians, and that God would help them to repel them".

Vardan, *l.c.*, 158, speaks of these events under 1174 (according to Brosset, I/2, 256, under 1177?) saying that the generalissimo Ivane was anxious to rule in Ani and to liberate the Christian prisoners. When Ani was occupied by the Georgians Sultan Arslan devastated the province of Ani (Shirak). Ivane was willing to surrender the town but the inhabitants prevented him from abandoning them. Arslan and Eldiguz returned disappointed and both died in the same year. Vardan does not speak of the second campaign of Eldiguz but the date which he assigns to the atabek's demise is roughly correct.

Of the second campaign Fāriqī (*fol.* 199*b*, *l.* 8) again gives a circumstantial report: "In Muharram 571 (August 1175) the atabeg Eldiguz, Sultan Arslan-shah, the lord of Akhlāṭ Shah-Arman with the troops of Diyārbakr, and Pahlavan, son of Eldiguz, with the troops of Azarbayjan and Hamadan, forming altogether an innumerable host, went to the country of the Georgians, arrived in the neighbourhood of the plain of Lori and Dūmānīs (Dmanis) and reached *Aq-shahr (?)[2] which lies between Akhal-kāghāk and the plain of Trialethi. They plundered

[1] There exists a site called Arin-berd near Erivan.

[2] In Ibn al-Athīr's account (X, 25) of the campaign of 456/1064 Alp Arslan took Surmārī and Maryam-nishīn (Marmarashen) and sent forward Malik-shāh and Niẓām al-mulk among whose conquests are mentioned Safīd-shahr and آعالالال. In *Jour. As.*, July 1930, p. 111, I explained this latter name as Lālvār (now Allaverdi), but in view of Fāriqi's text *this* part of my identification may need a correction. It is tempting to equate Safīd-shahr with Aq-shahr and آعالالال with اخل كاغاك (Axal-kāghāk, older ***kaḷak***). According to the meaning, Aq-shahr (in Turkish "White town") might be

Continued overleaf

this region (*wilāya*), destroyed villages and carried off the inhabitants, trampled the crops and left no sign of settled life (*ʿimāra*) in those districts. (*Line* 15) The king sat in the forest of . . . *-niya* above B.rṭā'in (*Arṭā'in*, *Arṭān.q?*) in its capital. There was no way to reach him nor was he able to come out (to meet) them. They stayed on for a number of days, and then all of them returned (home) . . . the Sultan to Duvīn, and the Shah-Arman with the troops of Diyārbakr to Akhlāṭ. They arrived on the 11 Rabīʿ I (29 September 1175) and entered Akhlāṭ and the town was decorated and this was a memorable day, and the people of Akhlāṭ displayed valuables and decorations, such as cannot be seen in any other country, and this display lasted for three days. And I was (there) during those days."

[As in the previous reports, Fāriqī must have collected his information in the immediate entourage of the Shāh-Arman and the dates he gives are of importance for checking the accepted chronology of the atabek Eldiguz. Both Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 255, and the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, GMS, p. 472, place his death in 568/1172–3, but this date is too early. The *Akhbār al-daulat*

Continued from previous page

compared with Aqja-qalʿa "White fortress" on the lower Debeda, but this does not fit into Fāriqī's location. The decision must be left to the scholars on the spot. [*Additional note.* A closer examination of the MS. has permitted to decipher more words in this mutilated passage. After "went to the country of the Georgians" read: "They assembled at the gate of Naqchavān and took with them (*akhadhū bayna aydīhim*) the Turkmans of the canton of K . . . (probably **Kīlkūn*, i.e., Gelakun; on the local Turkmans see *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 415). In an innumerable host they approached (*jāwarū*) the plains of Lori and Dūmānīs and reached Aq-shahr,—which is the (?) town of Akhal-kāghāk,—and Taryālīth." The text seems to suggest that the expedition avoided the passes leading to Lori and Dbanis but took a westerly road through Akhal-kalaki to Trialethi (on the Ktsia, *alias* Khram) and the Kur valley. The author seems to take Aq-shahr for Akhal-kalaki itself. More likely it is the other Tʿetʿri-tiskhe, "White fortress", which lay east of Lake Palakatsio (Chaldīr) on the road from Qars to Akhal-kalaki, see Vakhusht, *Géographie*, ed. Brosset, p. 151. The passage on the forest in which the Georgian king was hiding remains obscure.]

al-Saljūqiya, 168, gives the year 570 (ending on 21 August 1175) and this agrees with the indications of al-Fāriqī, corroborated by the author of the *Rāhat al-sudūr*, 299. The latter belonged to the official circles of Hamadān and deserves credit for what could be observed from that point. As a historian of the Seljukids he naturally concentrates on the movements of Sultan-Arslan. He says that towards the end of 569/spring of 1174 the Sultan's mother (wife of Eldiguz by her second marriage) came from Azarbayjan to Hamadan to invite her son to march against the Georgians. This visit should be connected with the unsatisfactory result of Eldiguz's operations near Ani and Dvin, on which we have the testimony both of Vardan and Fariqi. On the day of *al-Aḍḥā* (12 July 1174) Sultan Arslan was in Nakhchavan. There he fell ill and had to stay behind, while Eldiguz with his two sons and the Shah-Arman, marched against the king of Georgia and chased him into inaccessible "forests and mountains". The Muslims looted and burnt the large town of Aq-shahr which the king had built (see above p. 98) and then returned to Nakhchavan. For 50 days the Sultan stayed on with his amirs. While he was on his return journey to Hamadan his mother died (in Nakhchavan) and within a month the news came of the death of her husband Eldiguz. This must have happened in 570 (2 Aug. 1174–21 July 1175) or even in the beginning of 571. The Sultan himself never got over his illness and died in the middle of Jumādā II 571/31 December 1175.[1]]

The Georgian Chronicle, I/1, 385–95, is rather vague on all these events during the reign of king Giorgi (1156–84). After the account of the defeat of the Shah-Arman (pp. 387–91) it mentions the second coalition led by the "sultan of Khorasan and Iraq" supported by the atabek Eldiguz. The expedition arrived through Arran and captured the fortress of Gag (probably the

[1] After the account of the celebrations of the victory over the Georgians Fāriqī says (f.200a) that the Shāh-Arman sent his vazir Muwaffaq b. Dsht.q (?) and another amir to Nakhchavan. (This must have happened during the period of 50 days spent by Sultan Arslan in Nakhchavān.) The vazir fell ill and died. His body was brought to Khilāt on 9 (?) Rabīʿ al-awwal 571/27 Sept. 1175. Several days later the news came of the death of the wife of Eldiguz and a mourning was held in Khilat.

present-day Booz-qal'a, on the Kur, to the east of the Debeda estuary). Beaten off by king Giorgi, the Muslims, through Gelakun, arrived before Ani where they were joined by the Sah-Arman. The king was unexpectedly attacked in his camp somewhere between Lori and Dmanis and was persuaded by his courtiers to retreat. In the course of this operation the life of only one aznaur of obscure origin was lost. The king (p. 395) restored Ani to "its possessor" (i.e., apparently to Shahanshah) who became his vassal. Eldiguz and the king's sister Rusudan (formerly married to a sultan of Khorasan) acted as intermediaries between the Georgians and the Muslims.

We can now sum up the chronology of the Shaddādids of Ani. All these records suggest that *Khush-chihr and Maḥmūd ruled for some time about 1130. Of Maḥmūd's sons, Fakhr al-din Shaddād's presence in Ani is attested under 1154, but in the following year his brother Faḍlūn IV took his place and remained in power from 1155 to 1160–1.

After a succession of Georgian governors of which we have spoken, in 1164 Maḥmūd's third son Shāhanshāh was installed in Ani by Eldiguz. He ruled down to Oct. 1174 when Ani was recaptured by the Georgians. According to Vardan (*l.c.*, 158) Giorgi abducted Shāhanshāh who "was doomed never to return to Ani". This situation does not seem to have been upset by the Muslim-Georgian wars of 1174–5, but fortune seems to have smiled again on the Shāddādids, as it appears from an inscription in Ani dated 595/1198–9.

According to the latest edition[1] it runs as follows (in Persian): "I, who (am) Sulṭān b. Maḥmūd b. Shāvur b. Minūchihr | al-Shaddādī, for the prolongation of the days (*jān-darāzī*) of the grandfather and my children | thus have ordered: that the sale

[1] See L. T. Guzalyan, in *Akademiku N. Y. Marru*, 1935, pp. 629–41. This latest contribution improves the reading of the inscription, but repeats an old mistake: the king is called *Key-Sultan*, whereas instead of *Key* one should read *kī* "who".

of cotton goods (*panba-furūshī va qaṭṭānī*) from this point, | which is the mosque of the Abul-Ma'marān, down to the shop which is a pious foundation (*dukkān k'ū sabīl-ast*), we have ordered | that buying and selling should be carried on in this very place. Whoever to this order | causes a distortion, let him be subject to God's anger, may He be exalted. | (In Arabic) Dated 595. | (In Armenian): May those who firmly maintain (the clause) be blessed by God. Amen."[1]

In Arabic *tis'īn* "90" is frequently confused with *sab'īn* "70", but the photograph of the inscription leaves no doubt about the reading "90". The prince who calls himself son of Maḥmūd is obviously a brother of Shaddād and Faḍlūn IV and should be identified with Shāhanshāh, who may have translated his Persian name into Arabic, although as a personal name *Sultān* is uncommon. The reference to the *jān-darāzī* of his grandfather and children (*jadd-va-farzandānam*) is strange. As it stands it would suggest that in 1198 the father Maḥmūd (who is not mentioned!) was dead but the grandfather Shāvur (*i.e.* Abul-Aswār II abducted by king David in 1124) was still alive! Perhaps the formula has some *post-mortem* significance, and then *jadd* (completed by *-ān* in *farzandān*) would stand for "ancestors". The writing (*naskh*) and the style of the Persian inscription are poor and the purport of the concession is not quite clear, though apparently it has in view a *free* market in cotton goods.[2]

The date of the inscription if noteworthy for 595/1199 would indicate the latest date of the Shaddādids in Ani.

8. THE PRINCES MXARGRDZELI

Our chief task has been to complete the history of the Shaddādids of Ani from the available Muslim sources. It will not be out of place to wind up their story with a few words about their successors.

[1] According to L. T. Guzalyan, p. 634, this corresponds to the Armenian formula usual in the inscriptions of Ani: *vasn yerkarkendanut'ean.*

[2] Similar to the abolishing of additional charges in the inscription of the Mongol il-khan Abū-Sa'īd found in Ani and analysed by Barthold, *Nadpis' na mecheti Manuche*, 1911, p. 19.

The last years of king Giorgi (1156–84) were clouded by some internal complications but under his daughter queen Thamar (1184–1213) the fortunes of Georgia reached their zenith, on the threshold of new invasions.

Thamar's victories were chiefly due to the generals Zak'are and Ivane, whose family is called in Georgian *Mxargrdzeli* "Longimani". According to a tradition which has every reason to be true, their ancestors were Mesopotamian Kurds of the tribe (*xel*) *Babirakan*.[1] According to an authentic inscription, the generals were the sons of Sargis II, son of Zak'are, son of Avag-Sargis I. Vardan says that the latter and his brother Karim were the sons of a Khostrov (Khosrov). The family came to join the Armenian kings of Tashir (Dzoroyget) and there was converted to the Armenian creed. From the fact that the funeral inscription of Sargis II does not mention Khosrov one might suspect that Avag-Sargis was the first member of the family born Christian. In an inscription Ivane calls himself Bagratid, which suggests that his mother was an Armenian princess.[2]

The family of Tashir was short-lived, the best known names being David Anholin (980–1048) and Kuirikē I (1048–89). But the time of the arrival of the ancestors of the Mxargrdzeli can be defined by the consideration that Sargis II died in 1187, and two generations back would not take us far beyond the year 1100. The ancestors of Zak'are and Ivane came to serve Armenian lords very much in the same way as the Shaddādids did before them. From Tashir the family passed into the service of the Georgian kings. Ivane opted for Georgian orthodoxy whereas

[1] See Kirakos in Brosset, I/2, 415. The name *Bā-pīr* is frequent among the Kurds and a clan *Pīrān* exists among the Mangur federation.

[2] In the disheartening account of the religious disputes under T'amar, the Georgian patriarch addresses "the Mxargrdzeli and their co-religionists" in these words: "Now listen you, house of T'argamos", see Brosset, I/1, 453. T'argamos=T'orgom, father of the Armenian eponym Hayk, see Moses of Khoren, I, ch. 10.

Zak'are remained faithful to his Monophysite Armenian persuasion.

In the course of their successes the Mxargrdzeli brothers took Ani in 1199 (Vardan, *l.c.*, 169) and the grateful queen bestowed it on them as a fief. According to N. Y. Marr, *Ani*, p. 33, this happened in 1201, and the earliest constructions of the new princes appear from 1208 onwards.

Not even the new masters could protect Ani against all the enemies. While the Mxargrdzeli were away with the queen, who had lost her husband, the "sultan" of Ardabil (an ancestor of Shah Ismā'īl Safavī!) entered Ani at dawn on Easter Sunday when the town-gates were being opened, and made a terrible massacre of the population crowded in the churches.[1] The Mxargrdzeli took revenge on the sultan by attacking Ardabil on the night of the Muslim festival (*aidi* < **'īd*) and massacring 12,000, "as many as were killed in Ani".[1]

For some time the town of Ani was held by the descendants of Zak'are. When the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-din invaded Georgia in 1225 the ruler of Dvin was the aged Ivane who had left Ani to his nephew Shanshe (Shahanshah), son of Zak'are. Dvin was lost to the Georgians but neither Ani nor Qars did surrender.[2] Not till 1236 did the Mongols take Ani, but their attitude to the Mxargrdzeli was not unbenevolent. We hear that in 641/1243 they gave Khilāt (Akhlat) to princess T'amt'a, daughter of Ivane; and after queen Rusudan's death (in 1245), they confirmed Shanshe in his fief and even added to it the fief of Avag, son of Ivane, see Brosset, I/1, 497 and 529, and cf. below p. 156.

[1] See Brosset, I/1, 468. He places the attack on Ani in 1209, *l.c.*, I/2, 297. According to Vardan, *l.c.*, 171, Zak'are sacked Ardabīl in 1210 "to avenge Nakhchavan"(?). The sack of Ardabīl ("about" 600/1203) is referred to in the records of the shaykhs of Ardabīl, see *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, Bombay 1329, p. 12, and *Silsilat al-nasab*, Berlin 1343, p. 12. At that time the shaykh was Qutb al-dīn Abu(l)-Bāqī.

[2] On the unsuccessful siege of these towns by Jalāl al-dīn see I.A., XII, 300 (autumn of 623/1226).

9. DVIN, ANI AND TRADE-ROUTES

The development of the Armenian towns Dvin and Ani, which played such an important role in the history of the Shaddādids, was conditioned by the direction of the imperial and commercial roads under the caliphs. When the caliphate still controlled the eastern Transcaucasia, the lines starting from Dvin and Ardabil became the feeders of Barda'a, that spear-head of Muslim domination and policy in those parts. Even when the expeditions towards and beyond Darband were interrupted[1] Baghdad still had considerable relations with the Caucasian lands.[2]

Another important factor was the wars between the Muslims and the Byzantines. These hampered the direct exchanges between the two parties and the Bagratid kingdom of Ani became an intermediary in the communications between Iraq and the Black Sea. When the Sājid Afshīn addressed reproaches to Smbat I (890–913) about the duplicity of his relations with the Byzantine Empire, the Armenian king drew his attention to the material advantages which accrued to the Arabs from this attitude.[3]

During this period an important route of international trade followed the valley of the Araxes. We do not know where the Araxes was crossed. Probably from the region of Nakhchevan the road followed the northern bank to Dvin[4] and thence to

[1] Especially by the revolt of Bābak (201–23/816–37) in the region above the junction of the Araxes and the Kur.

[2] See Istakhri, 180–90, Ibn Hauqal, 240–7, Muqaddasi 380. Cf. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 1919, pp. 35–42; Y. A. Manandian, *On the trade and cities of Armenia*, Erivan 1933, pp. 156–65.

[3] See the history of John the Catholicos, transl. by St. Martin, 1841, pp. 145–6: "Si j'ai lié amitié avec l'empereur c'est pour votre avantage; car cette amitié est peut-être necessaire au grand *amirapiet, et vous pourrez d'un moment à l'autre avoir besoin de l'appui des Grecs. . . . En ouvrant le chemin aux marchands qui sont de ta religion, ils te donneront l'entrée de leur pays; et par leurs richesses, ils rempliront abondamment tes trésors."

[4] On Dvin see Part III of the present book, p. 116.

Ani.[1] The considerable volume of trade in Ani accounted for the wealth of its citizens, which found its expression in sumptuous buildings. The Armenians and the Georgians call it the city of 1001 churches. The historian of Alp Arslan's campaign reduces this number of churches to 500 (I.A., X, 27), which is also an exaggeration, but the ruins of Ani show an amazing crowding of buildings on a small and peninsula-like area of the town.[2] From Ani the road went to Kars and Karin (Arab. *Qālīqalā*, future Erzerum) and thence to the Black Sea ports (Trebizond).

The Armenian Vardan hails the Shaddādid Manuče as a God-sent ruler and says (*l.c.*, 152) that the atabek of Azarbayjan Eldiguz, the Shah-Arman Sukmān II and the amir of Erzerum Saltuq loved the Christians and were good organisers of their territories.

In his guide to the ruins of Ani Prof. I. A. Orbeli regards the period of the Shaddādid domination as the highest point in the cultural activities of Ani.[3] Prof. N. Y. Marr (*Ani*, p. 32) also admits that "the fall of the Bagratids and the loss of political independence did not by any means result in the decay of Armenian culture, and in particular of Armenian art, in Ani." After the destruction (of 1064) the town "for a decade, and perhaps for several decades", did not come to its senses, but was revived spiritually. Under the Bagratids, Ani was "not so much a town as a palace of the crown-wearing feudal rulers", who let people into the town on the basis of relationship or personal merit. After the fall of the dynasty this personal demesne passed into the hands of the capitalists. Ani was "that crucible in which

[1] Nasawi, p. 123 (tr. 205) says that there existed a bridge at Surmari which before 1225 was out of repair.

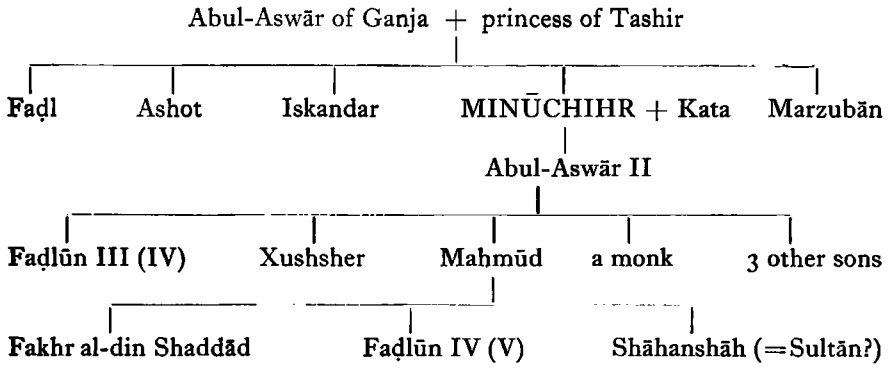
[2] The area of the town did not exceed 400 acres, though a numerous population lived outside the town-walls where traces of houses, churches, baths and cemeteries are seen everywhere, see Manandian, *l.c.*, 158.

[3] Quoted in Manandian, p. 186, who, p. 183, considers this statement exaggerated.

the Armenian feudalism in its home was transformed into the Armenian bourgeoisie". In the atmosphere of the city life of Ani there were brought up "the series of Armenian communities which following 1064 emigrated to the Crimea, Galicia and Poland and founded there flourishing, peaceful colonies".

However, the excavations for many years conducted in Ani under the direction of N. Y. Marr have brought to light not only the dwellings of the rich but the slums of the poor as well. The same scholar saw one of the causes of the fall of the Bagratids in the fact that the common people, workers and peasants living in "paupers' hovels, had nothing to defend against the still unknown conquerors".

THE CHART OF THE ANI LINE



Addition to p. 88.

In a mutilated Kufic inscription, in poor Arabic, the builder of a gate in Ani calls himself: *al-amīr al-isbāsalār* (sic) *Fakhr al-dīn . . . ibn Maḥmūd ibn Shāvūr* (sic) *ibn Minūjihr Ḥusām amīr al-mu'minīn . . .* See V.A. Krachkovskaya in *Kratkiye soobscheniya Inst. Istor. mater. kult.*, XV, 1947, 15–26. This inscription should be attributed to Fakhr al-din Shaddād.

Addition to p. 88, note 3.

Al-Fāriqī calls Naṣr al-daula's father-in-law "Faḍlūn b. Minūchihr (?), lord of *Arrān* and Armenia (or Dvin?)". The statement is confused. Chronologically, only Faḍl I, son of *Muhammad* (985–1031) would fit into the picture.

III

PREHISTORY OF SALADIN

1. Saladin in Western tradition
2. Iranian *intermezzo* in Azarbayjan
3. Vicissitudes of Dvin
4. Saladin's origins
5. Conclusions

ANNEX A. Kurds under the Ayyūbids
ANNEX B. The eastern expansion of the Ayyūbids

1. SALADIN IN WESTERN TRADITION

Very few political and military leaders—Napoleon being a notable exception—have been the object of such appreciation by their adversaries as was Saladin on the part of the Crusaders. The earliest of the European contemporaries may have deliberately blackened his reputation[1] but this was only a passing tendency for in the end the element of Saladin's "chivalry" eclipsed any other impressions and recollections.[2] Side by side with the generosity which Saladin showed, for example, after the capture of Jerusalem, there were more brutal moments in his life, as when he cut down Reginald Chatillon with his own hand. However, the European memory retained chiefly such features as his sending a charger to his enemy unhorsed in the

[1] They invented stories about his intrigue with the wife of his protector Nūr al-dīn and misrepresented his relations with the Fatimid caliph ("La Meule", *Arabice* Maulānā). See Gaston Paris, in *Journ. des Savants*, 1893; S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin*, 1898, pp. 376–401: Saladin in romance. See now F. Gabrieli, "Storia della civiltà musulmana", Napoli, 1947, pp. 1–21: Storia e leggenda di Saladino.

[2] Speaking of the western lore G. Marçais says with understatement: "le rôle que (Saladin) y joue n'a rien d'odieux", Glotz, *Histoire du Moyen Age*, 1936, p. 594.

thick of the battle of Jaffa (1192).[1] Even Dante in his vision of the limbo whose dwellers suffer no punishment and are only deprived of beatitude, saw Saladin standing "alone and aside" among the ancient patriarchs, illustrious women and Greek philosophers.[2]

Collective memory is often an unreliable source of information, but as a rule it is less inaccurate about general impressions than about facts. The question of good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant, is easier to answer than the problem of the grounds for the conclusions drawn.

To explain the gentler traits of Saladin's character the French invented the legend about Saladin's origin on the distaff side from a pretended comtesse de Pontieu.[3] With more reason, on the Muslim side, one might argue that it was the court of Damascus which polished Saladin's manners. We should also concede that in the Islamic East there were fewer obstacles to rapid promotion and advancement than in the societies more conscious of social divisions. Yet the rise of an emigré Kurd to the position of the mightiest king of Islam had something exceptional about it—even if we reject some superficial and antiquated views on the Kurdish nation,[4] which has produced more statesmen and writers than is usually imagined.[5]

[1] This gesture was attributed first to Saladin's brother ʿĀdil, and then to himself. G. Paris, *l.c.*, 480. Cf. Lane Poole, *l.c.*, 353. Lane Poole himself, *l.c.*, 146, exults over the chivalrous restitution of ʿAzāz to its former owners at the request addressed to Saladin by the young daughter of Nūr al-dīn, see I. Khallikān, IV, 507 (year 571/1176). But he is reticent on the episode of 581/1188: when the lord of Mausil sent his daughter and other ladies to sue for a truce, Saladin sent them back rather cavalierly (*bi-aʿdhār ghayr-maqbūla*), I.A., XI, 337.

[2] *Inferno*, IV, 129: *e solo in parte vidi il Saladino.*

[3] G. Paris, p. 355: "Saladinus Turcus sed de matre Gallica Pontiva".

[4] Nöldeke, "Geschichte der Perser", 1879, p. 12: "Der Kurde war und ist der Inbegriff aller Unkultur".

[5] M. Amīn Zekī, *Mashāhīr al-Kurd* ("Kurdish celebrities"), Cairo, I (1945), II (1947).

There is a side to his ancestral influences which has not attracted the attention of Saladin's biographers, namely his family's close involvement in Caucasian and Iranian affairs. It does not explain everything in the character of the great Ayyubid but it helps us to understand the political and moral background of his amazing career. Saladin's pedigree does not go back beyond his father Ayyūb and his grandfather Shādī, his great-grandfather Marwān being only a vague shadow. Of the more remote ancestors of Saladin we know only that they were the followers of the Kurdish Shaddādids. It was Shādī who with his two sons left the ancient home in the neighbourhood of Dvin to seek his fortune in Mesopotamia. Only twenty years after the flight Saladin was born in Tekrit. Thirty years later he was appointed vazir to the Fatimid caliph, in succession to his uncle Shīrkūh who was the living link between the banks of the Araxes and the palm-groves of the Nile.

Our essay on the history of the Shaddādids has prepared the ground for a study of the Caucasian connections of the Ayyūbids and it is now time to approach the question of the Kurds of Azarbayjan and Arrān on the wider basis of contemporary events. Whatever were the ultimate destinies of the Ayyūbids, their roots undoubtedly go back to the period of the Iranian revival between the collapse of the Arab domination and the beginning of the Turkish invasions. The rise of the numerous Iranian dynasties in the 9th–11th centuries is one of the most impressive phenomena in the history of Iran. The coming into being of these ruling families was not an unmixed blessing for the country because it was accompanied by endless feudal clashes and a lack of stability in the administration, but politically the Iranian *intermezzo*[1] amounted to the breaking of the prescriptive rights of the conquerors. It was a respite on the threshold of

[1] As I called it in my *Domination des Daïlamites*, Paris 1932: *l'intermède iranien.*

the new conquest.[1] To some extent Saladin was a product of the epoch in which the Iranian tribes regained many of the lost positions.

Another important series of facts is the history of events centring on Dvin. Political life in the old home of the Ayyūbids was so intense that recollections of it could not have been obliterated by new experiences under new skies.

In view of the mass of facts with which we are confronted, it would be confusing to present them in one chronological stream. It is preferable to canalize them into separate series completing each other and throwing light on various sides of the prehistory of Saladin. For clarity's sake, some repetitions in the parallel chapters will be unavoidable.

2. THE IRANIAN *INTERMEZZO*

It is still insufficiently realised that the so-called Persian Renaissance in Khorasan[2] had a momentous sequel in Central and Western Persia and in Armenia. By the beginning of the 10th century a great Iranian movement came from the Caspian provinces. At the head of the hosts of Gīlān and Daylam, a new set of rulers ousted the Arabs from their last positions held in Iran, and round this new power a fringe of other small principalities was created in the farther west of the Iranian territories.

Even when the Arabs adopted the system of indirect control of Armenia through the agency of the Bagratid princes (A.D. 806–1045),[3] to the east of this autonomous area they retained the

[1] Had it not been for this interval of Iranian domination, the national tradition of Iran would have become blunted and the Safavids would have found it infinitely more difficult to restore the particular moral and cultural character which distinguishes Persia from her Muslim neighbours.

[2] As represented by the dynasties of the Tāhirids (821–73), the Saffārids (867–903) and the Sāmānids (875–999).

[3] Royal title granted in A.D. 885. The branch of Kars ruled down to 1064.

system of direct rule in Azarbayjan and Arrān. To some extent this policy was dictated by the great rebellion of Bābak (201–23/816–37) in the eastern part of Azarbayjan. Bābak was captured and executed but there remained a number of important problems, political, social and national, as between the Arab conquerors and the local populations, such as the Armenians. The grip of the Abbasids was gradually weakening as shown by the centrifugal developments in the family of the last energetic rulers appointed from Baghdad, the Sājids.[1] Muhammad b. Dēvdād (276–88/889–91) and especially Yūsuf b. Dēvdād (appointed in 296/908) were powerful rulers and a formidable check on Armenia. However, soon after 299/911 Yūsuf showed signs of disobedience. He revolted openly in 305/917. In June 919 he was captured by the caliphs's troops and for three years remained in disgrace. He was re-instated in 310/923 but this time (down to 313/925) his attention was absorbed by affairs in Central Persia (Rayy, Hamadan). In 314/926–7 he received an assignment against the Qarmāṭians and on 7 December 927 lost his life fighting these dissenters. Practically the beginning of a new era in Azarbayjan can be dated from Yūsuf's disgrace. The stage vacated by the Arabs was occupied by local Iranian elements, the Daylamites and the Kurds.

The rise of the DAYLAMITE highlanders, inhabitants of the small and poor area above Gilan, reminds one of the expansion of the Northmen in Europe. In point of fact the Daylamites had an old dynasty of kings ("the family of JUSTĀN") who ruled

[1] The names Dēvdast, Dēvdād and the title Afshīn used in this Arabicised family suggest that originally it was of Soghdian origin. It would be interesting to discover some links between the Sājids and the famous Afshīn, the conqueror of Bābak. One of Afshīn's Central Asian followers was Muhammad b. Khālid Bukhārākhudāh whom he appointed governor of Armenia. Another of his generals was *M.nkjwr al-Farghānī*, see Yaʿqūbī, II, 579. It is to him that the ford (and now an important dam) on the Kur must owe its name (Mingechaur). Similar names are known in Central Asia: *Sīmjūr, Bānījūr.*

on the Shāhrūd, i.e., on the river which flows from the East and joins the Safīd-rūd near Manjīl. The MUSĀFIRIDS, or Kangarids, whose centre was Tārom[1] were linked by marriage ties with the Justānids but were a family apart. It must not be forgotten that the more important Daylamite princes, the BŪYIDS were upstarts who, with a crowd of other adventurers from Gīlān and Daylam, appeared on the stage towards 308/920.[2] By 323/935 the sons of the Daylamite Būya were masters of Isfahan and Rayy. On 17 January 946 Baghdad was theirs, and for a century the orthodox caliphs became puppets in the hands of these heterodox usurpers.

The rise of the Būyids did not directly affect the north-western corner of Iran. Apart from a few expeditions into eastern Azarbayjan, the Būyids did not interfere with the affairs of this region. But the impulse given by them resulted in the rise of a number of local Iranian dynasties, partly Daylamite and partly Kurdish, both in Azarbayjan and in the adjoining regions of Transcaucasia and Armenia.

Thanks to the publication of Miskawayh's excellent *Tajārib al-umam* we now know much better the events in the lands between the Būyids' territories and Armenia, i.e., in the area under our consideration.

The original sedentary population of Azarbayjan consisted of a mass of peasants and at the time of the Arab conquest was comprised under the semi-contemptuous term of *'ulūj* ("non-Arabs")—somewhat similar to the *raya* (**ri'āyā*) of the Ottoman Empire. The only arms of this peaceful rustic population were slings, see Ṭabari, III, 1379–89. They spoke a number of

[1] On the Safīd-rūd, upstream from Manjīl. See Minorsky, *Tārom* in the *Enc. of Islam*. For more details see Appendix.

[2] The contemporary sources distinguish between the Gēl (the Sunni lowlanders) and the Daylam (the Shi'a highlanders) but practically these two elements belonged to the same region and to the same wave of expansion.

dialects (*ādharī, tālishī*)[1] of which even now there remain some islets surviving amidst the Turkish speaking population.[2]

It was this basic population on which Bābak leaned in his revolt against the caliphate. After the collapse of the Arabs and their Turkish generals, the same population came under the sway of the warlike Iranian clans and families. Despite their languages belonging to the common Iranian stock, the new masters, DAYLAMITES and KURDS, differed among themselves to a considerable extent. The Daylamites belonged to a particular blend of Caspian tribes, spoke a Caspian dialect, were attached to the Shī'a, were recognisable by their hirsute appearance and fought on foot, their arms being javelins (*zhūpīn*) and huge shields. The basic haunts of the Kurds lay to the south of Armenia. They spoke a more isolated Iranian language, they professed the Sunna (or the Khārijite doctrine) and they were horsemen. At a very early date the Kurds penetrated into Western Azarbayjan and even crossed the Araxes (see below, p. 123). There seems to have been a feeling that the Kurds, more permanently established in Azarbayjan, protected it against the later invaders from the Caspian provinces.

After the fall of the Sājids their former general DAYSAM ibn IBRĀHĪM struggled for supremacy in Azarbayjan during some eighteen years (327–45/938–56) with interruptions. He was a

[1] Now such dialects are usually called "north-western", but very probably they continue the Median tradition as opposed to the "southern", Persian, tradition. According to I. Hauqal, 249 (ed. Kramers, II, 347), in the neighbourhood of Mt. Sabalān (Savalān) near Ardabil, every village possessed a special dialect.

[2] This point has been clearly presented in Sayyid Ahmad Kasravi's excellent paper *Ādharī yā zabān-i bāstān-i Ādharbāyagān*, Tehran 1926, 56 pp. See also B. V. Miller, "On the language of Azarbayjan before its Turkicization" (in Russian) in *Uchenïye Zapiski*, I. 1929, 199–228. Cf. also E. Baer, "Zur Dialectologie Nordirans" in *Actes du XX-e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Louvain 1940, pp. 153–7.

Khārijite born of an Arab father[1] and a Kurdish mother, and his fighting force consisted chiefly of Kurds.

Daysam's first opponent was LASHKARĪ b. MARDĪ, a native of Gīlān supported by his countryman and former master, the Ziyarid Vushmagīr ("the Quail-catcher"). His conquest of Azarbayjan in 326/937 was a short-lived episode (I.A., VIII, 261). Much more important was the expansion of the MUSĀFIRIDS. As already mentioned, this Daylamite house, whose home was in Tārom, south of Ardabil,[2] was independent both of the Justānids and of the Būyids; its main operational axis was in the northerly and westerly directions. Under Marzubān b. Muhammad b. Musāfir, surnamed Sallār (330–46/941–57) the Musāfirids expanded not only over the whole of Azarbayjan and up the Araxes valley, but even into the eastern part of Transcaucasia (Arrān, Sharvān) and up to the Caucasian range. Both the Armenian royal houses, the Bagratids and the Artsruni were their tributaries.

When after Marzubān's death (346/957) quarrels arose among his successors, the dominions of the Musāfirids shrunk to the area near their original home in Tārom, while new masters appeared in Western Azarbayjan, namely the family of RAWWĀD.[3] Its eponym, Rawwād, was an Arab of the Azd tribe first mentioned towards 200/815 as a semi-independent ruler of Tabriz.[4] After nearly two centuries of new occupations and invasions, we hear again of the masters of Tabrīz and Marāgha bearing Iranian names (Vahsūdān, Mamlān, Aḥmadīl) but considered as descendants of a Rawwād. I have little doubt that

[1] Instead of Ibrāhīm, I. Hauqal, p. 236, calls his father *Shādlūya*, which is an Iranian name. Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, II, 148: Ibrāhīm.

[2] See Minorsky, *Musāfiri* in *Enc. of Islam*. See below, Appendix.

[3] See Minorsky, *Marāgha*, *Tabrīz*, *Urmiya*, *Ushnū* in *Enc. of Islam*. See below, Appendix.

[4] Tabari, III, 1171, Balādhuri, 131, I. Faqīh, 285, Yāqūt, I. 822. In Arabic *rawwād* from the root *rwd* would mean "quarter-master, scout" (usually *rā'id*, plur. *ruwwād*).

these new rulers were scions of the same old family although this time their family name, *al-Rawwādī*, is sometimes followed by a further qualification *al-Kurdī*.[1] Kasravi thought it preferable to distinguish between the old Arab *Rawwādī* and the later Iranian *Rawādi*,[2] and occasionally I make use of this suggestion.[3] It would be only too natural for the Arabs stranded in Azarbayjan to have intermarried with local elements so that the term *al-Rawwadī al-Azdī* lost all practical meaning and had to be replaced by *al-Rawwādī al-Kurdī*. There are numerous examples of similar denationalisation among the chiefs of Kurdish tribes.

Between the two spells of Rawwādī domination in Tabriz lies a period (struggles with Bābak, Sājid rule) when we hear nothing of the family's presence in that fief. Then suddenly in the list of Marzubān's tributaries (A.D. 955) we find an Abul-Hayjā b. Rawwād as lord of Ahar and Varzuqān. In this case "Rawwād" is not necessarily the father's name, but more probably only the designation of the family. The two points mentioned by I. Ḥauqal lie north-east of Tabriz.[4] The identity of the earlier and later Rawwādis appears also from the fact that, according to Yaʿqūbī's *History*, p. 446–7, Yazīd al-Muhallabi, the governor of Azarbayjan on behalf of Abū-Jaʿfar (754–75) allotted to Rawwād b. al-Muthannā al-Azdi a fief stretching from Tabriz

[1] Vahsūdān is a Daylamite name but Mamlān and Ahmadīl (cf. the name of a village near Marāgha: Mamadir < *Mamadil?) are hypocoristics unknown among the Daylamites. In *Mamlān* (< Muhammad) the passage *d/l* is Kurdish.

[2] Whose name Kasravi, III, 7, derived from the Kurdish tribe Rawādī (with a single *w*). See below. p. 129.

[3] In a *qasīda* of Qaṭrān dedicated to Mamlān and quoted by Kasravi himself, II, 56, it is most definitely said that his *ḥasab* (descent on his mother's side?) is *ʿajam* (Iranian) and his *nasab* (descent on his father's side) Arab.

[4] On the left tributary of the Ardabīl river which joins the Araxes from the south. Ahar is still the centre of the district of Qaraja-dagh (older *Maymad*), the hilly and wild tract to which, on the opposite northern bank of the Araxes, correspond the highlands of Qara-bagh (ancient Armenian provinces Artsax and Siunikʿ).

down to al-Badhdh (later Babak's stronghold). The possessions of the later Rawwādis (Tabriz-Ahar) lay precisely along this line.

Very unfortunately, the *History of Āzarbayjān*, written by one of the family, Abul-Hayjā al-Rawwādī,[1] is now lost. It would have been useful to fill the gap between 369/979, the year in which Miskawayh ends, and 420/1029, when Ibn al-Athīr takes up the thread of events in Azarbayjan.

While the Rawwādīs[2] were controlling Azarbayjan, another Kurdish dynasty issued from a SHADDĀD sprang up in the part of Marzubān's dominions which lay to the north of the Araxes.[3] We have spoken of the Shaddādids in great detail and at this place we need only stress for memory the fact of their domination in Dvin and their close association with the Ayyūbids. We shall have further occasion to explain how the roots of Saladin's family go back to the Iranian *intermezzo*.

3. VICISSITUDES OF DVIN

(A)

The pre-history of the Ayyūbids is closely connected with Dvin, and the unusually checkered history of this city forms the peculiar background which shaped the character of the local population.

The town Dvin (in Arabic *Dabīl* or *Duwīn*, in Greek Δούβιος,

[1] See above, p. 4. Some unknown facts concerning the Rawwādī were borrowed by Münejjim-bashi from the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb*. See Appendix.

[2] On the connection of Saladin's tribe with the Rawwādīs see below. The Rawwādī family can be traced down to the Mongol period. The vazir and historian Rashīd al-dīn married one of his sons to the daughter of Malik 'Alī b. Malik Muhammad-shāh b. Malik Pahlavān of the descendants of Amīra-Mimlān (*sic*), see *Letters of Rashīd al-dīn*, ed. by M. Shafi', Lahore 1947, p. 129.

[3] *Grosso modo* this territory lying in the triangle between the rivers Araxes and Kur could be called Arrān, as opposed to Sharvān lying between the Kur and the Caucasian range. In point of fact the poet Qaṭrān in his panegyrics refers to the dominions of the Shaddādids as *Arrān*. See Kasravi, III, 19, 22, 24, 29. Arrān corresponds to Armenian *Aḷvank'*, Greek and Latin *Albania*.

Τίβιον)—one of the numerous Armenian capitals—was founded in the 4th century A.D. by the Armenian Arshakid Khosrov II. Its unusual name may have been imported by the Arshakids from their original home in the present-day Turkman steppe, in the south-eastern corner of the Caspian.[1] When in A.D. 428 the Arshakid dynasty came to an end, Dvin became the seat of the Sasanian *marzpāns*.

The Kurds had come to live in the neighbourhood of Dvin at a very early date (see below p. 127), and the successive regimes (Armenian, Persian, Arab) did not entail the elimination of this element.

(B)

Under the Arabs[2] Dvin and Barda'a (Partav) formed the two bulwarks of the Arab power and administration.[3] The state prison was in Dvin, and, according to R. Vasmer, the mint known as *Armīniya* also functioned in Dvin. This situation was little affected by the rise of the Bagratids whom the Arabs chose as their Christian trustees in Armenia. In A.D. 806 Ashot was appointed prince of Armenia but the limitations of his power are illustrated by the fact that in 813 Dvin was strongly occupied by the amir Jahhāf al-Sulami married to an Armenian princess. Jahhāf's nephew Sawāda was also married to an Armenian but he and his Christian allies were defeated by the new invader

[1] Minorsky, "Transcaucasica", *Jour. As.*, 1930, juillet, pp. 41–56. In the Turkman steppe near Astarabad there is a series of mounds with names ending in *-duvīn*.

[2] The conquest apparently took place towards 25/645, see Ghazarian, "Armenien unter der arab. Herrschaft", in *Zeit. f. arm. Philol.*, II/3, 1903, pp. 169, 173, 176, and Grousset, "Histoire de l'Arménie", 1947, p. 297, [According to Manandian, "Les invasions arabes en Arménie." in *Byzantion*. XVIII (1948), p. 167, Dvin was taken on Friday, 6 Oct. 640.]

[3] A summary of the events in Dvin down to the beginning of the 10th century is given in an important *Excursus* in Marquart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 562–70, with references to the same author's *Streifzüge*, but the author's conclusions are not always acceptable. See now Grousset, *l.c.*, p. 342, etc., *passim*.

Haul (?) whose identity is still enigmatic. In A.D. 852 Mutawakkil sent a punitive expedition to Armenia under the Turk Bugha who wintered in Dvin and abducted nearly all the Armenian rulers to Baghdad.

Since the recognition of Smbat's son Ashot as prince of princes (*circa* 861) and later (886) as king of Armenia, Dvin was theoretically included in his dominions (Marquart, *l.c.* 302). Under Ashot's son Smbat-the-Martyr (890–914) the Muslim vassals grew restless, and it took him two years to capture Dvin ruled at that time by the brothers Muhammad and Umay (Umayya), of unknown lineage.

In December 893 a terrible earthquake destroyed Dvin (Ṭabari, III, 2139) and 70,000 people perished in the disaster. The Armenian catholicos, who till then had resided in Dvin apparently undisturbed by the Muslims, now left the town and took up his quarters in Nor-Kaḷak (Echmiadzin). One might think that the disaster would abate Muslim energy as well, but, instead, the danger to Armenia only increased. In 276/889 (or in 279/892?) the Sājid Muhammad Afshīn was appointed governor of Azarbayjan and immediately after the earthquake proceeded to occupy what remained of Dvin. He met with no opposition and, although his action led to a clash with Smbat, Dvin remained in his possession. Soon after he carried off Smbat's family and released them only after he had received in marriage a Bagratid princess.

Afshīn died in February 901 and before the year was over was succeeded by his brother Yūsuf, who was one of the most resolute enemies the Caucasian Christians have ever had to deal with. In 914 he tortured to death the Armenian king Smbat I who had surrendered to him. Yūsuf's allegiance to the caliph was doubtful even before he revolted openly in 305/917, see p. 111.

Smbat's son Ashot II had sought refuge at the court of the emperor Leo (886–92) but he returned some time after his father's death and in 915 was crowned king by the Bagratid of

Georgia, Adernarse. Against him Yūsuf supported his namesake cousin Sparapet Ashot who was also crowned and permitted to occupy Dvin. Only when Ashot paid homage to Yūsuf did the latter crown him. Ashot II led several expeditions against Dvin and finally forced his cousin to obedience. Strangely enough after the reconciliation of the two cousins we hear that Dvin still needed to be conquered. The cousins are said to have "subjugated the heathens under their hand". This was only wishful thinking for we soon hear of Dvin being occupied by the amir Sp'ki (or Spuk', Asolik, III, ch. 6). Quite a new situation arose in Azarbayjan after Yūsuf's revolt and deposition (in June 919).

The history of John Catholicos, who was the truthful witness of the events, ends in 925 but from another reliable author, Asolik (III, ch. 6), we learn that the emperor Romanus Lacapenos, in the second year of his reign, sent his Domesticus against Dvin. The amir Sp'ki, who was in the town, appealed to Ashot II. The siege was unsuccessful and the Greeks had to turn homewards.

The whole record of these events still awaits an adequate explanation. The amir Sp'ki is apparently that Subuk who had been Yūsuf's trusted servant[1] and who after Yūsuf's capture seized power in Azarbayjan. It was he who conferred on Ashot II the much appreciated title of *shāhanshāh*,[2] possibly as a consolation to the Armenian ruler whose opposition might be dangerous at a troublous time.[3] As regards the reason of the Byzantine

[1] 'Arīb, *Tabari continuatus*, 77 (Marquart).

[2] A century later the Būyids strove to revive this Iranian title.

[3] There are two special and very good works on the Sājids: Defrémery, "La famille des Sâdjides", *J. As.*, 1847, V, 409–46, and X, 396–436, and R. Vasmer, "On the coins of the Sājids" (in Russian), Baku 1927, 32 pp. Both these authors distinguish between Subuk who must have died not later than in 310/922, and Naṣr Subukī, or Subkarī (in John the Catholicos: *Nasr Sarpuh*) whom Yūsuf, after his return, appointed his lieutenant in Armenia. Naṣr was soon recalled and left Bishr as his successor in Dvin. I wonder whether the name Subuk and Subkari should not be restored as **Sü-beg* and **Sü-beg-ari*?

intervention John Catholicos, tr. 326, speaks of a revolt of the governor of Uti appointed by Ashot II who intrigued with Gurgen "prince of princes of Gamirkʿ (Cappadocia)". Marquart, *l.c.*, 565, has ingeniously identified this prince with John Curcuas the δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν (the "Demeslikos" of Asolik). In any case this first appearance of the Byzantines under the walls of Dvin marks a date in the embroiled record of the city. It is clear that at a moment of confusion they were probing the defences of the Muslim might.

(C)

Yūsuf's re-appointment (923) did not affect the situation in Armenia and after his death (927) the Sājid family rapidly lost its fiefs. There was no longer any question of the caliph's appointing governors to Azarbayjan but only of his recognising the new Iranian dynasties which for a century, up to the Turkish invasion, had kept their flag flying. We have already explained the complicated pattern of the Iranian *intermezzo* and this will help us in tracing the efforts of the newcomers to expand their sway to Dvin.

We do not exactly know the moment at which the MUSĀFIRIDS became masters of Dvin. It is not clear who was the amir from whom Ashot's brother Abas (929–53) obtained the liberation of the Christian prisoners. Towards 937 some unidentified Muslim invader came *via* Nakhchavan, reached Dvin and defeated Abas. This may have been the first sign of the Musāfirid expansion. In the valuable list of Marzubān's vassals in 344/950[1] Dvin is not specifically mentioned. The explanation may be that Dvin was under the direct administration of Marzubān's son Ibrāhīm. During the disturbances caused by Marzubān's captivity Dvin was seized by two adventurers,[2] but they were turned out by a more important man, Ibrahim b. Daysam, who unexpectedly recovered power in Azarbayjan.

About the same time we see Muhammad b. Shaddād established

[1] I. Hauqal, 254 (ed. Kramers, II, 354).

[2] See above p. 34.

in Dvin as a protector of the population, only to be expelled by Marzubān when the latter returned to his dominions (see above p. 37). Marzubān died in Ramadan 346/Dec. 957, see Miskawayh, II, 166, and a long struggle for his succession opened between Ibrāhīm and his cousins. Some time about 369/979 a change came over in Azarbayjan and Ibrāhīm was imprisoned, most probably by the new masters of Tabriz, the Rawwādīs.[1]

Muqaddasi, p. 377, who wrote in 375/985, in his rhymed prose praised "Dabīl" as a great town standing by an abundant river and possessing a fortress built of mud and stone, a suburb (*rabaḍ*), a cross-shaped market and a cathedral mosque standing on a mound beside a church. Among its gates Muqaddasi mentions those of Kydar (K.ndar?), Tiflis and Ānī. The town was held by the Kurds, though the Christians prevailed in it. The author hints at the decrease of the population and the decay of the fortress.

At this period the history of the Shaddādids concentrates on their establishment in Ganja, and for events in Dvin our chief source is Asolik.

Under A.D. 982 the Armenian historian (III, ch. 12) relates that the Bagratid of Kars, Mushēḷ, incited "Ablhaj Delmastani, grandson of Salar" to invade the possessions of his nephew, king Smbat of Ani. This prince, whose name can be restored as Abul-Hayjā (b. Ibrāhīm) b. Marzubān[2] burnt the monastery of Hoṛomosi and pulled down the cross of the Šoḷakat church. Then he attacked the eastern neighbour of Smbat, Abū-Dulaf al-Shaybānī,[3] the lord of Goḷt'n (i.e., Julfā-Ordūbād) and

[1] Miskawayh, II, 231. See now Appendix, p. 167.

[2] Marzubān was known as Sallār (< *sardār*).

[3] This amir of Arab origin (Shaybānī) cut a figure on the Araxes, see Asolik, III, ch. 13, and Kasravi, II, 105–9. He led an important raid into Vaspurakan (towards A.D. 984). Asadi dedicated to him his *Garshāsp-nāma*. It is not clear whether he was a relation of the Shaybānis of Sharvan. According to Marquart, *Südarmenien*, 101*–104*, a Muslim amir was appointed to Golt'n by the Sājid Yūsuf as early as A.D. 918.

Nakhchavan, but was defeated and had to surrender "Dvin and the other towns in his possession". In a further passage (III, ch. 29) Asolik blames Smbat for having given troops to Ablhaj and thus broken his pact with Abū-Dulaf, while the latter remained true to his word. Very probably Smbat wished to divert Ablhaj's attention from the West. The unfortunate Ablhaj wandered with his family from place to place in Armenia and Georgia, and even visited the court of the emperor Basil. He did not get any help and finally his servants strangled him in Olti.[1]

Nor did Abū-Dulaf long enjoy his new acquisitions for in 987 (Asolik, III, ch. 18) he was attacked by "Ablhaj, son of Rovd, amir of Azarbayjan". The latter took from him "the towns of Salar", captured Dvin and obtained from king Smbat tribute for past years. These events suggest that the change was now complete and that the new RAWWĀDĪ ruler claimed the inheritance of the Musāfirids. *Abul-Hayjā* was a common title in those days in Azarbayjan, but the real name of the prince in question seems to have been Muhammad b. Husayn.[2] When he died in 988–9 and was succeeded by his son (?) Mamlān (Muhammad), Abū-Dulaf took advantage of this change to re-occupy Dvin and the Armenian king made with him a new "pact" of friendship.[3] How long the new term of occupation by Abū-Dulaf lasted is unknown, but it stands to reason that the amir of Goltʻn was a much lesser ruler than Mamlān. The latter's strength can be gauged by the two important expeditions which

[1] The text is equivocal; some authorities take it as referring to Mushēl,which goes counter to Asolik's text, III, ch. 12 (the heading) and ch. 17 (in which Mushēl's death is placed in 984–5).

[2] Miskawayh, II, 180 (under 349/960): the Musāfirid Vahsūdān urges Justān b. Sharmazan and *Husayn b. Muhammad al-Rawwādī* to attack his nephew Ibrāhīm. See Appendix, p. 168 (a different version).

[3] The treachery towards Abū Dulaf of which Asolik (III, ch. 29) accuses Sembat must refer to some "oath" taken *previously* to the attack of Ablhaj of Delmastan on Abū- Dulaf. Cf. Asolik, trad. Macler, pp. 53 and 136.

he led to the West[1] and which were stopped only by a full mobilisation of the Armenian and Georgian forces.

The Rawādis[2] were Kurds, and the Hadhbānī tribe are several times mentioned as their supporters. It is tempting to think that the Rawādī clan to which Saladin's ancestors belonged came to Dvin under the aegis of the Rawādīs, or that they were local Kurds who became associated with the lords of Tabriz during the latter's expansion across the Araxes in the late eighties of the 10th century (see above p. 122 and below p. 157).

The later history of Dvin when the town came under the control of the Shaddādids has been set forth in the essays on the two branches of this dynasty. About 1118 Dvin became a kind of colony of the family of al-Aḥdab of Arzen. The advent of these Turkish amirs most probably accounted for the exile of the Ayyūbid family to Mesopotamia (see below p. 131).

Then the Georgians grew strong and carried out repeated attacks on Dvin (in 557/1162 etc.) but the town did not immediately fall into their hands for it was captured by the atabeks of Azarbayjan who carried on the struggle with the Georgians.

Some entries in Vardan's chronicle show how complicated the situation was on the northern bank of the Araxes. Under 1177 he records the seizure of Ts'arak'ar by some brigands at the instigation of *Qaracha, amir of Kečror. Then Qaracha sold Kečror to Qïzïl-Arslan (son of Eldiguz) and the latter threw the local monks into jail.[3] In 1182 Qaracha made for Dvin but soon was killed by the Shāh-Arman. In 1182 the people of Ani recaptured Ts'arak'ar, which was the hereditary possession (of the family?) of the lord Barseł. The Muslims were massacred, and

[1] The first to Bagrevand (Alashkert) and the second (in 998) to the northern shore of Lake Van, see Asoł̣ik, III, ch. 38 and 41.

[2] I have adopted here the vulgar pronunciation of the name in later times, see I. Khallikān and see above p. 115.

[3] Kečror with the monastery of Ts'arak'ar lay in the neighbourhood of Ani, see St. Martin, *Mémoires*, II, 417 and 457. It seems to be identical with Kеč'arus (see above p. 82).

the lord of Dvin, Ališer, went into mourning for his wife and his children.[1] One can guess that this ʿAlī-Shīr was a representative of the amir of Azarbayjan who apparently controlled both Dvin and Kečror.

In 1203 Dvin was taken by the Mxargrdzeli brothers[2] and from the Georgian chronicle, I/1, 474, we learn that the queen used to spend her winters in Dvin. The Georgian occupation lasted till 1225, when Jalāl al-dīn defeated Ivane Mxargrdzeli and captured Dvin, but the Mongols were already at his heels.

4. SALADIN'S ORIGINS

(A)

The famous biographer Ibn Khallikān (A.D. 1211–82) made a special inquiry into the history of Saladin's family[3] and came to the following conclusion[4]: "Historians agree in stating that his father and family belonged to Duwīn, which is a small town situated at the farther extremity of Adharbayjan, in the direction of Arrān and the country of the Kurj (i.e., the Georgians). They were Kurds and belonged to the tribe of Rawādiya (sic) which is a branch of the great tribe al-Hadāniya (read: **Hadhbāniya*). I was informed by a legist (*faqīh*) who was a native of Duwīn and never said anything of which he was not certain, that near the gate of the town lies a village called Ajdanaqān, all the

[1] Vardan, *l.c.*, 160–3. Lord Barseł (Barsegh) must be the catholicos of Ani (1082–5), see St. Martin, *l.c.*, 441.

[2] Vardan, *l.c.*, 193, cf. Brosset, I/2, 270. Previously to the conquest of Dvin the Mxargrdzeli had carried out a raid on Dvin and on the way back had serious fights with the pursuers. Then the Russian husband of queen Thamar also raided the region of Dvin and returned with many prisoners, see Brosset, I/1, 415 (before 1193). Cf. S. Orbelian, tr. by Brosset, I, 222. Cf. *ibid.*, 497.

[3] See his notices (translated by de Slane, 1842): I, 243–8, Najm al-dīn Ayyūb ibn Shādī ibn Marwān; I, 626, Asad al-dīn Shīrkūh ibn Shādī; III, 235: al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb; IV, 479–563: Ṣalāḥ al-dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb ibn Shādī.

[4] See also *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, III, 399, with a translation by de Slane, IV, 479.

inhabitants of which are Rawādiya Kurds, and that the father of Ṣalāḥ al-dīn was born there. Shādī went to Baghdad with his two sons, Asad ad-dīn Shīrkūh and Najm al-dīn Ayyūb, and thence to Tikrīt where they settled. Shādī died there, and his tomb with a cupola (*qubba*) over it is within the town. I have carefully studied their genealogy but have not found any mention beyond Shādī".[1] Other sources say much less and only stress the fact that Saladin's father was born in Dvin.[2]

We shall examine one by one the questions raised by the passage of Ibn Khallikān.

1. The sure point in this important statement is *Duwīn*, i.e., the early Armenian capital Dvin, later one of the key-points of the Muslim domination in the Caucasus.[3] The position of Dvin should be sought on the left bank of the river Garni (ancient *Azat*[4] which flows into the Araxes to the east of the river Zanga (Hrazdan) on which Erivan is situated.

2. I have not seen it noticed that the native village of Saladin's ancestors Ajdanaqān should be identified with the Aždanakan which, some four centuries earlier, the Armenian historian

[1] Only as a curiosity Khallikān mentions the tree drawn up by an obliging *nassāba*, which goes up to Adam (*ḥattā intahā ilā Ādam*).

[2] See Bahā al-dīn in *Recueil*, III, 6; I. Athīr, XI, 225 (very brief) and Abul-Fidā (himself an Ayyūbid!), *Annales Moslemici*, ed. Reiske, III, 616 (nothing original).

[3] See above chapter 3.

[4] On the Russian 5-verst map three small villages bearing the name of Dvin are marked in this neighbourhood. Curiously enough one of them is called Dvin-*Kurd*akend. On the site of the ancient town see N. Y. Marr's archaeological reconnaissance near Ardashar in *Otchot Imperat. Arkheolog. Komissii za* 1899, St. Petersburg 1902, pp. 91-4; also N. Y. Marr, "Ani", 1934, p. 17. Manandian, *l.c.*, places Dvin near the village Artashar (whose site he *distinguishes* from the ancient Artashat, Artaxata, which lay nearer to the Araxes). In 1949 the government of Soviet Armenia decided to restore the ancient Dvin by uniting the villages standing on its presumed site. [The recent discovery of the ruins of the cathedral and the palace of the catholicos has permitted to pinpoint the site of Dvin, see K. G. Kafandarian, quoted in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 1950, I, 151.]

Moses of Khoren places in the same neighbourhood.[1] The passage occurs in the fantastic story of the king Tigran, who in alliance with Cyrus is said to have crushed the Medians (Arm. *Mar* < Persian Māδa). Tigran was first an ally of *Astyages (whom Moses calls Aždahak),[2] and gave him his sister Tigranuhi. Having unmasked the wiles of Aždahak, Tigran killed him and sent Tigranuhi back to Armenia. As to the first wife of Aždahak, called Anuyš, and ten thousand other prisoners, he settled them "beyond the eastern range of the great mountain (i.e., of Ararat) down to the confines of Goł'n, that is in Tambat, Oskioł, Dažguynk' and in other palaces standing near the bank of the river (*scil.* Araxes), one of which called Vranjunik' is opposite the fortress of Naxčavan. He also assigned to them three boroughs: Xram, Juła and Xošakunik', and on the opposite (i.e., left) bank, the whole of the plain from Aždanakan down to the fortress Naxčavan. Tigran settled Anuyš and her sons in a secure place wherefrom stretch (the traces) of the slide of the great mountain, said to have been caused by a formidable earthquake . . . As servants to Anuyš Tigran appointed the Medians (*Mar*) whom he settled at the foot of the said mountain." What is more important, Moses adds that the story was recorded in the "Historical songs" which were sung in Goł'n; one of them told how, when Artašat was founded, Artavazd, son of Artašēs, "went forth and among the Medians (*Mar*) built Marakert in the plain called Šarur".[3]

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[1] Moses of Khoren, I, ch. 30, Russian translation by N. O. Emin, Moscow 1893, p. 44.

[2] *Aždahāk* is a mythical Iranian name < Avestan *Aži Dahāka* "the dragon Dahāka". This name has nothing to do with the name of Astyages which in the cuneiform texts appears as *Ištuvegu.*

[3] Hübschmann, *Arm. Ortsnamen*, p. 451, comments on this Marakert: "von den Medern gemacht"? Sachlich unwarscheinlich". On the contrary, the overflowing of the Mar (Medians, Kurds) to the northern bank of the Araxes was as natural in olden times as during the "Iranian *intermezzo*" (see above, p. 123).

This text is most remarkable for the accuracy of its geographical indications. The great chasm on the northern face of the Ararat is that of Akhuri. Tambat is one of the high valleys of the Lesser Ararat where in 1905 I found an ancient town lying in ruins. Julʿa is the well-known frontier point of Julfa. On the northern bank of the Araxes, Sharur lies to the north-west of Nakhchavan,[1] and Golṭʿn corresponds to the tract between Julfa and Ordūbād. Aždanakan[2] lying at the head of the plain must be located near where the Garni river emerges from the hills, i.e., in the neighbourhood of Dvin.[3]

3. There is no doubt that the term *Mar* (Medians) refers to the Kurds.[4] In the time of Moses of Khoren there were no Medians in existence, but even now the Kurds continue to occupy the slopes of the Ararat. In the curious Armenian manuscript containing samples of alphabets and languages, written some time before A.D. 1446, a prayer in Kurdish figures as a specimen of "the language of the Medians (*Mar*)" and such a use of the term is still attested in dictionaries.[5]

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[1] Shah Ismāʿīl I defeated his Aq-qoyunlu enemies in Sharur. This district lies between Dvin and Nakhchavan.

[2] *Aždahā*+Arm. toponymic suffix *-akan*.

[3] The *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (A.D. 1340) mentions an Ajnān among the boroughs of Nakhchavan, adding that it is also called *kārkhāna* ("works") because it possesses a copper mine. This place, however, should not be confused with Ajdanaqān. Brosset in his translation of S. Orbelian, II, 63, quotes a passage from Alishan's *Great Armenia*, 1855, §171: "Meḷri (Meghri), to the south of Zangazor (between Ordubad, the Araxes and the Akera river) contains the ancient canton of Baḷkʿ, later called *Ajanan* and *Kajunikʿ*". This Ajanān is then the famous mining centre of Kapan (now Kafan).

[4] Minorsky, "L'origine des Kurdes", *Travaux du XX-ème Congrès des Orientalistes*, Bruxelles 1938, pp. 143–52.

[5] A. Shanidze, "The newly discovered alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians" (in Russian), Tbilisi 1938. Shanidze quotes the dictionary of Avetikian, Sürmelian, Avgerian, Venice 1837: *mar* "a Kurd, a Shirvani". See "The Medians in ancient Armenia" (in Russian) in N. O. Emin's *Izsledovaniya*, Moscow 1896, pp. 122–32.

When in 22/643 Ḥabīb ibn Maslama arrived in Ardasāṭ (**Artašat*) he "crossed the river of the Kurds (*nahr al-Akrād*) and descended into the plain of Dabīl (Dvin)", see Balādhurī, p. 200, Ṭabari, I, 2674. This stream can be only the Garni river, for according to a reliable Armenian source[1] the Arshakid Khosrov II (A.D. 381–9) planted a wood "from the solid royal castle of Garni down to the plain of Metsamor, down to the hill called Dvin and situated to the north of the great city of Artašat, and down the river to the palace Tiknuni". As already said, towards the end of the 10th century, the great Arab geographer Muqaddasi, 377, remarked that the Christians formed the predominant element in Dvin[2] but that the town was held by the Kurds (*yaḍbiṭuhu al-Akrād*).

The whole story of Tigran and Anuyš is a legendary superstructure over the positive fact that in the neighbourhood of Ajdanaqān on the territory between the Ararat, Dvin and Ordūbād, there lived numerous Kurds, from times more ancient than has been usually assumed. Astyages (*Ištuvegu*) was confused by Moses of Khoren with Aždahak, and possibly the homonymy of Persian *mār* ("snake") with Armenian *Mar* ("Median") also contributed to the *imbroglio*, especially as *some* connection of the Kurds with Aždahak was hinted at even in Persian epics.[3]

4. We come now to Saladin's clan Rawadi (روادی) which according to Ibn Khallikan's reliable informant was a sept (*baṭn*) of the tribe Hadhānī. Although this name is carefully spelt out in this form (هذانی), the older parallel forms[4] guarantee the reading **Hadhbānī* (or *Hadhabānī*). This name is derived

[1] Faustus of Byzantium, III, ch. 8.

[2] Muqaddasi states with regret: *ma'a nublihi* "despite the nobility (of the town)."

[3] *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, I, 36: the Kurds are the descendants of the children whom the cook Armāyīl saved from the ravenous snakes which grew out of the shoulders of Zohhāk (< Aždahak).

[4] Miskawayh, GMS, VII/6 (facsimile), p. 237 الهذابانية; Ibn Hauqal, 239 (ed. Kramers, 336): الهذبانيه.

from the old geographical term for the region of Irbil (Arbela), which is preserved in the name of the Nestorian diocese, Adiabene (Haδayyaβ).[1] The Hadhbani had their summer quarters near Ushnū (I. Hauqal) but their activities are recorded in Salmas, Maragha and other places of Azarbayjan.

There is always some uncertainty about the names of the Kurdish tribes as the original tribal name is often replaced by the names of the outsiders who succeeded in taking the leadership of the tribe. This apparently happened to some sections of the Hadhbānis, who came under the rule of the originally Arab families issued from Rawwād al-Azdī. In my opinion (see above p. 123), the clan to which Saladin's family belonged was somehow connected with the *Rawwādī* family whose name may have been simplified by non-Arabs into *Rawādī*.

At this point we have to straighten out another kink in the Ayyubid chart. According to the historian of the Kurds, Sharaf al-dīn, who wrote in 1005/1596, the Ayyūbids belonged to the *Ravanda* Kurds of Dvin (*Sharaf-nāma*, p. 55). This term is not found in the earlier sources, although a tribe of a similar name (*Ravand*, *Ravandī*) exists nowadays on the western slopes of the frontier range separating Ushnū from Ravānduz. It is possible that *Ravandi* is only a later mutilation of the former *Rawādī*, especially in view of the identity of their summer quarters with those of the old Hadhbānī (see above).[2]

And to sum up, there may have been successive waves of Kurdish migrations to the Araxes valley. The Kurds were there before the time of Moses of Khoren, but it is possible that after the Arab invasion some Hadhbānīs came to reinforce the original

[1] Ravānduz and Ushnū lie on the way from Irbil to Azarbayjan.

[2] The alternative would be to seek the origin of *Ravandī* in the castle Ravānduz, whose name has been connected by Sir H. Rawlinson with the ancient *Orontes* quoted in this region by Pliny, VI, 118. See *JRGS*, X, 1840, p. 23; cf. Marquart, *Südarmenien*, 1930, 393–6, but in any case Rawwādī (Rawādī) cannot be derived from *Orontes/Ravānduz*.

settlers. Finally, the existence of the Rawādī clan among the Kurds of Dvin is likely to be explained by some particular connection between them and the Rawwādī dynasty of Azarbayjan.

(B)

No historian has recorded the exact year in which Shādhī ibn Marwān, with his sons Ayyūb and Shīrkūh, left Dvin. We only know that they made for Baghdad at the invitation of Jamāl al-daula Mujāhid al-dīn Biḥrūz b. ʿAbdullāh al-Ghiyāthī. The latter had been Shādhī's close friend in Dvin (?)[1] and at the time in question was acting as *shiḥna* of ʿIrāq. Bihrūz appointed Shādhī to be *dizdār* (commandant) of the castle of Tekrīt on the Tigris. As Bihrūz was "the master of Tekrīt" Shādhī had probably not too long to wait for the post which, strictly speaking, was not a government appointment. He died in Tekrit and was succeeded by Ayyūb. The first definite date in the Ayyubid Odyssey was the service rendered by Ayyūb to the ruler of Mosul. In 526/1132 Zangī b. Aqsunqur led an expedition against Baghdad to support the candidature of the Seljukid Masʿūd b. Muhammad b. Malik-shāh. In the battle which was fought near Tekrīt on the 2nd of March 1132 Zangi was defeated by the caliph's general Qaraja.[2] His retreat was facilitated by Ayyūb

[1] I. Khallikan, *l.c.*, I, 243. "An amir" with whose wife he was improperly familiar had him castrated and he left to take service with Sultan Ghiyāth al-dīn Masʿūd and rose to be tutor to his sons. This must have happened even before Masʿūd's accession to the throne (528–47/1133–52). I. Khallikān, IV, 481, says that Bihrūz was a Greek slave and had a fair complexion. The links of Bihrūz with Transcaucasia appear also from Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 51: reporting on the earthquake which shook Ganja in 534/1139 he says that two sons of the lord of the country Qara-sunqur (*Aq-sunqur?) were killed and "the castle was ruined which Mujāhid al-dīn Bihrūz had there (*hundka*)." Immediately after this record the author speaks of a new canal (*sikr*) which Bihrūz built in the region of Nahrawānāt.

[2] The famous memoirist Usāma ibn Munqidh was an eye witness of the battle but his account of it has not come down to us, see H. Derenbourg, "Vie d'Ousâma", pp. 144–6.

who placed at his disposal boats for crossing the Tigris. This generosity to an enemy did not affect Ayyūb's appointment, apparently because of Bihrūz's links with Mas'ūd. Again in the following year 527/1133 Ayyūb showed his independence by refusing to surrender the former vazir, al-'Azīz, who was placed in his custody.[1] Bihrūz, "the master of Tekrit", had himself to visit the fortress to carry out the orders (in 527/1132–3). The brothers were turned out of Tekrit only when Shīrkūh killed a man (an *isfahsālār*?) who was abusing a weeping woman. On the night of their departure, the tradition says, Saladin was born in Tekrit, in 532/1138. The family sought the protection of Zangi and the atabek gave them a fief. In 533/19 August 1139 Zangi captured Baalbek and put Ayyūb in charge of this fortress (*mustaḥfiẓ*). After the death of Zangi (14 September 1146) Ayyūb ceded the fortress to the army of Damascus (October 1146) and took service with the Būrids. Meanwhile Shīrkūh joined Nūr al-dīn of Aleppo, and when the latter decided to dispossess the Būrids, Shīrkūh took part in the negotiations with his brother and Ayyūb peacefully surrendered Damascus to Nūr al-dīn in 549/1154. Ayyūb kept Damascus on behalf of Nūr al-dīn and Shīrkūh received Ḥims.[2] Soon after 550/1155 the Shaddādid of Ani Shaddād, see above p. 88, came as an exile to the residence of the former vassal of his family, Shīrkūh. The latter died an old man in 564/23 March 1169 and Ayyūb followed him in 568/16 August 1173.

The first certain date in the history of the Ayyubids is 1132 and we should remember that in 524/1130 the cruel Qurti b. Tughan-Arslan wrested Dvin from Faḍlūn III who lost his life in the fighting. As the Ayyubids are repeatedly called close dependents of the Shaddādids, it is most probable that, after the death of

[1] Al-'Azīz was the uncle of the historian 'Imād al-dīn who speaks with sympathy of Ayyūb ("a good Muslim") and of his brother Shīrkūh whose personal recollections he quotes, see al-Bundārī, 154, 163, 167.

[2] See Wiet, *Shirkuh* in *Enc. Isl.*

the last energetic Shaddādid and in the presence of a brutal usurper, the position of the family became intolerable and this is the most likely explanation of the flight of Shādhī's family to Baghdad.[1] (See above p. 85.)

5. CONCLUSIONS

Six centuries ago the painstaking Ibn Khallikān gave up the task of finding the names of Saladin's ancestors beyond his grandfather Shādī b. Marwān. In fact the purely genealogical approach of a Muslim *nassāba* would not be conducive to any useful results. On the other hand, the brief survey of the Iranian *intermezzo* and of the events centring round Dvin has cleared up the background of the Ayyūbid family.

The corrections brought about in hitherto accepted views by our study will be best shown by quoting the opening page of a standard biography of Saladin:

"Ayyūb . . . belonged to the same great Aryan stock as ourselves, being neither Arab nor Turk, but a Kurd of the Rawadiya clan, born at the village of Ajdanakan near Dawin in Armenia. From time immemorial the Kurds have led the same wild pastoral life in the mountain tracts between Persia and Asia Minor. In their clannishness, their love of thieving, their fine chivalrous sense of honour and hospitality, and their unquestioned courage, they resembled the Arabs of the "Days of Ignorance" before Islam, or the Highland Scots before the reforms of Marshal Wade. They have ever been a gallant and warlike people, impervious as a rule to civilization, and difficult for strangers to manage, but possessed of many rude virtues. At least, they gave birth to Saladin. Of his more distant forefathers

[1] Samuel of Ani, *Recueil*, Doc. arméniens, I, 453, misunderstood the situation when he wrote that the cause of the exile was the poverty of the family and that in Tekrit Eyyub and "Shiraku" worked as water-carriers. He ends with the story of the prophetic dream of Ayyūb who saw flames flaring up from his loins, etc. The pronunciation and the meaning of *Shīrkūh* is not quite certain: it might be "the mountain lion" and one might think of *Shīrgōh* (*shēr-güē*) in Kurdish "having the lion's ear."

nothing is known. His family is becomingly described by his biographers as "one of the most eminent and respectable in Dawin",[1] but even if true this is at most a provincial and limited distinction."[2]

In the light of the stormy history of Dvin, the frame of the "wild pastoral life" no longer suits the story of the Ayyūbid origins. To serve the Shaddādids was not merely to tend their herds, but to take part in the dangerous and agitated life of a border land, peopled by a mixed Christian and Muslim population and torn by continuous external complications.

To survive amid the clashes of local interests and foreign invasions one needed a perfect comprehension of the issues involved, and not in vain did the Byzantine historian recognise the strategical and political talents of Abul-Asvār I and his gift of penetrating the designs of his opponents (see above, p. 56).

On the witness of the historian Bahā al-dīn (Bundāri, p. 167) we know that Ayyūb and Shīrkūh were fully grown up even at the first stage of their migrations, in Tekrit. Chronology shows that in Syria their recollections of Dvin must have been still fresh, and the visit of their former master Shaddād (A.D. 1155) established a new link with their birthplace.

Nor was Saladin cut off from the Caucasus. After the conquest, of Jerusalem, Oriental Christians, and among them the Georgians approached him on various occasions. When on 15 May 1192 a Byzantine envoy requested Saladin to remit the Holy Cross (*ṣalīb al-ṣalabūt*) to the Emperor he was told that "the king of Georgia[3] had already offered for it 200,000 dinars but the offer was declined (*fa lam yujab ilā dhālika*)". In the same year, after the signature of the peace with Richard Coeur-de-Lion (2 September 1192), a Georgian ambassador came to Saladin to discuss the. question "of the places of pilgrimage (*al-ziyārāt*)

[1] See I. Khallikan, *l.c.*, I, 243, V.M.

[2] S. Lane-Poole, "Saladin", 1898, p. 4.

[3] Probably queen Thamar (1184–1213).

which belonged to the Georgians in Jerusalem and of the buildings (*'imārāt*) appertaining thereto, which, as the Georgians complained, had been taken from their hands. They asked the Sultan to return them to their representatives".[1]

Only on very general lines can we touch upon those specific events and that particular climate of Transcaucasia from the influence of which no responsible member of the community remained exempt in the multinational Dvin. Any contemporary observer had to draw his conclusions from the weakening of the caliphs's grip on Iran and the Caucasian lands, the tribulations of the Armenian kingdoms, the Iranian *intermezzo*, the Byzantine expansion, the advent of the Turks and after a time the rapid rise of Georgia, already on the upgrade of its meteoric career.

On the religious side, the Shī'a and its aberrations had little success among the Kurds, who mostly were Sunnis or Khārijites, and this formed a barrier between them and the Daylamites. Dvin lay close enough to the area saturated with the Isma'īlī propaganda[2] and, from the time of the Seljuk conquest, the Shaddādids and their subjects must have watched all the episodes in the struggle of their overlords with the successors of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh. In the attitude of the Ayyūbids towards the Fāṭimids there may have been a trace of their ancestral antipathy towards the policy of Alamūt.

The interests of the Muslims and Christians in Armenia were closely intertwined, and the representatives of the two rival religions had a good knowledge of their respective affairs. Now and then the crosses over the cathedrals would be pulled down but neither were the mosques immune from occasional

[1] Bahā al-din, III, 299, 330. It is known that the Georgians possessed important endowments in Jerusalem.

[2] According to Miskawaih, II, 32, the Daylamite Marzubān (330–46/941–57) was a *bāṭinī*. One can also remember that his rule extended over the territories to the north-west of Ardabil which were the cradle of Bābak's movement (201–223/816–38). [Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāh ruled in 970–1024.]

desecrations. The fact remains that churches and mosques stood side by side both in Dvin and in Ani.[1] There were cases of apostasy among the Christian nobility, but from Vardan we learn that one of Abul-Aswār II's sons became a Christian monk. The familiarity of the future qāḍī Burhān al-dīn of Ani with Christian scriptures is also a colourful detail. Generally speaking in the borderlands of mixed population, such as the region which has produced the Byzantine epics of Digenis and the Caucasian marches, the "religious fanaticism" was greatly moderated by the economic and practical requirements of life. No one would explain nowadays the opposition of the Muslims to the crusaders' imperialism by purely religious considerations.

Muslim-Christian marriages were frequent in Transcaucasia. One cannot enumerate all the cases of Georgian and Armenian princesses being given to the Seljuks, Sharvān-shāhs, Shaddādids, etc. But from queen Thamar's story we also know that several of her Muslim suitors made no bones about changing their religion, and it is an exaggeration on the part of Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 270 (year 620/1223) to qualify as "unparallelled" the record of the petty Seljuk king of Erzerum who authorised his son[2] to abjure the faith of his fathers in order to marry Thamar's daughter Rusudan. The Seljuk of Rūm Kay-Khusrau II was so much in love with his wife (Rusudan's daughter) that in 1236 he prepared to strike coins with her portrait, though finally he was persuaded to represent her less objectionably, from the Islamic point of view, as a sun rising from behind a lion.[3]

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[1] Muqaddasi, 380 (Dvin); N. Y. Marr's excavations in Ani.

[2] Cf. also Nasawi, *l.c.*, 174.

[3] Abul-Faraj, *Historia dynastiarum*, ed. Pococke, 1663, p. 487. This was the prototype of the modern Persian emblem, see Kasravi, *Tārīkhcha-yi shīr-u-khurshīd*, Tehran 1309/1930. Generally speaking many coins of the time bore portraits of Muslim rulers, see the coins of Kayfā, Mārdīn, Arbil, and Mausil, in S. Lane Poole, *Saladin*, p. 194.

If such was the atmosphere of the Muslim-Christian relations, in the sphere of "chivalry" the Ayyūbids could also remember some cases of the Caucasian practice with its succession of battles and oaths of good-neighbourship, its ostentatious hospitality and rigid *points d'honneur*. We know of the amir Saltuq, who at the risk of endangering the campaign of his co-religionists refused to break the promise given to king Dimitri, and equally notable are king Giorgi's readiness to accept the intercession of the good vazir of Mausil or the release of the captive amir of Arzinjan by queen Thamar for the token offering of a horse-shoe.[1] [Cf. below, p. 157].

In a word, Saladin's father and uncle did not come to Iraq and to Syria as semi-barbarous shepherds used to the daylong watching of flocks from some distant crag. They brought with them recollections of a whole system of politics and behaviour. Even now the Cherkes in Syria and Egypt honour some of their ancient customs, and the period separating them from the Caucasus is longer than was the time between the flight of Shādī and the rise of Saladin.

We come now to the less hypothetical ground of facts indicating the direct connection of the Ayyūbids with their Iranian countrymen and their interest in their ancient home.

The evidence on the cultural side is naturally weak. Like the Latin of the crusaders, Arabic was the official language of their opponents. Several Ayyūbid princes, enumerated in Abul-Fida, were writers in Arabic. However, many Kurds in Mesopotamia were also poets, theologians and jurists using Arabic as their tongue, yet surely this circumstance did not destroy the natural affinities linking the Kurds especially when they live amidst heterogeneous elements. Some Iranian romanticism can be detected in such names borne by the Ayyūbids, as Tūrān-shāh (several princes), Shāhan-shāh, Bahrām-shāh, Farrukh-shāh,

[1] See Brosset, I, 463. Probably the Mangujakid 'Alā al-dīn Dā'ūd II ibn Bahrām-shāh.

although such names were equally common among the Turkish dynasties whose links with their tribal organisations had become loose (Seljukids of Rum, Zangids of Mausil, etc.). More interesting is the fact of an Arabic translation of Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma*. It was completed in 621/Oct. 1224 by the well-known writer Fatḥ b. ʿAlī al-Bundārī, a native of Isfahan, on the orders of the king of Damascus al-Malik al-Muʿazzam Sharaf al-dīn ʿĪsā.[1] One cannot say whether Ayyūb's grandson could not read Persian,[2] or whether his desire was to impress the Arabs with the *ḥamāsa* of the ancient Iranians.

Much more important were the presence of large contingents of Kurds under Saladin's banners,[3] and the high positions reached by several Kurdish amirs in the military and civil organisation of the Ayyūbids. The facts referring to them will be found in Annex A.

It would be an anachronism to seek "nationalistic" tendencies in the twelfth century A.D., but just as the French and the English crusaders were *conscious* of their differences, so the Kurds naturally felt theirs with regard to the Turks. In this respect one story in Ibn al-Athīr is particularly interesting.[4] After the death of Shīrkūh in 564/1169, four important amirs, who were eagerly expecting to take his place, were displeased to hear that the Fatimid caliph had appointed Saladin as his vazir. The opposition was cleverly broken by the *faqīh* Ḍiyā al-din ʿĪsā (a Hakkārī Kurd). He told his countryman Sayf al-din al-Mashtūb al-Hakkārī that his rivals would not tolerate his

[1] *Al-Shāh-nāma*, edited by Prof. Abdul-Wahhāb ʿAzzām, Cairo 1350/1932; 108 (Introduction) + 389 + 343 pages. See Introduction, p. 94.

[2] According to Ibn Hauqal, 250, most of the people of Armenia knew Persian. Armenian was spoken in Dvin and Nakhchavan. It was in Persian that the qāḍī Burhān al-dīn of Ani composed his book, see above p. 80.

[3] On many occasions one finds mentioned the Hadhbani, the Zarzārī (now Zarzā in Ushnū), the Hakkārī, the Ḥumaydī, the Mihrānī, etc.

[4] I. A., *Taʾrīkh al-Atābakiya*, p. 255; I.A., *al-Kāmil*, XI, 226; I. Khallikān (de Slane), IV, 495.

advancement. He pointed out to Saladin's maternal uncle, al-Ḥārimī,[1] how shortsighted it would be to compete with one's nephew. To Qutb al-din Yinal al-Hadhbānī he said "both you and Saladin are Kurds and you will not let power pass into the hands of the Turks". Only the fourth amir, the Turkman ʿAyn al-daula al-Yārūqī remained obdurate to Ḍiyā al-din's diplomacy.[2]

It was a great merit of Saladin's policy to keep his Muslim warriors in proper balance, for we never hear of considerable clashes between his Turkish and Kurdish supporters.[3] The fact that there was a possibility of tension among them is supported by the letter which was addressed to Saladin in July 1192 by the governor of Jerusalem Abul-Hayjā al-Hadhbānī (a Kurd). He wrote that after the disastrous fall of ʿAkkā the garrison of Jerusalem was hesitant about the defence of the Holy City: "so send us someone of your family round whom we should rally, otherwise the Kurds will not believe in the Turks, nor the Turks in the Kurds". Saladin hastened to send his nephew Majd al-dīn to Abul-Hayjā's help.[4]

A still more striking fact is the tendency of the Ayyūbids to set their foot on the Armenian plateau. Khilāt greatly attracted Saladin's attention but only in the next generation was this dream realised. The Ayyūbids established a conjugal link with the Kurdo-Armeno-Georgian family[5] ruling in Ani and the energetic lieutenant of Malik al-Ashraf crossed the Araxes and

[1] The *nisba* sounds Arabic, in which case Saladin's mother may have been an ʿIrāqī lady.

[2] On Yaruq b. Arslan al-Turkmānī see I. Khallikān, IV, 1.

[3] What danger was thereby conjured up is clear from I.A.'s record (XI, 342) of the events of 581/1185. A trivial incident started a terrible carnage between the Turkmans and the Kurds which lasted several years in a vast area from Azarbayjan to Upper Mesopotamia, see in great detail Michel le Syrien, *Recueil*, Documents arméniens, p. 395.

[4] Abū-Shāma, *Recueil*, V, 59.

[5] On the Mkhargrdzeli family see above, p. 101.

nearly reached the ancient home of Ayyūb and Shīrkūh. This little known episode has been treated in Annex B. More than anything else it stresses the atavistic undercurrent in the Ayyūbid policy, which it has been our task to underline. This does not mean that the author of the present essay pretends to deny the other well-established sides of Saladin's activities. His only wish is to clear up the family tradition of the Ayyūbids and thereby to give more reality to the figure of Saladin who was not only a protagonist of Islam but also a defender of the Near East against foreign intrusion.

ANNEX A.

Notes on Kurds under the Ayyūbids

In speaking of the Kurdish families active under the Ayyūbids we should first of all consider the Ayyūbids themselves, with their innumerable branches issued from Ayyūb and Shīrkūh, but this is a task for some future investigator. Each of these rulers must have been a centre of attraction for his countrymen from beyond the Tigris. In the present section we shall only put together some material on the role of the Kurds in the central army and administration of the Ayyūbids.

The following two tables based on Bahā al-dīn, III, 140 and 197, illustrate the battle-array of Saladin's army during the momentous operations under ʿAkkā and thus throw a light on the composition of the Ayyūbid high command.

I. The battle of 21 Shaʿbān 585/4 Oct. 1189.

(*a*) The centre (*qalb*) was occupied by Saladin who was moving about the lines and encouraging the warriors. Actually the leader of the centre was 1. the *faqīh* Ḍiyā al-dīn ʿĪsā al-Hakkārī with his men (*jamʿuhu*).

(*b*) To the right of the centre (*maymanat al-qalb*) were

2. the princes Afḍal and 3. Zāfir, sons of Saladin.

4. the army (*'askar*) of Mausil commanded by Zahīr al-dīn b. al-Balankari.[1]

5. the army of Diyār-Bakr commanded by Qutb al-dīn, lord of al-Ḥisn.

6. the lord of Nāblus Ḥusām al-dīn b. Lachin.

7. *al-ṭawāshī* Qiymaz al-Najmī, with great masses of troops, joined the right wing.[2]

(*b-bis*) At the extreme right (*fī ṭarafihā*), where it touched the sea, was

8. Malik al-Muzaffar Taqī al-dīn (of Harrān?) with his army.

(*c*) To the left of the centre were

9. Sayf al-din 'Alī al-Mashṭūb, one of the greatest Kurdish maliks, and 10. the amīr Mujallī, together with a formation of Mihrānī and Hakkārī Kurds.

11. Mujāhid al-din Burunqash (?), leader of the army of Sinjār, with a formation of *mamlūks*.

12. Muzaffar al-dīn b. Zayn al-dīn (of Arbil?) with his own troops (*bi-ḥaflihi wa 'askarihi*).

(*c-bis*) On the extreme left were the most important of the Asadī mamlūks:

13. Sayf al-dīn Yāzk.j (*Yaz-Kech?) and 14. Arslan-Bugha with the Asadī formation.

The royal princes were Nos. 2, 3 and 8. The armies of the eastern vassals were led by Nos. 4, 5, 11(?) and 12. No. 6 was a governor issued from Turkish mamlūks (?). The names of Nos. 7 and 8 accompanied by the names of their former masters show that they were Turkish mamlūks; as for the term *ṭawāshī* it is used in Arabic for "eunuchs" but it is quite likely[3] that in this

[1] This *nisba* indicates some earlier connection with the town Balanjar in the northern Caucasus (in the old Khazar territory).

[2] Barbier de Meynard translates "a l'extrémité de l'aile droite".

[3] Cf. Mongol *daghudaqchi* "public crier", see J. Deny, *Jour. As.*, July 1932, p. 160, and Minorsky, BSOS, X/1, 1939, p. 163. The semantie connection of the words *tavachi/tawāshī* is still obscure.

case it represents Turkish **tavachï*, a high staff officer responsible for transmitting orders and assigning the places of the commanders on the battle-field. Nos. 13 and 14 too were obviously Turkish mamlūks.

The Kurdish tribal troops (Mihrānī, Hakkārī) were under the command of Nos. 9 and 10, of whom Sayf al-din was a very influential man (see below, p. 144). It is curious that Saladin's lieutenant in the centre (No. 1) was also a Hakkārī Kurd (see below) who combined learning with diplomacy and military talents.

Thus out of 14 commanders, three were Ayyūbid princes of Kurdish origin, and another three, Kurds, — two of the latter commanding tribal units.

II. In the second battle (586/1190) the disposition of the troops was as follows:

(*a*) In the centre were Saladin's guards (***al-ḥalqat al-sulṭāniya***) among whom 1. Ayaz al-Tawīl and 2. Sayf al-dīn Yazk.j particularly distinguished themselves.

(*b*) Right wing:

3. Princes al-Afḍal of Damascus and 4. Zāhir junior of Bosrā, both sons of Saladin.

5. Khorram-shāh and 6. Malik al-'Ādil, both sons of the lord of Mausil 'Izz al-dīn.

Further to the right stood 6. Ḥusām al-dīn b. Lachin, 7. ***al-ṭawāshī*** Qiymaz al-Najmī and 9. 'Izz al-dīn J.rdīk al-Nūrī.

Still further to the right were: 10. Ḥusām al-dīn Bishāra, lord of Banyās, 11. Badr al-din Dldrm (**Doldurum*?), lord of Tell-Bāshir, and a great number of other amirs.

(*c*) Left wing:

12. 'Imād al-dīn Zanki, lord of Sinjār (actually absent) and his nephew 13. Mu'izz al-dīn Sanjar-shāh, lord of Jazīrat-ibn-al 'Omar (who had recently deserted the army but had just been persuaded to come back) and 14. Taqī al-dīn, another nephew of No. 12 (?).

(*c-bis*) Extreme left:

15. Sayf al-dīn ʿAli b. Ahmad al-Mashṭūb with all the Mihrānī and Hakkārī forces, as well as 16. *Khushtarīn and other Kurdish amirs.

Most of the commanders in list II had been mentioned in list I and we shall mark with an asterisk those who are mentioned for the first time. The royal princes were Nos. 1 and 2; the eastern vassals: Nos. *5, *12, *13 and *14 (all of the Mausil family); the Syrian fief holders, Nos. 6, *10 (an Arab?) and *11 (a Turk?); the mamlūks, Nos. 7 and *8; the Kurds Nos. 15–16.

It is not easy to speculate on the composition of the troops under the other commanders (even though admittedly the Turkmans prevailed among them) but the Kurdish troops had definitely a clannish organisation. As in the second battle the number of commanders on the right flank was much more considerable than on the left flank, we might perhaps surmise that the Kurdish units introduced into the fight were numerically stronger.

Supplementary to the analysis of Bahā al-dīn's passages it will be useful to sum up the information on some tribal Kurdish families whose names continually appear in the historical works but whose genealogies will require a closer examination in future.

(*a*) The Ayyūbids belonged to one of the clans of the Hadhbānī tribe, which originally was connected with the region of Arbil (ancient Adiabene) and later (during the Iranian *intermezzo*) overflowed into Azarbayjan and even across the Araxes. One of the oldest traces of the Hadhbānī's connection with Arbil is the record in Ibn Khallikān, III, 419, that the ʿUqailid ruler of Mausil al-Muqallad (386–91/996–1001) was married to a daughter of the ruler of Arbil Abul-Hayjā al-Hadhbānī. It is probable that the ruler of Arbil Abul-Hayjā b. Mūsak whose name is often quoted in the Seljukid times[1] was a descendant

[1] I.A., X, 176 (489/1096), X, 292 (500/1106–7), X, 320 (502/1108–9), X, 340 (505/1111–2), X, 378 (512/1118), X, 450 (520/1126).

(grandson?) of the earlier Abul-Hayjā. Since 539/1144 Arbil was held by the Turkman dynasty issued from Beg-tegin and the old Kurdish chiefs must have sought employment under new skies. Under 570/1174 we hear of Ḥusām al-dīn Abul-Hayjā (surnamed *al-samīn* for his unusual fatness) holding a fief in Upper Egypt which was granted to him by Saladin. In 578/1182 he received Nisibīn but very soon lost it in view of the inhabitants' complaints. In August 1189 Saladin managed to introduce him into ʿAkkā already besieged by the crusaders. As the commander of the garrison he stayed there till the new interruption of the siege in the beginning of 587/1191. In 587/1191 he brought to Saladin the much needed reinforcements from Egypt. After the death of his master, Abul-Hayjā became involved in the struggles of the diadochs and in 591/1195 lost the governorship of Jerusalem. He left Syria and went to Mausil and two years later to Baghdad. The caliph sent him against the atabek of Azarbayjan Özbek, who by that time had occupied Hamadan. Despite his monstrous obesity[1] Abul-Hayjā displayed much energy on this new ground and captured Özbek and his associates. The caliph was alarmed by his forceful methods and bade him return. On his way to his native Arbil he died in Daqūqā in 593/1197.

Abul-Hayjā must have been a merciless man but all the sources praise his courage. Saladin appreciated his reliability and he was considered as the senior amir with the rank of *ispahsalār*. Bahā al-din, III, 205, speaks of him with much esteem and adds that he was the leader of his tribe (*taqaddama fī ʿashīratihi*). All historians call him Hadhbānī but on two occasions Ibn al-Athīr says that he was "of the *Kh.ṭi* (or Ḥkmi)" Kurds which may be the name of his particular clan.[2]

[1] According to the Supplement to Abū-Shāma quoted by E. P. Goergens, *Arabische Quellen*, 1879, I, 39, extra size bowls fabricated in Baghdad were called *Abul-Hayjā* in honour of al-Samīn.

[2] See I.A., XI, 273, 318, 322, XII, 22, 36, 48, 77, 81–2.

Somewhat later we hear of Sayf al-dīn ʿAli b. Abī ʿAli Hadhbānī who acted as the lieutenant (*nāʾib*) of the lord of Ḥamā, see Abul-Fida, IV, 404 (year 631/1233) and IV, 445 (year 637/1239), and of his brother Ḥusām al-din b. Abī ʿAlī who was governor in Damascus in 644/1246, *ibid.* IV, 485.

(*b*) The second Kurdish family which played an important role under Saladin was connected with the vast tract of Hakkārī on the upper course of the Great Zāb.

The central figure in the family was Sayf al-dīn Abul-Ḥasan ʿAlī, son of Ahmad, son of Abul-Hayjā, son of ʿAbdullāh, son of Abū Khalīl, son of Marzubān al-Hakkārī. Sayf al-din was commonly known as *al-Mashṭūb* ("le Balafré" of the European chronicles). His grandfather who bore the *laqab* of Abul-Hayjā, popular among the Kurds, was the lord of the castle of ʿAmādiya. It looks as if this family home had been lost under the prevailing atabeks of Mausil who pursued the policy of penetration into Hakkārī. This must have led to the appearance of the family and its numerous clansmen in Syria.

Sayf al-dīn was one of the candidates to take up Shīrkūh's succession in Egypt but was persuaded to recognise Saladin's preferment (see above p. 137). In 581/1185 he took part in his expedition against Mausil and Saladin assigned to him the task of laying siege to Jazīrat-ibn-ʿOmar, probably using him as a rallying point for his tribesmen. In fact many Hakkārī Kurds gathered round him (I.A., XI, 337), but Saladin had to give up the campaign. During the siege of ʿAkkā Sayf al-dīn was actively engaged in supplying Muslim troops through Sidon and in the beginning of 587/1191 was appointed to the responsible post of commander of the garrison within the fortress besieged by the crusaders. ʿAkkā was in its throes. Sayf al-din went out to meet the French king but the latter insisted on an unconditional surrender. There began desertions from the fortress. Saladin could not break the ring of the siege. ʿAkkā fell on 17 Jamādī II 587/12 July 1191. While the question of ransom was being

discussed, the crusaders massacred the entire garrison, except the amirs and the rich, for whom they hoped to receive a ransom, see I.A., XII, 44. Sayf al-din was closely guarded but he escaped and unexpectedly appeared before Saladin on May 15 1192 and Saladin "rose and embraced him in utter joy", see Bahā al-dīn, III 295, I. Khallikān, I, 163. Sayf al-din took an active part in the negotiations with the crusaders and Richard Coeur-de-Lion chose as his go-between a special friend of Sayf al-din's. Bahā al-dīn mentions Sayf al-dīn immediately after the royal princes at the signature of the peace on 29 Sha'bān 588/2 September 1182. Sayf al-din received Nābulus as a fief but his harsh methods provoked complaints from the population. He died on 6 November 1192.

All the sources agree in extolling him as one of the great amirs and praise his courage, see Bahā, III, 83, 231, but the story of the capitulation of 'Akkā shows that he was prone to act too independently. This feature was much more conspicuous in his son 'Imād al-dīn Aḥmad to whom Ibn Khallikān, I, 62–6, dedicated a special notice praising his highmindedness and generosity and adding that he was greatly respected by his contemporaries ("especially the Kurds", says the historian). This "ibn al-Mashṭūb" was born in 575/1179 and at the time of his father's death was only thirteen years old. He was granted two-thirds of the revenue of Nāblus and under Malik al-'Ādil his career proceeded happily. Under al-Kāmil the situation changed. At the moment when the crusaders were besieging Damietta, 'Imād al-dīn plotted to depose his master and put on the throne his brother al-Fā'iz. Kāmil had to leave the front suddenly by night and the Franks easily captured Damietta in 616/1219. The situation was restored by the appearance of Kāmil's brother al-Mu'azzam and 'Imād al-din had to seek refuge with al-Ashraf. The new master befriended him but in a short time 'Imād al-dīn's intrigues stirred up trouble in Upper Mesopotamia (616–8/1219–20). After many adventures 'Imād

al-dīn was captured by Badr al-dīn Lu'lu' of Mausil and surrendered to Ashraf in whose dismal prison in Ḥarrān he died in Rabīʿ I 619/May 1222, see I.A., XII, 211-4.

(3) The third prominent statesman in Saladin's administration was the *faqīh* Ḍiyā al-dīn ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Hakkārī. I. Khallikān, II, 431, enumerates thirteen generations of his ancestors. He began his career as imam to Shīrkūh. He played an extremely important part in securing Saladin's success on his first appointment (see p. 137) and became one of his most influential advisers. He spoke to his master "in terms so unceremonious that no one else would have dared to use them". Both he and his brother Majd al-dīn ʿOmar used to wear the turban of the *faqīh* combined with military accoutrement and we have seen that in a great battle near ʿAkkā Ḍiyā al-dīn acted as Saladin's lieutenant in the centre of the army. He remained in favour till his death in 585/1189.[1]

The above stray notes do not detract from the importance of the other elements in Saladin's administration, such as his trusted Turkish mamlūk warriors,his Arab counsellors (like the qādī Fāḍil,[2] the historian Bahā al-dīn, etc.) and his powerful vassals of Mausil and Upper Mesopotamia.[3] Our object has been to combine the little known facts on the close support Saladin received from his Kurdish countrymen.

ANNEX B.

The eastern expansion of the Ayyūbids

The policies of Saladin and his successors to the east of the

[1] The commander of the troops of Ashraf which took part in the defeat of Jalāl al-dīn in 627/1230, was a valiant Hakkārī Kurd, called ʿIzz al-dīn ʿOmar b. Ali, see I.A., XII, 320.

[2] On him see A. H. Helbig, *al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil*, Berlin 1909.

[3] See now H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, III/4, May 1951, 304–20, in which the lack of discipline among the Kurds is stressed in notes 16, 35 and 64.]

Euphrates[1] would merit a special study but our object is only to illustrate their tendency to take a firm stand on the Armenian plateau.

Saladin's own campaigns in Upper Mesopotamia achieved no glory for him. The siege of Mausil was unsuccessful both in 578/1182 (I. Athīr, XI, 319) and in 581/1185 (I.A., XI, 336). Strangely enough it was only when Saladin fell ill and was in Ḥarrān on his way back to Syria that a successful peace treaty with the atabek 'Izz al-dīn was signed. By this *qā'ida* the ruler of Mausil acknowledged himself Saladin's vassal with the obligation to read the *khuṭba* and strike coins in his name. 'Izz al-dīn retained most of his dominions, but he had to cede to Saladin the easternmost region comprising Shahrazūr with its dependencies, the *wilāyat al-Qarabulī* (north of Shahrazūr, on the Lesser Zab) and in general all the country beyond the (Upper) Zab. Thus Saladin's rule was extended over southern Kurdistan and temporarily he became a neighbour of the atabeks of Azarbayjan. Soon after Saladin's successes in Syria brought to his door many vassals from the East and we hear of some appointments made by Saladin in that remote region.[2]

During the second campaign in Mesopotamia there was an episode which had a more permanent sequel in the later years. The news of the death of the Shah-Arman, lord of Khilāt, reached Saladin when he was under the walls of Mausil. Saladin

[1] From these regions Saladin obtained a very substantial accretion to his forces.

[2] In Shahrazūr Saladin first appointed a *Turkish* slave named Kesh-toghdi. Five years later the Ayyūbid administration became only indirect for in 586/1190 Saladin granted Arbil, with the addition of Darband-i-Qarabuli and (the lands of) Banū-Qifchaq (I.A., XII, 37), to Muzaffar al-din Kök-büri. [Qifchaq b. Arslan-tash was a Turkman chief who had grown very powerful in Shahrazūr. Fearing that he might submit to the Seljukid Sultan Mas'ūd the atabek Zangī of Mausil defeated him in 534/1139–40, after which he and his sons remained in the obedience of Mausil till about 600 A.H., see I.A., *Ta'rīkh al-Atabākiya*, 102, and I.A., XII, 50.]

received several letters inviting him to Khilāt and some amirs advised him to avail himself of this opportunity. Saladin left for Khilāt *via* Mayyāfāriqīn, while his advanced troops had already reached the south-western tip of Lake Van (at **Taṭwāna*, i.e., Tadvan). But events in Khilāt marched even swifter. Immediately after the death of the Shah-Arman the power was seized by his mamlūk Begtimur. In the meantime the atabek of Azarbayjan Muḥammad Pahlavān, who had betrothed his daughter to the infant son of the late ruler of Khilāt, arrived on the spot. Bektimur hastened to read the *khuṭba* in the name of Pahlavān. The Ayyūbids did not proceed any further, nor did the atabek press any harder his claims on Khilāt.[1] Both Ibn al-Athīr (who at the time was in Mausil, XI, 337) and Bahā al-dīn (*Recueil*, III, 184) speak of Saladin's eagerness (*ṭamaʿ*) to capture Khilāt. The eyes both of the atabeks of Azarbayjan and of the Seljuks of Rum were turned towards this key-point, which lay on the line of communications between Mesopotamia and the Araxes valley. [The Shāh-Arman died on 10/8/1185.]

The attraction of Khilāt is also demonstrated by the expedition of Saladin's nephew Taqī al-dīn who in 587/1191 occupied Ruhā and Ḥarrān and then rushed to Mayyāfāriqīn and further to Armenia. With only 700 men he defeated Bektimur's 4000 but could not take Khilāt and his death put a stop to his adventure, see I.A., XII, 40, Abul-Fidā, ed. Reiske, IV, 112.

With the further consolidation of the Ayyūbid fiefs in Upper Mesopotamia, a new dash towards Khilāt was made by the lord of Mayyāfāriqīn, Najm al-dīn Malik al-Auḥad b. al-Malik

[1] According to I.A., XI, 322, in 579/1183 this Begtimur was sent by his former master Shāh-Arman to request Saladin to desist from attacking Mausil. Saladin procrastinated with his answer and Begtimur in anger (*ghaḍbān*) left his camp. I.A., XI, 335, suggests that the policy of Khilat was to survive by playing one pretender against the other. When Begtimur heard of Saladin's death (4 March 1193) he manifested unbounded joy, had a throne made for himself and assumed the title of al-Sulṭān al-Muʿaẓẓam Ṣalāḥ al-dīn. Two months later this mock-Saladin was assassinated, see I.A., XII, 67.

al-ʿĀdil (I.A., XII, 180, 184, A.F., IV, 222). By that time the situation in Khilāt had grown confused and the inhabitants invited the Artuqid of Mardin related, on his mother's side, to the old Shāh-Arman family. The Ayyūbid Mūsā b. Malik al-ʿĀdil who was ruling in Ḥarrān grew jealous of this expansion of the Artuqids and hastened to occupy Mardin, whereas the power in Khilāt was seized by a former mamlūk of the Shah-Arman, called Balaban. In these circumstances the Ayyūbid Auḥad, who had been encroaching on the dependencies of Khilāt (e.g., Mūsh) marched against Balaban, but the latter defeated him in 603/1206–7. In the following year Auḥad, with reinforcements his father had sent him, went forth against Khilāt a second time, but again Balaban beat off his attack, with the help of the Seljukid of Erzerum Mughīth al-dīn Tughril-shāh. Immediately after, Tughril-shah slew Balaban and intended to seize Khilāt himself, but the inhabitants would not let him in and this time appealed to Auḥad who occupied the town.

The neighbouring Muslim rulers and the Georgians met the advent of the Ayyūbids with mixed feelings. Auḥad was practically a prisoner in the citadel and part of the garrison (*ʿaskar Khilāt*) seceded from him and seized Arjīsh and Van. It is clear that the Ayyūbid policy was directed from Syria for Auḥad appealed to his father Malik al-ʿĀdil and the latter ordered his other son Ashraf (of Ḥarrān and Mayyāfāriqīn) to succour Auḥad. The brothers took Van but no sooner had Ashraf returned home than a revolt broke out in Khilāt in favour of the old masters of the country and again the troops of the Jazīra went to help Auḥad.[1]

Georgian raids went on. In 605 the Georgians plundered Arjīsh, see I.A., XII, 184. In 607/1210 Ivane Mxargrdzeli reached the walls of Khilāt but unexpectedly became the victim

[1] See I.A., XII, 168–9, 180–1. Throughout, Ibn al-Athīr (as a subject of the atabeks of Mausil) shows some hostility to the Ayyūbid intrusion. He writes: "power was unto them, and enough to the men the evil thereof."

of his own foolhardiness. He was taken prisoner and by way of ransom had to cede several castles, to liberate 5000 Muslim prisoners and to promise the hand of his daughter (T'amt'a) to his captor.[1] Auḥad died in the same year and was succeeded by his brother Ashraf who assumed the title of Shah-Arman. It was he who married T'amt'a.[2]

Ashraf's domination was interrupted for four years by one of those redistributions of fiefs which were frequent among the innumerable descendants of Ayyūb and Shīrkūh. As Ashraf had no male children he appointed his brother Malik al-Muzaffar al-Ghāzī as his successor and ceded to him the remoter part of his dominions, namely Mayyāfāriqīn and Khilāt, see A.F., IV, 294 (under 617/1220). Muzaffar showed no gratitude to his benefactor and entered into a coalition against him with another brother, Malik Mua'zzam of Damascus.[3]

Ashraf marched straight on Khilāt which capitulated after a 10 days' siege in Jumādā II 621/May–June 1224. He received the submission of his brother but left to him only Mayyāfāriqīn, see A.F., IV, 322.

It was probably at this time that Ashraf entrusted the remote fief of Khilāt to the *ḥājib* Ḥusam al-dīn 'Ali b. Ḥammād al-Mausili, a very energetic man to whom the Ayyūbid cause owed

[1] Abul-Fidā, IV, 240. This episode has somehow got into Z. Qazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād*, p. 352. Ivane was drunk and fell through the gap in a bridge which the defenders had masked with straw. Ivane agreed to release Muslim prisoners, to pay a ransom (from which the walls of the fortress were repaired) and to accept a truce for many years. Cf. Brosset, I/2, 272–3, and Kirakos, trans. by Brosset, 1870, p. 82.

[2] Or, according to Nuwayrī (in d'Ohsson, III, 42), married her after Auḥad.

[3] Simultaneously the ruler of Arbil Kök-büri was also intriguing against Badr al-dīn Lu'lu' of Mausil, friendly to Ashraf. Some of Badr al-dīn's correspondence with Ashraf has survived in the collection of letters of Ḍiyā al-dīn Naṣrullāh al-Jazarī (brother of Ibn al-Athīr), see D. S. Margoliouth, 'On the "Royal Correspondence" of Eljazari' in *Actes du X-e Congrès des Orientalistes* (1894), part III, pp. 7–21 (1897).

its greatest successes in Armenia. At this time the Seljukids of Rum were still at some distance from Erzerum, which was occupied by a rival branch of their family, and friendly relations had been established between Ashraf and the Kurdo-Armeno-Georgian rulers of Ani. Meanwhile the throne of Tabriz was occupied by the inept Özbek (607–22/1210–25)[1] and Azarbayjan was the weakest point in the Ayyūbid surroundings; consequently the *ḥājib* directed his energy towards the north-western tip of that province. From Nasawi we know that the fortress Shamīrān was surrendered to Ashraf by the representative of Özbek previous to the coming of the Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-dīn to Azarbayjan.[2]

The appearance of this intruder[3] confused all the issues and very soon the behaviour of the Khwārazmshāh alarmed all his neighbours. His occupation of Azarbayjan upset the plans cherished in Khilāt. In 623/1226 Jalāl al-dīn hurried back to quell a revolt in Kirman leaving behind in Tiflis his vazir Sharaf al-mulk. The garrison lacked provisions (*mīra*) and the vazir raided the dependencies of Erzerum.[4] As he was returning through the territories of Khilāt, the *ḥājib* ʿAlī attacked him and recovered the booty he was carrying away, I.A., XII, 298. This clash had important repercussions.

Jalāl al-dīn sought allies against Malik al-Ashraf in Āmid and

[1] See Minorsky, "Uzbek" in *Enc. Isl.*

[2] I.e. before 622/1225. Nasawi, 161 (tr. 268). Formerly the fortress *Shamiram* belonged to Vaspurakan. It lay in the canton of Čvašrot which corresponds to the present day Chors (north of Khoy), misread into *Haurech* by the translator of Nasawi. Chors is mentioned in the report of Griboyedov (during the Russo-Persian war of 1828). I visited the ruins of the fortress in 1905.

[3] His contemporary Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 295, begins by extolling his triumphs over the Georgians but gradually changes his tone altogether when speaking of Jalāl's excesses in Muslim territories, XII, 307, 314.

[4] Ruled by the Seljukid Jahān-shāh b. Tughril-shāh (622–7) who was on bad terms with the Seljukid of Rum (his cousin Kay-Qubād).

even in Damascus and these intrigues brought about the first rapprochement between Ashraf and the ruler of Rum Kay-Qubād. Both of them were anxious to dominate Armenia, but temporarily they preferred to keep out interferences from outside.

Late in 1226 Jalāl al-dīn laid siege to Ani and Qars[1] but suddenly returned to Tiflis for ten days. This he did to allay the fears of the Khilatians but the *ḥājib* had a secret report about his real intentions. On November 8 Jalāl was before Khilāt: in the first attack his troops entered the town but they behaved so abominably that the population ejected them and beat off a second attack. Meanwhile, heavy snow had fallen in Armenia and reports arrived from Tabriz that the Ivä Turkmans,[2] thinking that Jalāl was stuck fast before Khilāt, were committing all kinds of excesses in Ushnū, Urmiya and Khoy and had spread up to the walls of Tabriz. On December 15 Jalāl hastened back against the looters and utterly defeated them. As a result of Jalāl's appearance before Khilāt the Ayyūbids Ashraf and Mu'azzam (of Damascus) patched up their quarrels.

In 645/1227–8 complications with Alamūt and the arrival of Mongols in Khorasan retained Jalāl al-dīn in Persian Iraq for a considerable time, which offered new temptations to Khilāt. By that time the fickle-hearted Khwārazmshāh had lost interest in his Seljukid wife (daughter of Sulṭān Tughril b. Arslan) who under her first husband, the atabek Özbek, was the real ruler of Azarbayjan. Jalāl al-dīn allotted to her a special fief consisting of Khoy, Salmas and Urmiya, but Sharaf al-mulk, acting during Jalāl al-dīn's absence as his lieutenant, treated the princess very

[1] The siege was unsuccessful.

[2] The official ruler of this tribe was Sulaymān-shāh, lord of Bahār (near Hamadan) and later the unsuccessful defender of Baghdad against Hulagu. The Ivä tribesmen were expanding into Azarbayjan and grouping near Khoy. My belief is that in the 15th century the Ivä became the nucleus of the Qara-qoyunlu federation. See Minorsky, "The clan of the Qara-qoyunlu rulers", in the volume presented to F. Köprülü, 1952.

discourteously. The proud lady wrote for help to the ruler of Khilat who immediately (in July–August 1227) seized upon this unexpected chance. He occupied Khoy, appointed there his own representative and returned home with the princess. Sharaf al-mulk made an attempt to take the fortress of Shamīrān but the *ḥājib* suddenly re-appeared with his "Syrian" troops and not only recaptured Khoy and Marand, but crossing the Araxes, took Nakhchavan whence he had also received an invitation. He was about to begin operations against Tabriz, and had it not been for the opposition of the inhabitants, Sharaf al-mulk was ready to abandon the town.[1]

This zenith of the Ayyubid successes did not last long, for, with the succour sent by Jalāl al-dīn, Sharaf al-mulk managed to restore his positions in Azarbayjan. On the other hand, the Seljukid of Rum (Kay-Qubād) made a new move by occupying the principality of Arzinjān. The *ḥājib* rushed to the help of the ruler of Erzerum (Jahān-shāh) and in the meantime the Byzantines captured Sinop. These complications forced Kay-Qubād to return home.

For a second time Jalāl appeared in Armenia towards the end of 625/1222, after his return from Central Persia. On this occasion he plundered the country down to Mush and *Chapaljur (*Jabal-jūr*). His devastations spread panic in Upper Mesopotamia whence an exodus began to Syria, but the winter stopped the progress of the campaign.

In 626/1229 Malik al-Ashraf became ruler of Damascus, for which he had to cede to al-Kāmil (of Egypt) his former fief in Upper Mesopotamia (Ḥarrān, Ruhā, etc.). Khilāt apparently remained under Ashraf's control but the displacement of the centre of gravity in his dominions must be responsible for the unexpected measure Ashraf took in dismissing his lieutenant in Khilāt, the *ḥājib* 'Ali, who had rendered so many services in

[1] I.A., XII, 307; Nasawi, 154–63 (Nasawi knew I.A.'s report (p. 2) but his own account has more details); Juvayni, II, 167.

promoting the forward policy of the Ayyūbids.[1] The mamlūk 'Izz al-dīn Aybek was appointed his successor and on his arrival arrested the *ḥājib*. Aybek wrote to Jalāl al-dīn that his predecessor was removed because he had intruded on the territories of the Sultan. Jalāl requested the surrender of the *ḥājib* to him but Aybek hastened to execute him himself.[2] All this did not placate Jalāl who, for a third time, appeared before Khilāt by the end of August 1229 and after a long siege took the town by storm (though apparently not without some connivance from inside) on 28 Jumādī I 627/14 March 1230.[3] Another curious episode is that a former slave of the *ḥājib*, who happened to be in Jalāl's camp, was allowed to avenge his master by killing Aybek.

Jalāl's success alarmed the two basic candidates for domination on the Armenian plateau. The Sultan of Rum wrote to Sultan Kāmil (who was in Ḥarrān) asking him to despatch Ashraf to his help; 20,000 of the troops of Rūm joined in Sivas with 5,000 seasoned troops of Damascus commanded by a gallant Kurdish amir of Hakkārī. The allies met Jalāl al-dīn at Yasï-j.mān (**chiman*?)[4] near Arzinjān and utterly defeated him on 28 Ramaḍān 627/10 August 1230. Jalāl abandoned Khilat and retreated to Khoy and further to Tabriz. The frontiers were readapted: Ashraf re-entered Khilat and Kay-Qubād took Erzerum where he deposed his cousin Jahān-shāh who was an active supporter of Jalāl.

According to Nasawi, 209, Ashraf signed a treaty with Jalāl but the latter still hoped to settle his scores with Kay-Qubād,

[1] Badr al-dīn of Mausil in his letters to Ashraf praised Ḥusām al-dīn as the man "who had saved the honour of the (Ayyūbid) house", see Margoliouth, *l.c.*, letter IX.

[2] Nasawi, 182. According to I.A., XII, 317, no one could understand the reasons of the execution of this courageous general and excellent administrator.

[3] Badr al-dīn's letters referring to these events contain no fresh material, see their summary by Margoliouth, *l.c.*

[4] Samuel, trans. by Brosset, 471: *Eas Siliman* (?)

when suddenly the whole picture changed with the arrival of Chormaghan's Mongol army. Jalāl was chased from pillar to post and in 628/1231 perished somewhere in the mountains near Mayyāfāriqīn.

As Ashraf had already ceded the eastern provinces to Kāmil and as, besides, he found Khilat ruined after the siege, he withdrew to Damascus. In 629/1231 the senior Ayyūbid Kāmil (of Egypt) with a large number of princes[1] campaigned in the east and wrested Āmid from the Artuqid Mas'ūd. Khilat was apparently neglected and this led to its occupation by the Seljuk Kay-Qubād of Rum. In any case Kāmil still considered Khilat as a part of his dominions for in 631/1234 he left Egypt to combat Kay-Qubād. The campaign was unfortunate. The passes into Rum were strongly held and near Kharpert Malik al-Muzaffar was taken prisoner by Kay-Qubād (24 Dhul-Qada 631/21 August 1233). Kharpert passed into the possession of the latter. The campaign was resumed in 632/1234–5 but with no better success, see Abul-Fidā, IV, 406. This apparently liquidated the Ayyūbid positions in Khilat.

After this down to the final occupation of Armenia by Bachunoin in 1242–3,[2] the situation around Khilat is uncertain, but then we hear the last echo of the Ayyūbid dominion in Khilat.

The fate of the Seljuk princess whom the *ḥājib* Ali rescued from Khoy during Jalāl al-dīn's absence in Iraq is unknown. We only hear that on taking Khilat in 1230 Jalāl brutally avenged her abduction by requesting T'amt'a, the wife of Malik al-Ashraf, to appear *en tête-à-tête* in his tent.[3] According to Nuwayri this offence had decided Ashraf to join Kay-Qubād in his action against Jalāl. On his flight after the defeat, Jalāl al-dīn passed by

[1] Abul-Fidā, IV, 400. Among other princes we find mentioned Ashraf of Damascus and Muẓaffar of Mayyāfāriqīn.

[2] Vardan, in Brosset, I/2, 308.

[3] Juvaynī, II, 176–7: *khalvat;* cf. Nuwayri quoted in D'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, III, 42.

Khilat and took the Georgian princess (*al-Kurjiyya*) with him to Azarbayjan.[1] Thence T'amt'a must have escaped to join her brother Avag. She was in his fortress (Kayan) when the latter was taken by the troops of Chormaghan in 1239, after which we hear of her presence at the court of Ögedey-khan. She is said to have returned from Mongolia with the envoy of queen Rusudan (prince "Hamadola"). According to Abul-Fidā, IV, 472, the Tatars occupied Khilāt and Āmid after the defeat of Sultan Ghiyāth al-dīn Kay-Khusrau of Rum in 641/1243. The Mongol generals recognized the rights of T'amt'a as the wife of Malik al-Ashraf[2] and restored to her Khilāt and its territory.[3]

Thus the aged lady who had been given away to a Muslim, to atone for the foolhardiness of her father, who lived through the siege of Khilat, who had experienced the brutality of Jalāl al-dīn, who vainly sought shelter from the Mongols in her native country, who traversed the innumerable stages of a journey from Transcaucasia to Mongolia, remained in Khilat for a time as a symbol of the short-lived contact achieved by the Ayyūbids with the country of their forefathers.

ADDENDA

ad p. 148

Recently H. A. R. Gibb, *Speculum*, Jan. 1950, pp. 58–78, has suspected Ibn al-Athīr of partiality in practically all the points in which his statements diverge from those of Bahā al-dīn, and 'Imād al-dīn. It is true that both Bahā al-dīn and Ibn al-Athīr were in Mosul when Saladin besieged the town, but the former soon passed into Saladin's service, whereas the latter remained

[1] Nuwayri in d'Ohsson, III, 45.

[2] Ashraf died in Muḥarram 635 (began on 24 August 1237). He had reigned in Damascus for over 8 years and his age was about sixty. He left only one daughter, see Abul-Fidā, 424, who concludes: "things happened to him which baffled human understanding".

[3] Kirakos of Ganja quoted in Brosset, I/1, 505–6, 515.

faithful to his native province, even though he followed Saladin's campaign in Palestine on the spot. Ibn al-Athīr acknowledges his indebtedness to 'Imād al-dīn's *Barq al-shāmī* at least twice, XI, 285, and XII, 36. Of course his "Mosulian" point of view must be taken into consideration but not to the point of discrediting the testimony of this conscientious historian. The official historiographer of the Khwārazmshāhs, Nasawi, p. 2, found that in his field his contemporary Ibn al-Athīr "had omitted nothing serious and had committed only slight mistakes".

Prof. Gibb's occasional remarks on the Kurds in his second, richly documented, article (quoted above on p. 146) might also be confronted with the moral standards of the age and with the tenor of the facts adduced in the body of our Annex I.

ad p. 122–3

The Armenian tradition on the Rawwādis (Asolik), cf. Kasravi, II, 1929, differs considerably from the data of Münejjim-bashï, now presented for the first time (see below, p. 167). The chart and the chronology need further consideration.

ad p. 136

Al-Fāriqī, f. 162*a*, as an eye-witness (548/1153), gives an astonishing picture of the relations which king Dimitri established with his new Muslim subjects in Tiflis. He even attended the Friday prayers at their mosque. See my translation in *BSOAS*, 1949, XIII/1, 34.

P.S. I am grateful to Mr. G. M. Wickens for checking the copy of the essay on Saladin.

APPENDIX

The last Musāfirids and the Rawwādids

Through the kindness of Dr. Ahmed Ateş I have received an additional set of photographs of Münejjim-bashī's *Akhbār al-duwal* (see above p. 3) containing the chapter on the Musāfirids and Rawwādids of Azarbayjan. In the original this chapter (Topkapï sarayï MS. *ff.* 497*b*–503*a*)[1] immediately precedes that on the Shaddādids (*ff.* 503*a*–507*b*) which we have analysed in great detail. These dynasties of the north-western Iran, which ruled in the period "between the Arabs and the Turks", were closely connected in war and peace and cannot be considered in isolation. A joint study of the three dynasties mentioned and some minor families of the same epoch is found in the second part of the *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, of the late Sayyid Ahmad Kasravī. The history of the Daylamite Musāfirids is the best known[2] for it is based chiefly on Miskawayh, who in his *Tajārib al-umam* utilised first-hand reports by such contemporaries as the famous Būyid vazir Abul-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd.[3] Miskawayh's history[4] was abridged by Ibn al-Athīr in his *Kāmil*, vol. VIII. A close examination of Münejjim-bashī's text has shown that he mostly followed Ibn al-Athīr,[5] while he further abridged the details, simplified the style and changed the arrangement of some passages.

[1] As compared with the 12 pages of Arabic text, the Turkish abridgment devotes only 31 lines to the Musāfirids and none to the Rawwādids.

[2] Cf. Huart, "Les Mosâfirides de l'Azarbaidjân", in *A volume presented to E. G. Browne*, 1922, 248–56; Minorsky, 'La domination des Daïlamites", Paris 1932, and *Musāfirids* in *E.I.*

[3] On him see Amedroz, "The vizier Abu-l-Faḍl" in *Der Islam*, III/4, 1912, pp. 323–51.

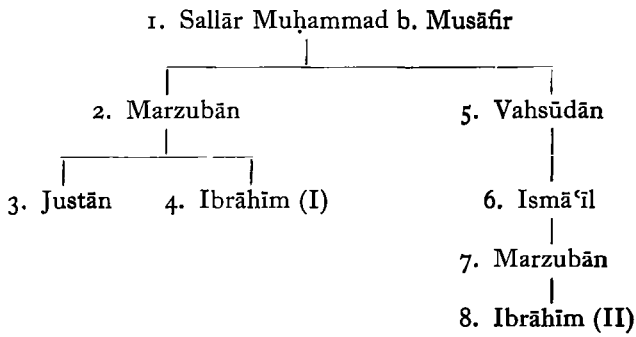
[4] Available in a trustworthy edition and the English translation by Amedroz and Margoliouth, under the title "The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate", Oxford 1921–2.

[5] As he fully acknowledges it on f.501b.

A. *The Musāfirids*

For the first part of the chapter on the Musāfirids it will be sufficient to indicate the contents of the paragraphs into which we have divided the text, with references to the corresponding passages in *al-Kāmil* and Miskawayh.

§1 (*ff.* 487*b*–498*a*) consists of an indication that the Musāfirids ruled 90 years (330–420/941–1029), of a genealogical tree of the ruling princes



and of a short and valueless notice on Azarbayjan in which Ibn-Hauqal and *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāᶜ* (an abridgment of Yaqut) are quoted.

The author calls the dynasty Banū-Sallār, or Kanjarī (*Kangarī). The latter name[1] must have been borrowed from an important letter addressed to Ṣāḥib b ʿAbbād (after 366/976) and quoted in Yāqūt, III, 149. According to this document the Kangar family (i.e., the Musāfirids) seized Samīrān and became

[1] *Kangar* in Persian means "artichoke, *cynara scolymus*", see Achundow, "Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze . . . des Harawi", 1893, Nos. 133 and 495, cf. Vullers, *Lexicon*, II, 901. This is a normal name for a peaceful village. Turkish etymologists should not seek here the name of the three Pecheneg clans Κάγγαρ (Kang-är?) named in Const. Porphyrogenitus, *De admin. imperio*, ch. 37, ed. G. Moravcsik, Budapest 1949, p. 170, cf. Moravcsik's excellent *Byzantinoturcica*, 1943, II, 132.

related by marriage to the king of Daylam *Justān[1] (b.) Vahsūdān. When these rulers occupied the region called al-Ustāniya (evidently: Tārom and its dependencies), the family of Vahsūdān had to content themselves with the region called *al-Lā'ijiya (i.e., the eastern part of Daylam, neighbouring on Lāhījān). (The Musāfirid) Marzubān seized Azarbayjan, whereas his brother Vahsudan spread southwards[2] and took Abhar, Zanjan and Suhravard. A similar report is found in the recently discovered *Tafḍīl al-atrāk 'alā sā'ir al-ajnād* which the minister Abul-'Alā ibn-Ḥassūl presented to the first Seljuk ruler Tughril (published by A. al-'Azzāwī in *Beleten*, Ankara 1940, No. 14–15, see p. 31). This author too speaks of Ustān and Lānj (*Lā'ij) but he is misleading in saying vaguely that the former area was still ruled by the "Vahsūdānids", and the latter by the "Justānids". The fact is that Vahsūdān of Tārom (Ustān) was a brother of Marzubān (i.e., a Kangari), and Justān of Lā'ij was the son of a nobler Vahsūdān of the ancient family of kings of Daylam.

§2. (*f.* 498*a*) MUHAMMAD b. MUSĀFIR al-Daylamī al-Lanjarī (read: **Kangarī*) was the first ruler of the family of Ṭarm (Tārom), see I.A. VIII, 142 (under 316). After this, the author adds: "his father Musāfir and then his (?) brothers Vahsūdān and Ahmad had been rulers of Tārom on his (?) behalf (*min qibalihi*), or on behalf of Muhammad b. Musāfir (*sic*), towards 304/916". This involved statement, though based on I.A. VIII, 76 (year 304), reflects the confusion in Miskawayh I, 51, who writes: "shortly after (in 304) *Ahmad*, b. Musāfir, prince of Ṭarm, assassinated *his brother's son* 'Ali b. Vahsūdān with whom he was staying in the neighbourhood of Qazvin; the victim was in bed

[1] Or perhaps *Jastān. A village in Daylam (on the upper Shāhrūd) is called *Jovistān*, with obvious derivation from *jou* "barley". If, however, this name is a popular reflection of the forgotten name **Justān/Jostān* it would support its reading with an *u/o*.

[2] The Buyid Rukn al-daula married a daughter of Marzubān, who bore him a son called Abul-'Abbās, see Miskawayh II, 218 (year 355). On the other hand, Vahsudan established marriage links with 'Imad al-daula.

at the time".[1] It is now admitted: (1) that the murderer must have been *Muhammad* b. Musāfir; (2) that ʿAli b. Vahsūdān was a descendant of the old kings of Daylam (the Justānids) and (3) that Muhammad, married to Kharāsūya, daughter of Justān, was avenging the death of his father-in-law who had been murdered by the latter's brother (?) ʿAli. The mistake of the historians results from the similarity of names in the two Daylamite families (that of Daylam and that of Ṭarm). Our source explains the murder of ʿAli by his connections with the ʿAbbāsids. This may have been an additional cause of animosity, for Miskawayh I, 38–9, enumerates the stages of ʿAli's career in the employment of the caliph. The late M. Qazvīnī, though not acquainted with Münejjim-bashi, suspected the religious motive of the crime.[2]

§3. (*ff.* 498*a*–499*a*) on the seizure of Azarbayjan by Marzubān b. Muhammad and his struggles with the Kurdish Khārijite Daysam corresponds to I.A. VIII, 289–91 (year 330), cf. Miskawayh II, 31–7. Münejjim-bashī repeats the important statement of Miskawayh II, 32–4, that Marzubān and his vazīr ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar belonged to the Bāṭinī sect (Ismāʿīlī, Qarmaṭ?). I learn from Dr. G. C. Miles that this detail is confirmed by numismatic evidence. It must be taken into consideration in explaining Marzubān's policy. The remark on the occupation of Azarbayjan by Daysam after Yūsuf Abul-Sāj and "his slave *Sh.b.l* (read: Subuk?)" is based on I.A. VIII, 76 (year 304), cf. Miskawayh I, 50.

§4. (*ff* 499*a*–499*b*): the arrival of the Russians in Bardaʿa and Marzubān's struggles with them in 332/943 is an abridgment of I.A. VIII, 308–310 (year 332), cf. Miskawayh II, 62–7.

§5. (*ff.* 499*b*–500*b*): Marzubān's march on Rayy, his captivity

[1] Masʿūdī IX, 16, created further confusion by taking the murderer (ibn Aswār=ibnMusāfir) for a *maternal uncle* (*khāl*) of ʿAli b. Vahsūdān.

[2] See Ibn-Wāṣil, *al-Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥī* in Dorn, *Muh. Quellen*, IV, 476; R. Vasmer, *Monetï Sajidov*, p. 10, note 8; Kasravī, *Shahriyārān*, I, 35, and M. Qazvīnī, *J̌ahān-gushā*, III, Appendix, 432–45.

and escape (337–342/948–53) correspond to I.A. VIII, 360–1 (year 338), 377–8 (year 341), cf. Miskawayh, II, 115, 131, 151.

§6. (*ff.* 500*a*–500*b*): Daysam's adventures during Marzubān's captivity, correspond to I.A. VIII, 375–7 (year 341), cf. Miskawayh II, 136–140. The story of Marzubān's operations in the neighbourhood of Darband (al-Bāb), see Miskawayh II, 161, has been replaced by a reference to the revolt of Muhammad b. Shaddād (see above p. 8) taken from the *History of al-Bāb*.

§7. (*ff.* 500*b*–501*b*): struggles of Marzubān's sons and their uncle VAHSŪDĀN correspond to I.A. VIII, 388–9 (year 341), 394–5 (year 349), cf. Miskawayh II, 166.

§8. (*f.* 501*b*): IBRĀHĪM b. MARZUBĀN seeks asylum with the Būyids and is restored by the latter, corresponding to I.A. VIII, 420–1, 422 (year 355), cf. Miskawayh II, 218, 229.

§9. (*ff.* 501*b*–502*a*): end of Ibrāhīm and his successors, -*lacuna* in I.A. VIII, 423 (year 355).

§10. (*ff.* 502*a*–*b*): IBRĀHĪM b. MARZUBĀN b. ISMĀʿĪL b. VAHSŪDĀN b. Muhammad b. Musāfir and the Ghaznavids, corresponds to I.A. IX, 262–3 (year 420).

§11. (*f.* 502*b*): MUSĀFIR b. IBRĀHĪM and the Seljuks, see I.A. X, 15 (year 454).

Apart from the new details in §2, only §9 is a pleasant surprise for it contains an excerpt from the lost *History of al-Bāb* (Darband) and gives some new facts for the period of 369–420/979–1029, which Kasravī, I, 120, had given up as a total loss. As §9 is directly linked up with the little known §§10 and 11, which only in its light become clear, we shall translate all the three paragraphs.

In 355/966 Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān b. Musāfir recovered Azarbayjan, with the help of his brother-in-law the Būyid of Rayy Rukn al-daula, who for that purpose had sent his famous vazir Abul-Faḍl b. ʿAmīd. On the completion of his mission Ibn al-ʿAmīd presented to his master a very unfavourable report on Ibrāhīm's character and suggested that Rukn al-daula should take Azarbayjan from Ibrāhīm and compensate him elsewhere,

but the chivalrous Rukn declined this suggestion saying: "let no one say of me that somebody sought my protection and I showed greed in his (affairs)." Ibn al-'Amīd had to return but he again predicted that Ibrāhīm would lose his dominions. Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 423, says in conclusion: "and it happened as he had foretold: Ibrahim was captured and imprisoned, as we shall mention".

Now comes the translation from Munejjim-bashi's text:

§9. (f. 501b): "Thus said the author of the *Kāmil* who postponed (the report) on the remaining events till its (proper) place in the course of years. I have carefully examined the text but have not discovered the passage referring in detail, or in brief, to the said Ibrāhīm. Later I found in the fragment (*qiṭ'a*) of a history in Arabic—which was composed in Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband) for the purpose of explaining the history of the kings of al-Bāb wal-Abwāb,[1] Sharvān, Arrān and Azarbayjan especially[2]—that Abul-Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd restored the Sallār Ibrāhīm in his kingdom by order of Rukn al-daula in 356/966. When Ibn al-'Amīd returned to Rayy (Ibrāhīm's) uncle Vahsūdān sent his general Abul-Qāsim b. *Mīshkī[3] who burnt down Ardabil and raided the neighbourhood. Ibrāhīm (had to) make peace on the stipulation that a part of Azarbayjan should belong to his uncle. His position tended to stability and the rulers of the outlying regions obeyed him. In 358/968 he went to Shābarān[4] and sent (an envoy) to its master Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik (of al-Bāb) requesting him (to submit). The latter refused (to submit) and went away (*maḍā?*).

[1] This is the usual alternate form ("The Pass and the Passes") for *Bāb al-abwāb* ("The Gate of the Passes").

[2] This seems to refer to all the places enumerated.

[3] Spelt: *Masīkī* as in I.A. VIII, 375–6, but Miskawayh gives *Mīshkī* or **Mīshakī*. As Ibn-Mīshkī operated in the region of Ardabil, this name may have some connection with the district which now is called Mīshkīn, but which under the Seljuks was known as *Bīshkīn*. The latter form was derived from that of the local prince Bīshkīn, see my article "Caucasica (II)" in *BSOAS*, XIII/4, 1951, but there may have been some confusion of the names Mīshkī/Bīshkīn.

[4] In Sharvān.

On the other hand the master of the Lakz obediently came to Ibrāhīm (*tarassama ilā ḥaḍratihi*) bringing presents and provisions. In the meantime the Sallār Ibrāhīm ordered some of his troops to penetrate into al-Masqaṭ[1] for loot and plunder but the population closed the roads on them and killed many of them, while those remaining were put to flight. Between him and the the lord of Sharvan Ahmad b. Muhammad there was (reached) some arrangement[2] and the lord of Sharvān sent him money and presents and contented him. Consequently he withdrew from Shābarān to Barda'a and wished to carry with him Haytham b. Muhammad, brother of the lord of Sharvān, but Haytham got wind of this (*ḥassa bi-dhalika*), fled to Masqaṭ and joined the lord of al-Bāb wal-Abwāb, Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik, who treated him kindly.

In 361/971 the Sallār Ibrāhīm closely invested **(f. 502a)** the Shaddādid Lashkarī[3] in the fortress Ḥīra (read: *Janza, Ganja*) and fighting lasted for several months. Then Ibrāhīm made peace with him and in 362/972 went back to Ardabil. Till the death of Rukn al-daula in 366/976 Ibrāhīm remained in his kingdom in full strength, and then grew weak and disturbed until he died in 373/983. He ruled for nearly 24 years over most of Azarbayjan.

When Ibrāhīm died in *373/983[4], the first of the Rawwādids Abul-Hayjā Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm took possession of the whole of Azarbayjan, except for a small part of it, which remained in the hands of Vahsūdān's grandson, the Sallār Marzubān b. Ismā'īl b. Vahsūdān b. Muhammad b. Musāfir.[5] Then after a year Abul-Hayjā suddenly overcame him (*kabasa*) and took him

[1] Now Mushkūr, i.e., the part of Sharvān lying north of the Caucasian range on the slope of the Caspian sea (south of the Samūr river), see *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, 404. This expedition is also recorded in the special chapter of the *Ta'rīkh al-Bāb* on Sharvān and Bāb al-Abwāb, which I have now prepared for publication (§§ 12 and 35).

[2] *Shayy'* "something". [3] See above §8. [4] See below, p. 168.

[5] According to Yāqūt, III, 150, in 379/989, the Būyid Fakhr al-daula temporarily seized Samīran from the infant son of Nūh b. Vahsūdān.

prisoner in 374/984. His son, the Sallār Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān b. Ismā'īl b. Vahsūdān b. Muhammad b. Musāfir, fled to al-Ṭarm and contented himself with governing al-Ṭarm and retaining its castles. He was still a child when one of his father's generals seized (power?), acted as the trustee (of the prince) and ran his affairs. Later the prince (?) grew clever and valiant and his position in Ṭarm became settled and his affairs prospered."

§10. "After the death of the Būyid Fakhr al-daula in 386/996, the prince (Ibrāhīm II) took possession of *Sar-jahān,[1] Abhar, Suhravard[2] and other places. His dominions widened and his rank increased. For a period he remained (?) in power and his days lasted till 420/1029 when Yamīn al-daula Mahmūd b. Sabuktegīn arrived in Rayy and took the power out of the hands of Majd al-daula b. Fakhr al-daula.

Yamīn al-daula sent *Marzubān b. Hasan b. Kharāmīl, who was a scion of the kings of Daylam[3] and had taken asylum with Yamīn al-daula,—with an army to occupy the dominions of the Sallār Ibrāhīm. He went there and appealed to the Daylamites of whom some showed sympathy for him. Then Yamīn al-daula returned to Khorasan and the Sallār Ibrāhīm marched to Qazvin where Yamīn al-daula's troops were stationed with Marzubān (b. Hasan b. Kharāmīl). He fought them and killed many of them; the remainder fled and the population gave its

[1] Or possibly: *Sar-chāhān* (cf. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 366), a famous castle on the southern slope of the mountains separating Tārom from Sultaniya and Zanjan. It must be remembered that in Azarbayjan the Musāfirids were dispossessed by the Rawwādis in 373–4/983–4 and the seizure of Sar-jahān was a new venture in the history of the family. [But see above, p. 160, Yāqūt's report on Vahsūdān's expansion.]

[2] Mis-spelt: *Shahzūr*. Suhravard lies between Zanjān and the dependencies of Hamadan.

[3] I have corrected the name after I.A., IX, 263. Münajjim-bashi gives wrongly "Husayn b. Kharāmīl". This prince must have been a descendant of the ancient Justānid kings of Daylam with whom the Musāfirids were linked only by marriage, as already stated.

help (to Ibrāhīm). Then the latter went to a place near Sar-jahān with pleasant streams and hills and fortified himself in it. This news reached Mas'ūd b. Yamīn al-daula who was in Rayy and he marched fast towards the Sallār, and in the battles which took place the Sallār had the upper hand. But Mas'ūd sent someone to a tribe belonging to Ibrāhīm's levies (*jund*) and by giving them money won them over to his side. They joined him and showed him an unprotected place in the Sallār's (positions). They took a detachment of Mas'ūd's army by an unknown road and coming from the rear attacked Ibrāhīm on 1 Ramaḍan 429/13 September 1029. Mas'ūd fought him head-on and the others from the rear. Ibrāhim and his men were forced into flight. Every man sought a refuge and Ibrāhīm hid himself in some place. A peasant woman indicated it. Mas'ūd took him to Sar-jahān and (seized) his property. He appointed a salary (*māl*) to Ibrāhīm's son who was in Sar-jahān as well as to the Kurdish chiefs in that neighbourhood".[1]

§11. "After this the story of the Musāfirids is interrupted. The name of Ibrāhīm's son was Musāfir (f. 502b). He ruled over Ṭarm and the castle of Sar-jahān during a long period[2] and submitted to Sultan Tughril-beg and the latter imposed on him (a contribution of) 100,000 dinars and 1000 suits of clothes.[3]

This is the best (*a'azz*) I (could) pick up from the *Kāmil* and *The History of al-Bāb wal-Abwāb*".[4]

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[1] The episode of Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān is borrowed from I. Athīr IX, 262–3. The *Tarīkh-i Bayhaqi*, ed. Tehran 1324/1945, p. 218, just refers to the episode of *Sālār-i Ṭārom*.

[2] However, in 437/1045 Nāṣir-i Khusrau spoke with praise of the lord of Shamīrān Abū Ṣāliḥ *Justān* (b.) Ibrāhīm who gave himself a number of gorgeous titles.

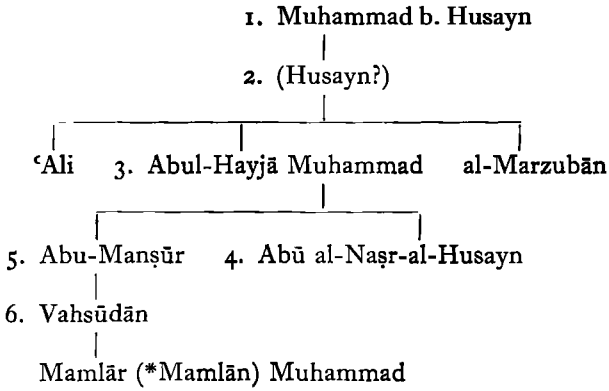
[3] See I.A. X, 15 (under the year 454/1062). Ibn al-Athir writes that *wa qarrara 'alā Musāfir ṣāhibihā* 100,000 *dinar wa alf thaub*. Münajjim-bashi: *wa aqta'a 'alayhi*.

[4] The details borrowed from the latter source are apparently limited to the stories of Ibrāhīm's campaign in Transcaucasia and of his end.

(*b*) *The Rawādis*

The report on the Musāfirids is followed up by a short appendix on the Rawwādids which also contains some new details in addition to S. A. Kasravi's painstaking study.[1]

§12. (f. 502b) "The RAWĀDĪS[2] to whom the power in Azarbayjan was transferred from the Musāfirids were rulers of some parts of Armenia and belonged to the Rawādī Kurds. I have discovered the names of six persons from among them and some little information on them in the fragment of the *History of al-Bāb and al-Abwāb* written in Arabic. Until now I have not ascertained the name of the author of this latter work (but) I have thought it appropriate to mention those six princes to complete the utility (of the chapter).



Their capital was Tabriz. They first took possession of Azarbayjan and Tabriz in 345/956, and of the most parts of Azarbayjan in 373/983. Their collapse was in 463/1070–1. The duration of their rule was 117 years.[3]

1. MUHAMMAD b. al-HUSAYN al-RAWĀDĪ was the

[1] *Shahriyārān*, II, 1929, 151 pp. [This report is omitted in the Turkish translation of Münejjim-bashï.]

[2] *Al-Rawādiyūn*.

[3] Lower down: 118 years.

first of them. He was the ruler of some districts in Armenia.[1] Then during the captivity of Sallār Marzubān (see above p. 8) he seized some parts of Azarbayjan.

2. When Muhammad died, his son HUSAYN b. MUHAMMAD al-Rawādī became the ruler and his affairs prospered. In 345/956 he occupied Tabriz, put its affairs in order and built its walls. In 350/961 he made it his capital. His affairs went on smoothly and his position was strong in Tabriz and in the districts neighbouring on it, because of the disturbed state of the affairs of the Sallār Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān. Husayn died in the year? (lacuna).

3. His son ABUL-HAYJĀ MUHAMMAD b. HUSAYN al-Rawādī succeeded him and after the death of Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān in 373/983 ruled over the whole of Azarbayjan. Some of the districts of Azarbayjan had remained in the hands of Marzubān b. Ismā'īl b. Vahsudān b. Muhammad b. Musāfir. Abul-Hayjā seized and imprisoned him in 374/984 and annexed his dominions too.[2] His state increased but he was opposed by his (own) brother Marzubān b. Husayn, whom Abul-Hayjā captured in 386/996. Abul-Hayjā Muhammad died in 391/1000.

4. His son ABU-NAṢR HUSAYN b. MUHAMMAD al-Rawādī, who succeeded him, died in 416/1025.

5. His brother ABŪ-MANṢŪR VAHSŪDĀN b. MUHAMMAD ruled for a long time until he died on Thursday, Safar?, 451/March 1059.

6. He was succeeded by his son MUHAMMAD b. VAHSŪDĀN al-Rawādī, who is also called MAMLĀN, which is a distorted Kurdish form for "Muhammad". In his days the Ghuz occupied Azarbayjan and Mamlān journeyed to the (caliph's) presence in Baghdad to complain of what the Ghuz did in the lands of Islam. On this subject letters from Azarbayjan worthies came in succession. This happened in 454/1069 and Qā'im

[1] In this case some parts of southern Transcaucasia and Azarbayjan might be regarded as Armenia.

[2] Thus the second branch of the Musāfirids of Tārom was liquidated.

bi-amrillāh ordered letters to be written to Sultan Tughril-beg. They were addressed to him from the caliph's *dīwān* requesting him to prevent the Ghuz from doing harm and destroying the country, but this did not stop (their) depredations.

In 455/1063 Sultan Tughril went to Azarbayjan and imposed heavy payments on its lord Mamlān b. Vahsūdān. After having received large sums of money from Azarbayjan, Arran and Armenia, and after having slain his opponents in those lands he went home. Mamlān,—I mean Muhammad b. Vahsūdān al-Rawādī,—remained ruler of Azarbayjan till 463/1070 (f. 503a). Sultan Alp Arslan on his return journey from the campaign of Rūm in 463/1073 arrested him and his children. Thus ended the rule of the Rawādīs in Azarbayjan. The period of their domination in Azarbayjan lasted 90 years and in Tabriz 118 years."

After this brief summary comes the chapter on the Shaddādids. The fact that Münejjim-bashi refers to the dynasty as *al-Rawādiya* and not *Banū-Rawwād* (as he does for *Banū-Musāfir*), i.e. that he seems to take their name as a tribal designation (Rawādites) and not as a patronymic after an eponym (Rawwādids), is of no particular importance. Even such excellent historians as Ibn-Khallikān and Ibn al-Athīr had overlooked the earlier rule in Tabrīz of the Arab family issued from Rawwād al-Azdī. It was S. A. Kasravi[1] who connected the 9th century Azdite rulers of Tabrīz with the later Kurdish rulers of Tabriz. Time and intermarriage easily account for such a transformation of the Arabs into Kurds. Many similar changes are known in the history of Scottish families in France and Russia.

Münejjim-bashi quotes 1073 as the year in which the Rawādī rule ended, but the family survived in the branch of the atabeks of Marāgha till the eve of the Mongol invasion.[2] It can be traced down to the 14th century.[3]

[1] *Shahriyārān*, II, 1929, 157 pp.

[2] See Minorsky, *Marāgha* in *E.I.*

[3] See above p. 116.

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In this Index, prepared by my wife, inessential names have been omitted, inconsistencies of transcriptions checked, and a few points in the text corrected under the corresponding entries.

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THE ARABIC TEXT OF THE CHAPTER ON THE SHADDĀDIDS

from

MÜNNEJJIM-BASHĪ'S *DUWAL AL-ISLĀM*

(TOP-KAPĪ SARAYĪ MS. 295[1])

شروان ففرّقهم فى بلاد شروان فشنّوا الغارات وحرّقوا وخرّبوا
فعاد الى جنزة وفى ٤٦٣ سنة خُطب للفضل على منابر ثغر الباب
وكان يُخطب لصاحب شروان وفى ٤٦٤ سنة اصطلح الفضل وصاحب
شروان وسارا جميعًا فى جيشهما الى باب قلعة مالوغ(a) فى شهر
رمضان واخذوا عنوةً وقتلوا من فيها من اهل الكفر ثم هدموها وعفوا اثرها
(19) وفى ٤٦٦ سنة خرج على الفضل ابنه فضلون بن الفضل بن شاور
بن الفضل بن محمد بن شدّاد واخذ الملك من يد ابيه فاطاعه
الجند والرعية ثمّ أرضى اباه واقطع له قلعه خارك(b) وعمرها وتفرّغ
فيها للعبادة وكانت مدّة امارته مع مدّة نيابة اخيه اشوط عنه(c)
حين أُسِرَ نحو ٦ سنة وبقى فضلون فى الامارة نحو سنتين الاشهورًا
فاقطع السلطان الب ارسلان بلاد باب الابواب واران لاكبر
قوّاده واخصّ غلمانه ساوتكين(d) فسار فى جمع(e) من الاتراك
اليها فى ٤٦٨ سنة فامتنع فضلون فتسليم البلاد فقصده ساوتكين(f) ولمّا
علم عجزه عن المقاتلة والمدافعة سلّم دار ملكهم جنزة وغيرها من بلاد
اران الى نوّاب السلطان فاستقرّت الاتراك على بلاد اران سَرِيرها
وجبلها وجميع كورها وخلاعها فانقرضت دولة الشدّادية عنها ووقع
فى ايدى الاتراك جميع خزائنهم وذخائرهم وكانت مدّة ولايتهم ١٢٨ سنة
اذا اعتُبِرَ الابتداء من ظهور محمد بن شدّاد بن قوطق واستلائه
على دبيل ٣٤٠ سنة (كذا) واما اذا اعتُبِرَ من استيلاء اللشكرى على
جنزة فى ٣٦٠ سنة فمدّة امارتهم ١٠٧ سنة وبقى الفضل بن شاور
محاصرا فى قلعة خارك(g) مدّة ثمّ أُخِذَت منه وقُبِضَ عليه ايضا
فانقطع اخبارهم فسبحان الذى لا ينقطع سلطانه ✿

(a) فى الاصل: مالوع (b) منه (c) شاوتكين (d) جميع (e) ولعلّها جارك

صاحب شروان فوبوز بن سلار مع الهدايا والخدمة ودخل السلطان
في المحرم من ٥٠٤ سنة وغزا بلاد شكى وخزران(a) ثم بلاد الافخاز(b) وكثر
القتل والاسر والنهب وفتح القلاع في بلاد الكفر ثم قبض على منصور
وابي الهيجا صاحبي تفليس عند عودته(c) وسلم ثغر تفليس الى الفضل
بن شاور وفي رمضان من هذه السنة خرج الفضل الى ثغر تفليس
ومنه غزا بلاد الافخاز(d) ولما امتلأت ايدي المسلمين من الغنائم
اخذت الافخازية عليهم المضائق وقاتلوهم فانهزم المسلمون فبقي
الفضل صاحب ارّان في شرذمة قليلة من الشجعان فانهزم هو ايضا
بعد ان قتل جميع من معه من اصحابه فضل الطريق فوقع الى
قرية * إوانا بن لفرت(e) بعض بطارقة شكى وخزران(a) فنزله(d) عنده
ساعة ثم حمله الى * أحسرطان(e) اللعين فلما نزل عنده عذبه وقبض
بالوقت عليه وامسكه عنده اياما ثم سلمه الى صاحب الافخاز

(١٨) فلما يئس منه اهل ارّان اجلسوا بالامارة اخاه اشوط بن
شاور بن الفضل مكانه في شوال من ٥٠٤ سنة وفي ذي القعدة منها
دخل ساوتكين(f) الخاص امير العراقين [507ب] مع الاتراك بلاد
ارّان ثم سار الى غزو الكفرة وبقي الفضل بن شاور في الاسر
والحبس عند صاحب الافخاز(b) الى ان خلصه الله تعالى في جمادى الاخرة
من ٥٠٤ سنة فوصل الى ملكه وجلس على سرير امارته بحنزة وكانت
مدة امارة اخيه اشوط نحو ثمانية اشهر وكان صاحب شروان
قد نكث العهد والصلح فتجاوز بلاد ارّان بالنهب والغارة عند
اسر الفضل فلما عاد الفضل الى امارته جمع اجناده وسار الى بلاد

(a) ويحتمل انها جوزان (b) في الاصل: افخاز (c) عوده (d) وكانا بن كفتر
(d) فنزل عنده (e) احسرسان (f) شاه تكين

آران فجاسوا خلالها و شنّوا الغارة الشعواء و القتل و النهب فی سهلها
وجبلها من غیر مانع لهم و قتلوا علی باب ثغر شمکور زیادة علی مائتی
رجل من الغزاة المتطوّعة و اغاروا علی باب جنزة و قتلوا من وجدوا
فی قراها و کان ابو الأسوار مع قوّاده بجنزة و ما جسروا للبروز
الیهم و القتال معهم ثم سارت الملاعین الی برذعة و نزلوا علی بابها
ثلثة ایام و اغاروا علی نواحیها و جاوزوها حتّی وصلوا الی خانقین
بالقرب من نهر الرسّ و اخرجوا من بلاد آران من الاساری خلقا
کثیرا مجاوز الحدّ و الاحصاء من المسلمین و المعاهدین و فی ۴۵۹ سنة
فی یوم الاربعاء لسبع مضین من ذی القعدة توفّی الامیر المجاهد
ابو الاسوار شاور بن الفضل الغازی بمدینة جنزة و دفن فی المسجد(a)
الجامع و کانت مدّة امارته علی آران جمیعها و بعض ارمینیة ۱۸ سنة
و قبلها علی بعض البلاد ۲۸ سنة فمدّة جمیع امارته ۴۶ سنة

(IV) و ترک من البنین خمسة : الفضل و اشوط و اسکندر
و منوچهر و المرزبان و ابنة واحدة و جعل فی حیاته ولایة العهد
الی الکبر اولاده الفضل و آخذ بیعته علی اولاده و علی جمیع
الشدّادیة فی عشیرته و علی الجند و بیعته فلمّا قضی نحبه
اجلسوا الامیر ابا(b) الفضل بن شاور بن الفضل بن محمد بن
شدّاد فی دست الامارة مکانه و جدّدوا بیعته و رضی به اخوته
و انقاد له عشیرته و دخل فی طاعته الجند و الرعیة و فی هذه
۴۵۹ سنة فی ذی الحجّة دخل السلطان الب ارسلان بلاد آران فاستقبله
الفضل بن شاور بالطاعة و العبودیه و قدّم بین یدیه مفاتیح خزائنه
و سلّم منه(c) جمیع ما کان له من الذخائر و کذا ورد حصرته

(a) فی الاصل: مسجد (b) ابو الفضل (c) ولعلها: الیه

من الخزائن والدواب سلمة قهرا فعاد الى آران ثم عاد فى رجب
من هذه السنة الى بلاد شروان وأحرق الغلات والقرى فعاد
وفى ٤٥٦ سنة ايضا سار ابو الاسوار الى شروان واستولى على كر
وقطران واخذ حمولان(b) وانحازت حلل الاكراد الى جنبته وعبروا
باهاليهم من كر الى نعمته فعاد منها الى مقره ثم وقع الصلح
بينه وبين صاحب شروان فى رجب من هذه السنة وردّ اليه
قلعة قويليان بعد ان استوفى منه اربعين الف دينار
(16) وفى ٤٥٧ سنة غزا السلطان الب ارسلان السلجوقى بلاد
الارمن والروم وفتح قلاعا كثيرة وسلّمها الى ابى الاسوار
صاحب اران ليضيفها الى مملكته لاتصالها الى بلاده وفى هذه
السنة ٤٥٧ فى رجب منها جمع ابو الاسوار جيشه وسار ودخل بلاد
الارمن والروم وقصد ثغر آنى ودخله ودمّر ما شعث منه واقام
عماله فيه وشحنه بالسلاح والميرة والرجال ثم دخل فى بلاد الروم
واغار عليها وفتح بالقرب من آنى قلعة حصينة وادخل حفظته
وثقاته فيها ثم انعطف وجلس الى باب قلعه وحين(c) وهى
قلعة حصينة منيعة من احسن قلاع الارمن فضرب معسكره
حواليها ففتحها عنوة واسكن فيها امناءه ثم كرّ راجعا الى جنزة
ولمّا اقام بها وفرّق جيشه الى بلاده خرجت الالان فى [507a]
جمعيّة عظيمة من باب الالان فى ذى القعدة وجاوزوا بلاد
شكى وخزران (كذا) ثم دخلوا مع كفرة الشكرية(d) جميعا الى بلاد

(a) ووردى باب شروان (f.105b) حتى اخذ ابنته حريم سلار المتوفّى مع جميع مالها
(b) (f.105b) ونزل قرية سعدون واحرق الغلات واصرم النيران واستولى
على كر وقطران واخذ حماولان (c) ولعلّها * بجنى (d) * الكفرة الشكوية، من شكى

ابن سلمان وقال له "سيفتح الله لك كورة [506] تفليس كلها فيقع تلك القلعة ايضا فى يدك عفوا وصفوا" وقال ايضا "هذا يكون سببا لتفرق رجالك وضياع ما لك بلا فائدة" فرجع ابو الاسوار عن الاجابة الى مسئولهم وردّ مفتاح القلعة اليهم فرجعوا وسلّموا المفتاح والقلعة الى *اخسرطان بن كاليف (a) صاحب شكى فقبلهم واحسن جوائزهم وصرفهم من عنده ثم باعها * الى (b) صاحب الروم باموال جمّة فأنفذ ملك الروم فى الوقت اليها حفظة وشحنها بالرجال والسلاح والميرة وامر بتوسيع الطرق فى الجبل ليسهّل للكفرة العبور منها الى بلاد الاسلام

(١٥) وفى هذه سنة ٤٥٤ عبر الالبانية من باب اللّان ودخلوا بلاد اران وقتلوا منها خلقا كثيرا وسبوا زيادة على عشرين الف نسمة ما بين رجل وامرأة وصبىّ وصبيّة وفى سنة ٤٥٥ بنى ابو الاسوار حوالى ربض جنزة سورا حصينا وعلّق عليها ابوابا محكمة وضرب حواليها خندقا عميقا وصارت جنزة اضعاف ما كانت وفيها ايضا قصد بلاد شروان واخذ قلعة قويليان من يد صاحبها عنوة وادخل فيها نائبا ورجالا من قبله ثم سار وحاصر مدينة شروان فحاربه الشراونة فانهزموا منه فركب اكتافهم وقتل منهم جماعة واسر من اعيانهم ما يزيد على خمسين فارسا من صناديد اللكز وكبار الكوارات (c) واحتوى على جميع ما فى عسكرهم من الدواب والاثقال ثم انتقل منها الى باب اليزيدية (d) وضرب خيامه واخذ ابنته حرم سلّار صاحب شروان مع جميع ما كان لها

وفى الاصل (a) احسربان بن كالبق (b) من (c) او كواردات (d) البريدية

بالكلية مع اهالينا واولادنا والنحتمل الذل فاحسّ من في قلعة بالشرّ وكان الحاجب ابو منصور بها فاستدعى الهيثم فامر الحاجب باغلاق باب المدينة وتوارى قحطان والخطيب وبقي الهيثم من الرؤساء وحده مع غلمانه فاحاط به اصحاب الحاجب للقبض عليه فترجّل الهيثم وغلمانه وشحذوا خناجرهم ونادوا بشعار ابي الاسوار فتزجّل الهيثم وغلمانه وشحذوا خناجرهم ونادوا بشعار ابي الاسوار شاور بن الفضل وفتحوا باب البلد فظهر قحطان والخطيب وغيرهما من الرؤساء فولّوا على البلاد ابا الاسوار شاور بن الفضل بن محمد بن شدّاد في ٤٤١ سنة بعد شهرين من ولاية انوشروان

(١١) فدخل اوّلا مدينة شمكور وأحكم امرها ثم سار الى جنزة ودخلها واحتوى على جميع بلاد آران وقلاعها وقبض على انوشروان وعلى الحاجب ابي منصور واخوته واولادهم وكانوا يقال لهم بنو ابي هيثم الكاتب وكانوا اعيانَ دولة بني شدّاد فقبض ابو الاسوار على جميعهم وأحيى اسم الدولة بعد ان كادت تموت وقويت وانتظمت احوال الرعية والجند فسار في ٤٤٥ سنة وفتح قلعة بصرة(ه) من الجوزيه(ط) عنوةً وحصّنها بالرجال والميرة والسلاح وفيها اخرج ابنه ابا نصر اسكندر بن شاور الى مدينة دبيل وسلّم اليه اعمالها وفي ٤٥٤ سنة جاء اليه جماعة من اعيان تفليس وسألوا منه ان يرسل اليهم مَن يسلّمون اليه القلعة لأن صاحبها جعفر بن علي كان قد مات وخلّف ابنين منصورًا وابا الهيجاء فوقعت البغضاء بينهم في ولاية القلعة واخرجها اهلها وعادوا الى ابي الاسوار يسألونه ما سبق ذكره وأن يرسل اليهم رجالا وسلاحًا وميرةً فأراد ابو الاسوار أن يجيب الى مسئولهم فمنعه وزيره بختيار

(ه) او نصره ؟ (ط) وفي الاصل الخزية

ارّان الى الروم وامتدّوا فيها الى الروس وفى ٤٣٢هـ يوم السبت عيد الاضحى
توفّى الامير الفضل بن محمد بن شدّاد فكانت مدّة امارته ٤٧سنة
(١١) فتولّى الامارة ابنه وولى عهده ابو الفتح موسى بن الفضل
بن محمد بن شدّاد فى ذى الحجّة ٤٢٢سنة وفيها خرجت الروسية
كرّة ثانية فسار اليهم وقاتلهم عند باكويه فاخرجهم من بلاده وقتل
منهم مقتلة عظيمة. وفى ٤٢٥سنة وثب على ابى الفتح موسى ابنه
اللشكرى علىّ بن موسى فقتله غيلةً ٤٢٥سنة وكانت امارته ٣سنة
(١٢) فتولّى الامارة الولد القاتل اللشكرى علىّ بن موسى بن الفضل
بن محمد بن شدّاد فى ٤٢٥سنة وكان خبيثًا سئ الاعتقاد فتزوّج
حظية ابيه وكانت ايام امارته مضطربة لا راحة له وللرعية من
هجوم الغز [506b] وسائر الاعداء وكان ينتقل من قلعة الى اخرى
فى شدّة وضعف حتّى مات فى ٤٤١سنة فمدّة امارته نحو ١٥سنة
(١٣) فنصبوا مكانه ابنه انوشروان بن اللشكرى على فدبّر امره
ابو منصور الحاجب فاتّفق مع القوّاد والحواشى على ان يتركوا
قلاعًا على الكفرة: قلعة طاطيان وموجلنك والبيضاء على (a)
صاحب شكى، وقلعة كرمستان للداويدية (b) وقلعة كردملان
للافخازية (c) والرستاق للرومية ليمنعوا اطماعهم من ارّان لانّهم
كانوا قد طمعوا فيها لضعف اللشكرى وصغر ابنه انوشروان هذا
ولمّا علم الرؤساء هذا الرأى من ابى منصور وغيره من القوّاد اجتمعوا
عند الهيثم ابن ميمون البائى (d) رئيس الدبّاغين بالجند بشماكور (e)
فتشاوروا وقالوا اذا حصلت هذه القلاع والرساتيق فى ايدى
الكفرة حينئذ تذهب هذه المدينة وليس لنا الّا الانتقال منها

(a) او الداديدية؟ (b) اوكردملان؟ (c) فى الاصل: الاجارية (d) البابى؟ (e) فى الاصل سيكو

من القضاء انّ مماليكه تفرّقوا عنه فى طلب الغزلان فخرج عليه
اخوه الفضل وجرّد سيفه وضرب على رأس المرزبان ضربة بعد
ضربة حتّى قتله فخرّ عن ظهر فرسه ميّتا و كانت مدّة امارة
المرزبان نحو ٧ سنة

١٠ فاقبل الفضل الى المدينة وبعث طائفةً من غلمانه فقبضوا
على شيرويه بن المرزبان ودخل المدينة على حين غفلة من اهلها
وامر بلفلاق ابوابها فجلس الفضل بن محمد بن شدّاد على سرير
الامارة بعد قتل اخيه المرزبان فى ٣٧٥ سنة فاستقرّ فى ملكه ودبّره
احسن تدبير فسار وملك مدينة بردعة وبيلقان فى ٣٨٣ سنة وفى
٤١٧ سنة دخل صاحب* الأبخاز (ا) بلاد آران وحصر شمكور (ب) اياما فسار
اليه الفضل فى جيش عظيم وقاتله وهزمه وقتل من جيشه ما
يزيد على عشرة آلاف رجل فعاد صاحب* الابخاز منهزما الى بلاده
وفى ٤١٨ سنة امر الفضل ببناء قنطرة على نهر الرسّ وهى اثر عظيم
منه وفى ٤٢١ سنة ارسل الفضل ابنه وولى عهده موسى بن الفضل
فى جمع الى قتال ابنه الآخر عسكويه (كذا) ببيلقان وكان قد عصى
على ابيه واخيه وجمع جمعا فاراد الخروج على ابيه فسار موسى
واستعان بالروسية على اخيه لانّهم كانت قد دخلت منهم
طائفة بنحو ثمان وثلثين سفينة الى بلاد شروان فحاربهم
صاحب شروان منوچهر (فعقد منوچهر (ج) الرسّ ليمنعهم من
الصعود فخرّقوا جماعةً من المسلمين فاخرجهم موسى بن الفضل
واعطاهم اموالا جمّة وحملهم الى بيلقان فاخذها بهم وقبض
على اخيه عسكريه (كذا) فقتله ثم انّ الروسية خرجوا من

وفى الاصل (ا) الحجاز (ب) سمكوه (ج) حسب ما ورد فى باب شروان ص ١٥٣ ظ

المدينة ولبسوا السلاح فقصدوا دار الوالي وقبضوا عليه
وفتحوا باب المدينة فدخل العسكري اليها وانتصب على الوسادة
وسيّر الامارة في سنة ٣٦٠ ولمّا وصل الخبر الى السلار ابراهيم بن
المرزبان باردبيل سار في جيش في سنة ٣٦١ وحصر مدينة جنزة وقاتل
العسكري وجرت بينهما حروب ووقائع يطول ذكرها ولمّا لم يظفر
بها صالح العسكري فعاد من باب جنزة الى اردبيل فضبط العسكري
البلاد وازال المفسدين منها واخرج الديالمة من اعمالها فاستراح
الناس به فعظم شأنه واستفحل امره فبقي العسكري يوسّع ملكه
يومًا فيومًا حتّى ملك بلاد ارّان جميعها وبعض بلاد ارمينية ويدبّر
احوال رعيته احسن التدبير ويسوس الجند أجود سياسة الى ان
كانت سنة ٣٦٨ فتوفّي فيها العسكري ابو الحسن علي بن محمد بن شدّاد
بدار ملكه جنزة فمدّة امارته أمّا على عشيرته فقط فهي نحو ٢٤ سنة
واما على العشيرة ومدينة جنزة واعمالها جميعا فهي ٨ سنة
(٩) فقام بالامارة بعده اخوه المرزبان بن محمد بن شدّاد بن قرطق
في سنة ٣٦٨ وكان العسكري يحبّ ان تكون الامارة بعده للفضل
بن محمد اذ كان يحبّه ويؤثره على اخيه المرزبان بالرأي وايضًا
هو كان السبب في تملّكهم البلاد الّا ان الجند والرعية كانوا
يميلون الى المرزبان وكانت [505b] والدتهم تحبّ الفضل وتميل
اليه وكان المرزبان يداريها ويطلب رضاها وجلس المرزبان في
الامارة مكان اخيه وجرى في ايامه خطوب ووقائع لقلّة رأيه
وسوء تدبيره وبقي المرزبان في الامارة الى ان صارت سنة ٣٧٨
ففيها اوقع الحواشي بينه وبين اخيه الفضل بن محمد حتى عزم
قتل المرزبان فاتّفق انّ المرزبان ركب يومًا الى الصيد فكان

اللشكري وقال "بحمد الله انت سالم فما حملك على ما فعلت
حتى اوجعت به قلوبنا" فقال له الفضل "ايها الاخ الامير أما
آن لك ان تأنف من خدمة الكفرة الآكرة وأن تمسي وتصبح
مع الخنازير وتسمع عوض الاذان صوت النواقيس؟ وهذه
المدينة سلمها الينا اهلها صفوا باتفاق اهلها" فانكر عليه اللشكري
ذلك فقال "انت تعلم يا اخي ان والدنا ما فعل بمدينة جبيل
ونحن نطوف منذ عشرين سنة لا يقبلنا مكان ولا يطيب
عيشنا بزمان فان دخلنا هذا البلد قصدنا صاحبها واحاط بنا
وضيق علينا ونحن في زمرة يسيرة فمن الذي يخلصنا
من يده؟ وبعض الظن كاذب ولا كل رأي في مثل هذه
الاحوال صائب وقد اعتبرنا وكفانا ما مضى" فقال الفضل
على المرء أن يسعى في طلب المعالي فان ظفر بمناه فقد حاز
مبتغاه، وان قصرت عنها خطاه فلا عتب عليه فيما حاوله
منها وابتغاه"

(٨) فاستصوب اللشكري هذا الكلام والرأي من اخيه الفضل
فاجاب الى مسئوله فعاد الفضل الى باب جنوة على أن يحضر
اهلها ويجدد اليمين وكان الرئيس في البلد يعرف بيوسف
القزاز فاحضره ومن تبعه منهم وعقد الوثائق فيما بينهما
وحلفوا باجمعهم انه متى ما ظهر من اللشكري والفضل حركة
فيما بنوا عليه تدبيرهم يفتحون باب المدينة ويقبضون على
واليها ويسلمونه منهم (كذا) (a) فلما وقعت الموافقة فيما
بينهم على تسليم المدينة جمع يوسف القزاز حينئذ فتيان

(a) * اليهم؟

معهم وفزلوا بشط الكرّ(a) معتصمين بتلك الغياض والآجام
ويحتملون غلّات هذه الضياع ويشنّون الغارات فيها فاستعان
هذا الوالي بالفضل بن محمّد في دفعهم والنكاية بهم إن وجد فرصة
واتّفق انّهم في هذا التدبير اذ وقعت صيحة في المدينة انّ
وردوا ضيعة سورمين لاحتمال ما فيها من الغلّات وانّ القوم
اخذوا أسلحتهم وبرزوا من جنزة فركب الفضل مع اصحابه وسار
اليهم فحاربهم محاربة شديدة فهزمهم فركبت الشدّادية اكتافهم
وعادوا سالمين فلمّا عاينوا اهل البلد ما كان منه زادوا منه
اعظامًا واستناموا اليه حالًا فحالًا وبقي الفضل حتّى كانت سنة 359
فعزم الفضل فيها على أن يخرج الى اذربيجان فحضره رؤساء
جنزة فقالوا له لا تفعل ايّها الامير والزم المكان وأنفذ
في طلب اخيك اللشكري لتسلّم هذه المدينة وينهض عن
خدمة الكفّار فنأمن بالله وبكم من معرّة هؤلاء الأشرار"
فجعل في نفسه ما سمعه منهم وشهد بذلك قلبه فراسل
اخاه اللشكري واستدعاه وعرّفه بقول القوم وحصول جنزة لهم
ولمّا وصل الخبر الى اللشكري لم يعمل في نفسه شيئًا ونسب
اخاه الفضل الى سوأة(b) وسوء التدبير ثمّ احتال الفضل حيلة
في استقدام اخيه فأرسل غلامًا له الى اخيه اللشكري يخبره
بانّ الفضل اصابته علّة لا يقدر معها على الركوب فركب
اللشكري في الوقت [505a] وسار مع الغلام فورد الغلام
فأخبر الفضلَ بانّ اللشكري قد نزل في الضيعة الفلانيه فركب
من ساعته واستقبل اخاه اللشكري فتعانقا وتباكيا ثمّ عاتبه

في الاصل (a) اللكز (b) سوءة

والفضل ولما توفي محمد بن شداد قام مقامه في تدبير امور
عشيرته [504b] الكبر اولاده اللشكري ابو الحسن علي بن محمد.
بن شداد في ٣٤٤ سنة وفيها قصد اللشكري صاحب ديزور (؟)
واقام مدة مدينة حتى كان ٣٥٤ سنة وفيها قصد اللشكري صاحب
ديروز (؟) (a) واقام عنده ايضا برهة من الزمان وخرج اخوه
الفضل بن محمد الى غزا السيفي غلام سيف الدولة الحمداني
كان قد استحلله على ديار بكر وبقي عنده مدة وشاهد منه ما
ارتضاه ثم سيف الدولة تغير على غلامه نجا هذا واتهمه
وعزله عن ولايته في ٣٥٤ سنة فعاد الفضل بن محمد الى اخويه
اللشكري والمرزبان واقام عندهما مدة يسيرة عازما على الانصراف
والتوجه الى غيرهما من اصحاب الاطراف فالحا عليه بالمقام
عندهما فبدرت منه يمين انه لا يخدم عبدة الاصنام ولا
يقيم الا في بلاد الاسلام فخرج مع اصحابه ناويا على الامتداد
الى حضرة السلار ابراهيم بن المرزبان فأتى مدينة جنزة ونزل
على بابها مع سواده وغلمانه وممن اجتمع عليه من اصحابه
وبها وال من قبل السلار ابراهيم يعرف بعلي التازي
فسناه واكرمه وعمل معه الجميل ووعده أن يكتب الى السلار
ويعرفه حاله ليجعل له معاشا من باب المدينة فيحامي عنها
ويذب من وراءها ويزيل معرة اللصوص واهل الفساد
والسياوردية خاصة منها، وقد كان اجتمع قوم يعرفون
بالسرية (b) على باب هذه المدينة وفيهم عدد جم من الفرسان
ينيف على اربعمائة فارس قد خالطوا السياوردية وتخالطوا

(a) ظاهران تكرار اسم "ديزور" هنا خطاء الناسخ (b) ولعلها * السرية

الله و نصره

(6) ولمّا تخلّص السلّار المرزبان من الحبس فی ٣٤٢ سنة وفرغ من غائلة ديسم الكردی بعث جمعًا من الديلم الى محاصرة قلعة دبيل واخراج محمد بن شدّاد منها فی ٣٤٣ سنة وكانت قلعة دبيل الى هذه الاوان (a) فی ايدی جماعة من الديلم ولمّا حاصر جيش المرزبان دبيل غدر الديلم الذين فی القلعة بمحمّد بن شدّاد وادخلوا جمعًا من الجيش من باب صغير للقلعة وأرادوا أن يكبسوا محمّدا واهله واصحابه واتّفق معهم فی ذلك جماعة من اهل البلد طمعًا فی ماله ولمّا أحسّ محمّد بذلك جمع اهل بيته وخواصّ اصحابه وحملوا كلّ ما يمكن حمله فجاؤا جميعا الى باب معروف بباب المقابر من ابواب القلعة فوجدوه مقفلا ولم يكن المفتاح معهم وكان معه ابن اخ له وهو شرفون (b) ابن عيسى موصوفا بالشجاعة والنجابة فجرّد سيفه وضرب به القفل وكسره وفتحوا الباب واخرجوا اهلهم واولادهم واسبابهم وعبروا نهر الرسّ ومنصبون فی تلك الليلة ولاذوا بصاحب اسفرجان ثمّ انّ محمّد بن شدّاد ترك من كان معه من اهله واولاده عند صاحب اسفرجان بعد اخذ الضمان منه فصار الى ملك الروم يستنجده على استرجاع دبيل وفتحها فبقی عنده مدّة ولم يصل فيها الى ما حاول لموانع عرضت فعاد الى مكانه والقى اهله واولاده وعشيرته باسفرجان فی ٣٤٤ سنة فأدركه الاجل ومضى سبيله فی هذه الـ ٣٤٤ سنة.

(7) فخلّف ثلاثة ابناء الاشكری ابو الحسن علی والمرزبان

فی الاصل (a) هنا الآن (b) سرفون

اليهم فعاد معهم الى دبيل و دبّر امرهم و صرف عنهم أذى
المشركين و اهل الفساد و انتظم حال المدينة و اهلها و استقرّت
قدم محمد بن شدّاد فى ملكها و تدبير امور اهلها
(٥) و كان لكورة جرزان و غيرها من ارمينية مَلِك يقال له
اشوط بن العبّاس و كان ملقّبا بشاهنشاه و حدّثته نفسه
بحاصرة دبيل و منازلة اهلها فجمع اجناده من الارمن و اللكز
و سائر الكفرة [504a] و امتدّ نحو دبيل فى ثلثين الف رجل
و نزل بموضع قريب منها يقال له ناورد فبثّ عساكره الى تخريق
الغلّات و تخريب الضياع فبلغ الخبر الى محمد بن شدّاد و هو
غافل فى شرذمة قليلة من اهله و اصحابه فلاحظ خُدعةً فى
دفع هذا عدوّ القوىّ فامر جميع من فى البلد من الرجال
و الصبيان بالركوب على البهائم من الحُمُر و البقر و الدوابّ
و البغال و بالخروج عن البلد على تلك الحالة و الوقوف
بقرب البلد حتّى يَرى العدوّ سوادَهم و يسمعَ صياحَهم
و تكبيرهم الى ان يُشير اليهم محمد بالقدوم و المسير ففعلوا
ذلك و سار هو فى جمع من الفرسان و الشجعان على
سبيل الطلائع نحو العدوّ و هم على غفلة منتشرين
ملتفّين بمواضع الظلّ من شدّة الحرّ و لم يشعروا الّا
و قد تساور المسلمون تساور الأُسود الضارية و حملوا
فيهم السيوف من كلّ جانب و لمّا اشتدّ القتال اشار محمد بن
شدّاد الى الجمع الذى بقرب البلد فصاحوا صَيحةً عظيمةً
فساروا الى مرأى من العدوّ و لمّا رأى العدوّ سوادهم
كالجبال ترادوا فى أعينهم على عدد الرمل فانهزموا بحون

الدرمن واللكز وغيرهم من الكفرة فصار نحو محمد بن شدّاد
واتّصل الخبر به فاستدعى بقومه فدبّروا على محاربته ومدافعته
فخرجوا من المدينة متوكّلين على الله فالتقوا باولئك الملاعين
بين ذُرَى الرسّ ومنصمّون (a) فاقتتلوا قتالاً شديداً فانتصر
المسلمون وانهزمت الكفّار فلم يُفلت منهم الّا من تَوارَى فى
الغياض والآجام فعاد محمد بن شدّاد منصوراً مظفّراً الى
مدينة دبيل فاستدعى من اهل المدينة معونةً على استحداث
موضع بقرب المدينة يأوى اليه اهله واولاده اذ كان يَخشَى
عليهم من جانب اللكز فاعانه عليه اهل البلد فبنى قلعةً
باعانتهم وسمّاها تل حثلى (b) ونقل اهله اليها وهى (من) مدينة
دبيل على صيحةٍ وبلغ الخبر الى السلّار ابراهيم بن المرزبان
وكان باردبيل فانفذ جيشاً عظيماً من اصناف الديلم والاكراد
والرجالة * الطرمية (c) وساروا الى باب دبيل فاستقبلهم محمد
بن شدّاد ودافعهم مدافعةً عظيمةً فلمّا اشتدّ الحرب، ولم
يثبت اهل المدينة وغدروا بمحمد وتركوه فى يسير من اصحابه
ولمّا رأى محمد انهزامهم انهزم هو ايضاً الى قلعته فى الليل
واستنزلهم واخذ بهم يسمت ارمينية وخلّى دبيل على اهلها
حتّى قاسوا من الديلم ما قاسوا ثم ارسلوا عدّة رجال من
اعيانهم الى محمد بن شدّاد يعتذرون اليه ويستدعون رجوعه
الى بلدهم ويحلفون له على الطاعة والانقياد وعدم الغدر
من بعد ذلك فبلغوا اليه وقالوا له ما قالوا حتى سكن قلبه

وفى الاصل (a) منصمّون (c) (b) بل حثلى (c) الطرحية

المشهورة ارزنجان وموش وارزن وملازجرد وبدليس
واخلاط - ويجوز ترك الهمزة ايضا - وارجيش وقسطان
وشروان على قول ابن سعيد من آران والديبل من قواعد
ارمينية من الرابع طولها عب عرضها لح وهى مدينة كبيرة
والنصارى بها كثيرة وجامع المسلمين الى جانب كنيسة النصارى
قيل انّها من اجلّ البلاد وانفسها ومستقرّ السلاطين
[f.503b] ومن قواعد ارمينية ايضا مدينة دوين من آخر
الرابع طولها عب وعرضها اط اليها ينسب الملوك الأيوبية
ومدينة وان طولها مح وعرضها لح

(٣) اوّل الشدّادية هو محمد ابن شدّاد بن قرطق وكان
سبب ظهوره وولايته انّه لمّا أسر السلّار الوزبان بن محمد
بن مسافر بباب الري في ٣٤٧ سنة وبقي في الاسر والحبس
نحو اربع سنين اضطرب مُلك اذربيجان واستولى كلّ مَن
له عشيرةٌ وعصبيةٌ على ناحية من البلاد فتمكّن محمد بن
شدّاد ايضا في مدينة الديبل وسلّم اهلها المدينةَ اليه
ليذبّ عن حرمهم (a) ونسائهم فيأمنوا من اهل الشرّ والفساد
من الديلم وغيرهم فملكها محمد بن شدّاد في ٣٤٠ سنة تقريبًا
فاقام بها مع شرذمة قليلة من اهل بيته وعشيرته واتباعه

(٤) وكان السلّار ابراهيم بن مرزبان ينوب عن (b) ابيه المحبوس
ببعض بلاد اذربيجان فلمّا وصل الخبر اليه وجّه الى صاحب
دِرموس (c) ورسم له مناهضته ومحاصرته واخراجه من ديبل
فامتثل من ذلك ما رسمه فجمع هذا الكافر جيشًا خشنًا من

وفي الاصل (a) حوفزم (b) من (c) ديرلوس ؟ ولعلّه = فريسوس

وهي تقعان من الخامس طولها مح عرضها مب وباب الابواب
يقال لها في زماننا هذا باب الحديد عبارة عن ناحية واسعة لها
حكام مستقلون بها طولها عه عرضها ما وقيل مح ومن قواعدها
كنجه في الخامس طولها عد عرضها مح ومن مدن آران المشهورة
نفليس وشكور والبيلقان وسرير اللان عبارة عن ناحية كبيرة
واللكز واسم جبل ايضا يسكنون في نواحيها واما ارمينية-
ويجوز بتخفيف الياء الرابعة - اقليم مستقل من * الرحبة (a) يحدها
من جهة الغرب بلاد الارمن ومن الشرق والجنوب حدود
آران واذربيجان وبعض الجزيرة ومن الشمال بعض بلاد
آران والغالب عليها الجبال وهي على ثلاثة اقسام الاول
يشتمل على قاليقلا وشمشاط وما بين ذلك والثاني على
جرزان (b) ومدينة باب اللان وما بين ذلك والثالث على
بردعة وعلى البيلقان وباب الابواب وربع البعض :
قسمتها الاولى من بيلقان (كذا) الى شروان وبين ذلك
والثانية تفليس وهي جوزان وباب فيروزاباد واللكز
والثالثة الشيرجان (c) والديل وتشوى والرابعة قرب
حصن زياد وهو المسمى بخرت برد (d) وخلاط وارزن الروم
وما بين ذلك وكان (e) في القديم يحكم في كل قسم منها
اميرٌ ويستقل باموره بعضهم من اهل الاسلام وبعضهم
من الارمن ومن البلاد المشركة وبين الروم وارمينية
مدينة قسطمونية ويقال كسلمونية ايضا وسنوب
وسامسون وفرضتها على بحر بنطس طرابزون ومن مدنها

وفي الاصل (a) الوفية (b) جزان (c) السيرجان (d) حرب برد (e) وكانت

بَابُ الشَّدَّادِيَّة

من كتاب جَامِع الدُّوَل لأحمد بن لطف الله

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